

University of Toronto  
St. George Campus  
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**POL 456Y/2256Y**

**The G8, G20 and Global Governance**

Tuesday, 4-6:00 PM., Trinity College (TC) 24

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This course examines the development, performance, and participants of the Group of Eight (G8) and Group of Twenty (G20) as informal, “soft law” international institutions and their relationship with the “hard law” multilateral organizations of the United Nations and Bretton Woods bodies, especially in the post–Cold War, globalizing, post–September 11 world. It begins with an introductory review of competing conceptions of global governance, the role of informal international institutions including the G8 and G20 systems, and their interaction and contrast with formal, legalized, multilateral, intergovernmental organizations. It then assesses alternative models developed to describe and explain the performance of the G8 and G20 on six key dimensions of global governance and to evaluate various proposals for their reform. Attention is next directed at the G8 and G20 diplomacy of the key members, including Canada, the US, Japan, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, European Union, and China. They are explored individually and as they come together in a G8 summit simulation at the end of the first term and a G20 one at the end of the second term. In the second term the focus is on how, how well, and why the G8 and/or G20 governs in key issues areas of world politics, across the finance and economic, global-transnational, and political security domains.

The course critically explores the proposition that the G8 and G20 systems are together emerging as the effective, legitimate centre of global governance in the 21st century. They are doing 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. At the same time, the G8 and G20 have moved through different phases of focus, approach, and effectiveness, provoked questions of legitimacy, justice, and other values, and faced increasing demands for reform. The core task is to explain these variations, as an aid in testing and building theories of international relations and regimes and for offering prescriptions for potentially far-reaching global governance action and reform.

During the first seven weeks, the course follows a fixed sequence dealing with basic dimensions of global governance, the G8 and the G20. The next five weeks examine the G8 and G20 diplomacy of selected members, culminating in a G8 summit simulation. After the first two

seminars students will lead the weekly sessions, with the instructor commenting at the end of each seminar. Topics for presentations will be chosen in the first week. During the second term, students will present each week an issues area, with a G20 simulation at the end of term.

Each student will be responsible for:

1. A critical book review essay of 2,500 words on one “Basic Text,” due by 16:00, Tuesday, November 30, for 20% of final mark;
2. A report on the compliance of the member countries with one recent G8 or G20 commitment; due February 15 (the last class before the spring reading week), for 20% of final mark;
2. Active participation in all seminars, the simulations, and the presentation and chairing in two seminars (one each term), for 20% of final mark; and
3. A major research paper of 4,000 words based on your presentation, due at 16:00 Tuesday, April 5 (the last day of class), for 40% of final mark.

A late penalty is 1% of assignment grade per calendar day (without eligible causes as approved by the instructor).

### ***Basic Required Texts:***

During the first few weeks, in addition to the weekly readings, students should read the two *required* works, available for purchase in the University of Toronto Bookstore:

Fratianni, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds. (2005), *New Perspectives on Global Governance: Why America Needs the G8* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (“*New Perspectives*”)  
Kirton, John, Marina Larionova and Paolo Savona, eds. (2010) *Making Global Economic Governance Effective: Hard and Soft Law Institutions in a Crowded World* (Farnham: Ashgate). (“*Making*”)

### **Core Recommended Monographs Outlining Major Models of G8 and G20 Governance:**

Hodges, Michael, John Kirton and Joseph Daniels, eds. (1999), *The G8’s Role in the New Millennium* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (concert equality) (“*Role*”)  
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). (“*Hanging Together*”) (Also available in several G7 languages)  
Bergsten, C. Fred and C. Randall Henning (1996), *Global Economic Leadership and the Group of Seven* (Washington: Institute for International Economics). (false new consensus).  
Kokotsis, Eleonore (1999), *Keeping International Commitments: Compliance, Credibility and the G7, 1988-1995* (New York: Garland). (democratic institutionalism) (“*Keeping*”)  
Penttila, Risto (2003), *The Role of the G8 in International Peace and Security*, Adelphi Paper 355 (Oxford: Oxford University Press). (meta-institutionalism)  
Bayne, Nicholas (2005), *Staying Together: The G8 Summit Confronts the Twenty-First Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (collective management) (“*Staying*”)

- Bailin, Alison (2005), *From Traditional to Group Hegemony: The G7, the Liberal Economic Order and the Core-Periphery Gap* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (group hegemony)
- Baker, Andrew (2006), *The Group of Seven: Finance Ministers, Central Banks and Global Financial Governance* (London: Routledge). (ginger group)

### **Other Recommended Works:**

- Larionova, Marina, ed. (2009), *The EU in the G8: Promoting Consensus and Concerted Actions for Global Public Good* (Moscow: State University Higher School of Economics Publishing House).
- Hajnal, Peter (2007), *The G8 System and the G20: Evolution, Role and Documentation* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (Also available in Russian)
- Dobson, Hugo (2007), *The Group of 7/8* (New York: Routledge).
- Fратиани, Michele, John Kirton and Paolo Savona, eds. (2007), *Financing Development: G8 and UN Contributions* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Fратиани, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton eds. (2007), *Corporate, Public and Global Governance: the G8 Contribution* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Kirton, John and Radoslava Stefanova, eds. (2004), *The G8, the United Nations and Conflict Prevention* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Bayne, Nicholas and Stephen Woolcock, eds. (2003), *The New Economic Diplomacy: Decision-Making and Negotiation in International Economic Relations* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Fратиани, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds. (2003), *Sustaining Global Growth and Development: G7 and IMF Challenges and Contributions* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Fратиани, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds. (2002), *Governing Global Finance: New Challenges, G7 and IMF Contributions* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Kirton, John and Junichi Takase, eds. (2002), *New Directions in Global Political Governance* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Kirton, John and George von Furstenberg, eds. (2001), *New Directions in Global Economic Governance: Managing Globalization in the Twenty-First Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Kirton, John, Joseph Daniels and Andreas Freytag, eds. (2001), *Guiding Global Order: G8 Governance in the Twenty-First Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Kaiser, Karl, John Kirton and Joseph Daniels, eds. (2000), *Shaping a New International Financial System: Challenges of Governance in a Globalizing World* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Bayne, Nicholas (2000), *Hanging In There: The G7 and G8 Summit in Maturity and Renewal* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

### **Useful Resources:**

- Franchini-Sherifis, Rossella and Valerio Astraldi (2001), *The G7/G8: From Rambouillet to Genoa* (Milan: Franco Angelo). (Also available in Italian)
- Kuhne, Winrich and Joachim Pratl, eds. (2000), *The Security Council and the G8 in the New Millennium: Who is in Charge of International Peace and Security* (Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik).

- “The G8 Summit – New Roles and Agenda’s (2000),” *NIRA Review* 7 (Spring).
- Ostry, Sylvia and Gilbert Winham, eds. (1995), *The Halifax G7 Summit: Issues on the Table* (Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University).
- Merlini, Cesare and G. Garavoglia (1994), “The Future of the G7 Summits,” *International Spectator* 29 (April-June 1994) <[www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/merlini1994](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/merlini1994)>.
- Dewitt, David, David Haglund and John Kirton, eds. (1993), *Building a New Global Order: Emerging Trends in International Security* (Toronto: Oxford University Press).

Notes: Other useful books on the G8 are available only in Russian or Chinese. Ask the instructor for assistance or consult the G8 Information Centre website.

The weekly readings, carefully constructed to be of manageable length, are listed below. Start with the pieces from the two course texts, where listed. Publications marked with an asterisk are recommended for students but required for the presenter. Presenters should avail themselves of further sources from the instructor, those listed in the Hajnal bibliography, the “Papers and Publications” section and the “Latest Citations” feature of the G8 Information Centre (both available at <[www.g8.utoronto.ca](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca)>) and the most recent journals.

The weekly readings are on reserve in Trinity College’s John Graham Library at the Munk Centre for International Studies. Students may by appointment use the G8 Research Room on the second floor of the library. Graduate students can secure access to the G8 archives for special projects. Many weekly readings are available on G8 Information Centre at <[www.g8.utoronto.ca](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca)> (indicated below as “Web”).

## 1. **Introduction to the Course** (September 14)

Why study global governance and the G8/G20? What is global governance, the G8 and G20?

### PART A: Global Governance and the G8/G20

## 2. **Global Governance, Informal Institutions, Concerts, Clubs and the G8/G20** (September 21)

How much and how is global governance and global order created within an “anarchic” international system by the hegemony of a single dominant power or class, balance and concerts among great powers, intergovernmental institutions and legalized organizations, markets, societal processes, civil society actors, multistakeholder networks, epistemic communities, dominant ideas and empowered individuals? How much, how and why do international institutions matter under realist, liberal-institutionalist, constructivist and historical materialist theories? How have “soft law” informal institutions, particularly plurilateral summit institutions, and concerts, operated since 1648? How have the G8 and G20 developed and performed since 1975 and 1999?

*New Perspectives*, Chapters 1-2

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

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

Penttila (2003), 5-32.

Putnam and Bayne (1987), 1-24 (\*rest of book as time allows).

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

\*Payne, Anthony (2005), "The Study of Governance in a Global Political Economy," in Nicola Phillips, ed. *Globalizing International Political Economy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), 55-81.

\*Rosenau, James (1997), *Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

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

### **3 Formal Institutions, Multilateralism and the United Nations (September 28)**

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/Bretton Woods bodies? Are legalized intergovernmental organizations now more prevalent, effective and just as a centre of global governance, especially in an era of globalization? How much has and can the multilateral intergovernmental system established in 1945 perform well and reform in response to the dynamics of the 21st-century world?

*Making*, Chapters 1-3.

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.

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

Ikenberry, John (2001), *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 117-274.

Kirton, John (2002), "The G8, the United Nations, and Global Security Governance," in John Kirton and Junichi Takase, eds., *New Directions in Global Political Governance* (Aldershot: Ashgate), 191-208.

\*Kirton, John and Radoslava Stefanova (2004), "Introduction: The G8's Role in Global Conflict Prevention," in John Kirton and Radoslava Stefanova, eds., *The G8, the United Nations and Conflict Prevention* (Aldershot: Ashgate), 1-18.

#### 4. **Explaining G8 Governance: Competing Models** (October 5)

How, how well and for whom has the G8 governed and why? What functions do the G8 summit and system perform in international and domestic governance, as a forum for domestic political management, deliberation, direction setting, decision making, delivery and the development of global governance institutions? When and why does it perform them well? What are the essential features, strengths, and shortcomings of the ten major models developed to describe and explain G8 performance (listed below).

- the 1987 *American leadership model* of Putnam and Bayne;
- the 1989 *concert equality model* of Kirton and Wallace;
- the 1996 *false 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.

*New Perspectives*, Chapter 15, 231-256.

Kirton, John and Joseph Daniels (1999), "The Role of the G8 in the New Millennium," *Role*, 3-18.

Kirton, John (1999), "Explaining G8 Effectiveness," *Role*, 45-68. Web.

Bergsten and Henning (1996), 13-96.

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).

Penttila (2003), 33-50, 89-92.

Bayne, Nicholas (2005), *Staying Together: The G8 Summit Confronts the 21st Century*, (Aldershot: Ashgate), 3-35, 191-235 (\*rest of book as time allows).

\*Bayne, Nicholas (1999), "Continuity and Leadership in an Age of Globalization," *Role*, 21-44. Web.

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

#### 5. **Explaining G20 Governance: Competing Models** (October 12)

How, how well and for whom has the G20 governed at the ministerial and summit levels and

why? What are the essential features, strengths, and shortcomings of the models being developed to describe and explain G20 performance?

- Kirton, John (2010), *G20 Governance for a Globalized World* (draft manuscript available on reserve at Trinity College Library)
- Alexandroff, Alan and Andrew Cooper, eds. (2010), *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance* (Brookings Institution Press: Washington, D.C.). Chapters by Kirton, Alexandroff and Kirton, Ikenberry, and Slaughter and Hale.
- Kirton, John (2005), "Toward Multilateral Reform: The G20's Contribution," in Andrew F. Cooper, John English and Ramesh Thakur, eds., *Reforming Multilateral Institutions from the Top: A Leaders 20 Summit* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press), pp. 141-168.
- 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.
- \*Hajnal, Peter (2007), *The G8 System and the G20: Evolution, Role and Documentation* (Ashgate: Aldershot), pp. 151-7.
- \*Hillman, Jennifer (2010), *Saving Multilateralism: Renovating the House of Global Economic Governance for the 21<sup>st</sup> 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.
- \*Helleiner, Gerald (2001), "Markets, Politics and Globalization: Can the Global Economy Be Civilized?" *Global Governance* 7: 243-263.

## **6. Explaining Compliance and Accountability in G8/G20 Governance (October 19)**

To what extent and under what conditions do G8 members and other countries abide by the collective commitments (and principled/normative consensus) forged at the summit? How and why does the pattern of compliance vary by time period, participating country and issue area?

*Making*, Chapters 5, 13, 14

- Kokotsis, Ella and Joseph Daniels (1999), "G8 Summits and Compliance," *Role*, 75-94.
- Kirton, John and Ella Kokotsis (2004), "Keeping Faith with Africa: Assessing Compliance with the G8's Commitments at Kananaskis and Evian," in Princeton Lyman and Robert Browne, eds., *Freedom, Prosperity and Security: The G8 Partnership with Africa* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations).
- Larionova, Marina (2007), "Monitoring Compliance with St. Petersburg Summit Commitments," *Russia in World Affairs* 5 (April-June): 70-81.
- G8 (2010), *Muskoka Accountability Report: Assessing action and results against development-related commitments* (Ottawa: Government of Canada).

- \*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, No. 3 (March):192-199.
- \*Kirton, John (2006), "Explaining Compliance with G8 Finance Commitments: Agency, Institutionalization and Structure," *Open Economies Review* 17 (November).
- \*Kokotsis, Eleonore (1999), *Keeping International Commitments: Compliance, Credibility and the G7, 1988-1995* (New York: Garland), especially pages 3-36, 267-289.
- \*Li, Quan (2001), "Commitment Compliance in G7 Summit Macroeconomic Policy Coordination," *Political Research Quarterly* 54 (June): 355-378.
- \*Von Furstenberg, George and Joseph Daniels (1991), "Policy Undertakings by the Seven 'Summit' Countries: Ascertaining the Degree of Compliance," *Carnegie-Rochester Conference Series of Public Policy* 35: 267-308.
- \*Baliamoune, Mina (2000), "Economics of Summitry: An Empirical Assessment of the Economic Effects of Summits," *Empirica* 27: 295-314.
- \*Von Furstenburg, George (2008), "Performance Measurement under Rational International Overpromising Regimes," *Journal of Public Policy*.

## 7. **Reforming the G8/G20** (October 26)

To ensure optimal performance, what membership and participation, agenda, format, process, communiqués, institutions, relations with the media and civil society, timing and location should the G8 and G20 have? How do their choices interrelate to affect performance? How can and should the G8/G20 reconcile the competing claims of representativeness, inclusiveness, legitimacy, trans-regional co-operation, open democratic values, and timely and preventative responsiveness to global problems? What are the various empirical, ideal and prospective models of each as an international institution? What should their relationship with each other be?

- Bayne, Nicholas (2005), "Do We Need the G8 Summit? Lessons from the Past, Looking Ahead to the Future," *New Perspectives* 15-29.
- Hodges, Michael (1999), "The G8 and the New Political Economy," *Role*, 69-74.
- Kirton, John (2007), "The Future G8 after St. Petersburg," *Russia in World Affairs* 5 (April-June): 56-69.
- Kirton, John (2005), "The G8: An Agenda for Reform," in Maurice Fraser, ed., *The Gleneagles G8 Summit* (London: Agora Publications).
- Hajnal, Peter (2007), *The G8 System and the G20: Evolution, Role and Documentation* (Ashgate: Aldershot), pp. 95-140, 159-78.
- Hajnal, Peter (2002), "Partners or Adversaries? The G7/8 Encounters Civil Society," in Kirton and Takase, 211-224.
- \*Cooper, Andrew (2008), *Celebrity Diplomacy*, (Paradigm Publishers: Boulder)
- \*Dobson, Hugo (2008), "Where are the Women at the G8?" at [www.g8.utoronto.ca](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca)
- \*Ikenberry, John (1993), "Salvaging the G7," *Foreign Affairs* 72 (Spring): 132-139.
- \*Penttila (2003), 75-88.



## **PART B: The G8 Diplomacy of the Members**

Part B shifts to comparative foreign policy to examine the role of the participating countries and organizations toward and within the G8/G20. How important is the G8/G20 to an actor, given the alternative international institutions and instruments available? What roles, issues and functions does the actor emphasize within the G8? Who and what are the actor's characteristic allies, adversaries, coalition strategies and tactics? How often and how does it prevail? What explains the performance of individual countries? The summit diplomacy of four actors, selected according to student interest from the list below, will be explored.

8. November 2
9. November 16
10. November 23
11. November 30
12. December 7: G8 Summit Simulation (see below)

A more complete set of readings will be issued for each session, once it is determined which sessions will be selected this year. The following citations, drawn largely from the key texts and works, will allow everyone to start early. Use Penttila (2003) for all countries.

### **8. Canada**

- Kirton, John (2007), "Concert Diplomacy in the Group of Eight," in John Kirton, *Canadian Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (Toronto: Thomson Nelson), 413-430, or
- Kirton, John (2007), "Canada as a G8 Principal Power," in Duane Bratt and Christopher Kukucha, eds., *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas* (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 298-315. (see updated chapter in new edition if available)
- Kirton, John (1995), "The Diplomacy of Concert: Canada, the G7 and the Halifax Summit," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 3 (Spring): 63-80. Web.

### **9. The United States**

- Kirton, John (2005), "America at the G8: from Vulnerability to Victory at the Sea Island Summit," *New Perspectives*, 31-50.
- May, Bernhard (2005), "The G8 in a Globalizing World: Does the United States Need the G8?" *New Perspectives*, 67-81.
- Penttila, Risto (2005), "Advancing American Security Interests through the G8," *New Perspectives*, 83- 104.
- Rugman, Alan (2005), "U.S. Energy Security and Regional Business," *New Perspectives*, 153-167.

### **10. Japan**

Dobson, Hugo (2004), *Japan and the G7/8, 1975-2002* (London: RoutledgeCurzon), 1-12, 140-189.

Dobson, Hugo (2004), "Japan and the G8 Evian Summit: Bilateralism, East Asianism and Multilateralization," *G8 Governance* 9 (February): 1-17. Web

Kirton, John (1998), "The Emerging Pacific Partnership: Japan, Canada, and the United States at the G7 Summit," in Michael Fry, John Kirton and Mitsuru Kurosawa, eds., *The North Pacific Triangle: The United States, Japan and Canada at Century's End* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 292- 313.

## 11. Britain

Bayne, Nicholas (2007), in *Financing*, 25-42, 263-280

Payne, Anthony (2007), "Blair, Brown and the Gleneagles Agenda: Making Poverty History or Confronting the Global Politics of Unequal Development?" *Financing*, 79-98. (Also in *International Affairs* 2006 82(5): 917-935.

Kirton, John (2007), in *Financing*, 53-78

## 12. France

Defarges, Philippe Moreau (1994), "The French Viewpoint on the Future of the G7," *International Spectator* 29 (April/June): 177-185. Web.

Fратиanni, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton eds. (2007), *Corporate, Public and Global Governance: the G8 Contribution* (Ashgate: Aldershot). Chapters by Olivier Giscard d'Estaing, John Kirton and Victoria Panova, and Pierre Jacquet

## 13. Germany

Kirton, John (2003), "After Westphalia: Security and Freedom in the G8's Global Governance," in Thomas Jager, Gerhard Kummel, Marika Lerch, and Thomas Noetzel, eds., *Security and Freedom: Foreign Policy, Domestic Politics and Political Theory Perspectives* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft), 94-107.

Kirton, John, Joseph Daniels and Andreas Freytag, eds. (2001), *Guiding Global Order: G8 Governance in the Twenty-First Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate). Chapters by Freytag, Donges and Tillman, Dluhosch, Schwegmann, and Theuringer.

## 14. Italy

Bayne, Nicholas (2001), "G8 Decisionmaking and the Genoa Summit," *International Spectator* 36 (July-September): 69-75.

Cesare Merlini and G. Garavoglia (1994), "The Future of the G7 Summits," *International Spectator* 29 (April-June).

## 15. Russia

*Making*, Chapter 10

Panova, Victoria, *Financing*, 99-119

Panova, Victoria (2005), "Russia in the G8: From Sea Island 2004 to Russia 2006," *New Perspectives*, 51-66.

## 16. European Union

Larionova, Marina, ed. (2009), *The EU in the G8: Promoting Consensus and Concerted Actions for Global Public Good* (Moscow: State University – Higher School of Economics Publishing House).

Huigens, Judith and Arne Niemann (2009), "The EU within the G8: A Case of Ambiguous and Contested Actorness," *EU Diplomacy Papers 5* (Bruges: College of Europe), 1-36.

Kirton, John (2003), "Co-operation between the EU and the G8 in Conflict Prevention," in Jan Wouters and Vincent Kronenberger, eds., *The European Union and Conflict Prevention* (The Hague: TMC Asser Press).

## 17. China

Kirton, John (2008), "Strengthening Global Governance: The G8, China and the Heiligendamm Process," *International Review 4*: 45-52. (In Chinese).

Kirton, John (2007), "Toward a G13? The G8, China and the Heiligendamm Process." Paper prepared for delivery at Shanghai International Studies University, Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, Soochow University and Fudan University, Shanghai, China, December 17-20, 2007.

Kirton, John J. (2001). "The G7/8 and China: Toward a Close Association." In John Kirton, Joseph Daniels and Andreas Freytag, eds., *Guiding Global Order: G8 Governance in the Twenty-First Century*, 189–222. (Aldershot: Ashgate).

Kirton, John (1999). "The G7 and China in the Management of the International Financial System." Paper prepared for forum on "China in the 21st Century and the World," sponsored by the China Development Institute, the China International Center for Economic and Technical Exchange and the National Institute for Research Advancement, Japan, Shenzhen, China, November 11–12. <[www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/kirton199903](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/kirton199903)>.

Students may present on the other major contenders of India, Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, Korea, or Turkey if there is sufficient literature and language skills to make this feasible.

## 18. The G8 Summit Simulation (December 7)

For this final session of the seminar, students will assume the roles of all members and participants of the G8 (plus guests) and simulate the forthcoming G8 Summit. A draft communiqué (chair's statement) will be produced in advance for consideration during the

seminar. Students will be evaluated as part of their presentation and participation mark.

### **PART C: G8/G20 Governance of Individual Issue Areas (Second Term)**

A reading list will be circulated once selections are made. Start by reading the relevant chapters in *Making* and in *New Perspectives*.

- 1. Global Financial Crises.** The core role of the G8/G20 in crisis management has arisen recurrently in the field of finance, most recently in Mexico 1994-95, in the Asian-turned-global financial crisis of 1997-98, in Turkey and Argentina in 2001-02, and in the American-bred-global credit crisis of 2007-09. How and why has the G8, its component G7, and its G20 since 1999 served as the system stabilizer, and how well has it used crises to construct a new regime?
- 2. International Financial Architecture Reform.** Reforming the international monetary and financial system, the summit's seminal purpose and accomplishment in 1975, returned as a priority issue in the mid 1990s with the 50th anniversary of the Bretton Woods system and the effort since 1997 to construct a new international financial architecture for a globalizing world. It has also arisen in regard to "voice and vote" and "mission and mandate" at the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. How, how well, and why has the G8/G20 performed this system reform role?
- 3. Financial Regulation and Supervision.** The 1995 collapse of Barings Bank and the Asian financial crisis of 1997, together with the process of globalization, gave the G8, G20, and Financial Stability Forum a growing interest in improving banking and private financial system surveillance. The broader concern with money laundering and terrorist financing intensified this interest. The emergence of major corporate scandals in the 21st century and the growing awareness of the role of corporate responsibility in growth, development, and conflict have heightened their concern with firm and government roles in a responsible market economy. The 2007-09 global credit crisis has placed financial supervision and regulation at the centre of attention again.
- 4. Exchange Rate Management and Monetary Policy.** The G7 at the first summit in 1975 instituted a new regime of managed floating exchange rates. It again proved its efficacy in the Plaza and Louvre Accords of 1985 and 1987 and, less clearly, in the adjustment of the dollar-yen exchange rate in the summer of 1995, the U.S.-Japan joint intervention of June 1998 and subsequently. Yet its poor compliance record on this issue, the limited ability of many G7 governments to control their central banks, and the rise of massive daily foreign exchange trading in the globalizing 1990s, call into question what the G7/G20 can and should do, even as the advent of the euro and rise of China with an undervalued currency and fixed exchange rate generate a new need for management for strong, sustainable and balanced growth.
- 5. Macroeconomic Policy.** A core G8/G20 concern is macroeconomic policy co-ordination, through the large package deals of Bonn 1978, the move toward convergence in the 1980s, and

the emphasis on fiscal consolidation and anti-inflation measures in the 1990s. The return of a synchronous slowdown in all three G7 regions in 2001 brought this issue back to the forefront, with a new interest in generating sustained productivity-based growth. The G8 then seemed to leave the issue to the G20. Why do countries sometimes co-ordinate rather than merely co-operate or consult, is comprehensive macroeconomic co-ordination necessary or desirable in a globalizing age, and how and why will the G20's Framework on Strong, Sustainable and Balanced Growth work?

6. **Employment.** The G8's concern with microeconomic policy, particularly employment, dates back to its earliest days, with structural reform of members' economies a growing concern. The year 1994 bred a ministerial forum on employment, 1998 the choice of employment as a summit focus, and 2003 a spontaneous discussion of structural reform. Is globalization making microeconomic issues more a subject of international and G8 co-operation? How effective is the G8's "compare-and-contrast" best practices approach? Is more active co-ordination possible and desirable?
7. **Social Policy and Education.** Since 1988, the G8 has given increasing attention to social policy, including literacy, education, pension reform, aging, cultural diversity, and other once fully domestic issues, both within and beyond G8 members. This trend peaked at the 2006 summit, where education was a priority theme. What has the G8 and now G20 accomplished, beyond the work of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), International Labour Organization, UNESCO, the World Summit on Sustainable Development, and the UN Millennium Summit?
8. **The New Electronic Economy and Information Technology.** While the G7 has long dealt with information technology, most notably at the 1982 summit, it became deeply and continuously involved with its mid 1990s Global Information Society Initiative. This gave rise to separate ministerial meetings with expanding membership, an important role for the EU, and the first direct involvement of multinational corporations. By Okinawa 2000, the issue had broadened to embrace the new electronic economy, become a focus for the leaders, and prompt innovative new principles and processes, with a new charter and "Dot Force." It has arisen in various guises since.
9. **Multilateral Trade.** Trade has been a continuing, core concern of the summit since the start. Leaders have helped conclude the Tokyo Round, launch the Uruguay Round (with disciplines on agricultural subsidies), conclude the round in 1993, and launch the Doha "round" in November 2001. But they have done little to successfully conclude Doha and the ministerial Quadrilateral has fallen into disuse. How and how much has the G8/G20 and Trade Ministers Quadrilateral contributed to multilateral trade liberalization and containing protectionism? Why has the G8/G20 at times been relatively successful in co-operation and compliance in this field? Why are they having such difficulty in getting the Doha "round" done?

- 10. Investment, Competition Policy, and Intellectual Property.** In a globalizing world of integrated production, trade is becoming fused with foreign direct investment (FDI) and corporate alliances. The G8 focused on the regulation of FDI, including the failed effort to reach a Multilateral Agreement on Investment at the OECD, and the operations of multinational corporations themselves, through a concern with competition policy. It addressed intellectual property in the Heiligendamm Process. The G20 has been involved too.
- 11. Development.** Development has been a constant concern of the G8/G20. Emphasis has shifted from the north-south “dialogue” of the 1970s to the debt crisis of the 1980s, the debt of the poorest during the 1990s, and more recently the integration of the poor into the international economic system and poverty reduction in Africa. Development, with official development assistance, debt relief and the Millennium Development Goals at the core, have dominated G8 summits in recent years. The G20 Seoul Summit in 2010 promises a new approach.
- 12. Energy and Nuclear Safety.** The seminal focus on energy receded after the second oil shock of 1979 but has become more prominent with the advent of President George Bush, G8 energy ministerial meeting, the 2003 war against Iraq, ongoing concerns about climate change and oil prices spiking to historic highs in 2008. Energy security served as the primary theme at the Summit in 2006. Particularly since the Chernobyl nuclear explosion just prior to the 1986 Tokyo Summit, with the disintegration of the USSR, and with more recent nuclear accidents in other G8 countries such as nuclear-sensitive Japan, the G8 has also tried to ensure the safety of civilian nuclear reactors in the former USSR, including through such innovations as the first and only subject-specific, intersessional summit — the Nuclear Safety Summit in Moscow in 1996. The closure of the final Chernobyl reactor in December 2000 shows the success of the G8 in this realm.
- 13. The Environment and Climate Change.** After inventing global climate change governance in 1979 the G8 has had, since the mid 1980s, a growing concern with environmental issues and above all climate change, supported by the emergence of a G8 environment ministers’ forum in 1992. How and why has the G8 been effective in advancing the global environmental agenda, especially in the lead-up and follow-up to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in June 1992, and the World Summit on Sustainable Development in September 2002 and at Gleneagles in 2005, and in shaping the post-Kyoto regime since 2005. The Major Economies Meeting/Forum and G20 have also addressed climate change.
- 14. Health and Infectious Disease.** From an initial interest in cancer, and a subsequent concern with AIDS, through a focus on malaria at the 1998 Birmingham Summit, to the creation of the Global Health Fund starting at Okinawa 2000 and culminating at Genoa 2001, the G8 has developed a substantial concern with international public health and infectious disease. September 11 added a direct security dimension and a ministerial institution to its public health work. The 2006 St. Petersburg Summit highlighted health as a priority theme and it has been a major agenda item at summits ever since. The Muskoka Initiative on Maternal, Newborn, and Child Health was the centrepiece in 2010.

- 15. Crime and Corruption.** This issue area has long had drugs and money laundering at its core. Attention expanded to embrace people smuggling, nuclear, and weapons smuggling, intellectual property theft, and cybercrime. It has increasingly embraced corruption, which the G20 took up in 2010.
- 16. Terrorism.** Terrorism, from skyjacking in the 1970s through Libya in 1986 to the Middle East in 1996, has been a recurrent focus of the G8, a major continuing concern since Osama Bin Laden's terrorist network began targeting G8 members in 1993 and the G8 summit itself in 1996, and an overriding focus of the G8 and G20 since September 11, 2001. How effective has G8 action been?
- 17. East-West Relations and Russia.** Since the start, the G8 has co-ordinated the democratic world's economic response to the Soviet Union, its successor republics, and Central and Eastern Europe. It has had varying success, from its consensus on bank lending to the USSR at Puerto Rico 1976 to the failure over gas pipeline sanctions in the early 1980s. During the 1980s and 1990s, this issue rose to dominate, as the G8 became the primary vehicle through which the democratic world managed the end of the Cold War and democratic and market reform in Russia and Central and Eastern Europe, largely through the use of financial assistance and institutional inclusion in the new G8. Making Russia a full partner and deeply democratic polity remains an ongoing challenge, especially after Russia's invasion of Georgia in August 2008.
- 18. Arms Control and Non-Proliferation.** The east-west arms race and the proliferation of nuclear weapons and delivery systems have been continuing concerns of the G8, with major advances in 1976, 1983, 1991, and 1998 (with the Indian and Pakistan nuclear explosions). It became a centrepiece at Kananaskis in 2002 and after, with the G8's Global Partnership Against Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction against weapons and materials of mass destruction.
- 19. Regional Security.** Since the 1980s, the G8 has increasingly focused on critical regional conflicts such as those in Kosovo, the rest of the former Yugoslavia, the Korean peninsula, the Middle East (including the Persian Gulf and Iraq) and Afghanistan. Its attention has spanned all of the world's major regions and many of its minor regions. The G8 also acquired a major role in the governance of combat operations, with the war to liberate Kosovo starting on March 24, 1999.
- 20. Conflict Prevention and Human Security.** The 1999 Cologne Summit and the December 1999 Berlin foreign ministers meeting brought conflict prevention and the broader issues of humanitarian intervention and human security to the forefront of the G8's agenda. The 2000 Okinawa Summit moved from principles to concrete action in this domain. The momentum led some to fear and others to welcome the fact that the G8 might here be creating in practice a de facto alternative to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) as the centre of global security governance.

**21. Democratization and Human Rights.** From its seminal and continuous concern with democratization and good governance, through its interest in apartheid in South Africa, and human rights in China (with Tiananmen Square in 1989 and the Hong Kong transition in 1997), the G8 has sought to promote this core element of its fundamental normative order, against a Westphalian order and United Nations committed to the constitutional principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states. Democratization has also been a concern in the G20 since its start.

**22. United Nations Reform.** Since it selected this subject as the major theme for Halifax in 1995, the G8 has tried to reform the economic, social, and political institutions of the United Nations, including its specialized agencies and in the security sphere. In 2003, host President Jacques Chirac's interest in a "Council of Economic and Social Security" kept the subject alive. The quest of Japan and Germany for a permanent seat on the UNSC has done so since.

### **ASSIGNMENTS:**

The **Critical Analytical Review** should follow the general form of book or literature reviews in scholarly journals. Although there are many reviews of G7/8 related books (see below for examples), these are generally much weaker than what is required here. Your critical review should deal with both the overall book and its individual chapters. In a balanced fashion but with a clear overall argument, address such questions as:

1. What is the author's/editor(s)' stated purpose(s) central thesis, argument, and explicit or underlying analytical or causal model?
2. What is your overall thesis about or evaluation of the book?
3. How logically integrated, consistent and complete is the author's/editor(s)' argument or model?
4. How well is the argument or model supported by the evidence as assembled and interpreted by the author? Does this evidence point to anomalies, puzzles, or alternative patterns?
5. How well does the argument/model account for other evidence from the same or a subsequent time period, as you have encountered it in other reading for the course to date?
6. How does the argument compare, in quality and substance, with alternative explanations you have encountered in your reading for the course to date?
7. How would you refine (if you do not reject) the authors'/editor(s)' argument to better account for the evidence?
8. How adequate is the author's argument as a general model of G8/G20 performance? That is, how well does it explain the full range of issue areas, time periods and G8/G20 functions (domestic political management, deliberation, direction setting, decision making, delivery, and development of global governance)?
9. How well does it relate to, draw from or contribute in turn to more general theories of international institutions and global governance?
10. How logically related, practical and appealing are any judgements it might have on reform of the summit process?
11. How prescient have its predictions, projections and prescriptions (proposals) been?



12. How well have the stated purposes of the book been achieved and what is its overall contribution to G8/G20 literature?

You may wish to start by reading Tony Porter's review of the Hodges, Kirton, and Daniels book in the *International Journal* 55 (Spring 2000), pp. 337-338; Heidi Ullrich's review of the Hodges, Kirton, and Daniel's book in *Millennium* vol. 29, no. 1 (2000), pp. 222-224, or Raquel Arguedas's review of Kirton, Daniels, and Freytag in *Millennium* (2002): 165-166. Graduate students will be expected to use primary research materials in their essays and to make major use of the works on underlying international relations theory.

The **Compliance Assessment** begins with the choice of a commitment from a recent summit that deals with the issue your second term seminar presentation will be on. A G8 commitment (from 2009 or earlier, not yet done by anyone) will cover the compliance of its nine members over the subsequent full year. A G20 commitment (from Toronto 2010 or earlier, not yet done by anyone) will cover the compliance of the 20 members (including the EU) over the shorter period until the subsequent summit was held (e.g., the four and a half months from Toronto on June 27, 2010 to Seoul on November 11, 2010). Your assessment will follow the framework outlined in the coding manual and the compliance reports done by the G8 Research Group and listed at <[www.g8.utoronto.ca](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca)>. Each assessment will cover in turn:

1. The *Commitment*, reproduced in its full text;
2. The *Background and Context* of the commitment its recent history and context in the G8/G20;
3. *Definitions* of key term in the commitment, from the manual or the dictionary
4. *General Interpretive Guidelines* (the "law") from the coding manual that are relevant;
5. *Commitment Specific Interpretive Guidelines* that you specify for this commitment;
6. *Scoring Rules*, specifying what thresholds must be met to assign a -1, 0 or +1 score
7. The *Summary Table* reporting the results
8. An *Analysis* of the patterns in the results, including an inductive identification of their causes;
9. An *Annex* of country compliance outlining the evidence and interpretation for its score.

The **Research Essay** will cover the entire topic, not just the section you presented in class. You may exchange ideas and data but not text with your presentation partner(s) to avoid any dangers of plagiarism. Your paper and presentation will address in turn the following questions.

A. Essays on the Summit Process:

Introduction: What is the scholarly and policy significance of the subject? What are the major competing schools of thought (and especially current debates) and the major authors and arguments in each? How sound is the logic and evidence for each, what puzzles do each produce, and what are the major points of disagreement among them? What underlying theories of international politics and co-operation do they reflect? What is your central argument? Then proceed to outline your arguments and evidence.

## B. Essays on Summit Members:

1. Introduction: What is the scholarly and policy significance of the subject? What are the major competing schools of thought (and especially current debates) and the major authors and arguments in each? What puzzles does each school present? What is your thesis about how and why the country behaves toward and in the G8?
2. Overview of the country's performance, according to each international institutional function, based on available systematic evidence from 1975 to the present.
3. History of the country's behaviour in the G8 from 1975 to the present, with a focus on the place of the G8 in the country's foreign policy, the outsiders it represents, its key issues, initiatives, allies, adversaries, strategies and success, and its G8 diplomacy at key summits for it, above all those it hosts.
4. Causes of summit performance. What explains the country's focus on, activity in and success at the G7/8? Assess explanations based on vulnerability and shocks, interdependence-globalization, international institutional adequacy, overall and issue structure, shared social purpose, national interests and distinctive national values, and societal, state and individual factors.
5. Conclusion. How well does your thesis and the competing schools work? What does this case say about how well the overall models of G8 performance work?

## C. Essays on Policy Areas

### A. Introduction

1. What is the theoretical and policy significance of this case?
2. What is the debate among competing schools of thought that describe and explain the G8/G20's role and performance and their causes in this specific issue area (as distinct from the major causal models that explain G8/G20 performance as a whole)?
3. What unexplained patterns or "puzzles" are left from each of these existing schools?
4. What is your thesis – your central argument - about G8 performance and its key causes?
5. How do you define the issue area for purposes of this analysis?

### B. An Overview of G8/G20 Performance Patterns

What is the available systematic, often quantitative, evidence on the overall pattern of G8 performance on this issue in the G8/G20's:

1. overall achievement; (For evidence see, inter alia, Putnam and Bayne (1987); Bayne (2000, p. 195); the G8 Research Group Performance Assessments; the Kokotsis, Kirton, Juricevic scores on significant commitments; and G8 Research Group Personal Evaluations.)
2. domestic political management;
3. deliberative agenda setting and learning;
4. directional principle and norm setting;
5. decisional commitment;
6. delivery through remit mandates, resource mobilization, member compliance, and moral suasion;
7. development of global governance within the G8 and through the multilateral system.
8. How well has the summit performed on this issue across its various functions at each annual encounter, in hosting cycle, or within each phase?

#### C. Critical Cases in G8/G20 Diplomacy

What critical cases in G8/G20 diplomacy on this issue have produced the peaks, depths and turning points in these patterns of performance? What are the cases at individual summits where the G8 has produced its greatest successes and failures on this issue? In each case (usually between three to six), use the process tracing or historical method, to identify the member's initiative, alignment, and bargaining or persuasion dynamics that produce high or low performance. Identify what causes, especially in the consciousness of the actors involved, produced the observed result.

#### D. Causes of G7 Performance

What does a detailed historical process-tracing of each Summit's treatment of the policy area suggest are the major proximate, most closely connected causes of high performance? How and how well are variations in G8/G20 performance explained by variations in the major causal factors at different levels of analysis, notably:

1. Relative Vulnerability (Global Problem/Demand, Interdependence, Sensitivity, Vulnerability, Shocks):
2. Relative International Institutional Capacity and performance of bodies outside and inside the G8/G20;
3. Relative Capability among members and among countries and actors in the global system;
4. Common Principles (Charter, identities/values, epistemes, historical lessons and policy failures);
5. Political Control, Capital, Continuity and Competence of the leaders;
6. Constricted, Controlled, Club Participation (membership, outside participation, civil society, and Summit format);
7. Other Factors

#### **INFORMATION SOURCES**

All the books and weekly readings are on reserve at Trinity College's John Graham Library.

They are on two-hour in-library reserve for the first copy, but there may be additional copies available for overnight takeout. A collection of published material should also exist in the Robarts Library.

A comprehensive, authoritative and up-to-date source of information and analysis on the G8 is available at the G8 Information Centre at <[www.g8.utoronto.ca](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca)>. It contains an 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 contains links to other G8 sites.

The physical version of the materials on the G8 Information Centre website, together with additional documentation and audio recording of briefings at the summit, is available at the G8 Research Collection at Trinity's John Graham Library. Special arrangements are required to access these materials.

For an overview of G7/8 documentation see Peter Hajnal (1998), "The Documentation of the G7/G8 System" *G8 Governance* 4 (June). Web.

For broader guidance see Ronald Deibert (1998), "Virtual Resources: International Relations Research Resources on the Web," *International Organization* 52 (Winter): 211-223.