

POL456Y/2256Y

## **The G8, the G20 and Global Governance**

University of Toronto, St. George Campus  
Fall 2014-Spring 2015

Thursday 10 am -12 noon, University College 326 (UC 326)  
Course websites: [www.g8.utoronto.ca](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca) <[www.g20.utoronto.ca](http://www.g20.utoronto.ca)>

### **Professor John Kirton**

Office: Munk School of Global Affairs, 1 Devonshire Place, Room 209N

Office Hours: Tuesday 2.00-4.00 p.m.

Email: [john.kirton@utoronto.ca](mailto:john.kirton@utoronto.ca) [*include "POL456" in subject line*]

Telephone: 416-946-8953

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This course examines the development, participation, and performance of global summit governance, through a focus on the Group of Eight (G8) and Group of Twenty (G20) as informal, “soft law” plurilateral summit international institutions and their relationship with the “hard law” multilateral organizations of the United Nations (UN) and Bretton Woods bodies, especially in the post–Cold War, globalizing, post–September 11th 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 and other plurilateral summit institutions such as the BRICS of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. It then assesses alternative models developed to describe and explain the performance of the G8, G20 and BRICS on 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, starting with Canada, the United States, Japan, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, the European Union and China. Such actors are explored individually and as they come together in a possible G8 summit simulation at the end of the second term. In the second term the focus is on how, how well and why the G8 or G20 governs 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 effective centres of global governance in the 21st century. They are doing so in competition, cooperation and combination 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 ongoing demands for reform. The core task is to explain these variations, as an aid to testing and building theories of international relations and for offering prescriptions for potentially far-reaching global governance action and change.

The first eight weeks of the course follow a fixed sequence dealing in turn with basic dimensions of global governance, the G8, G20, and BRICS. The next four weeks examine the G8 and G20 diplomacy of selected members. After the first seminar, students will present and lead the weekly sessions, with the instructor commenting primarily at the end of each seminar. Topics for presentations will be chosen in the first week. During the second term, students will present and lead each week on G8/G20 governance of a selected issue area, possibly with a G8 simulation at the end.

## Requirements

Each student will be responsible for:

1. A critical book review essay of 2,500 words on John Kirton (2013), *G20 Governance for a Globalized World*, due by 10:00 a.m., Thursday, November 27 (the last class of the first term), for 20% of the overall course grade;
2. A report on the compliance of the member countries with one recent G8 or G20 commitment; delivered to the instructor on paper and electronically, due at the beginning of the class on February 26, 2015 (the first class after the spring reading week), for 20% of the overall course grade;
3. Active participation in all seminars, any simulation and the presentation and chairing in two seminars (one each term), for 20% of the overall course grade;
4. A major research essay of 5,000 words based on your presentation, due at 4:00 p.m. Thursday, on April 2, 2014 (at the start of the last class), for 40% of the course grade.

## Late Penalty and Policy

The late penalty is 2% of the assignment grade per calendar day (without eligible cause, as approved by the instructor in advance). Eligible causes for extension are unforeseen medical and dental, non-curricular paid work-related and disruptive personal relationship interruptions. Students should keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before and after handing them in to the instructor. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned and the grades posted on ROSI. Note: Plagiarism is a serious academic offense and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see Writing at the University of Toronto, at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>

## Basic Required Texts

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

Kirton, John (2013), *G20 Governance for a Globalized World* (Farnham: Ashgate).  
 (“*G20 Governance*”)

## Core Monographs on Major Models of G8 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”). (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”)
- Penttilä, 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). (“Staying”)
- Bailin, Alison (2005), *From Traditional to Group Hegemony: The G7, the Liberal Economic Order and the Core-Periphery Gap* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (group hegemony)
- Fратиани, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds. (2005), *New Perspectives on Global Governance: Why America Needs the G8* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (transformational governance) (“New Perspectives”)
- Baker, Andrew (2006), *The Group of Seven: Finance Ministers, Central Banks and Global Financial Governance* (London: Routledge). (ginger group)
- Also useful are the short articles and issues available in the summit-specific books from Newsdesk publications available on the G8 Information Centre at <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/newsdesk>.

## Other Recommended Works on the G8 and G20

- Marina Larionova and John Kirton, eds. (forthcoming 2015), *The G8-G20 Relationship* (Farnham: Ashgate), typescript available at Trinity College Library
- Freytag, Andreas, John Kirton, Razeen Sally and Paolo Savona, eds. (2011), *Securing the Global Economy: G8 Global Governance for a Post-Crisis World* (Farnham: Ashgate). (“Securing”)
- Savona, Paolo, John Kirton and Chiara Oldani, eds. (2011), *Global Financial Crisis: Global Impact and Solutions* (Farnham: Ashgate). (“Crisis”)
- Kirton, John, Marina Larionova and Paolo Savona, eds. (2010), *Making Global Economic Governance Effective: Hard and Soft Law Institutions in a Crowded World* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (“Making”)
- Larionova, Marina, ed. (2012), *The EU in the G8: Promoting Consensus and Concerted Actions for Global Public Goods* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Hajnal, Peter (2007), *The G8 System and the G20: Evolution, Role and Documentation* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (Also available in Russian and Chinese)
- 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).

## **Recommended Core Works on G20 Governance**

- Bradford, Colin and Wonhyuk Lim, eds. (2011), *Global Leadership in Transition: Making the G20 More Effective and Responsive* (Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution).
- 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).
- Cooper, Andrew and Ramesh Thakur (2013), *Group of Twenty (G20)* (Routledge; London).
- Hajnal, Peter (2014), *The G20: Evolution, Interrelationships, Documentation* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Hermawan, Yulius, Wulani Sriyuliani, Getruida and Sylvie Tanaga (2011), *The Role of Indonesia in the G-20: Background, Role and Objectives of Indonesia's Membership* (Jakarta: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung).
- Jokela, Juha (2011), *The G-20: A Pathway to Effective Multilateralism* (Chaillot Papers 125, Institute for Security Studies European Union, April).
- Kirton, John (2013), *G20 Governance for a Globalizing World* (Farnham: Ashgate).

- Larionova, Marina, ed. (2010), "G-X Summitry," *International Organizations Research Journal* 5 (Moscow: International Organizations Research Institute, Higher School of Economics).
- Lesage, Dries, ed. (2010), *The Future of the G8 and G20* (Egmont: The Royal Institute for International Relations, Brussels). (also in *Studia Diplomatica* 63, no. 2).
- Pentilla, Risto (2009), *Multilateralism Light: The Rise of Informal International Governance* (London: Centre for European Reform)
- Postel-Vinay, Karoline (2011), *Le G20, laboratoire d'un monde emergent*. (Paris: Les Presses de Sciences Po).
- Subacchi, Paolo and Andrew Cooper, eds. (2010), "Global Economic Governance in Transition," Special Issue of *International Affairs* 86 (May).

## Useful Resources on the G8 from Earlier Years

- 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).

Note: Other useful books are available only in Russian, Chinese or Portuguese. Ask the instructor for assistance or consult the G8 Information Centre and G20 Information Centre websites.

## Weekly Readings

The weekly readings, of manageable length, are listed below. Start with the pieces from the course text, where listed. Publications marked with an asterisk are recommended for all 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; the bibliography at the G20 Information Centre; and the most recent journals.

The weekly readings are on reserve in Trinity College's John Graham Library, located at the Munk School of Global Affairs. Students may by appointment use the G8 Research Room on the second floor of the library. Graduate students can secure access to the G8/G20 archives and artefacts for special projects. Many weekly readings are available on the G8 Information Centre website at <[www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar)> (indicated below

as “Web”). Some may also be available on the G20 Information Centre website at <www.g20.utoronto.ca/biblio>.

### **1. Introduction to the Course (September 11)**

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 18)**

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 respectively?

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

Kirton, John (2013), *G20 Governance*, pp. 3-40.

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

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.

\*Penttilä (2003), 5-32.

\*Payne, Anthony (2005), “The Study of Governance in a Global Political Economy,” in Nicola Phillips, ed. (2005), *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 25)**

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 centres 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, 3-62.

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. G8 Governance (October 2)

How, how well and for whom has the G8 governed and why? How has the G8 system grown since its 1975 start? 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 Penttilä; and
- the 2005 *transformational governance model* of Kirton, et al.

Kirton, John (2013), *G20 Governance*, 3-13, 449-453

- Kirton, John (2014), "Changing Global Governance for a Transformed World," in Marina Larionova and John Kirton, eds. (2015), *The G8-G20 Relationship* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Kirton John and Julia Kulik (2014), "The Role of Place in Global Governance: G20, G8 and BRICS Summitry," Paper presented at the panel TC60 on "The European Union in a Globalized World," Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Toronto, March 27.
- New Perspectives*, Chapter 15, 231-256.
- Securing*, Chapter 1, 3-21.
- 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. (1999), *Innovation in Multilateralism* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press).
- Penttilä (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. G20 Governance (October 9)

How, how well and for whom has the G20 governed at the ministerial and summit levels and why? What functions do the G20 meetings 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 do they perform them well? What are the essential features, strengths, and shortcomings of the model of systemic hub governance and other models being developed to describe and explain G20 performance?

- Kirton, John (2013), *G20 Governance for a Globalized World* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Kirton, John (2013), "Explaining G20 Summit Success," Paper prepared for a presentation to the Queensland Branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, Brisbane, December 17, 2013.
- Kirton, John (2014), "The Growing Success of G20 Summit Governance," paper presented at Chatham House, London, UK, February 8, 2014
- 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.
- Cooper, Andrew and Ramesh Thakur (2013), *Group of Twenty (G20)* (Routledge; London).

- Penttilä, 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).
- \*Bradford, Colin (2013), "Political Leadership Changes & the Future of the Global Economic Order," in *Major Economies Under New leadership: Policy Priorities and Challenges*, Institute for Global Economics 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference, Seoul, Korea, October 31, 2013.
- \*Alexandroff, Alan and Andrew Cooper, eds. (2010), *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press). Chapters by Kirton, Alexandroff and Kirton, Ikenberry, and Slaughter and Hale.
- \*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* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 151-7.
- \*Hillman, Jennifer (2010), *Saving Multilateralism: Renovating the House of Global Economic Governance for the 21st Century* (Washington DC: German Marshall Fund of the United States).
- \*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.
- \*Kirton, John (2013), "Political Leadership for Effective G20 Systemic Governance," in *Major Economies Under New Leadership: Policy Priorities and Challenges*, Institute for Global Economics 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference, Seoul, Korea, October 31, 2013.

## 6. BRICS Governance (October 16)

How, how well and for whom has the BRICS governed at the ministerial and summit levels and why? What functions do the BRICS meetings 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 do they perform them well? What are the essential features, strengths, and shortcomings of the models being developed to describe and explain BRICS performance?

- Kirton, John, Julia Kulik and Caroline Bracht), "Generating Global Health Governance through BRICS Summitry," *Contemporary Politics* 20:2 (June 2014): 146-162.
- Kirton, John (2014), "Changing Global Governance for a Transformed World," in Marina Larionova and John Kirton, eds. (2015), *The G8-G20 Relationship* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- \*Kirton, John (2013), "Prospects for the BRICS and G20 Summits through China's Contribution," *People's Daily Online*, March 22. <<http://www.brics.utoronto.ca/commentary/130322-kirton-peoplesdaily.html>>.
- \*Kirton, John (2013), "Burgeoning BRICS Consequences for Canada," paper prepared for a panel on "Boom or Bust! Rewards and Risks of Greater Canadian Integration

with the Emerging Nations of Brazil, Russia and South Africa,” Canadian International Council — Toronto Branch, Toronto, February 5.

<<http://www.brics.utoronto.ca/biblio/kirton-brics-canada-2013.pdf>>.

Kirton, John (2013), “The BRICS Summit at Durban and Beyond,” Article prepared for Julia Netesova, March 12. <<http://www.brics.utoronto.ca/commentary/130319-kirton-rosbalt-en.html>>

Kirton, John and Madeline Koch, eds. (2012), *BRICS New Delhi Summit 2012: Stability, security and prosperity* (Newsdesk Publications: London).

Republic of South Africa (2013), *BRICS: The Fifth BRICS Summit, Durban, South Africa* (Time Media, South Africa).

## 7. Compliance and Accountability in Global Summit Governance (October 23)

To what extent and under what conditions do G8, G20 and BRICS members and other countries and institutions abide by the collective commitments and mandates (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? How have different accountability mechanisms affected the compliance that results?

*Making*, Chapters 5, 13, 14, 89-107, 201-216, 217-229.

Kirton, John (2014), "Advancing G8 and G20 Effectiveness through Improved Accountability Assessment," in Marina Larionova and John Kirton, eds. (2014), *The G8-G20 Relationship* (Ashgate, Farnham).

Kirton, John (2013), “Advancing Accountability for Development and Growth,” Paper prepared for the Think Twenty Meeting, Sydney, Australia, December 11, 2013.

Kirton, John (2014), “Adding Accountability and Development to the Brisbane Summit Agenda,” Think Twenty Update, Lowy Institute, March 23.

Kokotsis, Ella and Joseph Daniels (1999), “G8 Summits and Compliance,” *Role*, 75-94.

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).

\**Keeping*, especially pages 3-36, 267-289.

\*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).

\*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*.

## 8. Reforming the G8/G20 (October 30)

To ensure optimal performance, what frequency and length, membership and participation, agenda, format, process, communiqués, institutions, relations with the media, civil society and engagements groups, schedule, location and facilities 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 cooperation, open democratic values, and timely and preventative responsiveness to global problems? What are the various empirical, ideal and prospective models 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.
- 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* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 95-140, 159-78.
- Hajnal, Peter (2002), "Partners or Adversaries? The G7/8 Encounters Civil Society," in Kirton and Takase, 211-224.
- \*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).
- \*Cooper, Andrew (2008), *Celebrity Diplomacy* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers).
- \*Dobson, Hugo (2008), "Where are the Women at the G8?" [www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/dobson-2008.html](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/dobson-2008.html)
- \*Ikenberry, John (1993), "Salvaging the G7," *Foreign Affairs* 72 (Spring): 132-139.
- \*Penttilä (2003), 75-88.

## PART B: G8/G20 DIPLOMACY OF THE MEMBERS

Part B shifts to a comparative foreign policy approach 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 and how often 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. There are advantages to selecting the incoming hosts: Germany for the G8 and Australia, Turkey and China for the G20.

**9. Summit Diplomacy: Actor #1: Australia and "Prospects for the Brisbane G20 as chosen by class (November 6)**

**10. Summit Diplomacy: Actor #2 as chosen by class (November 13)**

**11. Summit Diplomacy: Actor #3 as chosen by class (November 20)**

**12. Summit Diplomacy: Actor #4 (November 27) (Critical Book Review Essay due at start of class, which is the last class of term)**

**List of Readings by G8/G20 Member**

A more complete and updated 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 Penttilä (2003) for all members.

**A. Canada**

Kirton, John (2014), "Canada in the G20, Canadian Foreign Policy and Latin American Politics," Paper prepared for presentation at the University of Salamanca, Salamanca, Spain, February 16.

Kirton, John (2014), "Connecting Canada, Spain and the European Union through G20 Governance," Universidad Pontificia de Comillas, Madrid, Spain, February 12

Kirton, John, Caroline Bracht and Julia Kulik (2014), "The Political Process in Global Health Governance: The G8's 2010 Muskoka Initiative," *Annals of the New York Academy of Science*

Kirton, John (2015), "Working Together for G8-G20 Partnership: The Muskoka-Toronto Twin Summits of 2010," in Marina Larionova and John Kirton, eds. (2014), *The G8-G20 Relationship* (Ashgate, Farnham).

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.

*Securing* Chapter 13, 201-208 (Andrew Cooper).

\*Heinbecker, Paul (2011), "Canada's World Can Get a Lot Bigger: The Group of 20, Global Governance and Security," *SPP Research Papers* 4 (5) (May).

\*Smith, Gordon S. and Peter C. Heap (2010), "Canada, the G8 and the G20: A Canadian Approach to Shaping Global Governance in a Shifting International Environment," *SPP Research Papers* 3 (8) (November).

### ***B. United States***

Kirton, John (2005), "America at the G8: from Vulnerability to Victory at the Sea Island Summit," *New Perspectives*, pp. 31-50.

May, Bernhard (2005), "The G8 in a Globalizing World: Does the United States Need the G8?" *New Perspectives*, pp. 67-81.

Penttilä, Risto (2005), "Advancing American Security Interests through the G8," *New Perspectives*, pp. 83-104.

Rugman, Alan (2005), "U. S. Energy Security and Regional Business," *New Perspectives*, pp 153-167.

### ***C. 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, *The North Pacific Triangle: The United States, Japan and Canada at Century's End* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 292-313.

### ***D. United Kingdom***

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* 82: 5 (2006): 917-935.

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

### ***E. France***

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

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

### **F. Germany**

*Securing*, Chapter 12 and 13, 193-208 (Chapters Berend Diekmann, Andrew Cooper).

Kirton, John (2003), "After Westphalia: Security and Freedom in the G8's Global Governance," in Thomas Jäger, Gerhard Kummel, Marika Lerch, and Thomas Noetzel, eds., *Security and Freedom: Foreign Policy, Domestic Politics and Political Theory Perspectives* [Sicherheit und Freiheit] (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.

### **G. 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).

### **H. Russia**

*Securing*, Chapter 11, 179-192.

*Making*, Chapter 10 15, 16, 139-154, 231-266 (Nodari Simonia, John Kirton, Andrew Cooper)

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

Panova, Victoria, *Financing*, 99-119.

### **I. European Union**

Larionova, Marina, ed. (2012), *The EU in the G8: Promoting Consensus and Concerted Actions for Global Public Goods* (Farnham: Ashgate).

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).

### **J. China**

Kirton, John (2014), "China's G20 Diplomacy," Paper prepared for the "G20 and China" section of the second annual G20 Think Tank Conference of the Chongyang Institute for Financial Studies, Renmin University of China, Beijing, September 3-4, 2014. Long version of July 10, 2014.

- Kirton, John (2008), "Strengthening Global Governance: The G8, China and the Heiligendamm Process," *International Review* 4: 45-52. (In Mandarin).
- 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 J.J. Kirton, J. Daniels and A. 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," Shenzhen, China, November 11–12. [www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/kirton199903](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/kirton199903).

### **K. Brazil**

- Kirton, John (2011), "Brazil's Contribution to G20 and Global Governance," Paper prepared for the 16th ENERI Conference, Brasilia, May 18-19, 2011. [www.g20.utoronto.ca/biblio/kirton-eneri-110518.html](http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/biblio/kirton-eneri-110518.html)

### **L. Turkey**

- Kirton, John (2011), "Potential Partnership in Global Economic Governance: Canada's G20 Summit from Toronto to Turkey, Paper prepared for a presentation at TEPAV, Ankara, and DEIK, Istanbul, Turkey, June 7-8, 2010. Version of June 13, 2010. [www.g20.utoronto.ca/biblio/kirton-turkey-2010.pdf](http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/biblio/kirton-turkey-2010.pdf)
- Lesage, Dries, and Yusuf Kacar (2010), "Turkey's profile in the g20: Emerging Economy, Middle Power and Bridge Builder," *Studia Diplomatica* 63, pp, 125-140. (*The Future of the G8 and G20* (Egmont: The Royal Institute for International Relations, Brussels)

### **M. Indonesia**

- Hermawan, Yulius, Wulani Sriyuliani, Getruida and SylviE Tanaga (2011), *The Role of Indonesia in the G-20: Background, Role and Objectives of Indonesia's Membership* (Jakarta: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung).

### **N. Australia**

- Callaghan, Mike (2104), "International Economic Summits – Are They Worth The Effort?" *Caribbean Journal of International Relations and Diplomacy*

- Kirton, John (2012), "Prospects for the G20's Brisbane Summit 2014," Paper prepared for a presentation at Roy Harvey House, Brisbane, hosted by the Brisbane City Council and Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia, November 23, 2012. G20 Information Centre.

### **O. India**

Kirton, John (2103), “The Critical Connector: India’s Contribution to G20 Governance,” Paper prepared for an International Symposium in honour of Yoginder Alagh, “Towards a desirable future for India in an increasingly globalized society,” Organized by the Institute for Human Development, New Delhi, March 7-9, 2014.

Students may present on the other major G20 members if there is sufficient literature and language skills to make this feasible.

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

A reading list will be circulated once selections are made as to which issue areas will be presented. Start by reading the relevant chapters in *G20 Governance, Securing, Making and 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, in the American-turned global crisis of 2007 and the Euro-crisis in 2010. How and why has the G8, its component G7, and the G20 since 1999 served as the first responder and system stabilizer, and how well has it used crises to construct a new regime?

**2. International Financial Institution (IFI) Reform.** Reforming the international monetary and financial system, the G7 summit’s initial task and early accomplishment, 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 since arisen at the G20 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, the Asian financial crisis of 1997, the American crisis of 2008 and the European crisis of 2010 together with the process of globalization, gave the G8, G20 and Financial Stability Forum a growing interest in improving banking and private financial system regulation and supervision. The broader concern with money laundering and terrorist financing intensified this interest. The emergence of major corporate scandals in the twenty-first century and the growing awareness of the role of corporate responsibility in growth, development and conflict have heightened the concern with firm and government roles in a responsible market economy.

**4. Exchange Rate Management and Monetary Policy.** The G7 at its 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 G7 intervention, including in March 2011. 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, the rise of China with an undervalued currency and fixed exchange rate and the normalization of innovative monetary easing by 2014 generated a new need for exchange rate and monetary policy management for economic growth.

**5. Macroeconomic Policy.** A core G8/G20 concern is macroeconomic policy coordination, as seen in 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, stimulus in 2008 and fiscal consolidation and sustainability since 2010. A recurrent interest has been in generating sustained productivity-based and private sector-led growth. Why do countries sometimes coordinate rather than merely cooperate or consult. Is comprehensive macroeconomic coordination increasing, necessary or desirable in a globalizing age, and how and why does the G20's Framework on Strong, Sustainable and Balanced Growth work?

**6. Employment.** The G8's concern with microeconomic policy, particularly employment and youth unemployment, dates back to its earliest days, with structural reform of members' economies a growing concern. In 1994 there was a ministerial forum on employment, in 1998 employment was chosen as a focus at the summit and in 2003 there was a spontaneous discussion of structural reform at the summit. By 2013 young entrepreneurship has entered the G20's policy repertoire. Is globalization making microeconomic issues more a subject of international and G8 cooperation? How effective is the G8/G20's "compare-and-contrast" best practices approach? Is more active coordination possible and desirable?

**7. Social Policy and Education.** Since 1988, the G8 has given increasing attention to social policy, including literacy, education, pensions, aging, gender, cultural diversity and other once fully domestic issues, both within and beyond G8 members. This trend peaked for the 2006 St. Petersburg Summit, where education was a priority theme, but had grown at G20 summits since 2008. What have the G8 and now the G20 accomplished, beyond and with the work of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Summit on Sustainable Development and the United Nations Millennium Summit?

**8. Information Technology and Cyberspace.** While the G7/G8 has long dealt with information technology, most notably at the 1982 Versailles 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 European Union, and the first direct involvement of multinational corporations. By Okinawa in 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, most recently at the

Deauville G8 in May 2011. How are the G8 and G20 governing the cyberspace agenda now?

**9. Trade.** Trade has been a continuing, core concern of the summit since the start of G-summitry. Leaders have helped conclude the Tokyo Round of trade negotiations at the World Trade Organization (WTO), 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 conclude Doha successfully and the Trade Ministers Quadrilateral has fallen into disuse. How and how much have the G8/G20 and Quadrilateral contributed to multilateral trade liberalization and containing protectionism? Why has the G8/G20 at times been relatively successful in cooperation and compliance in this field? Why are they having such difficulty in getting Doha 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 on the operations of multinational corporations themselves, through a concern with competition policy. It has addressed intellectual property in the Heiligendamm Process. The G20 has been involved too. What advances have the G8 and G20 made?

**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 (ODA), debt relief and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) at the core, have dominated G8 summits in recent years. The G20 Seoul Summit in 2010 promised a new approach. What advances have the G8 and G20 made?

**12. Energy and Nuclear Safety.** The seminal focus on energy receded after the second oil shock of 1979 but became more prominent with the advent of U.S. president George W. Bush, the G8 energy ministers 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 2006 G8 St. Petersburg Summit. 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 the March 2011 disaster in 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. What advances have the G8 and G20 made?

**13. Climate Change and the Environment.** After inventing global climate change governance in 1979, since the mid 1980s the G8 has had 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, the World Summit on Sustainable Development in September 2002 and at Gleneagles in 2005? The Major Economies Meeting/Forum and the G20 have also addressed climate change. What role has the G8 played in shaping the post-Kyoto regime since 2005? What role can the G20 play?

**14. Health.** 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 Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria starting at Okinawa 2000 and culminating at Genoa 2001, the G8 has developed a substantial concern with international public health and infectious disease. September 11th 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 the issue has been a major agenda item at summits ever since. The Muskoka Initiative on Maternal, Newborn, and Child Health was the centrepiece in 2010. The G20 Seoul Summit addressed non-communicable disease. What advances have the G8 and G20 made?

**15. Crime and Corruption.** This issue area has long had drugs and money laundering at its core of the G8 agenda. Attention has expanded to include people smuggling, nuclear and weapons smuggling, intellectual property theft and cybercrime. It has increasingly included corruption, which the G20 took up in 2010. What advances have the G8 and G20 made?

**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 11th. How effective has G8 action been?

**17. East-West Relations and Russia.** Since the start, the G8 has coordinated 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 G8. Making Russia a full partner and deeply democratic polity remains an ongoing challenge, and a much more difficult one after Russia's invasion of Georgia in August 2008 and Ukraine in 2014. What approach have the G8 and G20 followed and to what effect?

**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 and at the 20's 2013 summit with the ensuing agreement to remove chemical weapons from conflict-ridden Syria. What advances have the G8 and G20 made?

**19. Regional Security (Middle East, Iran, Egypt, North Africa, Balkans-Kosovo, China).** 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 for Kosovo starting on March 24, 1999, and the one for Libya in 2011 and Mali since. What advances have the G8 and G20 made?

**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 as the centre of global security governance. What advances have the G8 and G20 made?

**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. What advances have the G8 and G20 made?

**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, French host 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 UN Security Council, and in 2011 French president Nicolas Sarkozy's proposed agenda for the G20 Cannes Summit have done so since. What advances have the G8 and G20 made?

Other issue areas can be considered for presentation in exceptional circumstances (e.g., food and agriculture, migration-population, Africa, natural disasters, transport, oceans).

### **23. Summit Simulation: G8 Germany, June 2015 (April 2, 2015)**

For this session, students would assume the roles of members and participants of the G8 (plus guests) and simulate the forthcoming G8 Summit, being held in Germany in early June 2015. A draft communiqué (chair's statement) would be produced in advance for consideration, confirmation and revision during the seminar. The student who serves as the chair and host of the summit would not need to present another seminar this term. All students would be evaluated on their participation as part of their presentation and participation mark.

## **Assignments**

### **Critical Analytical Review**

The Critical Analytical Review should follow the general form of book or literature reviews in scholarly journals. Although there are many reviews of G7/G8 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 editors'/authors' 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 editor(s)'/authors' 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 István Tarrósy's review of Kirton's *G20 Governance for a Globalized World*, published in the *Round Table* (vol. 103, no. 3, pp: 362-64), available online through the university's library. Graduate students are expected to use primary research materials in their essays and make major use of the works on underlying international relations theory.

### **Compliance Assessment**

The Compliance Assessment begins with the choice of a commitment from a recent G8 or G20 summit that deals with the issue you selected for your second-term seminar presentation and that has not yet been assessed for compliance. A G8 commitment (not yet assessed for compliance) will cover the compliance of its nine members (including the EU) over the subsequent full year. A G20 commitment will also cover the compliance of the 20 members (including the EU) at the varying length until the subsequent summit was held. Your Assessment will follow the framework outlined in the Coding Manual and the Compliance Reports prepared by the instructor and the G8 Research Group and listed at <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/compliance>. Each Assessment will cover in turn:

1. The *Commitment*, reproduced in its full text with its year and number;
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 if not there the dictionary;
4. *General Interpretive Guidelines* (the "law") from the coding manual as 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; and
9. An *Annex* of country compliance outlining the evidence and interpretation for its score.

Should your compliance assessment be of sufficient quality, you will be offered an opportunity to have it published electronically, under your name in whole or part, as is or with revisions, on the website of the G8 Research Group or G20 Research Group.

### **Major Research Essay**

The Major Research Essay of 5,000 words is normally written on the same topic (ie policy subject) as your second term seminar presentation, using your recent research for and feedback from your oral presentation. In exceptional circumstances the essay can be written on the topic of your first term presentation. In either case the essay will cover the entire topic, not just the section you presented in class. With the permission of the instructor and depending on the issue area, you make deal with only one of the G8 or G20's governance of the issue area you select. Your bibliography should have and you should use at least 25 scholarly sources. 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.

*C. Essays on Policy Areas*

1. Introduction:

- a. What is the global challenge or problem, including present and projected death and destruction, and thus policy and theoretical significance of this case?
- b. 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, and as you identify the school based on but not just reproducing what others have written)?
- c. What unexplained patterns or "puzzles" are left from each of these existing schools?
- d. What is your thesis — your central argument — about G8 performance and its key causes?
- e. How do you define the issue area for purposes of this analysis?

2. An Overview of G8/G20 Performance Patterns — What is the available systematic, often quantitative, evidence on the overall pattern of G8/G20 performance on this issue in the group's (following the Summit Performance Manual and updating as necessary the data sets that others have produced:

- a. 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);
- b. Domestic political management;
- c. Deliberative agenda setting and learning;
- d. Directional principle and norm setting;
- e. Decisional commitment;
- f. Delivery through remit mandates, resource mobilization, member compliance and moral suasion;
- g. Development of global governance within the G8/G20 and through the multilateral system.
- h. Distinctive mission done.

How well has the summit performed on this issue across its various functions at each annual encounter, in hosting cycle or within each phase?

3. 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/G20 has produced its greatest successes and failures on this issue? In each case (usually between four to six), use the process tracing or historical method, to identify the member's initiative, alignment, and bargaining or persuasion dynamics that produced

high or low performance, in the lead up to and at the summit itself. Focus on who led, supported, resisted, and adjusted to produce the result. Identify what causes, especially in the consciousness of the actors involved, produced the observed result.

4. Causes of G8/G20 Performance: What does a the pattern and phases of the performance dimensions and the detailed historical process-tracing of each summit's treatment of the policy area in the critical cases suggest and show are the major underlying, 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:
  - a. Relative vulnerability, especially as activated by shocks (global problem/demand, interdependence, sensitivity, vulnerability, shocks);
  - b. Relative international institutional capacity and performance of bodies outside and inside the G8/G20;
  - c. Relative capability among members and among countries and actors in the global system;
  - d. Common principles (charter, identities/values, epistemes, historical lessons and policy failures);
  - e. Political control, capital, continuity, competence and commitment of the leaders;
  - f. Constricted, controlled, club participation (membership, outside participation, civil society, and summit format);
  - g. Other factors (especially those offered in the literature that go beyond those in the concert equality model and systemic hub model).

With the permission of the instructor you may wish to write your final essay on the subject of your first term class presentation. In that case, the basic guide would be as follows:

#### *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 global challenge and 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 (as identified by you, based on what others have written? What puzzles does each school present? What is your thesis about how and why the country behaves toward and in the G8/G20?

2. Overview of the country's performance, according to each international institutional function, based on available systematic evidence from 1975 to the present for the G7/G8 and from 1999 to the present for the G20.
3. History of the country's behaviour in the G8/G20 from the group's beginning (1975 in the case of the G8, 1999 in the case of the G20) to the present, with a focus on the place of the G8/G20 in the country's foreign policy, the outsiders it represents, its key issues, initiatives, allies, adversaries, strategies and success, and its G8/G20 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 G8/G20? 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/G20 performance work?

## 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)> on the G20 at the G20 Information Centre at [www.g20.utoronto.ca](http://www.g20.utoronto.ca) and on the BRICS at [www.brics.utoronto.ca](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 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.