

# The G7, the G20 and Global Governance

University of Toronto, St. George Campus

Fall 2019-Spring 2020

Thursday 10 a.m.-12 noon, Location: Trinity College, Room 22

Course website: <http://www.g7g20.utoronto.ca>

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This course examines the development, participants, performance and reform of global summit governance. It does so through a focus on the Group of Seven (G7) and Group of Twenty (G20) as informal “soft law” plurilateral summit institutions (PSIs) and their relationship with the “hard law” multilateral organizations of the United Nations and Bretton Woods bodies, especially in the intensely interconnected 21st-century world. It begins with a review of competing conceptions of global governance, the role of informal international institutions led by the G7 and G20, and their interaction and contrast with other PSIs, such as the BRICS of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, and with formal, legalized, multilateral, intergovernmental organizations. It then assesses the alternative models developed to describe and explain the performance of the G7, G20 and BRICS on key dimensions of global governance, and to evaluate various proposals for improving compliance and broader reform. It next examines the G7 and G20 diplomacy of key summit members. These actors come together in a simulation at the end of the first term of the US-hosted G7 summit in spring 2020 and a simulation at the end of the second term of the Saudi Arabian–hosted Riyadh G20 summit in November 2020. The second term focuses on how, how well and why the G7 or G20 governs key subjects across the finance-economic, social, ecological and political-security domains.

The course critically assesses the proposition that the G7 and G20 are together emerging as effective centres of global governance. They could be 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. Yet the G7 and G20 have moved through different phases of focus, approach and effectiveness, and have provoked questions about legitimacy and justice and faced ongoing demands for reform. The core task is to explain these variations, in order to test and build better theories of PSI performance and international relations and on this basis to offer 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 G7, G20, BRICS, compliance and reform. The next three weeks examine the G7 and G20 diplomacy of key members, followed by the simulation. After the first seminar, students will present and lead the weekly sessions, with the instructor commenting primarily at the end of each seminar. Students will ballot for presentation topics in the first week. During the second term, students will present and lead each week on a selected policy area of G7/20 governance, with a simulation at the end.

## Requirements

Each student will be responsible for:

1. A critical book review essay of 2,000 words on *G20 Governance for a Globalized World* (John Kirton, 2013) or on *The Global Governance of Climate Change: G7, G20 and UN Leadership* (John Kirton and Ella Kokotsis, 2015) or on *China's G20 Leadership* (John Kirton, 2016), or on *Accountability for Effectiveness in Global Governance* (John Kirton and Marina Larionova, eds., 2018) delivered to the instructor on paper and electronically. It is due by 5:00 p.m., Wednesday, December 4, 2019 (the last day of the first term), for 20% of the overall course grade;
2. An assessment of the compliance of the member countries with one recent G7 or G20 commitment, delivered to the instructor on paper and electronically. It is due by 10:00 a.m., Friday, February 13, 2020 (the last class before the spring reading week), for 20% of the overall course grade;
3. Active participation in all seminars, the two simulations, 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 in the instructor's office in both paper and electronic copy by 4:00 p.m. on Friday, April 3, 2019, 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 disruptions due to unforeseen medical and dental illness, unexpected non-curricular paid work-responsibilities and significant personal relationship setbacks. Students should keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before and after handing them in to the instructor, until the marked assignments have been returned and the grades posted. Note: Plagiarism is a serious academic offence 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 buy if possible and read the following *required* works, available for purchase at the University of Toronto Bookstore and directly from Routledge:

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

Kirton, John and Ella Kokotsis (2015). *The Global Governance of Climate Change: G7, G20 and UN Leadership* (Abingdon: Routledge). (“Climate Leadership”)

Kirton, John (2016). *China's G20 Leadership* (Abingdon: Routledge). (“China's Leadership”)

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

*The books above can also be ordered directly from Routledge.*

Kirton, John and Madeline Koch, eds. (2019). *G20 Japan: The Osaka Summit* (London: GT Media).

This free e-book can be downloaded at [bit.ly/G20Japan](http://bit.ly/G20Japan) or [www.g7g20.utoronto.ca/books](http://www.g7g20.utoronto.ca/books).

Kirton, John and Madeline Koch, eds. (2019). *G7 France: The Biarritz Summit* (London: GT Media).

This free e-book can be downloaded for free from [www.g7g20.utoronto.ca/books](http://www.g7g20.utoronto.ca/books).

### Core Monographs on Major Models of G7 Governance

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

- Hodges, Michael, John Kirton and Joseph Daniels, eds. (1999). *The G8's Role in the New Millennium* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (“Role”) (concert equality).
- Bergsten, C. Fred and C. Randall Henning (1996). *Global Economic Leadership and the Group of Seven* (Washington DC: Institute for International Economics). (false new consensus).
- Kokotsis, Eleonore (1999). *Keeping International Commitments: Compliance, Credibility and the G7, 1988-1995* (New York: Garland). (“Keeping”) (democratic institutionalism).
- 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). (“Staying”) (collective management)
- Bailin, Alison (2005). *From Traditional to Group Hegemony: The G7, the Liberal Economic Order and the Core-Periphery Gap* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (group hegemony)
- Fратиани, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds. (2005). *New Perspectives on Global Governance: Why America Needs the G8* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (“New Perspectives”) (transformational governance)
- Baker, Andrew (2006). *The Group of Seven: Finance Ministers, Central Banks and Global Financial Governance* (Abingdon: Routledge). (Ginger group)

## Core Books on G20 Governance

### *Monographs:*

- Penttilä, Risto (2009). *Multilateralism Light: The Rise of Informal International Governance* (London: Centre for European Reform).
- Jokela, Juha (2011). *The G-20: A Pathway to Effective Multilateralism* (Chaillot Papers 125, Institute for Security Studies European Union, April).
- Postel-Vinay, Karoline (2011). *Le G20, laboratoire d'un monde emergent* (Paris: Les Presses de Sciences Po).
- Hermawan, Yulius, Wulani Sriyuliani, Getruida Hardjowijono, and Sylvie Tanaga (2011). *The Role of Indonesia in the G20: Background, Role and Objectives of Indonesia's Membership* (Jakarta: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung).
- Kirton, John (2013). *G20 Governance for a Globalizing World* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Cooper, Andrew F. and Ramesh Thakur (2013). *Group of Twenty (G20)* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Hajnal, Peter (2019). *The G20: Evolution, Interrelationships, Documentation* Second Revised edition (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Rewizorski, Marek (2014). *From Washington to St. Petersburg: Development of the G20 as a New Centre of Global Governance* (Berlin: Logos Verlag).
- Drezner, Daniel (2014). *The System Worked: How the World Stopped Another Great Depression* (Oxford University Press: New York).
- Kirton, John and Ella Kokotsis (2015). *The Global Governance of Climate Change: G7, G20 and UN Leadership* (Farnham: Ashgate). (“Climate Leadership”)
- Kirton, John (2016). *China's G20 Leadership* (Abingdon: Routledge). (“China's Leadership”)
- Luckhurst, Jonathan (2016). *G20 Since the Global Crisis* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).

### *Editions*

- Subacchi, Paolo and Andrew F. Cooper, eds. (2010). “Global Economic Governance in Transition,” Special Issue of *International Affairs* 86 (May).
- 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 Brookings Institution).
- 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* (Brussels: The Royal Institute for International Relations). (also in *Studia Diplomatica* 63(2)).
- Bradford, Colin and Wonhyuk Lim, eds. (2011). *Global Leadership in Transition: Making the G20 More Effective and Responsive* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution).
- Dervis, Kemal and Peter Drysdale, eds. (2014). *The G20 Summit at Five: Time for Strategic Leadership* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press).
- Callaghan, Mike and Tristram Sainsbury, eds. (2015). *G20 and the Future of International Economic Governance* (Sydney: University of News South Wales Press).
- Note: Other useful books will become available. Ask the instructor for assistance or consult the G7 Information Centre and G20 Information Centre websites.

## Other Recommended Works on the G7 and G20

- Larionova, Marina and John Kirton, eds. (2015). *The G8-G20 Relationship* (Farnham: Ashgate). (“*Relationship*”)
- 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).
- Oldani, Chiara and Jan Wouters, eds. (2019), *The G7, Anri-Globalization and the Governance of Globalization* (Abington: Routledge).
- Mourlon-Druol, Emmanuel and Federico Romero, eds. (2014). *International Summitry and Global Governance: The Rise of the G7 and the European Council, 1974-1991* (Abingdon: Routledge).

## Core Books on the BRICS

- Cooper, Andrew F. (2016). *BRICS: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).  
 Larionova, Marina and John Kirton (2016). *BRICS in the System of Global Governance* (Abingdon: Routledge).  
 Stuenkel, Oliver (2015). *BRICS and the Future of Global Order* (London: Lexington).

## Weekly Readings

The weekly readings, of manageable length, are listed below. Start with the sections from the course texts, where listed. Publications marked with an asterisk are also 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 G7 Information Centre, the bibliography at the G20 Information Centre and the most recent journals.

Presenters should consult the instructor at least three weeks before their presentation. **One week before their presentation, they should email to the class the bibliography and handouts they have prepared for them, to give all a chance to read them before the class.** After the instructors’ announcements, presenters will present in the first **45 minutes** and then after a break of ten minutes, lead a class discussion of 35 minutes, leaving 15 minutes for the instructors’ comments at the end.

The weekly readings are on reserve in Trinity College’s John Graham Library, located at the Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at 1 Devonshire Place. Students may by appointment use the G7 Research Room on the second floor of the library. Graduate students can secure access to the G7/G8/G20 archives and artefacts for special projects. Many weekly readings are available on the G7 Information Centre website at <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/scholar> (indicated below as “Web”). Some may also be available on the G20 Information Centre website at <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/biblio>.

### 1. Introduction to the Course (September 5)

What is global governance, what are the G7/G20 institutions and why study them?

## PART A: GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND THE G7/G8/G20

### 2. Global Governance: Informal Institutions, Concerts, Clubs and the G7/G20 (September 12)

What is global governance? How is it 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, multi-stakeholder networks, epistemic communities, dominant ideas and empowered individuals such as celebrities? 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 PSIs and concerts, operated since 1648? How have the G7/8 and G20 developed and performed since 1975 and 1999 respectively?

- Kirton, John (2013). *G20 Governance*, 3-40.  
 Ikenberry, John (2001). *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 3-116.  
 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(2): 253-271.

\*Penttilä, Risto (2003). *The Role of the G8 in International Peace and Security* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 5-32.

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

### 3. Formal Institutions, Multilateralism and the United Nations (September 19)

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? How much has and can the multilateral intergovernmental system, established in the 1940s, perform and reform in 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., *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. G7 Governance (September 26)

How, how well and for whom has the G7/8 governed and why? How has the G7/8 summit institutionally developed since its 1975 start? How well does it perform in its domestic political management, deliberation, direction setting, decision making, delivery, the development of global governance institutions, distinctive mission done and deaths delayed? When and why does it perform well? What are the essential features, strengths, and shortcomings of the ten major models developed to describe and explain G7/8 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*, 449-453
- Kirton, John (2015). "Changing Global Governance for a Transformed World," in Marina Larionova and John Kirton, eds., *The G8-G20 Relationship* (Farnham: Ashgate).  
*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 Schecter, ed., *Innovation in Multilateralism* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press).
- Penttilä, Risto (2003). *The Role of the G8 in International Peace and Security* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 33-50 and 89-92.
- Bayne, Nicholas (2005). *Staying Together: The G8 Summit Confronts the 21st Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate), 3-35, 191-235 (\*rest of book as time allows).
- Boehm, Peter (2019), "The value of the G7: Reflections of A Sherpa," *Politiques Etrangere* 21-11.
- \*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 3)

How, how well and for whom has the G20 institutionally developed and performed and why? How does it compare with and relate to the G7/8? What are the essential features, strengths and shortcomings of the model of systemic hub governance. What other models are emerging to describe and explain G20 governance?

- Kirton, John (2013). *G20 Governance for a Globalized World* (Farnham: Ashgate). All remaining pages.
- Kirton, John (2014). "The G20 System Still Works: Better Than Ever," *Caribbean Journal of International Relations & Diplomacy* 2(3): 43-60 (September).
- 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), 141-168.
- Cooper, Andrew and Ramesh Thakur (2013). *Group of Twenty (G20)* (Abingdon: Routledge).  
Introduction.
- Engelbrekt, Kjell (2015). "Mission Creep? The Nontraditional Security Agenda of the G7/8 and the Nascent Role of the G-20," *Global Governance* 21(4): 537-556.
- Penttilä, Risto (2009). *Multilateralism Light: The Rise of Informal International Governance*. July (London: Centre for European Reform).
- \*Bradford, Colin (2013). "Political Leadership Changes and the Future of the Global Economic Order," in *Major Economies Under New leadership: Policy Priorities and Challenges*, Institute for Global Economics 20th Anniversary Conference, Seoul, Korea, October 31, 2013.
- \*Alexandroff, Alan and Andrew F. 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.
- \*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(3): 243-263.

## 6. BRICS Governance (October 10)

How, how well and for whom has the BRICS developed and governed and why? How does it compare with and relate to the G7/8 and G20? What are the essential features, strengths, and shortcomings of the models emerging to describe and explain BRICS governance?

- Kirton, John (2015). "BRICS Summit Performance," *International Organization Research Journal* 10 (2).  
See articles by other authors as well.
- Kirton, John, Julia Kulik and Caroline Bracht (2014). "Generating Global Health Governance through BRICS Summitry," *Contemporary Politics* 20(2): 146-162.
- Kirton, John (2015). "Changing Global Governance for a Transformed World," in Marina Larionova and John Kirton, eds., *The G8-G20 Relationship* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Kirton, John and Marina Larionova, eds. (2018). *BRICS and Global Governance* (Abingdon: Routledge).  
Introduction and conclusion.
- Cooper, Andrew F. (2016). *BRICS: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- \*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). "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* (London: Newsdesk).
- \*Republic of South Africa (2013). *BRICS: The Fifth BRICS Summit, Durban, South Africa* (South Africa: Time Media).

## 7. Compliance and Accountability in Global Summit Governance (October 17)

How much do G7/8, G20 and BRICS members and other countries and institutions comply with the collective commitments, mandates, and the principled/normative consensus leaders forge at the summit? How and why does the pattern of compliance vary by time, participating country and issue area? How have different accountability measures been used and affected compliance? Which ones can be added to increase compliance?

- Kirton, John and Marina Larionova, eds. (2018). *Accountability for Effectiveness in Global Summit Governance* (Abingdon: Routledge). Introduction and select other chapters.
- Kirton, John (2015). "Advancing G8 and G20 Effectiveness through Improved Accountability Assessment," in Marina Larionova and John Kirton, eds., *The G8-G20 Relationship* (Farnham: Ashgate).  
*Making*, Chapters 5, 13, 14, 89-107, 201-216, 217-229.
- Kirton, John (2013). "Advancing Accountability for Development and Growth," Paper prepared for the Think 20 Meeting, Sydney, Australia, December 11, 2013.
- Kirton, John (2014). "Adding Accountability and Development to the Brisbane Summit Agenda," Think 20 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(3):192-199.
- \*Kirton, John (2006). "Explaining Compliance with G8 Finance Commitments: Agency, Institutionalization and Structure," *Open Economies Review* 17 (November).



## 8. Reforming the G7/G20 (October 24)

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

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

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), 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 F. (2008). *Celebrity Diplomacy* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers).

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

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

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

## PART B: G7/G20 DIPLOMACY OF THE MEMBERS

Part B shifts to a comparative foreign policy approach to examine the role of selected participating countries and organizations toward and within the G7/G8/G20. How important is the G7/G8/G20 to an actor, given the alternative international institutions and instruments available? What roles, issues and functions does the actor emphasize? Who and what are the actor's usual allies, adversaries, coalition strategies and tactics? How and how often does it prevail? Why?

## 9. Canada (October 31)

Christie, Keith (2010). "Setting a New High Water Mark for Canadian Multilateralism: Canada's 2010 G8 and G20 Summits," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 16(2): 143-148.

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

Kirton, John, 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., *The G8-G20 Relationship* (Farnham: Ashgate).

Kirton, John and Madeline Koch, eds. (2018). *G7 Canada: The 2018 Charlevoix Summit* (London: GT Media). [bit.ly/g7charlevoix2018](http://bit.ly/g7charlevoix2018). Articles by Justin Trudeau and John Kirton.

- Kirton, John (2018). "Canada's G20 Entrepreneurship," *International Journal* 73 (4) December 2018.
- Kirton, John and Julia Kulik (2015). "Systemically Significant Entrepreneurship: Canada's G20 Diplomacy." Paper prepared for the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, February 18-21.
- \*Heinbecker, Paul (2011). "Canada's World Can Get a Lot Bigger: The Group of 20, Global Governance and Security," *SPP Research Papers* 4(5).

## November 7: READING WEEK — NO CLASS

### 10. United States (November 14) (Critical Book Review Essay due at 10 am)

- Macron, Emmanuel (2018). "France's Priorities for the G7," in John Kirton and Madeline Koch, eds., *G7 Canada: The Charlevoix Summit* (London: GT Media). [bit.ly/g7charlevoix2018](http://bit.ly/g7charlevoix2018).
- Bayne, Nicholas (2004). "G7/8 Performance from Birmingham to Evian and Beyond," in Michele Fratianni, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds., *Corporate, Public and Global Governance: The G8 Contribution* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Defarges, Phillippe Moreau (1994). "The French Viewpoint on the Future of the G7," *International Spectator* 29 (April/June): 177-185. Web
- Giscard d'Estaing, Olivier (2004). "The Challenge of Corporate Governance," in Michele Fratianni, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds., *Corporate, Public and Global Governance: The G8 Contribution* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Kirton, John and Victoria Panova (2004). "Prospects for the 2003 Evian G8 Summit and Beyond," in Michele Fratianni, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds., *Corporate, Public and Global Governance: The G8 Contribution* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Pagion, Jean-Felix (2000). in Winrich Kuhne with Joachim Pratl, eds., *The Security Council and the G8 in the New Millennium: Who Is in Charge of International Peace and Security* (Berlin: Striftung Wissenschaft und Politik), 87-89
- Roberge, François (1988). *French Foreign Policy and the Seven Power Summits*, Country Study No. 3, Toronto: University of Toronto Centre for International Studies.
- Sarkozy, Nicholas (2010) in John Kirton and Madeline Koch, eds., *The G20 Seoul Summit 2010: Shared Growth Beyond Crisis* (London: Newsdesk). <http://www.g7g20.utoronto.ca/books/seoul/seoul-sarkozy-en.html>.
- Sautter, Christian (2008). "Fundamental Principles for Global Financial Governance," in John Kirton and Madeline Koch, eds., *Growth, Innovation, Inclusion: The G20 at Ten* (London: Newsdesk) <http://www.g7g20.utoronto.ca/books/g20at10.html>.

### 11. Japan's G20 Diplomacy (November 21)

- Kirton, John and Madeline Koch, eds. (2019). *G20 Japan: The 2019 Osaka Summit* (London: GT Media). [bit.ly/G20Japan](http://bit.ly/G20Japan)

### 12. Simulating the US 2020 G7 Summit (November 28)

To simulate the forthcoming G7 summit in the United States in spring 2020, students assume the roles of members and participants in this G20 summit. A draft communiqué will be produced in advance by the host leader and Sherpa for consideration, confirmation and revision during the seminar. The student who serves as the host and chair will not need to present another seminar this term. All students will be evaluated as part of their presentation and participation mark.

## PART C: G7/G8/G20 Governance of Individual Issue Areas (Second Term)

Starting on Thursday, January 9, 2020, each week explores G7/G20 governance of a specific subject, starting with financial crisis, and selected from the list below. Subjects covered should include global financial crises, trade-investment, climate change, energy, health, gender, tax, terrorism and regional security. Start by reading the relevant chapters in *G20 Governance, Securing, Making and New Perspectives*.

The presenters will circulate a reading list once the issue areas have been selected.

January 09: Global Financial Crises

January 16:

January 23:

January 30:

February 6:

February 13:

February 20: READING WEEK — No class

February 27:

March 05

March 12:

March 19:

March 26:

April 02: Simulating the G20 Saudi Arabian Summit

**1. Global Financial Crises.** The present or potential financial crises in Argentina, Turkey, Italy and China lead many to ask how well have and can the G7 and G20 prevent them from going global or control them if they do, given these bodies performance on financial crises in the past. Start by reading:

John Kirton (2017). “Securing Stability and Inclusiveness: G20 Summit Success in Controlling Financial Crises.” *International Organizations Research Journal*.

Drezner, Daniel W. (2015). *The System Worked: How the World Stopped Another Great Depression*. Oxford: (Oxford University Press).

**2. International Financial Institution (IFI) Reform.** Why have the G7 and G20 not been able to reform the IMF to give rising powers their full fair share of rights and responsibilities?

**3. Financial Regulation and Supervision.** Has the G20 done enough to produce financial stability to sustain good economic growth after the financial crisis of 2008?

**4. Monetary Policy and Exchange Rate Management.** With the United States now returning to its unprecedented monetary policy easing while Europe, the United Kingdom and Japan also ease, how well can the G7 and G20 coordinate their efforts and cope with the exchange rate misalignment and volatility that can result?

**5. Macroeconomic Policy.** How well can the G7 and G20 coordinate their fiscal as well as monetary policy to produce strong, sustainable, balanced and inclusive economic growth?

**6. Employment.** How can the G7 and G20 create more and better jobs, especially for the long-term unemployed and the young, and unleash the potential of young entrepreneurs?

**7. Social Policy, Education and Gender.** How successful have and will the G7 and G20 be in enhancing women’s place in the workplace, and education for employment in the new economy?

**8. Digitalization.** How well and why have the G7 and G20 governed digitalization, cyberspace, and information and communication technologies?

**9. Trade.** Why have the G7 and G20 failed to conclude the Doha Development round of multilateral trade liberalization and how well have they prevented protectionism and produced liberalization through other means?

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- 10. Investment, Competition and Tax Policy, and Intellectual Property.** What advances have the G7 and G20 made in governing these critical components of globalized economic growth?
- 11. Development.** How well has the G7 and G20 fostered development, especially as the United Nations transitioned from the old Millennium Development Goals to the new Sustainable Development Goals?
- 12. Energy and Nuclear Safety.** How well have the G7 and G20 generated energy security, amidst the major shifts in price, preferred sources, sanctions and the accidents in the past?
- 13. Climate Change and the Environment.** Is G7 and G20 leadership necessary to control climate change and bring an effective United Nations and global regime to life?
- 14. Health.** How well has the G7 governed global health? Why was the G20 so late to help, until the Ebola epidemic struck in 2014?
- 15. Crime and Corruption.** Can the G7 and G20 effectively control crime and corruption, in a world where the United Nations lacks a dedicated organization to do this job?
- 16. Terrorism.** How, how well and why have the G7 and G20 countered terrorism in both its old and new forms, in a world where murderous movements such as al Qaeda and Islamic State and their successors seem to grow or spread?
- 17. Russia.** How should the G7 and G20 deal with Russia after its 2014 invasion and annexation in Ukraine, based on the G7's success in bringing the democratic revolution to Russia and peacefully ending the cold war from 1975 to 1992?
- 18. Weapons of Mass Destruction.** With nuclear proliferation continuing in North Korea and Iran now in doubt, and chemical weapons used in Syria, what should the G7 and G20 do, given their performance in the past?
- 19. Regional Security.** How and why has the G7 dealt with deadly regional security conflicts in the Middle East, Iran, Afghanistan, North Africa, the Balkans and Ukraine with diplomatic inclusion or suspension, suasion, economic sanctions or military force, and what should it do now?
- 20. Conflict Prevention and Human Security.** How well and why has the G7 prevented deadly conflicts and promoted human security after Kosovo in 1999 and what can it do now?
- 21. Migration.** How, how well and why has the G7 governed migration, refugees and displacements since it started addressing this issue in 1979?
- 22. Democratization and Human Rights.** How, how well and why has the G7 met its foundational mission of promoting democracy and human rights, now with the G20's help?
- 23. United Nations Reform.** Why have the G7 and G20 done so little to reform the United Nations, especially in the security field?
- 24. Food, Agriculture and Nutrition.** How and how well have the G7 and G20 governed food, agriculture, hunger and nutrition over the years?

**Summit Simulation: G20 Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, November 2020 (April 2, 2020).** To simulate the forthcoming G20 summit, students assume the roles of members and participants of the G7

summit (plus guests). A draft communiqué (chair's statement) will be produced in advance for consideration, confirmation and revision during the seminar. All students will 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. The existing reviews of the eligible books (see below) are weaker than what is required here. Your critical review should deal with the book in a balanced fashion but with a clear overall argument. It should address:

1. What is the 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 authors' argument or model?
4. How well is the argument or model supported by the evidence as assembled and interpreted by the author? What anomalies, puzzles or alternative patterns arise?
5. How well does the argument/model account for other evidence from the same or a subsequent time period, as you know from other readings 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? What are your major criticisms and corrections?
8. How adequate is the author's argument as a general model of G7/G20 performance? That is, how well does it explain the full range of issue areas, time periods and G7/G20 dimensions of performance?
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 its judgements on the reform and future 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 G7/G20 literature?

You may wish to start by reading the (insufficiently critical) reviews by:

#### **G20 Governance for a Globalized World:**

Bratersky, Maxim (2014). "Does Global Governance Exist? Review of the book 'G20 Governance for a Globalized World' by John Kirton," *International Organizations Research Journal* 9 (4): 115-116;

Dube, Memory (2014). "G20 Governance for a Globalized World," *South African Journal of International Affairs* 21 (3): 449-453.

Hajnal, Peter (2016). "Review: G20 Governance for a Globalized World," *E-International Relations*, February 1. <http://www.e-ir.info/2016/02/01/review-g20-governance-for-a-globalized-world>.

#### **The Global Governance of Climate Change:**

Torney, Diarmuid (2/016), "The global governance of climate change: G7, G20, and UN leadership. By John J. Kirton and Ella Kokotsis," *International Affairs* 92 (5) First published: 31 August 2016 <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12725>

Ramanan, S. Suresh and Indira Naga (2018), "Book Reviews: The Global Governance of Climate Change: G7, G20, and UN Leadership," *Australian Journal of Environmental Education*, 34 (2) 204-205.

**China's G20 Leadership:**

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

**Compliance Assessment**

The Compliance Assessment begins with the choice of a commitment from a recent G7 or G20 summit that deals with the issue you select for your second-term seminar presentation. A G7/8 commitment prior to 2019 (but not yet done by anyone) will cover the compliance of its members (including the European Union) from the summit the commitment was made until the next summit. A G20 commitment prior to 2019 (but not yet done by anyone) will cover the compliance of the 20 members (including the EU) over the, sometimes shorter, period until the subsequent summit was held. Your assessment will follow the framework outlined in the Compliance Coding Manual and the Compliance Reports prepared by the instructor and the G7 Research Group and listed at <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/compliance>. Each assessment will cover in turn:

1. The *Commitment*, reproduced in its full text with its year and number and the compliance period by dates;
2. The *Summary Table* reporting the results;
3. The *Background and Context* of the commitment, ie its recent history and context;
4. *Definitions* of key terms in the commitment, from the manual or the dictionary;
5. *Concepts* of key phrases/concepts in the commitment, from the manual or internet search from reputable source (i.e. relevant international organization
6. *General Interpretive Guidelines* (the "law") from the coding manual that are relevant;
7. *Specific Interpretive Guidelines* that you specify for this commitment (if needed);
8. *Scoring Metric*, specifying what thresholds must be met to assign a -1, 0 or +1 score;
9. *Country Analysis*: The evidence by member;
10. An *Analysis/Conclusion* of the patterns in the results, including conjectures about their causes; and
11. An *Annex* of country compliance on your issue by commitment in chronological order.

For further guidance see the compliance assessments for over 500 G7/8 commitments and over 200 G20 ones on the G7 and G20 Research Groups websites. 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 G7 Research Group or G20 Research Group. There will be a training session.

**Major Research Essay**

The Major Research Essay of 5,000 words is normally written on the same 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. In consultation with the instructor, you will deal with the G7 or the G20 (or in rare cases both) in the issue area you select. Your bibliography should have 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.

1. Introduction:
  - a. What is the global challenge or problem, including past, present and projected death and destruction, and the policy and theoretical significance of this case?
  - b. What is the debate among competing schools of thought that describe and explain the G7/G20's role and performance and their causes in this specific issue area (cf. the major causal models that explain G7/G20 performance as a whole, and as you identify schools based on but not just reproducing what others have written)?
  - c. What unexplained patterns or "puzzles" arise from these existing schools?

- d. What is your thesis/central argument about G7 performance and its key causes?
- e. How do you define the issue area for purposes of this analysis?
2. An Overview of G7/G20 Performance Patterns — What is the available systematic, often quantitative, evidence on the overall pattern of G7/G20 performance on this issue (following the G7RG's Summit Performance Manual and updating as necessary the data sets that others have produced)? This includes:
  - a. Overall achievement (for evidence see, inter alia, Putnam and Bayne (1987); Bayne (2000, p. 195); the G7 Research Group Performance Assessments; the Kokotsis, Kirton, Juricevic scores on significant commitments; G8 Research Group Personal Evaluations and John Kirton's Summit Success Score);
  - b. The eight individual dimensions of performance, as follows:
    - i. Domestic political management (Communication);
    - ii. Deliberation (Public Conclusions and Private Conversation);
    - iii. Direction setting (Consensus on principles and norms);
    - iv. Decision making (Commitments);
    - v. Delivery (Compliance by members, as assisted by accountability mechanisms);
    - vi. Development of global governance inside and outside (Constitutionalization).
    - vii. Distinctive mission done.
    - viii. Deaths delayed or avoided (as a common metric of success)

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. Causes of G7/G20 Performance: What does the pattern, trend and phases of the performance across these eight dimensions show are the major most salient causes of this performance? In this input-output matching method, show which causes change in the right way, to the right degree at the right time to match, and thus plausibly cause the major changes in performance. How and how well are variations in G7/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, connectivity, sensitivity, vulnerability, shocks);
  - b. Relative international institutional capacity and performance of bodies outside and inside the G7/G20;
  - c. Relative capability among members and outside actors in the global system;
  - d. Common principles (charter, identities/values, epistemes, historical lessons);
  - e. Political cohesion (leaders' control, capital, continuity, competence, commitment);
  - f. Constricted, controlled, club participation (membership, outside participation, civil society and summit format);
  - g. Other factors (especially those offered in the literature beyond those in the concert equality model and systemic hub model) which you must specify and show the impact of.

In each case you must directly connect the changes in the conditions of your chosen causes with the commensurate changes in the condition of the performance effects that you highlight. That is, did the causes change in the right way, at the right time, to plausibly cause (correlate with) the observed performance effects?

4. Critical Cases in G7/G20 Diplomacy: What critical cases in G7/G20 diplomacy on this issue have produced the peaks, depths and turning points in these patterns of performance and how did the diplomacy and negotiations for and at that summit produce the result? 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 detailed 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 participating actors, produced the observed results.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations
  - a. How well do the causes account for the performance, as presented in your opening thesis?
  - b. What puzzles and suggestions for future research arise?
  - c. What recommendations would you make for the next summit to adopt? Offer your recommendations as draft text for the communiqué for use in the summit simulation.

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

The physical version of the materials on the G7 Information Centre website, together with additional documentation and audio recording of briefings at the summit, is available at the G7 Research Collection at Trinity's John Graham Library. Special arrangements are required to access these materials.

For an overview of G7 and G20 documentation see the books by Peter Hajnal from Ashgate Publishing.