

University of Toronto
St. George Campus
Fall 2007

POL 464F/2229F The G8 and Global Governance 1

Wednesday 4:00-6:00 p.m., Larkin 214

Professor John Kirton

Munk Centre for International Studies, Room 209N

Office Hours: Tuesday 2:00–4:00 p.m., Wednesday 10:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m., or by appointment

Email: john.kirton@utoronto.ca [*put POL464 in the subject line*]

Telephone: 416-946-8953

Course Websites: <www.g8.utoronto.ca> and <www.g8online.org>

This course examines the development, operation, performance and participants of the Group of Eight (G8) system of international institutions, its growth as a centre of global governance, and its relationship with the United Nations (UN) galaxy in the post–Cold War, globalizing, post–September 11th world. It begins with an introductory review of alternative conceptions of global governance, the role of informal international institutions including the G8 system, and the development and performance of formal multilateral intergovernmental organizations now centred in the UN. It then uses alternative models to describe and explain the performance of the G8 in securing co-operation among, and compliance from, its members, and to evaluate various proposals for G8 reform, including those relating to the G8’s “Plus Five” and now “Heiligendamm Process” partners of India, China, Brazil, Mexico and South Africa and the emergence of the Group of Twenty (G20). Attention is next directed at the G8 diplomacy of its members — Canada, the U.S., Japan, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia and the European Union — individually and as they come together in a summit simulation at the end.

The course critically explores the proposition that the G8 system is emerging as a leading, effective centre of global governance in the 21st century. It is doing so in competition with globalized markets, other private sector processes and networks, civil society, hegemonic concentrations of state power, non-member countries and groupings, and formal multilateral and regional international institutions. At the same time, the G8 system has moved through different phases of focus, approach and effectiveness, has raised questions of legitimacy, justice, and other values and has faced increasing demands for reform. The core task is to explain these variations, as a foundation for building theories of international relations and regimes and for offering prescriptions for a potentially far-reaching global governance reform.

During the first seven weeks, the course follows a fixed sequence dealing with basic dimensions of global governance in general and of the G8 in particular. The next five weeks examine the G8 diplomacy of select participating countries and the broader Heiligendamm Process and G20 movement. The final week is a concluding G8 summit simulation. After the first two seminars students will lead the weekly sessions, with the instructor’s comments usually reserved for the end of each seminar. Topics for presentations will be chosen in the first week.

Each student will be responsible for:

1. A critical review essay of 2,500 words on one “Basic Text,” due by 16h00, Wednesday, October 17, 2007, for 25%;
2. Active participation in all seminars and the opening presentation in one seminar, for 25%;
3. A major research paper of 4,000 words based on your presentation, due at 16h00 Wednesday, December 5, 2007, for 50%.

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

Basic Texts:

During the first few weeks, in addition to the weekly readings, students should acquaint themselves with the G8 by reading the two *required* works, available for purchase in the University of Toronto bookstore:

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

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

Other Core Recommended Monographs Outlining Major Models of G8 Governance:

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

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) (democratic institutionalism).

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

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

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

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

Other Core Recommended Collections:

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

Dobson, Hugo (2007), *The Group of 7/8* (Routledge: London and New York).

Fratianni, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton eds. (2007), *Corporate, Public and Global Governance: the G8 Contribution* (Ashgate: Aldershot).

- 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).

Additional Useful Resources:

- Franchini-Sherifis, Rossella and Valerio Astraldi (2001), *The G7/G8: From Rambouillet to Genoa* (Milan: Franco Angelo).
- 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>.
- Dewitt, David, David Haglund and John Kirton, eds. (1993), *Building a New Global Order: Emerging Trends in International Security* (Toronto: Oxford University Press).

Students are also encouraged to read the lectures available at G8 Online 2002 and 2004 at <www.g8online.org>.

The weekly readings, carefully constructed to be of manageable length, are listed below. Start with the pieces from the two course texts, where available, each week. Publications marked with an asterisk are recommended for students and required for the presenter. Presenters should avail themselves of further sources from the instructor, those listed in the Hajnal bibliography, the “Papers and Publications” section and the “Latest Citations” feature of the G8 Information Centre (both available at <www.g8.utoronto.ca>) and the most recent journals. Presenters will be responsible for providing to the class an updated list of relevant and current readings well before their presentation.

The weekly readings are on reserve in Trinity College's John Graham Library at the Munk Centre for International Studies. Students may by appointment use the G8 Research Room on the second floor of the library. Many weekly readings are available on G8 Information Centre at <www.g8.utoronto.ca> (indicated below as "Web").

1. **Introduction to the Course** (September 12)

Why study global governance and the G8? What is global governance? What is the G8?

PART A: Global Governance and the G8

2. **Global Governance, Informal Institutions, Concerts and the G8** (September 19)

What is global governance? How much and how is order created within an "anarchic" international system by hegemony, balance and concerts among great powers, intergovernmental institutions and legalized organizations, markets, societal processes, civil society actors and networks, empowered individuals, epistemic communities and dominant ideas? How much, how and why do international institutions matter under realist, liberal-institutionalist, constructivist and historical materialist theories? How have informal institutions and concerts operated since 1648? How has the G8 developed and performed since 1975 and why?

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

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

Penttila (2003), 5-32.

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

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

*Bull, Hedley (1977), *The Anarchical Society* (London: Macmillan), Chapters 1, 2.

*G8 Online 2002 Lecture 1-2, 2004 Lecture 1.

3 **Formal Institutions, Multilateralism and the United Nations** (September 26)

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

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.
- *G8 Online 2002 Lecture 3.

4. The G7/G8 as an International Institution: Explaining Co-operation (October 3)

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

- 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;
- the 1999 *ginger group model* of Hodges and Baker;
- the 2000 *collective management model* of Bayne;
- the 2001 *group hegemony model* of Bailin;
- the 2003 *meta-institution model* of Penttila; and
- the 2005 *transformational governance model* of Kirton, Fratianni, Rugman and Savona.

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

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

Kirton, John, "New Perspectives on the G8," *New Perspectives*, 231-256.

Bergsten and Henning (1996), 13-96.

Gill, Stephen (1999), "Structural Changes in Multilateralism: The G7 Nexus and the Global Crisis," in Michael Schechter, ed., *Innovation in Multilateralism* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press).

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

Bayne, Nicholas (2000), *Hanging In There: The G7 and G8 Summit in Maturity and Renewal* (Aldershot: Ashgate), 3-18, 191-217 (*rest of book as time allows).

*G8 Online 2002 Lectures 4, 5, 2004 Lecture 2.

5. **The G8 as an Authoritative Institution: Explaining Compliance** (October 10)

To what extent and under what conditions do G8 members and other countries abide by the collective commitments (and normative directions) made at the annual summit? How does the pattern of compliance vary by issue area, participating country and time period? What explains compliance and implementative effectiveness?

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

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).

Kirton, John (2006), "Implementing G8 Economic Commitments: How International Institutions Help," paper prepared for a 2006 G8 pre-summit seminar "On the Road to St. Petersburg: The Role of International Organizations in Implementing G8 Commitments," co-sponsored by the State University Higher School of Economics (SU-HSE), and the G8 Research Group, University of Toronto, Moscow, June 30, 2006. Web.

Kirton, John and Ella Kokotsis (2004), "Keeping Faith with Africa: Assessing Compliance with the G8's Commitments at Kananskis and Evian," in Princeton Lyman and Robert Browne, eds., *Freedom, Prosperity and Security: The G8 Partnership with Africa* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations).

Larionova, Marina (2007), "Monitoring Compliance with St. Petersburg Summit Commitments," *Russia in World Affairs* 5 (April-June): 70-81.

*Kokotsis, Eleonore (1999), *Keeping International Commitments: Compliance, Credibility and the G7, 1988-1995* (New York: Garland), especially pages 3-36, 267-289.

*Li, Quan (2001), "Commitment Compliance in G7 Summit Macroeconomic Policy Coordination," *Political Research Quarterly* 54 (June): 355-378.

*Von Furstenberg, George and Joseph Daniels (1991), "Policy Undertakings by the Seven 'Summit' Countries: Ascertaining the Degree of Compliance," *Carnegie-Rochester Conference Series of Public Policy* 35: 267-308.

*Baliameune, Mina (2000), "Economics of Summitry: An Empirical Assessment of the Economic Effects of Summits," *Empirica* 27: 295-314.

*G8 Online 2002 Lecture 6, 2004 Lecture 3.

6. **The Summit Process and Reform** (October 17) (*Critical review due.*)

To ensure optimal performance, what summit membership, outside participation, agenda, format, process, institutions, and relations with the media and civil society should the G8 have? How can and should it reconcile the competing claims of representativeness, inclusiveness, legitimacy, trans-regional co-operation, the integrity of open democratic values, and timely and effective

responsiveness to global problems? What are the various empirical, ideal and prospective models of the G8 as an international institution? How do their specifications of membership, agenda, institutionalization and social relationships interrelate to affect the dimensions of G8 performance?

Hodges, Michael (1999), "The G8 and the New Political Economy," *Role*, 69-74.

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

Kirton, John (2007), "The Future G8 after St. Petersburg," *Russia in World Affairs* 5 (April-June): 56-69.

Kirton, John (2005), "The G8: An Agenda for Reform," in Maurice Fraser, ed., *The Gleneagles G8 Summit* (London: Agora Publications).

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

Hajnal, Peter (2002), "Partners or Adversaries? The G7/8 Encounters Civil Society," in Kirton and Takase, 211-224.

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

*Penttila (2003), 75-88.

*G8 Online 2002 Lectures 7, 8, 9.

7. **The Plus Five, Heiligendamm Process and G20** (October 24)

To ensure optimal performance, what membership and participation should the G8 have, at the summit and at levels below, given its record of expansion from 1975 and the changing world of today and tomorrow? Is the recent addition of the Plus Five and now Heiligendamm Process partners (of India, China, Brazil, South Africa, Mexico) the right number and group of states associated in the right way? Has the G20 finance ministers forum been working well enough that it should be elevated to the leaders level in an L20? If so, how would this be done. Would such an L20 reinforce or replace the G8 as it operates today?

Bradford, Colin and Johannes Linn (2004), "Global Economic Governance at a Crossroads: Replacing the G7 with the G20," Brookings Institution Policy Brief 131 (April).

Carin, Barry (2005), "Making Change Happen at the Global Level," 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), 25-45.

Hajnal, Peter (2007), *The G8 System and the G20: Evolution, Role and Documentation* (Ashgate: Aldershot), pp. 151-7.

Helleiner, Gerald (2001), "Markets, Politics and Globalization: Can the Global Economy Be Civilized?" *Global Governance* 7: 243-263.

Gurria, Angel (2005), "A Leaders' 20 Summit?," 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. 63-71.

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.

- *Kirton, John (2004), "Toward Multilateral Reform: The G20's Role and Place," paper prepared for a conference on "The Ideas-Institutional Nexus: The Case of the G20," sponsored by the Centre on International Governance Innovation, United Nations University FLACSO, and the University of Waterloo, Claridge Hotel, Buenos Aires, May 19-21 <www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/kirton2004/kirton_g20_2004.pdf>
- *Kirton, John (2001), "Guiding Global Economic Governance: The G20, the G7, and the International Monetary Fund at Century's Dawn," in Kirton and von Furstenberg, 143-169.
- *Kirton, John (2001), "The G20: Representativeness, Effectiveness and Leadership in Global Governance," *Guiding*, 143-172.
- *Kirton, John (2001), "The G7/8 and China: Toward a Close Association," *Guiding*, 189-222.
- *Baum, Richard and Alexei Shevchenko (2001), "Bringing China In: A Cautionary Note," in Richard Rosecrance, ed., *The New Great Power Coalition: Toward a World Concert of Nations* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield), pp. 327-344.
- *Kirton, John and Victoria Panova (2003), "Coming Together: The Performance of the G8 Evian Summit." Web.

PART B: The G8 Diplomacy of the Members

Part B shifts to comparative foreign policy to examine the role of the participating countries and organizations toward and within the G8. How important is the G8 to an actor and its array of alternative international institutions and instruments? What roles, issues and functions does the actor emphasize within the G8? Who and what are the actor characteristic allies, adversaries, coalition strategies and tactics? How often and how does it prevail? What explains the performance of individual countries at and within the G8? During the following five sessions, the summit diplomacy of selected countries will be explored.

- October 31
- November 7
- November 14
- November 21
- November 28

8. Canada

- Black, David (2005), "From Kananaskis to Gleneagles: Assessing Canadian 'leadership' on Africa," *Behind the Headlines* 62 (May): 1-16.
- Fowler, Robert (2003) "Canadian Leadership and the Kananaskis G8 Summit: Toward a Less Self-Centered Policy," in David Carment, Fen Osler Hampson and Norman Hillmer, eds. (2003), *Canada Among Nations 2003: Coping with the American Colossus* (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 219-241.
- 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.
- Kirton, John (1999), "Canada as a Principal Financial Power: G7 and IMF Diplomacy in the Crisis of 1997-99," *International Journal* 54 (Autumn): 603-624.
- Penttila (2003), 64-66.
- Smith, Gordon (2001-02), "It's a Long Way from Halifax to Kananaskis," *International Journal* 57 (Winter): 123-127.
- *Haynal, George (2005), "Summitry and Governance: The Case for a G-xx," in *Canada Among Nations 2004*: 261-274.
- *Heeney, Timothy (1988), *Canadian Foreign Policy and the Seven Power Summits*, Country Study Number 1, Toronto, University of Toronto, Centre for International Studies. Web.
- *Kirton, John (2006), "Canada's G8 Security Architecture: Making Multilateralism Work," August 22, 2006, draft available at Trinity Library.
- *Kirton, John (2002), "Canada as a Principal Summit Power: G7/8 Concert Diplomacy from Halifax 1995 to Kananaskis 2002," in Norman Hillmer and Maureen Molot, eds., *A Fading Power? Canada Among Nations 2001* (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 209-232.
- *Kirton, John (1998), "The Emerging Pacific Partnership: Japan, Canada and the United States at the G7 Summit," in Michael Fry, John Kirton and Mitsuru Kurosawa, eds., *The North Pacific Triangle: The United States, Japan, and Canada at Century's End* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 292-314.
- *Kirton, John (1995), "The Diplomacy of Concert: Canada, the G7 and the Halifax Summit," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 3 (Spring): 63-80. Web.
- *G8 Online 2002 Lectures 10, 11, 21, 2004 Lecture 6.

9. The United States

- Kirton, John (2005), "America at the G8: from Vulnerability to Victory at the Sea Island Summit," *New Perspectives*, 31-50.
- May, Bernhard (2005), "The G8 in a Globalizing World: Does the United States Need the G8?" *New Perspectives*, 67-81.
- Penttila, Risto (2005), "Advancing American Security Interests through the G8," *New Perspectives*, 83-104.
- Rugman, Alan (2005), "U. S. Energy Security and Regional Business," *New Perspectives*, 153-167.
- Antholis, William (2001), "Pragmatic Engagement or Photo Op: What Will the G8 Become?" *Washington Quarterly* 24(3 Summer) <www.twq.com/01summer/antholis.pdf>.
- Loy, Frank (2004), "U.S. Approaches to International Conflict Prevention and the Role of Allies and International Institutions," in Kirton and Stefanova, 103-112.
- Penttila (2003), 51-53, 91.
- Stephens, Gina (2002), "The Roots of the New Consensus: The United States and the Transformation of the G8 System," in Kirton and Takase, 239-251.
- *Hornung, Robert (1989), *Sharing Economic Responsibility: The United States and the Seven Power Summits*, Country Study Number 4, Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for International Studies. Web.

- *Kirton, John (1998), "The Emerging Pacific Partnership: Japan, Canada, and the United States at the G7 Summit," in Michael Fry, John Kirton and Mitsuru Kurosawa eds., *The North Pacific Triangle: The United States, Japan and Canada at Century's End* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 292-314.
- *Putnam, Robert (1994), "Western Summitry in the 1990s: American Perspectives," *International Spectator* 29 (April/June): 81-93. Web.
- *G8 Online 2004 Lecture 5, 23, 24, 25.

10. Japan

- Watanabe, Koji (1999), "Japan's Summit Contributions and Economic Challenges," *Role*, 95-106.
- 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," *Global Governance* 9 (February): 1-17.
- Katada, Saori (2001), "Japan's Approach to Shaping a New International Financial Architecture," in Kirton and von Furstenberg, 113-126.
- Kiuchi, Takashi (2003), "Evaluating Koizumi's Reforms and the Implications for the Global Economy," in Fratianni, Savona and Kirton (2003), 177-189.
- Kiuchi, Takashi (2002), "Japan, Asia, and the Rebuilding of the Financial Sector," in Fratianni, Savona and Kirton (2002), 87-101.
- Penttila (2003), 60-64.
- *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.
- *Sakurada, Daizo (1989), *Japan and the Management of the International Political Economy*, Country Study No. 6, Toronto: University of Toronto Centre for International Studies and University of Toronto/York University Joint Centre on Asia-Pacific Studies.
- G8 Online 2004 Lecture 11.

11. Britain

- Brenton, Anthony (2000), in Kuhne with Pratl, 90-92.
- Fratianni, Michele, John Kirton and Paolo Savona, eds. (2007), *Financing Development: The G8 and UN Contributions* (Ashgate: Aldershot). Chapters by John Kirton and Anthony Payne. (Typescript available at Trinity Library).
- Hodges, Michael (1994), "More Efficiency, Less Dignity: British Perspectives on the Future Role and Working of the G7," *International Spectator* 29 (April/June): 141-159. Web.
- Penttila (2003), 54-56.
- Rugman, Alan and Alina Kudina (2002), "Britain, Europe and North America," in Fratianni, Savona and Kirton (2002), 185-197.
- *Armstrong, Robert (1988), "Economic Summits: A British Perspective," Bissell Paper No. 5, Toronto: University of Toronto Centre for International Studies. Web.
- *Fraser, Maurice, ed. (2005), ed., *The Gleneagles G8 Summit* (London: Agora Publications).

- *Kirton, John (2004), "What the G8's Sea Island Summit Means for the World Ahead," paper prepared for a seminar at the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, Japan, July 27. Web.
- *Martiri, Gail (1991), "The Right Kind of Club: Britain and the Seven Power Summit," Country Study Number 8, Toronto: University of Toronto Centre for International Studies.
- *G8 Online 2004 Lecture 8, 26.

12. France

- Davanne, Olivier and Pierre Jacquet (2000), "Practising Exchange Rate Flexibility," in Kaiser, Kirton and Daniels, 153-186.
- Defarges, Phillippe Moreau (1994), "The French Viewpoint on the Future of the G7," *International Spectator* 29 (April/June): 177-185. Web.
- Fратиanni, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton eds. (2007), *Corporate, Public and Global Governance: the G8 Contribution* (Ashgate: Aldershot). Chapters by Olivier Giscard D'Estaing, John Kirton and Victoria Panova, and Pierre Jacquet
- Paginon, Jean-Felix (2000), in Kuhne with Pratl, 87-89.
- Penttila (2003), 56-58.
- *Roberge, Francois (1988), "French Foreign Policy and the Seven Power Summits," Country Study No. 3, Toronto: University of Toronto Centre for International Studies.
- *G8 Online 2004 Lecture 7, 22.

13. Germany

- Kirton, John (2003), "After Westphalia: Security and Freedom in the G8's Global Governance," in Thomas Jager, Gerhard Kummel, Marika Lerch, and Thomas Noetzel, eds., *Security and Freedom: Foreign Policy, Domestic Politics and Political Theory Perspectives* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft), 94-107.
- Kirton, John, Joseph Daniels and Andreas Freytag, eds. (2001), *Guiding Global Order: G8 Governance in the Twenty-First Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate). Chapters by Freytag, Donges and Tillman, Dluhosch, Schwegmann, and Theuringer.
- Kuhne with Pratl (2000), Introduction and chapters by Volmer, Pleuger.
- Maull, Hanns (1994), "Germany at the Summit," *International Spectator* 29 (April/June): 112-139. Web.
- Penttila (2003), 58-60.
- *Fraser, Maurice ed. (2007), *G8 Summit 2007: Growth and Responsibility*. (Agora Projects and Newsdesk Communications: London).
- *Pons, Michael (1988), "West German Foreign Policy and the Seven Power Summits," Country Study No. 2, Toronto: University of Toronto Centre for International Studies.
- *G8 Online 2004 Lecture 10.

14. Italy

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

- Cesare Merlini and G. Garavoglia (1994), "The Future of the G7 Summits," *International Spectator* 29 (April-June).
- Franchini-Sherifis, Rossella and Valerio Astraldi (2001), *The G7/G8: From Rambouillet to Genoa*, Franco Angelo, Milan.
- Penttila (2003), 66-68.
- Zupi, Marco (2001), "The Genoa G8 Summit: Great Expectations, Disappointing Results," *International Spectator* 36 (July-September): 57-68.
- *Dimock, Blair (1989), "The Benefits of Teamplay: Italy and the Seven Power Summits," Country Study No. 5, Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for International Studies.
- *G8 Online 2004 Lecture 12.

15. Russia

- Panova, Victoria (2005), "Russia in the G8: From Sea Island 2004 to Russia 2006," *New Perspectives*, 51-66.
- Kirton, John (2006), "The Road to St. Petersburg," in Maurice Fraser, ed., *G8 Summit 2006: Issues and Instruments* (London: Agora Publications), pp. 18-22.
- Kirton, John (2003), "Governing Globalization: The G8's Contribution for the Twenty-First Century," in Vadim Razumovsky, ed, *Russia Within the Group of Eight* (Moscow: Institute for Applied International Research). Typescript available.
- Kirton, John and Laura Sunderland (2006), "Russia's 2006 G8: Combining Continuity and Innovation for Summit Success," *Italianieuropei: Bimestrale del riformismo italiano*, No. 2 (March/April).
- Penttila (2003), 68-70.
- MacFarlane, Neil (1995), "Russia and the G7," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 3 (Spring): 81-89.
- *Fraser, Maurice, ed (2006), *G8 Summit 2006: Issues and Instruments* (Agora Projects and Newsdesk Communications: London).
- *Hoehmann, Hans-Hermann and Christian Meier (1996), "Before and After Yeltsin's Election Victory: On Prospects of Western Cooperation with Russia," *Aussenpolitik* 47(3): 263-73.
- *Hoehmann, Hans-Hermann and Christian Meier (1996), "The Halifax G7 Summit and Western Assistance for Russia and the Ukraine," *Aussenpolitik* 47(1): 53-61.
- *Hoehmann, Hans-Hermann and Christian Meier (1994), "The World Economic Summit in Naples: A New Political Role for Russia?" *Aussenpolitik* 45(4): 336-345.
- *Prihod'ko, S. E. (2007), *Russian Presidency of the G8 in 2006*, (Moscow).
- *Vogel, Heinrich (1991), "The London Summit and the Soviet Union," *Aussenpolitik* 42: 315-25.
- *G8 Online 2004 Lecture 9.

16. European Union

- Fischer, Klemens (2001), "The G7/G8 and the European Union," *Guiding*, 123-142.
- Schwegmann, Christoph (2001), "Modern Concert Diplomacy: The Contact Group and the G7/G8 in Crisis Management," *Guiding*, 93-122.
- 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).

Penttila (2003), 70-74.

Rummel, Reinhardt (2004), "Advancing the European Union's Conflict Prevention Agenda," in Kirton and Stefanova, 113-141.

Ullrich, Heidi and Alan Donnelly (1998), "The Group of Eight and the European Union," *G8 Governance* 5. Web.

*Hainsworth, Susan (1990), "Coming of Age: The European Community and the Economic Summit," Country Study No. 7, Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for International Studies. Web.

*Lamy, Pascal (1988), "The Economic Summit and the European Community," Bissell Paper No. 4, Toronto, University of Toronto Centre for International Studies. Web.

PART C: The Concluding G8 Summit Simulation

17. The G8 Summit Simulation (December 5)

For this final session of the seminar, students will assume the roles of all members and participants of the G8 and simulate the 2008 Hokkaido Toyako G8 Summit to be hosted by Japan on July 7-9, 2008, with a focus on its priority themes (currently climate change, African development, intellectual property and nuclear safety). A draft communiqué (chair's statement) will be produced in advance for consideration during the seminar. Students will be evaluated as part of their presentation and participation mark.

ASSIGNMENTS:

The *Critical Analytical Review* should follow the general form of book or literature reviews in scholarly journals. Although there are many existing reviews of G7/8 related books (see below for the citations of examples), these are generally much weaker than what is required here. Your critical review should deal with both the overall book and the individual chapters and, in 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 G7/8 performance? That is, how well does it explain the full range of issue areas, time periods and G7/8 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 literature?

You may wish to start by reading Tony Porter's review of the Hodges, Kirton and Daniels book in the *International Journal* 55 (Spring 2000), pp. 337-338; Heidi Ullrich's review of the Hodges, Kirton, and Daniel's book in *Millennium* vol. 29, no. 1 (2000), pp. 222-224, or Raquel Arguedas's review of Kirton, Daniels and Freytag in *Millennium* (2002): 165-166.

Graduate students will be expected to use primary research materials in their essays and to make major use of the works on underlying international relations theory. A special session dealing with data availability and quality can be arranged.

The *Research Essays* will address the following questions.

A. Essays on the Summit Process:

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

B. Essays on Summit Members:

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

vulnerability and shocks, overall and issue structure, international institutional adequacy, shared social purpose, interdependence-globalization, and societal, state and individual factors.

5. Conclusion. How well does your thesis and the competing schools work? What does this case say about how well the overall models of G8 performance work?

INFORMATION SOURCES

All the books and weekly readings for this course 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 complete 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>. It contains an extensive bibliography of works on the G8, compiled by Peter Hajnal, plus other publications and citations, together with the full text of some pieces. It also contains the documentation issued by and at the annual G7/8 summit and some ancillary ministerial meetings, a list of delegations, media coverage and, since 1996, an evaluation of the performance of the annual G8 summit and its participating members. It contains links to other G8 sites established for particular meetings or subjects.

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" *Global 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.

September 3, 2007