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:

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

Other Core Recommended Collections:

Fratianni, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds. (2003), Sustaining Global Growth and Development: G7 and IMF Challenges and Contributions (Aldershot: Ashgate).
Kirton, John and Junichi Takase, eds. (2002), New Directions in Global Political Governance (Aldershot: Ashgate).
Bayne, Nicholas (2000), Hanging In There: The G7 and G8 Summit in Maturity and Renewal (Aldershot: Ashgate).

Additional Useful Resources:


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?

Penttila (2003), 5-32.
*Bull, Hedley (1977), The Anarchical Society (London: Macmillan), Chapters 1, 2.

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?


*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.


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?

*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?

*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?


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


Pentilla (2003), 64-66.


9. The United States


*G8 Online 2004 Lecture 5, 23, 24, 25.

10. **Japan**


Penttila (2003), 60-64.


*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**


Penttila (2003), 54-56.


11

*G8 Online 2004 Lecture 8, 26.

12. France

Penttila (2003), 56-58.
*G8 Online 2004 Lecture 7, 22.

13. Germany

Penttila (2003), 58-60.
*G8 Online 2004 Lecture 10.

14. Italy

Penttila (2003), 66-68.
*G8 Online 2004 Lecture 12.

15. **Russia**

Penttila (2003), 68-70.
*G8 Online 2004 Lecture 9.

16. **European Union**

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?


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.


September 3, 2007