

POL 343
The Politics of Global Governance
Summer 2002 at Siena
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The recent proliferation of civil society protest at international Summits, culminating with the Genoa G8 Summit in July 2001, reveals a widespread dissatisfaction with the contemporary process of globalization, and the current arrangements for global governance. At the same time, it suggests that citizens still believe it is possible to govern globalization in more just ways, and that the Group of Eight Summit system of the major market democracies is the most effective institution for designing and delivering more effective and equitable global governance.

This course explores whether and how this might be done. Focusing on globalization, global governance and the G8, it examines in turn three central questions:

- What is new about the current processes and problems of “globalization?”
- How well have the various approaches to, and institutions of, global governance over the past four centuries dealt with the problems of globalization?
- How has the Group of Eight (G8), as the most recent system of global governance, responded to these challenges, particularly at its most recent Summits in Italy in July 2001 and Canada in June 2002?

Together these explorations lead to conclusions about the causes of effective global governance and the changes that are called for to control the current wave of globalization and such acute twenty-first century challenges as global financial crisis and poor growth, persistent poverty and environmental degradation, transnational crime and terrorism, and deadly conflict.

The course, tailored to meet the interests, needs and backgrounds of the participants, begins with globalization. Drawing on site visits in the Siena area and in Genoa, it explores the historic process of globalization that started with Europe’s global expansion and that has proceeded, with great interruptions during eras of war and depression, to the present day. It identifies what is new about the current wave of globalization, whether it is inevitable and irreversible, and what challenges of governance it presents.

The course then turns to global governance. Here it examines the succession of approaches created to govern the global community since the creation of the system of territorial sovereign states with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. It explores in turn the informal classic balance of power of the 17th and 18th century, the semi-formal Concert of Europe of the 19th century, and the formal twentieth century collective security system embodied in the League of Nations and United Nations galaxies of international organizations. Drawing on the site visit to Rome, it assesses the evolution of the United Nations galaxy with its functional agencies and its ability to meet the challenges of globalization in the twenty-first century.

The course then turns to its major concern with the contemporary processes of globalization and the efforts at global governance through the G7 and now G8 system of international institutions. Drawing on the site visits to Genoa and Rome, it deals with the processes of intergovernmental co-operation and compliance, and the strategies of member countries, in the G8, and the G7/8’s effectiveness in dealing with the challenges of globalization in the twenty-first century.

There are three **requirements** for the course:

1. A 1,000 word essay on “How and why has ‘globalization’ changed over the past four centuries,” due the second class following the Genoa field trip and worth 25% of the final grade.
2. A 2,000 word essay on “What explains the relative performance of the United Nations’ and G7/8 systems in meeting the priority needs of global governance during the past quarter century, and how well are they structured to meet those of the twenty-first century?” This essay is due three days after the Rome field trip and is worth 25% of the final grade.
3. A test, covering the entire course, written in the last class and worth 50% of the grade.

In order to take maximum advantage of the Siena experience, emphasis will be placed on the classroom lectures, pre-arrival readings, and the observations and reflections of the “journal” students will keep of their visits in Siena and its environs, and the field trips to Genoa and Rome. Daily readings at Siena will be kept to a manageable minimum.

The one **textbook** for the course is Michael Hodges, John Kirton and Joseph Daniels, eds., *The G8’s Role in the New Millennium*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999). It will be used in its entirety for the daily readings in Siena. It can be purchased from the University of Toronto bookstore.

Additional **readings** in Siena will come from following core books, largely from the *G8 and Global Governance* series and from the G8 Online Lectures at www.g8online.org. These will be available in sufficient quantity to be borrowed from the instructor in Siena on a revolving basis and with appropriate co-operation among students. (In addition, the affluent may wish to consider purchasing the Ikenberry paperback listed below).

Peter Hajnal (1999), *The G7/G8 System: Evolution, role, documentation*, Ashgate: Aldershot.

Nicholas Bayne (2000), *Hanging in There: The G7 and G8 Summit in Maturity and Renewal*, Ashgate: Aldershot.

Karl Kaiser, John Kirton and Joseph Daniels, eds (2000)., *Shaping a New International Financial System: Challenges of Governance in a Globalizing World*, Ashgate: Aldershot.

John Kirton, Joseph Daniels and Andreas Freytag, eds. (2001), *Guiding Global Order: G8 Governance in the Twenty First Century*, Ashgate: Aldershot.

George Von Furstenberg and John Kirton, eds. (2001), *New Directions in Global Economic Governance: Creating International Order for the Twenty First Century*, Ashgate: Aldershot.

John Kirton and Junichi Takese, eds. (2002), *New Directions in Global Political Governance: The G8 and International Order for the Twenty First Century*. Ashgate, Aldershot.

Michele Fratianni, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds. (2002), *Governing Global Finance: New Challenges, G7 and IMF Contributions*, Ashgate, Aldershot.

Thomas Brewer and Gavin Boyd, eds. (2000), *Globalizing America: The USA in World Integration*, (Cheltenham, Edward Elgar).

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

Special Issue, *The International Spectator* 29 (April/June 1994).): In Italian as in Guido Garavoglia e Cesare Merlini, (eds.) *Il Vertice dei Sette* (Rome: Franco Angeli, 1994).

Franchini-Sherifis, Rossella and Valerio Astraldi (2001), *The G7/G8: From Rambouillet to Genoa*, Franco Angelo, Milan. An Italian version is available.

Prior to their arrival, students should master, as a **pre-arrival reading**, the classic work on the G7: Robert Putnam and Nicholas Bayne. *Hanging Together: Cooperation and Conflict in the Seven Power Summits*. rev. ed., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1987. You will also want to view or read the relevant lectures in G8 Online at www.g8online.org. You should also participate in the G8 Online Bulletin Boards, to get an early start on our classroom dialogue.

Students should also read *at least one* of the following contemporary works on “globalization”:

Barber, Benjamin (1995), *Jihad versus McWorld: How Globalism and Tribalism are Reshaping the World*, (Ballantine Books: New York). (An American-centered pessimistic view of the dialectical struggle between monopoly “infotainment”-led globalism and tribalism, arguing that the former will win in the long run but that both are bad for democracy.)

Friedman, Thomas (1999), *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Farrar, Straus, Giroux, New York. (An American view from the socially conscious, liberalization-supporting liberal middle, in the story telling tradition.)

Gray, John (1998), *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism*, London, Granata Books. (A pessimistic treatment from Britain, backed by philosophic depth.)

Micklethwait, John and Adrian Wooldridge (2000), *A Future Perfect: The Challenge and Hidden Promise of Globalization*, Crown Publishers, New York. (An optimistic British account of how globalization means not just prosperity but freedom as well).

Prior to departure, students should become familiar with the range of **web materials** available at www.g8.utoronto.ca This early work will assure that you can readily find what you want from Siena’s many cyber-café’s with minimum time and expense.

The **daily sessions** of the class at Siena will run as follows, with some flexibility to accommodate special interests:

1. Introduction and Organization Monday, July 29

What is globalization, global governance and the G8?

G8 Online, Lecture 1, “Introduction to the Course.”

2. Globalization Past and Present Tuesday, July 30

Frederic Pryor, "Internationalization and globalization of the American economy," in Brewer and Boyd (2000).

G8 Online, Lecture 2, "The New Globalization and its Challenges"

3. *Governing Globalization: Competing Approaches to Global Governance* Wednesday, July 31

Ikenberry (2001), Chapter 1-3.

GITA, No Class, Thursday, August 1

4. *The Classic Concert System* Monday, August 5

Ikenberry (2001), Chapter 4.

5. *The Modern Collective Security System: The League and United Nations* Tuesday, August 6

Ikenberry (2001), Chapters 5-7.

Kirton and Takese (2002), Chapter 12.

Kuhne, Winrich, with Jochen Prantl (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 (SWP)).

G8 Online, Lecture 3, "The United Nations System and its Contributions"

Genoa Field Trip August 7-8

6. *The G7/G8 as an International Institution: Explaining Co-operation* Monday, August 12

Hodges, Kirton and Daniels (1999), Chapters 1-3.

G8 Online, Lecture 4, The Creation and Evolution of the G7/G8 System and Summit

G8 Online, Lecture 5, Generating Cooperation at the G7/G8

7. *The G7/G8 as an Authoritative Institution: Explaining Compliance* Tuesday, August 13

Hodges, Kirton and Daniels (1999), Chapter 5.

G8 Online, Lecture 6, Compliance with G7/8 Commitments

8. The G7/8 as an Effective Institution: Summit Process and Reform Wednesday, August 14

Hodges, Kirton and Daniels (1999), Chapter 4.

Kirton, Daniels and Freytag (2001), Chapters 9 and 11.

Kirton and Takase (2002), Chapter 13.

G8 Online, Lecture 7, The Summit Preparations, Process and Reform

G8 Online, Lecture 8, Civil Society Outreach

G8 Online, Lecture 9, Global Community Outreach

Assumption, No Classes, Thursday, August 14

9. Canada Monday, August 19

John Kirton, "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, 2002), available from instructor.

John Kirton, "The Diplomacy of Concert: Canada, the G7 and the Halifax Summit," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 3 (Spring 1995): 63-80. At www.g8.utoronto.ca

John Kirton, "Exercising Concerted Leadership: Canada's Approach to Summit Reform", *The International Spectator* 29 (April-June 1994). At www.g8.utoronto.ca

G8 Online, Lecture 10, Canada and its Values in Foreign Policy

G8 Online, Lecture 11, Canada's G7/8 Diplomacy and Approach to Kananaskis

G8 Online, Lecture 21, Prospects for Kananaskis

10. Italy and the European Union Tuesday, August 20

Cesare Merlini and G. Garavoglia, "The Future of the G7 Summits," Special Issue of *The International Spectator* 29 (April-June 1994). Also available as *Il Vertice dei Sette: Ruolo prospettive del G-7 nel mutato scenario internazionale*, (Franco Angeli, Rome, 1994). www.g8.utoronto.ca

Franchini-Sherifis, Rossella and Valerio Astraldi (2001), *The G7/G8: From Rambouillet to Genoa*, Franco Angelo, Milan.

Hodges, Kirton and Daniels (1999), Chapter 12.

Kirton, Daniels and Freytag (2001), Chapters 7 and 8.

Rome Field Trip, August 21-22

11. *The United States* Monday, August 26

Kirton and Takase (2002), Chapter 15.

Kirton, John, "Deepening Integration and Global Governance: America as a Globalized Partner," in Brewer and Boyd (2000), pp. 40-63.

Hodges, Kirton and Daniels (1999), Chapter 7-11.

12. *Japan* Tuesday, August 27

Hodges, Kirton and Daniels (1999), Chapter 6

Kirton and von Furstenberg (2001), Chapters 7 and 8.

Kirton, John, "The Emerging Pacific Partnership: Japan, Canada, and the United States at the G-7 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, 1998).

13. *Whither Globalization and the G8* Wednesday, August 28

G8 Online, Lecture 22, Kananaskis: An Assessment

G8 Online, Lecture 23, Assessing the Kananaskis Contribution to the Development Agenda

G8 Online, Lecture 24, Kananaskis Contribution to Civil Society

G8 Online, Lecture 25, Kananaskis Contribution to Global Community

G8 Online, Lecture 26, Towards the Fifth Summit Cycle

Final Test, Thursday, August 29