This course locates the G20 within a complex process of summit diplomacy. The course will start with an overview of the concept and practice of concert diplomacy, with special attention to the functioning of re-ordering global order. Both the strengths and weaknesses of this process will be examined. Concerts bring together the states, the leaders, and the officials who dominate international affairs. But this re-configuration can also be contested from a variety of perspectives. Is it a concert of big states? The course will then proceed to examine the similarities and differences between the G20 and earlier concepts of diplomacy. In many ways the G20 at the leaders’ level builds on prior institutional arrangements, above all the G20 Finance set up during the Asian/IMF crisis of the late 1990s. Some of its culture is derived from the G8. Yet it is the uniqueness of the G20 as a novel forum that stands out. Moreover, unlike the G7 it contains not just states and leaders from the North but opens up rights and responsibilities to the global South, both in terms of the BRICs and middle powers. It operates as a crisis committee, but also has the potential to be a steering committee moving into an array of issues including development. Although a club in terms of many of its features, it is also linked into a wide number of networks. Indeed, much of its work is designed to act as a catalyst for other institutions. If largely a state-centric project of diplomacy there does seem to be some (albeit contested) space for non-state actors to participate.

Required Texts:


Peter C. Heap, Globalization and Summit Reform: An Experiment in International Governance (Springer/IDRC 2008). PH


The core readings for this course are from these books (denoted with a *). However, the outline contains a number of other readings that can be used as background for discussions, seminar presentations, and papers.

**Additional Readings:**

The majority of this course’s readings are journal and newspaper articles. These can be accessed via the University of Waterloo’s library system. Please use the links outlined below and search using the journal title or via the e-journals: [http://sfx.scholarsportal.info/waterloo/az](http://sfx.scholarsportal.info/waterloo/az)

**Course Requirements and Assignments:**

Student will do two short papers that will allow them to lead analysis and discussion of that week’s seminar topic. Students will be able to select their assignments by the second week. Students will turn one of their short papers into a longer term paper.

These papers must be written in traditional essay format with appropriate acknowledgement of sources (i.e. proper footnotes, bibliography etc) and they must develop a central thesis that relates to the broad themes addressed during the week of the presentation.

Presentation(s) and Leadership of class comprise 60% of the final mark: 20% for the analytical content of each of two short papers and 20% for overall seminar leadership and other forms of class participation.

The short papers will be 8 to 10 pages in length (12 font) and are required by 4:30 pm the day before the class in which the small papers will be presented. Submission by email of the papers is fine.

Paper: The essay assignment for the class will be an expansion of one of these smaller papers into a larger research paper between 20-25 pages (12 point font, double spaced). The paper is worth – 40%

The final paper is due by 4:30 pm on April 4, 2011, and will be written in traditional essay format with appropriate acknowledgement of sources (i.e. footnotes, bibliography etc).

**Academic Integrity:**

**Academic Integrity:** In order to maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility.
**Discipline:** A student is expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offences, and to take responsibility for his/her actions. A student who is unsure whether an action constitutes an offence, or who needs help in learning how to avoid offences (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about “rules” for group work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Undergraduate Associate Dean. When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under Policy 71 – Student Discipline. For information on categories of offenses and types of penalties, students should refer to Policy 71 - Student Discipline, [http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy71.htm](http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy71.htm)

**Grievance:** A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of his/her university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. Read Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances, Section 4, [http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy70.htm](http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy70.htm)

**Appeals:** A student may appeal the finding and/or penalty in a decision made under Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances (other than regarding a petition) or Policy 71 - Student Discipline if a ground for an appeal can be established. Read Policy 72 - Student Appeals, [http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy72.htm](http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy72.htm)

**Academic Integrity website (Arts):** [http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic_responsibility.html](http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic_responsibility.html)

**Academic Integrity Office (UW):** [http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/](http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/)

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**Accommodation for Students with Disabilities:**

**Note for students with disabilities:** The Office for Persons with Disabilities (OPD), located in Needles Hall, Room 1132, collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the OPD at the beginning of each academic term.

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**Week 1 – January 5**

Overview of the Course
A focus on the major questions
Looking Back: Traditional Perspectives on Summitry
The Concert Model
Leaders and their advisors
Adaptations in the post-1945 Era
Wider debates

**Overviews on Summitry prior to the G20**

*Andrew F. Cooper and John English, Introduction, 1-24. JE, RT and AFC

Nicholas Bayne, ‘The G8’s Past Performances,’ [UofT G7 Info. Center, Nicholas Bayne. The G8’s Past Performance ...](http://uoftg7infocenter.org/)

John Kirton, ‘Contemporary Concert Diplomacy: The Seven-Power Summit and the Management of International Order’.

UTLink. Contemporary Concert Diplomacy:...Prof. John Kirton

Alison Bailin (2005), ‘From Traditional to Group Hegemony’. www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/bailin/bailin2000.pdf

Accounts of the Concert Model


Concert Models and Advisors


Henry A. Kissinger ‘Obama's Foreign Policy Challenge’, Washington Post, April 22, 2009 google or jstor Henry A. Kissinger - Obama's Foreign Policy Challenge ...

Background on Wider debates about new and old Diplomacy


Week 2 – January 12

Ideational Forces and the intersection of Diplomacy and Governance
The ongoing relevance of Realism and Power Politics
Liberal Internationalism
Clubs and/Or Networks
Diplomats as agents of change
Status quo versus revolutionary
Ideational Forces

* Richard Higgott, ‘Multilateralism and the limits of global governance,’ 72-96. JE, RT and AFC


The intersection of Diplomacy and Governance


Realism


Liberal Internationalism


* Ikenberry, John (2001), The Three faces of Liberal Internationalism’, 17-47. ASA and AFC

Networks

Diplomats as Change Agents


See blog — Guerrilla Diplomacy


Status Quo vs. Revisionist


Week 3 – January 19

Out with the Old? The G8 under stress
Two-level international and domestic ‘games’
Like-mindedness as virtue or constraint
The Challenge of Rising States
International status and domestic politics

The G8 under stress

Alison Bailin, ‘From Traditional to Institutionalized Hegemony’,< www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/bailin/bailin2000.pdf>

From Traditional to Institutionalized Hegemony


**The G8 in context**


**Legitimacy and efficiency gaps**


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

**Two-level Games**


**The limits of like—mindedness**


**Rising States**


*Yu Yong Ding, ‘China's Evolving Global View’, 187-200. *JE, RT and AFC*


Seminars
Week 4 January 26

Summitry as shock absorbers and/or a crisis committee
The crisis of 2008– as a unique/conventional experience
A Global or Anglo-American phenomenon?
Incremental and transformational solutions?

The G20 as a shock absorber

*‘introduction”, 1-16. ASA and AFC.

‘Making the L20 a Reality’, 61-68 PH

Alan Alexandroff and John Kirton, ‘The ‘Great Recession’ and the Emergence of the G-20 Leaders Summit’, 177-195. ASA and AFC.


The Financial crisis


Jeffrey Frieden, ‘avoiding the worst: international economic cooperation and domestic politics’, 2 February, 2009 voxeu.org

International economic cooperation and the home front | vox ...

The G20 agenda and the crisis

Andrew F. Cooper: The G20 Summit: An Ambitious but Incomplete Advance in Global Re-ordering

Greg Chin: China and the end of the G8


Week 5 February 2

Do Ideas matter?
Models from the past? – Bretton Woods or Yalta?
Models for the Future – the G20 Finance and the L20
The role of Think Tanks/Epistemic Communities

Ramesh Thakur and Andrew Thompson, ‘The L20 in the 21st Century’, 296- 311. JE, RT and AFC


Models from the past

Eric Helleiner: The Washington G20 Meeting: A New Bretton Woods?


Models for the future


**Think tanks**


**Week 6 February 9**

How Different are leaders?
The Convening Power of some (dominant) leaders
The socialization patterns from finance to leadership
Calling the G20 into being: the ongoing power or the last gasp of US Exceptionalism?

* Barry Carin and Gordon Smith, ‘Making Change happen at the global level,’ 25-45 **JE, RT** and **AFC**

*‘Gaps in Institutional Architecture’, 7-11. **PH**

*‘What do leaders Do Anyway’, 11-14. **PH**

*Role of Leaders, 51. **PH**


*Globalization and Summit Reform; A Leader’s View’, Paul Martin. 87-90. **PH**


G20, The Group of Twenty: A History

**THE GROUP OF TWENTY: A HISTORY**


Week 7 February 16

A New Concert of the Bigs
False starts in G8 outreach or a harbinger in innovative diplomacy
The innovative capacity of HP process
Status and reputation concerns of Rising States
Plurilateralism vs Universalism via the UN

Moving towards a concert of the bigs


*Timothy M. Shaw, Agata Antkiewicz, and Andrew F. Cooper* ‘The Logic of the B(R)ICSAM Model for Global Governance’, 19-44. AFC and AA


False starts


Defining, pursuing new global economic role a tough ...

‘Nation should play greater role in G20, says expert’, China Daily 19 March 2009.

Nation should play greater role in G20, says expert


David Dombey, Krishna Guha and Andrew Ward, ‘Talks challenge elite club of rich countries,’ Financial Times, 17 November 2008,

BBC, ‘World Press says G20 summit shows shift in power balance,’ 17 November 2008. BBC News - G20: Reaction from around the world

The HP process

Gregory T. Chin, ‘China’s Evolving G8 Engagement: Complex Interests and Multiple Identity in Global Governance Reform’, 83-114. AFC and AA

Abdul Nafey, ‘India and the G8: Reaching Out or Out of Reach?’, 115-136. AFC and AA

Denise Gregory and Paulo Roberto de Almeida, ‘Brazil and the G8 Heiligendamm Process’, 137-162. AFC and AA


Duncan Wood, A Break with the Past or a Natural Progression? Mexico and the Heiligendamm Process, 193-212. AFC and AA

Paul Bowles, ‘ASEAN and the G8: Potentially Productive Partners or Two Ships Passing in the Night?’, 213-231. AFC and AA

Richard Woodward, ‘Is the OECD Involved in the Heiligendamm Process?’, 263-283. AFC and AA


Colin I. Bradford, Jr. ‘The United States and Summit Reform in a Transformational Era’, 307-336. AFC and AA

Alan S. Alexandroff, ‘Enhanced Engagement: The Heiligendamm Process and Beyond’, 337-351. AFC and AA
**Week 8 February 23**
Reading Week

**Week 9 March 2**

Building Momentum from Washington DC to London to Pittsburgh  
The importance of technical policy  
Process matters: the Importance of Sherpas/technical experts  
Long dead economists – the power of stimulus  
A revival or transition of institutions – the IMF and the FSB

*TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 2009  
Flashpoints For The Pittsburgh Summit  
Alan S. Alexandroff, Andrew F. Cooper, Bessma Momani, Colin Bradford, Daniel Schwanen, Debra Steger, Gregory Chin, Jennifer Jeffs, Pierre Siklos, and Thomas Homer-Dixon

**CIGI Special G20 Report**  
Eric Helleiner and Paola Subacchi.  

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 2010**  
The Financial Stability Board And International Standards  
Eric Helleiner  
*CIGI G20 Paper No.1*


Martin Wolf, ‘Will the G20 rise to these exceptional challenges? Nom is the answer’, *Ft*, 1 April 2009.

‘Sarko more likely to win than to walk out’, *Financial Times*, 1 April 2009.

Timothy Garton Ash, ‘Far from resisting Chinese requests for a larger role in international organizations, we should offer it ourselves,’ *Guardian*, 2 April 2009.


Bob Davis, Jonathan Weisman and Stephen Fidler, ‘G20 to replace G8 as permanent council on international economic cooperation’, *Wall Street Journal*, 25 September 2009,
Week 9 March 9

Architectural Issues
Who is In and out and who decides?
Regional vs national representation
The Bigs versus the Rest
The ongoing push for opening up the process

‘L20 Nuts and Bolts’, 69-74. PH

*Making The G20 Summit Process Work: Some Proposals For Improving Effectiveness And Legitimacy*


*Amrita Narikar, “Reforming Institutions, Unreformed India?”, 105-127


Week 10 March 16 (this class will have to be re-scheduled)

Losing Momentum?
Big through the G20 is Harder than the G8
A return to like-mindedness
Technical solutions are controversial and take a long time
bank taxes, too big to fail etc
Biggs vs. Middle Powers

‘Next Steps, 75-84. PH


*THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 2010
The G20 And The Post-Crisis Economic Order
Andrew F. Cooper and Colin Bradford


Mark Blyth and Neil K. Shenai, The G-20’s Dead Ideas

Why Fiscal Retrenchment is the Wrong Response to the Crisis, Foreign Affairs, July 9, 2010.

Week 11 March 23

A club of states?
Civil society/uncivil society and the G8
Celebrities and the G8
The G20 as a state-based project
The struggle for a constituency
Taking on or rescuing the bankers

*Daniel Drache, ‘The political economy of dissent: Global Publics after Cancun’, 123-140. JE, RT and AFC


‘Global Fairness and the search for Legitimacy’, 39-50. PH.

reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/retrieveattachments?openagent&shorted

Cooper, Andrew (2008), *Celebrity Diplomacy* (Paradigm Publishers: Boulder)

Dobson, Hugo (2008), “Where are the Women at the G8?” at www.g8.utoronto.ca

Civil Society not welcome
viacampesina.org/.../index.php?...civil-society...g20..

Civil Society and the G20
riaeducation.org/rajeshtandon-blog/?p=92

www.halifaxinitiative.org/.../bridge-south-korea-global-civil-society-meeting- g20

Civil Society reaction to the G20 communiqué


Civil Society challenges the UN


*Week 12 March 30*

A Crisis Committee to the hub of Global Governance
Expanding the agenda beyond financial shock absorbers
Bringing development in
The Korean Summit – bridging the developed and developing world
The G20 Business Forum – towards public/private partnerships

‘The G20: From Global Crisis Responder to Global Steering Committee’, (Paul Martin)
‘The G8: Legacy, Limitations and Lessons’, (John Kirton)
‘The Impact of the G20 on Global Governance: A History and Prospective (Ngaire Woods)
The G8 and the G20: What Relationship Now?’, (Gordon Smith)
‘Turning the G20 into a New Mechanism for Global Economic Governance: Obstacles and Prospects’, (Lan Xue and Yanbi ng Zhang)
‘Bringing Development into the G20: Overarching Themes’, (Homi Kharas)
‘Laying the Foundation for a Long-Term G20 Work Program on Development’, (Simon Maxwell)
‘The G20 and Development: From Financial Stability to Sustained Growth’, (Jomo Kwame Sundaram)
‘G20 Development Agenda: Perspectives from Least Developed Countries’ (Cyrus Rustomjee)

[the above is a series of articles found in

Alan Alexandroff - ::Global Asia::

Rajiv Kumar, A Development Agenda for G20:
www.fride.org/.../PB_G20_6_eng_A_development_agenda_for_the_G20.pdf

www.g8.utoronto.ca/g20/g20plans/g20plans100927.pdf

papers for the G-20 High-Level Development Working Group by Co-Chairs, draft July 13, 2010

J. Kirton, ‘The G20 and broader multilateral reform’
www.g20.utoronto.ca/biblio/kirton-fride-cdm.pdf

N.-S. Schulz, ‘The G20 and the global governance of development’
www.fride.org/.../the-g20-and-the-global-governance-of-development

G. Grevi, ‘The G20: Panacea or window-dressing?’
www.fride.org/publication/.../the-g20:-panacea-or-window-dressing

Nicolas Sarkozy, Speech by the President of the Republic, 18th Ambassadors’ Conference, August 25, 2010
25 August 2010 - 18th Ambassador's Conference - Speech by Mr...