

Tokyo University  
GRASPP / GSDM  
2016

**Syllabus, Course on Global Governance**

**Frameworks for Global Governance:  
Global Economic and Environmental Institutions**

**Yves Tiberghien**

**Instructor:**

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**Class Schedule:**

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|---------------------|-------------|
| - November 26, 2016 | 10:25-16:40 |
| - November 27, 2016 | 10:25-18:35 |
| - December 3, 2016  | 13:00-18:35 |
| - December 4, 2016  | 13:00-18:35 |

## **Instructor Bio:**

Yves Tiberghien (Ph.D. Stanford University, 2002) is the Director of the Institute of Asian Research at the University of British Columbia (UBC), Executive Director of the UBC China Council, and Associate Professor of Political Science. Additionally, Dr. Tiberghien served as Co-Director of the Master of Public Policy and Global Affairs (MPPGA) (Fall 2014 to August 2016), which he founded as Chair of the UBC Public Policy Curriculum Committee in 2014. In 2014-2015 he chaired the President's 'Ad-Hoc Committee on International Strategy.'

Dr. Tiberghien is a Senior Fellow at the Asia-Pacific Foundation of Canada, a Senior Fellow with the Global Summitry Project at the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto, and a visiting professor at Tokyo University and Sciences-Po Paris. He is a Faculty Associate at both EHESS and Sciences Po in France. Dr. Tiberghien was an Academy Scholar at Harvard University in 2004-2006.

He specializes in East Asian comparative political economy, international political economy, and global economic and environmental governance, with an empirical focus on China, Japan, Korea, and Southeast Asia.

In 2007, he published *Entrepreneurial States: Reforming Corporate Governance in France, Japan, and Korea* (Cornell University Press in the Political Economy Series directed by Peter Katzenstein). His most recent publications include three books (亚洲与世界未来 (*Asia and the Future of the World*). Beijing: 社会科学文献出版社 (Social Sciences Academic Press, China) ; *L'Asie et le futur du monde*, Paris: Science Po Press, 2012; and *Leadership in Global Institution-Building: Minerva's Rule*, edited volume, Palgrave McMillan, 2013). He has published many articles and book chapters on the Japan's and China's political economy, on global governance, global climate change politics, and on the governance of agricultural biotechnology in China and Japan.

On the domestic side, Dr. Tiberghien focuses on state responsiveness to global economic forces and global risks. He has an interest in comparative institutional reforms that address the middle income trap and the resource curse, as well as in the interface between global economic forces and domestic politics. His works also focuses on trade-offs between economic policy goals and public goods such as biodiversity protection, transparency in food policy, and climate change issues. Dr. Tiberghien is currently developing an analysis of the trajectory of domestic economic reforms in Japan (including Abenomics) in a comparative perspective, addressing the questions of innovation policy, responsiveness to a changing global environment, and management of systemic risks.

On the global side, Dr. Tiberghien focuses on the ongoing transition in the global economic and environmental order, in the face of new systemic risks, a changing balance of power, and the rise of "de-globalizing" political forces. He is also currently working on articles and a book on

China's role in global governance (including G20, AIIB, climate change, Belt and Road Initiative), as well as articles on the tensions between global integration and forces of entropy.

**Course Description:**

Global governance constitutes one of the key challenges in current international relations and policy-making. As demonstrated by the global financial crisis of 2008, global forces often overwhelm a political system that is primarily rooted in fragmented national sovereignty. Global markets require institutional foundations; yet, these foundations are either the result of competing national policy processes or fragile efforts toward global coordination. As the global challenges facing the nations of the earth become more pressing, it becomes critical to address the classical political dilemmas of collective action, global commons, and asymmetry of benefits and costs. Are the dominant players in the system able to make progress in this large battle? How does the changing balance of power in the world and the rise of China in particular affect the game of global governance?

At a time when the global governance that sustains globalization is largely in question and in flux, the choices made by China and other rising powers will have a critical impact, whether these choices are made unilaterally, in a condominium with the US (Bergsten, 2008), or in a larger G-20. The historical evidence from previous periods of global economic crisis or uncertainty have shown that the lack of management of the global economy by rising powers or the conflict between existing and rising powers over the management of the global economy could wreak havoc on the global system.

The current period is a critical juncture. Global uncertainties about the stability and sustainability of the current system of global finance and global trade in the context of an additional energy and food crisis have intensified the debate about the need to rejuvenate the post-war institutions that sustain globalization and to rethink our architecture of global governance. The financial meltdown of the fall of 2008 has only accelerated this debate further.

The course begins with an overview of the theoretical dilemmas of global coordination and different approaches to global governance. It unpacks the perspectives and roles played by key large players, particularly the US, the EU, China, and Japan. Much emphasis is also given to the historical trajectory and to the current debates on the impact of the rise of China on global governance. The second part focuses on four thematic arenas: global finance, development models, biosafety (GMOs), and climate change. Comparative attention is also given to the UN and to global trade.

The course will include a variety of activities, including lively lectures, movie excerpts, discussions, and debates. Lecture notes will be available by email, as well as additional resources. The instructor will be available for further discussion in person or by email.

**KEY WORDS:**

Global Governance, G20, global finance, GMOs, climate change, Rise of China, development

(including AIIB), global rules, globalization, global trade (TPP, RCEP)

## **Course Objectives:**

By the end of this course, students will be able to:

1. Explain theoretical dilemmas of global governance in the current age;
2. Unpack the process of creating global governance (comparing different arenas)
3. Develop a pathway to analyze and solve governance problems;
4. Explain the particular historical juncture of our current period in a larger comparative perspective with a focus on the interplay between the US, the EU, Japan, and large emerging powers (China, India, Brazil) among others.
5. Provide a detailed overview, from the perspective of global governance and a changing balance of power, of six issue areas: security, trade, investment flows, global finance, climate change, and biosafety

In addition, students will be actively involved in the course through participation and debates and will thus improve their analytical and presentation skills.

## **Course Requirements:**

The course will operate as a combination of both lively lectures (with text available on the website) complemented with occasional documentaries AND class discussion and debates.

From the third session onward, each class will start with a student-led presentation on the topic and a first round of student-led discussion to unpack key issues in an interactive way. This discussion will be followed by a lecture and further discussion.

Readings are important to complement the lectures and material covered in class. You are expected to finish the readings by the night before our class.

There are four assignments for this course.

### Participation:

Given the interactive nature of this course (half lecture, half discussion), I give a lot of importance to participation. I will moderate discussions to ensure that everyone has a chance to participate. Participation grades will be given both on quantity and quality of interventions (but mostly quality). I will encourage lively debates and confrontations of ideas.

### Class Presentation

Participants will be divided into groups. Each group will be in charge of taking the lead for the seminar beginning week 3. The group will open the seminar with a 10 to 15mn lively presentation exposing the key questions of the given week and reviewing key approaches and empirical results to answer these questions (based on the readings assigned for this week). Participants will then put 1 or 2 questions to the class and will moderate the ensuing discussion. This first part will not exceed 1 hour in total (presentation+ discussion). A common grade will be

assigned to the group members.

Think Piece Paper (12-15 pages, double-spaced):

Think pieces have 2 major goals: first to develop a personal interpretation of IPE issues by presenting your own argument and defending it in a few pages; second, to demonstrate your mastery of the readings and facts presented in lectures. The questions are given by the instructor (pick one from a choice of 5).

Your paper should be an essay. Specifically, the paper must do the following three things:

1. Present an analytical argument that is a clear answer to the question
2. Address some of the literature related to the question (possible answers)
3. Offer some compelling evidence to support your argument (taken from readings, lectures, and class web links)

Assessment and Grade Distribution:

Class Participation: 25%

Class Presentation: 15%

Think Piece Paper (12 +/- pages): 60%

Books and other materials required:

The workshop classes are supplemented with a set of readings, including book chapters and articles. These readings are available as PDF pieces.

# Course Outline and Some Indicative Readings

The course is divided into the following 8 components.

## **Part 1 –**

### **Theoretical Overview – the Dilemma of Global Governance in the Context of Globalized Economic Forces and Fragmented Sovereignty – unpacking the process of global governance creation**

Thomas G. Weiss. 2013. *Global Governance: What? Why? Whither?* Cambridge. Polity Press. Chap 1, pp8-26+ Chap 2, pp27-44

Rodrik, Dani. 2011. *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*. Norton.

Nye, Joseph. 2001. "Globalization's Democratic Deficit: How to Make International Institutions More Accountable" in *Foreign Affairs* July/August 2001 (5 pages)

Bradford, Colin and Johannes Lin. 2007. *Global Governance Reform: Breaking the Stalemate*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution. Introduction and Conclusion

Kahler, Miles and David Lake. 2009. Economic Integration and Global Governance: Why So Little Supranationalism? . In *The Politics of Global Regulation*, edited by Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods, 242-75. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Helmut K Anheier. 2013. Governance: What Are the Issues? In *The Governance Report 2013*, The Hertie School of Governance. Oxford. Oxford University Press.

- The Cameron Report on Global Governance. November 2011  
<http://www.number10.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Governance-for-growth.pdf>

## **Optional**

Thomas G. Weiss. 2013. *Global Governance: What? Why? Whither?* Cambridge. Polity Press. Chap 3, pp45-61.

## **Part 2 :**

### **Historical Perspective on the Global Quest for Coordination and Cooperation since 1914**

Norman Angell. 1912. *The Great Illusion*. Chapter 3 (with Intro and Chapt 1&2 recommended but optional).

Polanyi, Karl. 1944. *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985)  
Chapter 6 (The Self-Regulating Market) pp.68-76

Carr, Edward Hallett. 1939. *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939*. New York: Harper and Row.  
- read: Chapter 4 (41-62) "*The Harmony of Interests*"

Kirshner, Jonathan. 2014. *American Power After the Financial Crisis*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 2: "Learning from the Great Depression," pp. 19-36

Richard Peet. 2009. *Unholy Trinity: the IMF, World Bank, and WTO*. Read Chapter 2 ("Bretton Woods: Emergence of a global economic regime")

## **Part 3:**

### **The Rise of China and Global Governance: Understanding Chinese Approaches and Potential Pathways**

Subramanian, Arvind. 2011. The Inevitable Superpower: Why China's Dominance Is a Sure Thing. *Foreign Affairs* 90 (5).

Yan, Xuetong. 2006. "The Rise of China and its Power Status." *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 1, 2006, 5–33.

Buzan, Barry. 2010. "China in International Society: Is 'Peaceful Rise' Possible? ". The *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 3, 2010, 5–36.

Brown, Kerry. 2016. *CEO, China: The Rise of Xi Jinping*. London and New York: IB Tauris. Chapter 5. "How Does Xi Jinping See the Outside World?" pp. 185-208.

Updated Short Articles.

## **OPTIONAL:**

Pang, Zhongying. 2012. China and Global Governance: Will China Finally Take the Lead for



the New Globally Governable World? In *Middle Powers and G20 Governance*, edited by Mo Jongryn, pp45-74. Seoul: The Asan Institute for Policy Studies.

Johnston, Alastair I. 2008. *Social States : China in International Institutions, 1980-2000*. Princeton (N.J.): Princeton University Press.

Subramanian, Arvind. 2011: *Eclipse: Living in the Shadow of China's Economic Dominance*. Peterson Institute for International Economics

Jacques, Martin. 2009. “*When China Rules the World: the Rise of the Middle Kingdom and the End of the Western World.*”  
(Chapters 1 and 11)

#### **Part 4**

#### **The Global Governance of Finance in the Context of the Crisis and Global Power Transition: National Regulations and G20 Coordination**

Susan Strange, *Mad Money*, 1998, Chapter 1 and Chapter 10

Rodrik, Dani. 2011. Globalization Paradox. Chapter 12: A Sane Globalization

Drezner, Daniel W. "The system worked: Global economic governance during the Great Recession." *World Politics* 66.01 (2014): 123-164.

Kirshner, Jonathan. 2014. *American Power After the Financial Crisis*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press Chapters 1, 6, 7.

#### **USEFUL RECOMMENDED UPDATES ON GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS:**

George Soros, Niall Ferguson, Paul Krugman, Robin Wells, and Bill Bradley, et al. 2009. “The Crisis and How to Deal with it.” *New York Review of Books* (June 11).  
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2009/jun/11/the-crisis-and-how-to-deal-with-it/?pagination=false>

Solow, Robert. 2009. “How to Understand the Disaster.” *New York Review of Books* (May 14).  
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2009/may/14/how-to-understand-the-disaster/?pagination=false>

Shiller, Robert. 2010. “A Crisis of Understanding.” *Project Syndicate* (March 12).  
<http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/shiller70/English>

[and read others by Shiller on project syndicate]

Roubini, Nouriel. 2011. "Is Capitalism Doomed?" *Project Syndicate* (August 15).  
<http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/roubini41/English>

Krugman, Paul and Robin Wells. 2011. "The Busts Keep Getting Bigger: Why?" *New York Review of Books* (July 14):  
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2011/jul/14/busts-keep-getting-bigger-why/?pagination=false>

Rogoff, Kenneth. 2011. "Is Modern Capitalism Sustainable?" *Project Syndicate* (December 2)  
<http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/rogoff87/English>

GLOBAL FINANCE PAGE – Project Syndicate:  
[http://www.project-syndicate.org/series\\_categories/1014](http://www.project-syndicate.org/series_categories/1014)

#### OPTIONAL FURTHER READINGS:

National Responses and Adjustments in VOC models: selected chapters and papers from the new Crisis Volume edited by Jonas Pontusson and Nancy Bermeo (Oxford-Princeton project on the global crisis and varieties of capitalisms)

Rajan, Raghuram. 2010. *Fault Lines : How Hidden Fractures Sill Threaten the World Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

John Kirton. 2013. *G20 Governance for a Globalized World*. Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company. Chap 1, 2, 10,11,12,13,14 and G 20 Appendices.

#### **Part 5:**

#### **The Battle over Development Norms and Paradigms: Washington Consensus vs new models**

Williamson, John. 1993. "Democracy and the "Washington Consensus." *World Development*, Vol. 21, No. 8, pp. 1329-1336.

Chaudhry, Kiren Aziz. "The Myth of the Market and the Common History of Late Development", *Politics and Society*, Vol 21:3, pp.245-274

Chang, Ha-Joon. 2003. *Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective*. London: Anthem Press. Chapters 1 (partial) and section of Chapter 3, Chapter 4 in full.

Rodrik, Dani. 2011. *Globalization Paradox*. Chapters 6, 7, 8.

Lin, Justin Yifu. 2010. *Economic Development and Transition: Thought, Strategy, and Viability*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Read:

- Preface, chapters 1- 2,
- Chapter 3,
- and Chapters 7-8

Yves Tiberghien. 2011. “G20 and the Global Development Agenda: Paradigm Shift or Paradigm Clash?”. Paper presented at Tsinghua University, Oct 18, 2011 (Annual conference of the School of public policy and management).

+ Updated articles on One Belt one Road and AIIB

## **Part 6:**

### **The Global Governance of Biosafety and Genetically-Modified Food**

Tiberghien, Yves. 2006. “The Battle for the Global Governance of Genetically Modified Organisms: the Roles of the European Union, Japan, Korea, and China in a Comparative Context, *Les Etudes du CERI*, Number 124 (April), Institut d’Etudes Politiques, Paris.

Excerpt from Robert Falkner’s Book on the Governance of Biosafety  
Falkner, Robert. 2007. *The International Politics of Genetically Modified Food: Diplomacy, Trade, and law*. Palgrave MacMillan.

Tiberghien, Yves. 2012. “The global battle over the governance of agricultural biotechnology: the roles of Japan, Korea, and China.” In Michael Howlett and David Laycock, eds. *Regulating Next Generation Agri-Food Biotechnologies: Lessons from European, North American, and Asian experiences* (in the series Genetics and Society). London and New York: Routledge, pp. 111-125.

[Back-up: The Global Governance of Biotechnology: Mediating Chinese and Canadian Interests  
Yves Tiberghien | July 2010. *China Papers*. No.13  
<http://www.opencanada.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/The-Global-Governance-of-Biotechnology-Yves-Tiberghien.pdf>]

Clapp, Jennifer and Eric Helleiner. 2012b. *Troubled Futures? The Global Food Crisis and the*

Politics of Agricultural Derivatives Regulation. *Review of International Political Economy* 19 (2):181-207.

Updated articles

### **Part 7:**

#### **Climate Change and Global Governance: Perspectives on the dilemma of the global commons**

Harriet Bulkeley and Peter Newell. 2010. *Governing Climate Change*. Oxon: Routledge. Intro, pp1-16

Smith, Laurence. 2010. *The World in 2050: Four Forces Shaping Civilization's Northern Future*. Prologue, Chapter 1, Chapter 3 [others optional but recommended]

Special Issue from *Global Environmental Politics*, November 2008 – Intro+ 3 articles (US, Canada, EU, Japan)

Thomas Hale, David Held and Kevin Young. 2013. *Gridlock: Why Global Cooperation Has Failed When It's Most Needed*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Chap 4, pp189-268.

\*\* Updated articles on the Paris Treaty and COP 21

### **Part 8:**

#### **Conclusion and Broader Discussion**

• Bradford, Colin and Johannes Lin. 2007. *Global Governance Reform: Breaking the Stalemate*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution. Introduction and Conclusion (review, repeat from part 1)

• Thomas Hale, David Held and Kevin Young. 2013. *Gridlock: Why Global Cooperation Has Failed When It's Most Needed*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Chap 1, pp14-48+ Chap 5, pp. 272-311.

• Milanovic, Branko. 2016. *Global Inequality: a New Approach for the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapter 5: "What Next? Ten Short Reflections on the Future of Income Inequality and Globalization." Pp. 212-239.

• V20 Working Group. 2016. Blue Report. "Give the World Hope: G20 Leadership for People-Centered Inclusive and Sustainable Growth,"

**CLASS SIMULATION (Group Work)** in last 2 hour session: Groups are tasked with:

- providing a diagnostic of the governance requirements in one issue area
- proposing one solution, in comparison to alternatives – evaluating costs and benefits, and mapping out a feasibility path.