

Tokyo University
GRASPP / GSDM

Syllabus, Course on Global Governance – 2017 Fall

Frameworks for Global Governance: Global Economic and Environmental Institutions

Yves Tiberghien

Instructor:

ブリティッシュ コロンビア大学
アジア研究所 名誉院長
政治学科 准教授
政治学博士（スタンフォード大学）
イブ テイベルギアン

Yves Tiberghien, Ph.D.
Executive Director, UBC China Council
Director Emeritus, Institute of Asian Research
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science
University of British Columbia (UBC)

Senior Fellow, Asia-Pacific Foundation of Canada (APFC)
Vision20 Coordinator: <http://iar.ubc.ca/vision-20-international-summit-on-global-governances-new-frontiers/>
Senior Fellow, Global Summitry Project, Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto: <http://www.globalsummitryproject.com>

Twitter: @Yves_Global
Email: yves.tiberghien@ubc.ca
Web site: <http://faculty.arts.ubc.ca/tiberg/>
IAR website: www.iar.ubc.ca

Classroom: SMBC Academia Hall, 4th Floor, [International Academic Research Bldg](#)

Class Schedule: <http://gsdm.u-tokyo.ac.jp/?p=9850>

Dec-2 Period2-4 10:25-16:40
Dec-3 Period2-5 10:25-18:35
Dec-9 Period3-5 13:00-18:35

Dec-10Period3-5 13:00-18:35

Instructor Bio:

Yves Tiberghien (Ph.D. Stanford University, 2002) is the Director Emeritus 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. In 2014-2016, Dr. Tiberghien also served as Co-Director of the Master of Public Policy and Global Affairs (MPPGA), which he founded as Chair of the UBC Public Policy Curriculum Committee in 2014.

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. He is a Faculty Associate at both EHESS and Sciences Po in France. Dr. Tiberghien is a Harvard Academy Scholar (2004-2006 at Harvard). He has held visiting positions at Sciences Po Paris, National Chengchi University, and the Jakarta School of Public Policy.

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, innovative capacity, and adaptability to global economic forces and global risks, with a focus on Korea, Japan, and others. 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.

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 populist political forces. He is also currently working on articles on China's role in global and regional governance (including G20, AIIB, climate change, Belt and Road Initiative) and a book project titled *Up for Grabs: Disruption, Competition, and the Remaking of the Global Economic Order*. He is coordinating an international team on the Paris Agreement on climate change. Dr. Tiberghien founded the Vision 20 group in 2015, a new coalition of global scholars and policy-makers aiming at providing a long-term perspective on the challenges of global economic and

environmental governance. The V20 held two summits (Hangzhou, 2016, and Washington DC, 2017: <http://www.thevision20.org>).

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 session 3 (2d weekend). 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 (10-12 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 (10-12 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.

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.

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

Short Current Readings [more recommendations on email and twitter]:

- Pisany-Ferry, Jean. January 2, 2017. “The Abandonment of Progress.” <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/populism-and-abandonment-of-progress-by-jean-pisani-ferry-2017-01?referrer=/4MsWUdTfJ3>
- Obstfeld, Maurice. IMF. December 2016. “Get on Track with Trade.” <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2016/12/obstfeld.htm>
- Leipziger, Danny. December 13, 2016. “Here is how to make globalization more inclusive.” <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/12/heres-how-to-make-globalization-more-inclusive>
- FT. December 2016. “France d’En Haut: a timely warning in hipsters.” <https://www.ft.com/content/605e3be0-b71c-11e6-ba85-95d1533d9a62>

Optional:

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

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

Part 2 :

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

McMillan, Margaret, 2013. *The Rhyme of History: Lessons of the Great War*. Brookings Institution <http://csweb.brookings.edu/content/research/essays/2013/rhyme-of-history.html>

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

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

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.

Amighini, Alessia. 2016. *China Dream: Still Coming True?* Chapter 2 (“Beijing’s Economy: Dream a Little Dream of China?” pp 33-48) and Chapter 6 (“Silk Road Economic Development: Vision and Path by Wang Wen and Jian Jinjing” pp. 94-114).

Updated Short Articles.

OPTIONAL:

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

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.

Foroohar, Rana. December 8, 2016. “The Brutal Battle over the Euro.” *New York Review of Books*.
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2016/12/08/the-brutal-battle-over-the-euro/>

Tiberghien, Yves. 2017. “Fostering Bold and Innovative Ideas for Urgent Global Challenges: The V20 Contribution to the G20 during the China-German Transition.” *Global Summitry: Politics, Economics and Law in International Governance*. Oxford University Press. Vol. 3, No. 1.

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

OPTIONAL FURTHER READINGS:

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

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.

Sandbu, Martin. 2015. *Europe's Orphan: the Future of the Euro and the Politics of Debt*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (Chapter 1: "a Giant Historic Mistake?", and Chapter 11: "Remembering what the Euro is for).

**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.

Lin, Justin and Celestin Monga. 2017. *Beating the Odds: Jump-Starting Developing Countries*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. Chapter (22-74) "Unpleasant Truths about Institutional and Financial Development."

Dodds, Felix, David Donoghue, and Jimena Leiva Roesch. 2017. *Negotiating the Sustainable Development Goals: a Transformational Agenda for an Insecure World*. London and New York: Routledge. Chapter 1 (5-23).

Optional:

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

Falkner, Robert. 2016. “The Paris Agreement and the new logic of international climate politics.” *International Affairs* 92: 5 (2016) 1107–1125

Goodell, Jeff. 2014. "The Secret Deal to Save the Planet,"
<http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/the-secret-deal-to-save-the-planet-20141209>

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 by email on COP 23

Part 8: Conclusion and Broader Discussion

- West, Darrell. 2016. *Mega Change: Economic Disruption, Political Upheaval, and Social Strife in the 21st Century*. Brookings Institution Press. Chapters 1 ("Overcoming Presentism") and Chapter 7 ("Navigating the Future").
- 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,"
- Segal, Adam. 2016. *The Hacked World Order: How Nations Fight, Trade, Maneuver, and Manipulate in the Digital Age*. Washington DC: Council on Foreign Relations. Chapter 1, pp. 1-26.

Short Updated Readings:

- Heller, Nathan. November 18, 2016. "The Failure of Facebook Democracy." *The New Yorker*.
<http://www.newyorker.com/culture/cultural-comment/the-failure-of-facebook-democracy>
- Johnson, Simon. December 29, 2016. "Trump's Extreme Oligarchy." <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/trump-extreme-oligarchy-by-simon-johnson-2016-12>

- James, Harold. November 23, 2016. “Containing the Populist Contagion.” *Project Syndicate*. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/populism-trump-brexiteconomics-by-harold-james-2016-11>

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.