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GLOBAL GOVERNANCE CHANGING THE WORLD AND WORLD POLITICS

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ABSTRACT

This article will be discussing the influence of Global Governance in today's world politics. After the advent of globalisation in 21st century role of global governance has become significant. To analyse the role of global governance the article is divided in to five parts as follows: First part discusses what global governance is? Second the transference from state governance to global governance. Third part discusses the need of global governance in 21st century. Fourth part discusses the role of non-state actors to resolve the global problems. Fifth part discusses effect of global governance in today's world politics. From the above discussion we will come to know how non-state actors who influence the functions of state face the problem in "cooperation" among states in resolving a collective action problem. Finally the article concludes by saying that, global governance though faces difficulties in establishing global order because of sovereign power of states, has changed today's world politics by bringing awareness among states to address and redress the global problems collectively. Hence global governance will take little more time to establish global order for global problem because it has to coordinate and develop consensus among powerful sovereign states.

Key Words: Global Governance, Globalisation, States, Sovereignty, World Politics, Global Order

Introduction

Global governance is a unique concept which is thought to be a panacea of all world problems resulted due to sovereignty of states. Until 21st century global governance was just a concept or an idea which could erase the inequality between the states and could establish a common order and have a patterned regularity in the international arena. But due to advent of globalisation in 21st century has proved the need to practice global governance. In this article we will be discussing what is global governance? To which extent the concept of global governance can be practically worked in today's world? What are the effects of global governance in today's world and world politics? To answer the entire above questions article is divided in to five parts as follows: First part discusses what is global governance? Second discusses the transference from state governance to global governance. Third discusses the need of global governance in 21st century. Fourth discusses the role of non-state actors to resolve the global problems. Fifth discusses effect of global governance in today's world politics. From the above discussion we will come to know how non-state actors who influence the functions of state, face the "barrier to cooperate" problem among states in resolving a collective action problem. This is because global governance is governance without government

which lacks central authority to control the activities of state which on the other hand make global governance weak, in front of sovereign power of states.

In conclusion it's been proved that global governance has brought an awareness to respond and redress to global problems by world states and this is an absolutely different scenario than the one present before Cold War. Hence I agree that global governance has brought a different picture of world and world politics by making states aware of global problems and redress them. It's also analyzed and substantiated that, though efforts to establish global governance is working in full-fledged pace, it has to develop in midst of anarchy of political states without disturbing the sovereignty of political states. Finally it's concluded that as concept of state's power and sovereignty is many centuries old, it will take a bit long time for few decades' old global governance instituted by non-state actors to redress the global problems without being disturbed by state sovereignty.

What Is Global Governance?

Global governance in simple terms means all code of practice envisioned for organizing human societies globally. Earlier the term "*governance*" was only related and restricted to political state governing their people and to establish law and order in the society. Governance in its original sense meant to have authority to impose a patterned regularity to establish order. Hence global governance means establishing global order through authority exercising established rules and regulations for global harmony (J.Biersteker, 2009, pp. 2-5)¹. The next section of the article will discuss the transference of world from state governance to global governance.

Transference from State Governance To Global Governance

Human beings before the formation of states lived in small communities and hunted for their daily livelihood. The Human being moved from one place to another and there was no settlement. The important invention in life of mankind is farming, by advent of farming the nomadic community started to settle in a place. As a consequence of settlement they started domesticating plants and animals. The settlement and domestication of plants and animals gave rise to emergence of small urban polities to vast despotic monarchies and marked inequalities in the distribution of wealth. This in turn led to changes in long-lasting political and economic consequences. Later the consequence of conquering through wars led in conversion of small urban polities in to today's large states.

Earlier everything belonged to everyone but when man tasted the essence of property and its comfort, man became selfish and started to fight for property using power. Hence selfishness of stronger human being on one hand led to threaten the life and survival of weakest human being. The use of power to quench the thirst of selfishness has led to process of empire building through many wars leading to imperialism and colonialism. Hence the formation of states was not an easy process and it took thousands of years to get established (Boix, 2011, pp. 2-3)².

State can be described and understood in three ways. Firstly according to international law, a state is an entity that is recognized to exist when a government is in control of a population residing within a defined territory. Secondly according to international politics, each state is a country and it is community of people who interact in the same political system. Thirdly in philosophy and sociology, state consists of apparatus of government which includes the executive, the legislature, the administration, the judiciary, the armed forces, and the police (John Baylis, 2011, p. 575)³. By the above terminology one thing is very clear as to state is an entity which works for the welfare of a set

¹J.Biersteker, T. (2009). *Global Governance* (Forthcoming in Myriam Dunn Cavelty and Victor Mauer ed.). Newyork and London: Routledge (pp:2-5).

²Boix, C. (2011). *A Theory Of State Formation And The Origins Of Inequality*,(website accessed on 20.11.2012) https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:5pBqbZ5ZERAJ;government.arts.cornell.edu/assets/psac/sp11/Boix_PSAC_Feb25.pdf+state+formation&hl=en&gl=in&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEESiNcqVMqXVqn6cxCN7xaTF1K1Ogb_nlV5Y_fBcqkl_BRkgtKP11iuoZrZsWrsYH4kbVu_D_syfiOPohkd_CDVY0hZEaQQsifZv8JiUgXJjjTsBQLo9R2zHbG0A3ooIZSSORQynj&sig=AHIEtbTaDrb0mB_WKw4t8p8k2iaBiZqBcA

³John Baylis, S. S. (2011). *The Globalisation of world Politics -An Introduction to International Relations*. New York: Oxford University press pp-575.

of people in a marked boundary. According to realism state is considered to be sole important player in the international politics and they don't accommodate non-state actors within its study. This was true until recently before the world communities started practicing cosmopolitanism which is the result of globalisation.

After Second World War world states were in need for balance of power to live in harmony. Consequences of Second World War induced states to follow balance of power by reviving their military power in order to safe guard their national security so that all states are dominant and no single stronger state is allowed to dominate the weaker state. But balance of power worked on the other way round because many states were victims of world wars and they had no fiscal support to improve their military in order to enhance their national security hence this situation resulted in bandwagoning of states with stronger states. After World War USA and USSR started their ideological confrontation resulting in bipolar world which was about to result in third world war but thankfully the down fall of USSR stopped the havoc. Hence the period when USA and USSR had ideological confrontation was termed to be Cold War.

The post-cold war period had left USA to be a sole super power which is economically, politically and military wise strong. Hence USA had used its power in establishing its hegemony over world states. Slowly the effect of USA's hegemonism resulted in global capitalization resulting in cosmopolitanism giving birth to cosmopolitan democratisation.

The technological progress and digitalization has helped the cosmopolitanism to develop, leading to erase the borders of the state encouraging them to practice of multiculturalism globally. Global capitalization is the result of endless economic transaction that is happening through trade. The economic progression has been the result of widening of trading groups increasing the interaction and interdependency between states. Though there is economic progression the gap between the developed and the third world countries are still wide. Hence developed state are continuing to exploit the developing and under developed states. This has strengthened the practice of international law through state authorities and non-states actors like intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), private sector entities, other civil society actors, and individuals. But due to lack of central authority, non-state actors strive to control states behavior. Hence this has been confirmed by the failure of League of Nations to stop the World War II. However in 21st century the increase in trans-border activities and communication has led to awareness of global problems which stresses the importance of cooperation in solving the global problems by shifting the political capacity from state to non-state actors. This kind of multi-actor strategy to deal with trans-border ecological, economic and political problems by non-state actors like international institution and organization has successfully increased with the advent of United Nations in-midst of autonomy of states resulting in the rebirth of global governance after the failure of League of Nations and Bretton woods system.

The Need of Global Governance in 21st Century

Globalisation is a modern phenomenon which has given both negative and positive effects to people of the world. Scholars who argue the positive effects of globalisation say that, firstly there have been technological progresses due to globalisation. Secondly there has been increased economic interdependence among the states leading to increase in security by declining the rates of war. Thirdly globalisation has increased economic efficiency and social welfare leading to greater income and job opportunities which has improved the living standards. Fourth globalisation associated growth in demand for environmental quality has allowed the inclusion of environmental aspects in the global security agenda. Finally globalisation has inspired the insertion of gender and human right issues on the global governance schema as well as initiatives of the International Labour organisation to fortify the global application of labour standards (Fuchs, 2007, pp. 15-21)⁴.

⁴Fuchs, D. (2007). *Business power in global governance*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner (P-15-21).

Scholars who argue the negative effects of globalisation say that globalisation on one hand have widened the gap between the rich and poor. Globalisation has given benefits to investors rather than the workers by reducing the equitable division of resources. Hence globalisation has led to concentration of wealth and resources on few people who possess production network, investment and knowledge. On the other hand globalisation has availed excessive interaction which has been a sole reason in creating homogenization based on a single world culture based on consumerism, the English language, American values and life styles, and the mass media. Homogenization of single world culture has become a threat to extinction of multicultural society leading to an identity crisis (Fuchs, 2007, pp. 21-24)⁵.

As the hour of need though globalisation has gifted economic progress, technological progress and decline in warfare it has been a bane by widening the gap between rich and poor. In order to redress the pits and falls of the globalisation and to manage the global problems in the absence of global government is the need of global governance in 21st century.

Role of Non-State Actors to Resolve Global Problems

Global governance has been pursued by various international organisations and civil societies. In this part of essay we shall discuss in brief about the goals of few important international institutions which play an important role in solving the global problems. The first institution to top the list is "*United Nation*" which was established in 1945 after Second World War with the aim to protect human rights and to achieve world peace by facilitating cooperation in international law, by providing international security, in order to, achieve economic development and social progress. Nearly all states of the world are member states of United Nations. UN has six organs to carry out its above aim like firstly the General Assembly coordinates all the councils working under the United Nations, secondly Security Council (for determining certain resolutions for peace and security), thirdly the Economic and Social Council (for helping in promoting international economic and social cooperation and development), fourthly the Secretariat (for providing studies, information, and facilities needed by the UN), fifthly the International Court of Justice (the primary judicial organ) and finally the United Nations Trusteeship Council (which is currently inactive). Other noticeable UN System agencies include the World Health Organization (WHO) to deal with international public health, the World Food Programme (WFP) to fight against global health (N.Shaw, 2008, pp. 1204-1216)⁶.

The second important institution to top the list of global governance is International Monetary Fund which was established to stabilize the exchange rates and help in the reestablishment of the world's international payment system in Post-World War II period. IMF aims at encouraging higher international economic cooperation, international trade, employment, and exchange rate stability, including by making financial resources available to member countries to meet the balance of payments needs. The third institution is World Bank which aims in reduction of poverty. World Bank's decisions are bounded to encourage foreign investment, international trade, and enable capital investment (S.K.Kapoor, 2003, pp. 281-282)⁷.

Fourthly trade related issues are dealt with World trade Organisation The main function of WTO is to deal with global rules of trade between nations. Its main function is to guarantee free trade without any trade barrier. WTO in the beginning addressed only the issues related to goods later services also were included as object of trade. WTO in 1995 through Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights extended its protection to intangible Intellectual property like patents, trademarks, designs, copyrights or geographical indications. WTO on the first hand helps in administering trade agreements between states. Secondly acts as a forum for trade negotiations. Thirdly settles trade

⁵Fuchs, D. (2007). *Business power in global governance*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner (Pp-21-24).

⁶N.Shaw, M. (2008). *International Law* (Sixth edition ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (pp:1204-1216).

⁷S.K.Kapoor. (2003). *International Law and Human Rights* (2003 ed.). Allahabad: Central Law Agency (pp: 281-282).

disputes. Fourthly reviews national trade policies. Fifthly assists developing countries in trade policy issues, through technical assistance and training programme. Finally WTO helps its member states in Cooperating with other international organizations. WTO though assures free trade its fundamental objective is to protect and preserve the environment by allowing the optimal use of the world's resources in order to have sustainable development. Global environmental challenges are addressed with multilateral environmental agreements in order to protect and preserve the environment. WTO works actively with other international organizations, representatives from civil society, the academic community and the private sector. WTO's actions are frequently buttressed with the cooperation of World Health Organization (WHO) and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) which aims to provide access to affordable medicines on a sustainable basis in developing countries (G.B.Reddy, 2011, pp. 26-78)⁸.

Similarly the part played by private authorities and civil society in global governance is innumerable. Private authorities like rating agencies help find investors their proper financial markets. Private authorities though not directly influence the economy of a state, but on the other hand it rates the countries in term of their policies and politics, by confirming whether a country is suitable to invest. The critics of private authorities though claim that these are unreliable resources but on the other hand their influence has a direct impact on a state's economy by transgressing against the sovereignty of states and influencing the policies and politics of the state. On the other hand due to increase in corporate scandals because of technological improvement, civil societies keep a strict watch on the corporate's code of conduct in order to protect the legitimacy of state and its people (Fuchs, 2007, pp. 110-112)⁹.

So the above organisations are few important organisations which play prominent role in global governance by working to achieve their respective objective through their established norms. Similarly as discussed above private authorities and civil societies also play an important role in solving global problems by addressing specific global issues in line with their objectives and self-regulatory norms. The important thing to be noticed in global governance is that the interstate problems are redressed by a third party. Hence global governance is a concept which transgresses the limits of sovereignty of states and makes states liable for its wrong doing in order to redress some global problems.

Effect of Global Governance in Today's World Politics

The preceding part of the article discussed the Role of non-state actors in solving the global problems. This clearly shows how influential are the non-state actors in solving the global problems which were earlier dealt with power of the state. Global governance on one hand has brought a collective and cooperative approach of states under an institution set up for a specific global problem which on the other hand has allowed the same institutions to step legitimately in the state sovereignty.

The governance in the concept of global governance cannot be equated to that of government but on the other hand it has to be equated to the functions of the government itself. In the following paragraphs we will analyse how the non-state actors take the opportunity to deal with global problems and interfere in functions of the state, which is against the state sovereignty. In order to deeply analyse the effect of global governance in today's world and world politics we shall discuss few issues relating to environment.

Human development is impossible without trade and industrialization, whereas trade and industrialization leads to environmental degradation, which in turn will affect not only the present generation but also the future generation. So an unanswerable question arises as to whether we have to give out development for protecting the environment or develop at the cost of polluting the

⁸G.B.Reddy. (2011). *Intellectual Property Rights* (Student edition ed.). Gogia Law Agency (pp-26-78).

⁹Fuchs, D. (2007). *Business power in global governance*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner (pp:110-112).

environment. The solution to the above question would be sustainable development. Sustainable development, but how it is possible when there is a wide gap between the economic patterns of states.

In discussing the problem of environment the *"tragedy of commons"* concept strikes the mind, which is using the resources until it is exhausted leading to a *"collective catastrophe"*. This is the one that is happening in today's world the developed nation's which are having technology and power to invest are exploiting the natural resources so as to improve their trade leading to environmental degradation. But on the other hand the developing and under developed nations exploit the environment to sustain their living by exploiting the environment for competing priority of their survival. Hence environmental resources are exhausted leading to collective catastrophe like climate change, environmental degradation, pollution etc. This shows that it is not a single man problem and disciplining of a single man cannot help finding solution to the problem of environmental degradation. Therefore in order to protect the environment and allow our future generation to enjoy the natural resources and clean environment the world state has to deal this problem collectively which is termed to be *"collective action problem"*. The important factor required to collectively solve the problem of environmental degradation is cooperation between the states. This kind of global problem is dealt by organisation like United Nations and they act as a forum under which world states cooperate and enter in to treaties in order to protect the environment. UN acts in facilitating the states to come together to collectively solve the global problem threatening environmental degradation. The important one among the environment concern is climate change which will lead to serious unimaginable havocs to the world. Hence UN hasbrought many conventions on climate change like Kyoto protocol, Montreal protocol, Convention on biodiversity but only Montreal protocol was successful. The reasons for failure of the above treaties were because of barriers to cooperate among states due to the nationalist, the expansionist and the anarchical nature of real politics practiced by world states.

There are many problems in collective cooperation of states to address the environment protections such problems are called *"barriers to cooperation"*. The first and foremost problem is the difference between the rich and poor states. All states are not equally developed to bring a common regulation so as to impose it and get solve the problem of environmental degradation. In analysing the above situation the reason for current environment degradation is the due to developed nations but if rules to sustainable development has to be brought then it has to be shared by both the developed and developing nation. The rules of sustainable development though will affect the developed nations; the attack of it on the developing and under developed nations will be massive. No developing state will accept to reduce its level of development in order to protect the environment compromising its economic growth, because the developing and under developed states believes that the present degradation is because of developed countries and it is the *"waste"* to be cleaned up by the developed countries and hence the burden rests only on the developed countries. Hence in order to convince both the developed and developing nations and to balance their development and economic growth a new principle of *"common but differentiated responsibility"* was introduced by UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) in the year 1992. Common responsibility is stressed because all nations have to act responsibly for the world's changing climate, and exploit the environment at different levels, because it was those developed nations that were immediately responsible for day today's climate change. CBDR approach was followed by Kyoto protocol in controlling the emission of Carbon di oxide. But even before the protocol was agreed,the US Senate passed the Byrd -Hagel Resolution making it clear that it would not ratify any agreement where developing nations, who were now economic competitors of the USA, did not also have to make emissions reductions (John Baylis, 2011, pp. 348-361)¹⁰. This clearly shows how developed countries find ways to avoid the responsibility to protect the environment. Firstly this shows the

¹⁰John Baylis, S. S. (2011). *The Globalisation of world Politics -An Introduction to International Relations*. New York: Oxford University press (PP:348-361).

failure of UN in making states abide by international agreements and we could site the reason for such avoidance is because states are autonomous and the non-state actors like UN lack the central authority to make states accountable to sign the agreement and give life to international agreements in order to solve the global problems. Secondly as non-state actors are developed from the western theories of thought like liberalism and cosmopolitanism, the influence of developed western states on non-state actors would be more. Hence global governance run by non-state actors will lack credibility and transparency, because sometimes non-state actors may be biased towards the developed nations in resolving global problem. Lack of central authority, problems of accountability and transparency are few drawbacks that make global governance still weaker.

On the other side developed countries are trying to practice "*green protectionism*" that is building trade barriers in order to bar the products which are not produced environment friendly. Developing and under developed countries are becoming prey for protectionist trade measures followed by developed countries. WTO has also resolved many disputes and famous one was Tuna-Dolphin case. In Tuna- Dolphin case, the Tuna imports were restricted by USA from the countries and intermediaries that sold Tuna to USA. The restrictions USA imposed on the exporters were to prove that Tuna were caught without violating the US Marine Mammal Protection Act that sets dolphin protection standards for the domestic American fishing fleet and for countries whose fishing boats catch yellow fin tuna in that part of the Pacific Ocean. Mexico was the intermediary who has filed the Tuna- Dolphin case against USA's import restriction on Tuna from Mexico. Arguments of Mexico were accepted and USA's ban on import of Tuna was removed, because to avoid any other country from banning imports of a product from another country merely because the importing country will have different environmental, health and social policies of its own and it will start imposing it on other countries who like to trade with them (Babu, 2009, pp. 97-110)¹¹. This decision was given to put an end to the protectionist abuses committed by developed country which would undermine the basic idea of free trade under multilateral trading system. This verdict in Tuna- Dolphin case by WTO dispute settlement board shows the steps taken by non-state actors playing a major role in global governance by global problem solving.

The above two scenarios CBDR and Tuna case shows two different situation were non-state actors have stepped in to resolve the global problem. Though implementation of CBDR was not successful due to non-cooperation of developed nation but it does not mean that role played by non-state actor in global governance is failure. Though there are lots of drawbacks for non-state actors in solving the global problems we can see a difference in today's world that many global problems which require collective action are identified and tried to redress. As concept of state's power and sovereignty is many centuries old, it will take a bit long time for few decades' old global governance to redress the global problems without being disturbed by state sovereignty.

Conclusion

This article discussed the role of non-state actors playing an important role in trying to solve the global problems. Though non-state actors show interest in solving the global problems giving rise to a new concept of global governance its effect on world politics is not drastic because of sovereign power of the states. On analysing the role of non-state actors in trying to accomplish a solution and to redress the global problems, there comes the problem of cooperation among states, this is due to excessive power of state sovereignty. The last but not least the failure to accomplish the state's cooperation in solving global problem by non-state actors is due to its lack of central authority to control the state. The other issues related to weakening of global governance are due to lack of accountability and transparency on part of non-state actors. Though there are lots of drawbacks for non-state actors in solving the global problems we can see a nominal difference in today's world

¹¹Babu, R. (2009). *Essays on Contemporary Issues in International Law*. Africa: Centre for Research and Training Asian -African Legal Consultative pages :97-100.

politics as many global problems which require collective action are identified and tried to get redressed. These changes show that global governance has brought an absolutely different picture of world and world politics in today's world in comparison to one existed before Cold War. It's also analysed and substantiated that, though efforts to establish global governance is working in full-fledged pace it has to develop without disturbing the anarchy of political states that is within the ambit of sovereign states. As concept of state's power and sovereignty is many centuries old, it will take a bit long time for few decades' old global governance instituted by non-state actors to redress the global problems without being disturbed by state sovereignty.

Abbreviation

CBDR- Common But Differentiated Responsibility
IGO- International Governmental Organisation
IMF- International Monetary Fund
NGO- Non Governmental Organisation
UN- United Nations
UNFCCC-United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
USA- United States of America
USSR- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WFP- World Food Programme
WHO- World Health Organisation
WIPO- World Intellectual Property Organisation
WTO- World Trade Organisation

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