

**GLOBAL GOVERNANCE IN THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL  
SECURITY: A CASE STUDY OF THE UNITED NATIONS.**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my family and their great desire for me to study beyond mortal expectation. To my brothers and sisters, I thank you because you saw my potential even before I knew it .You all have been my motivation to academic curiosity. Your prayers and guidance has been my pillar in this academic journey.

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## ABSTRACT

The statement of the problem of this study was to establish the global governance in the promotion of international security with reference to the United Nations. Challenge of global governance for the world to produce order, stability and predictability. The research question and objectives were to examine and analyze the key international security challenges facing the global community, to assess the role of global governance in promoting international security, and to examine the challenges in governance that the UN faces and how they impact on its ability to promote international security. The gap which this study sought to fill were to find solutions to even in the absence of a world government is six fold: the evolution of international organizations to facilitate robust global responses lags behind the emergence of collective action problems; the most pressing problems nuclear weapons, terrorism, pandemics, food, water and fuel scarcity, climate change, agricultural trade are global in scope and require global solutions: problems without passports in search of solutions without passports. This study was anchored on the Liberalism theory which believes the goodness of human being's nature and also the importance of political institutions to achieve social development and progress. The study Hypothesis Testing went by, the key international security challenges facing the global community are not significant, the key international security challenges facing the global community are significant, there are no significant roles of global governance in promoting international security, there are significant roles of global governance in promoting international security, the challenges in governance that the UN faces have no significant impact on its ability to promote international security and the challenges in governance that the UN faces have a significant impact on its ability to promote international security. Data findings established that today the world is more complex and unpredictable than ever before. Moreover, the findings found out that Such partnerships are, however, far more than merely 'institutional patches' to overcome technical glitches in how we organize ourselves. They are new forms of institutionalized power and associated patterns of accountability. At times they consolidate existing patterns of control over resources, business strategy and public policy. In other instances, they are designed to and can drive shifts in wealth creation, distributional and political outcomes. Partnerships, both the fact of their emergence, and their specifics in any particular situation, are a manifestation of a contested, and dynamic social contract. The study recommends that The capacity of Global governance to make use of a plethora of data and knowledge from other disciplines makes it the right area to study global, international, national, community and individual perspectives, with the aim of revealing the complexity behind international security insecurity, prevent wars in the international system and create a new global order based on multilateral cooperation, promoted by the need to preserve our common international security.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### 1.1 Introduction

In our rapidly globalized world, the challenges to humankind are myriad and complex. The task for global governance is to focus on the interconnectedness and interdependence of all these challenges and threats. It needs to provide the international community with a roadmap leading to the ultimate goal of sustainable peace and development. And with the rise of emerging powers, the need for a new global architecture has become even more urgent and critical. Globalization has also let loose the forces of “uncivil society” and accelerated the transnational flows of terrorism, human and drug trafficking, organized crime, piracy, and pandemic diseases. The notion that endless liberalization, deregulation and relaxation of capital and border controls (except for labour) will assure perpetual self-sustaining growth and prosperity has proven to be delusional<sup>1</sup>.

For developing countries, Burton, John and Dukes and Fran contends that lowering all barriers to the tides of the global economy may end up drowning much of local production. But raising barriers too high may be futile or counterproductive.<sup>2</sup> Where

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<sup>1</sup> Strauss, Andrew. 2005. *Taking Democracy Global: Assessing the Benefits and Challenges of a Global Parliamentary Assembly*, One World Trust, London.

<sup>2</sup>Burton, John and Dukes, Frank. 1990. “Mediation” / “Community Mediation” in J. Burton. and F. Dukes, eds. *Conflict: Practices in Management, Settlement and Resolution*. Macmillan, London.

lies the golden middle? No other body can tackle these pathologies more effectively, with greater legitimacy, lesser transaction and compliance costs, and higher comfort levels for most countries as their organization, than the United Nations system.

Challenges of changing normative expectations of global institutions like the United Nations' System have cast doubt on the constitutive values of specific international institutions such as the United Nations. But the theoretical rationale of institutionalism that all states benefit from a world in which agreed rules and common norms bind the behaviour of all actors is broadly intact and indisputable.

All actors depend upon multilateralism and the underwriting of regularity and public goods in the international system. But if they are to remain viable, international organizations and the values of multilateralism embedded in them must be reconstituted in line with 21st century principles of governance and legitimacy. The survival and vitality of international organizations depend on two factors: the capacity to change and adapt and the quality of their governance. Based on human solidarity across borders and transcending national perspectives, the United Nations provides and manages the framework for bringing together the world's leaders to tackle the pressing problems of the day for the survival, development and welfare of all peoples, everywhere.<sup>3</sup>

Yet multilateralism is under unprecedented challenge, from arms control to climate change, international criminal justice and the use of military force overseas. At

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<sup>3</sup> Strauss, Andrew. 2005. *Taking Democracy Global: Assessing the Benefits and Challenges of a Global Parliamentary Assembly*, One World Trust, London.

such a time, it is especially important to reaffirm the UN's role as the principal embodiment of the principle of multilateralism and the main forum for its pursuit. Brahimi, Lakhdar and Salman and Ahmed<sup>4</sup> posts that best was and only hope for unity-in-diversity in which global problems require multilateral solutions is through universally representative global governance. It is the embodiment of the international community and the custodian of an internationalized human conscience. It represents the idea that unbridled nationalism and the raw interplay of power must be mediated and moderated in an international framework of rules and norms. This is what makes the United Nations the centre for harmonizing the ever-present national interests and forging the elusive international interest. While the UN has had a number of notable 'successes', more recently there has been a precipitous decline in achievement of such outcomes<sup>5</sup>.

Through an engagement with the founding principles of the UN as the world's self-designated purveyor of international peace and security, this study will argue that , the fundamental challenge for the international community is how to restructure and reform the United Nations in order to reposition it at the centre of collective efforts to

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<sup>4</sup>Brahimi, Lakhdar and Salman Ahmed. 2008. 'In Pursuit of Sustainable Peace: The Seven Deadly Sins of Mediation', in Centre on International Cooperation, *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2008*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner: Boulder, Colorado.

<sup>5</sup> Strauss, Andrew. 2005. *Taking Democracy Global: Assessing the Benefits and Challenges of a Global Parliamentary Assembly*, One World Trust, London.

manage current and anticipated global problems over the next quarter and half century.<sup>6</sup> Its evidently clear that the real challenge is how to retain the positive attributes of the existing nodes of global governance while shedding their pathologies. One answer is to configure and operate the United Nations as the hub of networked global governance. The United Nations is the symbol and core of global governance but lacks the attributes of a world government.

It must continue to lead efforts for the creation and maintenance of a rules-based order that specifies both the proper conduct to be followed by all state and non-state international actors and mechanism and procedures for reconciling differences among them. The United Nations will continue to play a central role in the development of global governance through filling five gaps in all issue-areas: knowledge (empirical and theoretical), normative, policy, institutional, and compliance (monitoring and enforcement).

For many, globalization is both desirable and irreversible for having underwritten a rising standard of living and material prosperity throughout the world for several decades. However the deepening of poverty and inequality, prosperity for a few countries and some people, marginalization and exclusion for many has implications for social and political stability among and within states<sup>7</sup>. The rapid growth of global markets has not

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<sup>6</sup>United Nations and Boutros Boutros-Ghali. 1992. *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*, United Nations, New York.

<sup>7</sup> Jorge Heine and Ramesh Thakur, eds., *The Dark Side of Globalization* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2011).

been accompanied by the parallel development of social and economic institutions to ensure balanced, inclusive and sustainable growth.

Labour rights have been less sedulously protected than capital and property rights, and global rules on trade and finance are less than equitable. Even before the global financial crisis, many developing countries were worried about the adverse impact of globalization on economic sovereignty, cultural integrity and social stability<sup>8</sup>. Interdependence” among unequals is tantamount to the dependence of some on international markets that function under the dominance of others. The financial crisis confirmed that absent effective regulatory institutions, markets, states and civil society can be overwhelmed by rampant transnational forces. It also raised questions of the roles of international financial institutions and ratings agencies with their known proclivity to insist on austerity and reduced spending for cutting deficits instead of looking to fostering economic growth as the means to raise public revenues in dictating policy to elected governments<sup>9</sup>.

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

The problem of International security has been something that the international community has been grappling with for ages and is certainly not a new phenomenon. In recent times however the problem has taken new dimensions that has made both scholars and policy makers take a second look at how best to deal with the issue. As the world has

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<sup>8</sup> Strauss, Andrew. 2005. *Taking Democracy Global: Assessing the Benefits and Challenges of a Global Parliamentary Assembly*, One World Trust, London.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas G. Weiss and Ramesh Thakur, *Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010)

become more global and more interdependent, so have the international security challenges metamorphic, grown global and transcended frontiers, hitherto unknown.

The world faces challenges that transcend borders, ranging from health issues, financial flows, piracy , terrorism , cyber security, organized crime, human trafficking, refugee flows to illegal arms and drugs transfers. No one state can address these challenges alone. This is where global governance can play a crucial role. However as our interdependence has increased, the systems entrusted with global governance have not kept up the pace with a world that is fast becoming a “global village”.

There is urgent need to rethink how states work together with a view to strengthen the systems of governance to better deliver and to better address especially the question of international security without which no international transactions can be assured. In this regard, the nearest approximation to a world body that can assure global governance is the United Nations. No other international institution has the legitimacy and universal outreach to assume the role of global governance than the United Nations, yet history has shown that that supreme intergovernmental organization has been struggling to effectively assume this role , despite the immense potential it possesses to do so.

This study therefore seek to fill in an academic research gap left by other scholars in reviewing existing guidelines, decisions and practices that affect access to and participation in United Nations deliberations and processes; to look at best global governance practices in the United Nations system and in other international organizations with a view to identifying new and better ways to interact with states, and

non-state actors including, non-governmental organizations and other civil society organizations; to identify ways of making it easier for both states and civil society actors from developing countries to participate fully in United Nations activities; and to review how the Secretariat is organized to facilitate, manage and evaluate the relationships of the United Nations with civil society and to learn from experience gained in different parts of the system. It is imperative; therefore, that the only body that can provide leadership in the form of a “World Government” overcome structural and procedural impediments to be able to address both old and new threats facing humanity. The United Nations, urgently needs to be recalibrated to rise to the new and emerging challenges that confront the world today.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- a) What are the key international securities challenges facing the global community?
- b) What is the role of global governance in advancing international security?
- c) What opportunities and challenges are there for the UN in executing global governance as a key mechanism for enhancing international security?

### **1.4 Research Objectives**

- a. To examine and analyze the key international security challenges facing the global community.
- b. To assess the role of global governance in promoting international security.
- c. To examine the challenges in governance that the UN faces and how they impact on its ability to promote international security.

## 1.5 Literature Review

This section examines the various continuing debates and narratives in academic literature regarding unrepresentative global governance, the United Nations governance system and the structures associated with maintenance of international peace and security. An attempt to look at the gaps in the working of the organ within the UN charged with maintenance of international peace and security, namely the Security Council will be made. The UN Security Council has been singled out as being anachronistic in both permanent and elected membership, unanswerable to the peoples of the world, unaccountable to the General Assembly, not subject to judicial oversight, and to many has betrayed the high hopes placed in it in 1945. Tännsjö, Torbjörn<sup>10</sup> notes that with respect to the primary responsibility vested in it, of maintaining international peace and security, there were two requirements: that states would not resort to the use of force unilaterally, but would come together to use force collectively when ordered to do so by the security Council. The historical record since 1945 shows that those resorting to the use of force unilaterally need fear Security Council censure and punishment only rarely, while those who need international military assistance cannot rely on the Security Council for prompt and effective help. Given the changing nature of armed conflicts and the fact that civilians now comprise the overwhelming victims of conflict-related violence, disease and starvation, reliable and predictable protection of civilians from conflict-related situations and possibility of grave harm is the litmus test of the UN's credibility as the ultimate security provider. In addition to a better permanent

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<sup>10</sup>Tännsjö, Torbjörn. 2008. *Global Democracy: The Case for a World Government*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh

membership that reflects today's power balance, the Security Council must also be more representative of a broader constituency of interests in its elected members.

Walker and Jenonne<sup>11</sup> concedes that, from its inception, the UN's Security Council was faced with challenges of Governance, and particularly of the UNSC, has had an extremely difficult time coming to fruition. The 5 veto powers, citing the League of Nations, say that they need the veto to avoid circumstances that will cause the UN to become ineffective. However, the rest of the UN, feels as though this is inequitable. Despite protestations to the contrary it is clear, the P5 are using the veto to safeguard their power. One of the best ways to empower the UN's member states is to empower the General Assembly as the only plenary UN body. The UN Security Council is the most important UN organ and its geopolitical centre of gravity. But as it progressively expanded its powers and reach, so it steadily constricted the role and relevance of the General Assembly. Zartman and William points out that the United Nations derives its unique legitimacy and its unmatched convening power from its universal membership; the only UN body in which all UN member states come together is the General Assembly. That should be a major source of its authority and legitimacy. But the very

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<sup>11</sup>Walker, Jenonne. 1993. "International Mediation of Ethnic Conflict" in M. Brown, ed. *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

same universality makes the General Assembly a suboptimal organ for efficient decision-making.<sup>12</sup>

Scholars such as Walters<sup>13</sup> who contrast both global governance and successful operation contends that what seemed initially to be a resourceful array of mechanisms and processes to resolve conflict were soon to be confronted by the structural limitations and the egotistical imperatives of the superpowers that dominated the Cold War era. The superpowers (the USA and USSR) and their client states within the UN framework, formed de-facto alliances along ideological lines and institutionalized an oligarchy of power. This appropriation of global power manifested itself through the dominance of the Security Council in all major decisions, and meant that the UN's ability to resolve conflicts and build peace became structurally paralyzed. Rarely, if at all did the interests of the USA or the USSR converge. One solution to the conundrum lies in capacitating the office of the President of the General Assembly. One concrete example of institutional innovation would be to create a new post of Science Adviser to the President of the UN General Assembly.

The modern world is pervasively influenced by science and technology in myriad ways on a daily basis. Similarly, international organizations touch upon human and social activity every day in countless little and not so little ways. It has become increasingly important to bring these two facets of human life together through appropriate governance arrangements that will put science and technology at the service

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<sup>12</sup>Zartman, William. 1989. *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa*, second edition. Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.

<sup>13</sup> Walters, F. 1952. *A History of the League of Nations*, (Oxford: Oxford University

of humanity without borders. That is, science, technology and innovation for human development for all will not simply happen but must be made to happen through global governance. This in turn presents an opportunity for the United Nations, as the custodian of the Global Agenda, to reclaim relevance with most member states and “the peoples” of the world, and, within the United Nations, for the General Assembly to reassert leadership in an important dimension of the Global Agenda.

Murithi and Tim<sup>14</sup> contend that the world has changed enormously since the creation of the United Nations. There are four times as many state actors, a correspondingly greater number and proportion of non-state actors, and a tremendous diversity in the types of state and non-state actors compared to 1945. There has also been a matching proliferation in the number, nature and types of threats to national security and world peace alike.

Consequently, the growing number and types of actors in world affairs have to grapple with an increasing number, range and complexity of issues in an increasingly networked, deeply intertwined but also more fragmented world. Security problematique has morphed from defusing and defeating national security threats to risk assessment and management and being prepared normatively, organizationally and operationally to cope with strategic complexity and uncertainty.

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<sup>14</sup>Murithi, Tim. 2003. ‘Re-thinking the United Nations System: Prospects for a WorldFederation of Nations’. *International Journal on World Peace*, 20 (4), December.

That being the case, the overwhelming challenge is to structure the institutions of international governance such as to make them more robust so that they can withstand both exogenous and endogenous shocks; resilient so that they can bounce back when they do buckle in the face of some shocks; and flexible and adaptable – so that they can deal with the rapidly changing nature and source of threats, including black swans. There are therefore many possibilities and urgent need for critical bilateral relationships without compromising the United Nations independence and integrity. The key point is that attention needs to be given to this now, immediately after the new Secretary-General has been installed, in order to detach consideration of the issue from the immediacy of an impending selection.

Ramesh<sup>15</sup> critically sees some risk that the UN Security Council may progressively approximate such a tyrannical fusion of powers as it becomes more active and assertive. To match the growing powers of the Security Council there is a matching growing need for an independent constitutional check on the world's only all-powerful law enforcement executive body. The broader UN community must manage the UN's most critical bilateral relationships without compromising the UN's independence and integrity by appeasing any one or more of the P5. Procedurally, the consensus and majoritarian basis of decision-making of some international organizations has also come into question. According to the existing rules of many international organizations, the status quo of no action is an acceptable outcome if agreement to act cannot be reached

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<sup>15</sup> Ramesh Thakur, with Walther Lichem, Julia Marton-Lefèvre, and Detlof von Winterfeldt, "Needed: A UN Science Adviser," UNA-UK (2009), [www.una.org.uk/reform/pdfs/Article- ScienceAdviser.pdf](http://www.una.org.uk/reform/pdfs/Article- ScienceAdviser.pdf).

through consensus. But while this may be acceptable to member states, it is less and less tolerable to vast numbers of peoples in the face of genocide, terrorism, nuclear apocalypse, and climate change. For many observers, international organizations that are rendered paralyzed, even if following proper rules of procedure, then their helplessness to deal with the most pressing problems makes them illegitimate. That is, their procedural legitimacy contributes to the erosion of their performance legitimacy.<sup>16</sup>The UN decision-making procedures may be flawed and defective, but at least they are regulated and subject to international oversight and are therefore preferable to unilateral action. For multilateral enforcement action to be effective, it must be based on a unity of purpose and action in the international community so as to avoid fracturing the existing consensus.

Thomas and Weiss posits that collective enforcement action to be equitable, it must balance the competing interests among the many constituencies that make up the international community and avoid privileging the interests and viewpoints of one over the others. To achieve freedom from fear, citizens must be assured that national authorities with the legal monopoly on the means of violence will not unleash the agents and instruments of violence on the people; and states must be assured that the most powerful will aim to settle differences of opinion around the negotiating table and not on the point of tank turrets, helicopter gunships and missiles let alone nuclear warheads<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> <sup>16</sup>Murithi, Tim. 2003. 'Re-thinking the United Nations System: Prospects for a WorldFederation of Nations'. *International Journal on World Peace*, 20 (4), December.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas and Weiss, with Walther Lichem, Julia Marton-Lefèvre, and Detlof von

When countries disagree on the substance of policy, they must agree on rules and procedures for resolving differences by peaceful means. Multilateral institutions must recognize and involve non state actors on the basis of criteria that ensure their legitimacy and effectiveness In the areas of social and economic welfare and humanitarianism in particular, non-state actors have become integral and essential components of multilateral action.

Lichem, Julia and Marton-Lefèvre posit that the Twenty-first century multilateralism cannot be confined therefore to relationships among states but must reflect the plurality of global governance, including the key roles of non-state actors. By the same token, NGOs themselves must acknowledge, and act on the acknowledgment, that they are now oftentimes actors and participants in the global policy process. With influence on decisions come responsibility for the consequences and distributional impacts of the decisions. Similarly, the for-profit private sector too must take a greater interest in issues of international governance and pay its due share of the costs of the provision of global public goods.<sup>18</sup> The end of the Cold War brought about a shift in the geo-strategic imperatives of the superpowers and many governments were faced with challenges from within their states. Today, the legacy of this era still persists and many countries are having to deal with subnational armed resistance movements. The most difficult situations include internal disputes in: the Darfur region of Sudan, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Israel and Palestine, Somalia, and Western

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Winterfeldt, “Needed: A UN Science Adviser,” UNA-UK (2009).

<sup>18</sup> Strauss, Andrew. 2005. *Taking Democracy Global: Assessing the Benefits and Challenges of a Global Parliamentary Assembly*, One World Trust, London.

Sahara to name a few. In addition, there are also inter-state conflicts still between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue.<sup>19</sup>As a result, the demands placed on the UN have increased. The High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (2004) noted that the demand for the UN's 'good offices' and mediation in particular had 'skyrocketed'.

Strauss and Andrew discovered the areas such as maintaining international peace and security, economic development and international trade, human rights, functional and technical cooperation, and the protection of the international security and sustainability of resources require joint action to reduce costs and bring order and regularity to global governance. Such problems cannot be addressed unilaterally with optimum effectiveness. This rationale persists because all states, as well as some non state actors, face mutual vulnerabilities and intensifying interdependence. They will benefit from and are thus required to support global public goods. Even the most powerful states cannot achieve security nor maintain prosperity and health as effectively acting unilaterally or in isolation. International system rests on a network of treaties, regimes, international organizations and shared practices that embody common expectations, reciprocity and equivalence of benefits. In an interdependent, globalized and networked world, multilateralism will continue to be a key aspect of global governance.

Limitations do and always will exist. The utility and effectiveness of formal multilateral institutions are, inevitably, conditioned and constrained by the exigencies of power. Powerful states may work through or around multilateral institutions at their

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<sup>19</sup>R. Fisher, R. 2015. *International Mediation: A Working Guide*. International Peace

pleasure and selectively. Some issues may defy multilateral approaches. Changing normative expectations may cast doubt on the constitutive values of specific international institutions. But the theoretical rationale of institutionalism – that all states benefit from a world in which agreed rules and common norms bind the behaviour of all actors – is broadly intact and indisputable<sup>20</sup>.

All actors depend upon multilateralism and the underwriting of regularity and public goods in the international system. But if they are to remain viable, international organizations and the values of multilateralism embedded in them must be reconstituted in line with 21st century principles of governance and legitimacy. Just as importantly, they must be capable of addressing contemporary challenges effectively. This may involve moving beyond the original roots of multilateralism, reassessing the values on which multilateralism is based and promoted, and recognizing that contemporary and prospective challenges call for more agility, nimbleness, flexibility, adaptability and anticipatory rather than always reactive solutions. At the centre of the existing multilateral order is the United Nations. Of course one part of the United Nations is an international bureaucracy with many failings and flaws and a forum often used for finger pointing, not problem solving.

### **1.5.1: Organization of the United Nations**

Since its establishment after World War II, the UN has been the preeminent beacon for global governance because of its truly global reach and its attempts at global

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<sup>20</sup> Ramesh Thakur, with Walther Lichem, Julia Marton-Lefèvre, and Detlof von Winterfeldt, “Needed: A UN Science Adviser,” UNA-UK (2009).

cooperation and consensus. The UN is constituted of 193 member states “committed to maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights” (United Nations, n.d. A). This commitment stems from the goal “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in [the 20th century] has brought untold sorrow to mankind<sup>21</sup>. The term ‘United Nations’ was first coined by President Franklin D. Roosevelt during World War II in the Declaration by United Nations in which 26 nations at war with the Axis powers pledged their support for the Atlantic Charter<sup>22</sup>

According to Hopes and Brinkley (2000: 46), “The order in which the declaration was signed reflected FDR’s ingrained belief in the rightful primacy of the strong, combined with the moral concept of ‘trusteeship of the powerful’ for the well-being of the less powerful”. In this sense, the original concept of the UN was founded not only upon the divide between allied powers and axis powers, but also between the powerful and less powerful. As the Second World War came to its conclusion and the allied powers claimed victory, the powers assumed control of setting the agenda for an international organization that would emulate FDR’s ‘ingrained belief’.

From this perspective, the founding of the world’s foremost multilateral forum was dominated by the interests of the powerful as it set global standards after Second World War. Beyond the original conception, the interests of the powerful are evidenced

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<sup>21</sup> United Nations (n.d. C) ‘United Nations Security Council’, United Nations [online] Available at: [Accessed 19 April 2014].

<sup>22</sup> United Nations (n.d. A) ‘UN at a Glance’, United Nations [online] Available at: [Accessed 19 April 2014].

by the structuring of the United Nations' principle organs<sup>23</sup>. As noted previously, the concept of power is local and unstable; therefore, the idea of the powerful is also unstable as the social relations of actors, and the inequalities that stem from those relations, are constantly altered. The powerful, then, are the actors who momentarily hold a position where they are capable of exerting more control over its social relations with other actors. The Security Council is one of the six organs of the UN that is responsible for maintaining international peace and security, which highlights its importance in global governance. The UN Charter declares that "in order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its members agree that...the Security Council acts on their behalf" and that the members of the UN "agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council"<sup>24</sup>.

The importance of the Security Council in global governance is cemented as it is charged with investigating "any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute"<sup>25</sup>. These guidelines allow for the Council's directive to be broadly defined so as to be able to address any phenomena which challenges or threatens the status quo, or, in other words, the interest of the powerful.

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<sup>23</sup> Kelsen, H. (1944) 'The Principle of Sovereign Equality of States as a Basis for International Organization', *The Yale Law Journal*, 53:2, pp. 207-220.

<sup>24</sup> UN System Task Team (2013) 'UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda', United Nations [pdf]

<sup>25</sup> United Nations (n.d. A) 'UN at a Glance', United Nations [online]

Bryant <sup>26</sup> contends that members of the Security Council are directed to maintain the status quo by taking effective “collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace...” (United Nations, n.d. D: Article 1). Despite a benevolent directive of collective action, the Security Council’s composition reflects the reaching influence of powerful actors.

Historians Doenecke and Stoler<sup>27</sup> recount President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s belief that actions of global governance should be restricted to powerful actors: “Small nations must trust the great powers, not a general world parliament, for ‘another League of Nations with a hundred different signatories’ would simply mean ‘too many nations to satisfy’”. This conviction continues to affect the fifteen member composition of the Security Council, of which China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States are permanent members. The ten nonpermanent members are elected by the UN General Assembly to serve two-year terms. The composition of the Council, in particular the five permanent members, clearly provides a system which is dominated by powerful actors who are able to steer global governance by defining the foundational terms of the Security Council’s creed such as ‘threats to peace’ and ‘breaches of peace’.

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<sup>26</sup> <sup>26</sup>Murithi, Tim. 2003. ‘Re-thinking the United Nations System: Prospects for a WorldFederation of Nations’. *International Journal on World Peace*, 20 (4), December.

<sup>27</sup> Doenneske, J.and Stoler, M. (2005) *Debating Franklin D. Roosevelt's Foreign Policies, 1933- 1945*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

The role of the powerful, the five permanent members who were considered world powers after World War II, is further strengthened by the voting arrangement in the Council. According to the Charter of the UN, each member of the Council shall have one vote. Procedural matters pass with nine of the fifteen members voting in the affirmative. However, it also states that “all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members”. This provision in the UN Charter provides, essentially, the power to veto to each of the five permanent members. China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States, therefore, control the action of the UN on matters concerning international peace and security. The limited fifteen member composition and veto power of the five permanent members on the Council remove the possibility of true representation in this facet of global governance. 10 *Journal of Power, Politics & Governance*, Vol. 2(2), June 2014 The General Assembly, as the “main deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the UN”, is another of the six principle organs of the UN<sup>28</sup>.

The functions and powers of the General Assembly include discussing and considering questions and offering recommendations that fall within the scope of the UN Charter, such as the maintenance of peace and security and international cooperation. Unlike the Security Council, the structure of the General Assembly follows guidelines for basic representation as each member has one vote. Decisions regarding ‘important questions’, such as recommendations for the maintenance of international peace and

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<sup>28</sup> Sending, O. and Neumann, I. (2006) ‘Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States, and Power,’ *International Studies Quarterly*, 50, pp. 651-672.

security, the election of nonpermanent members of the Security Council and election of members to other principle organs of the UN, the admission and expulsion of members, require a two-thirds majority of the General Assembly members present and voting<sup>29</sup>. Although the General Assembly is tasked with the power to decide these important questions, its capabilities are severely limited in having an effect on questions dealing with the maintenance of peace and security as Article 12 of the UN Charter restricts the General Assembly from making any recommendations regarding any disputes or situations being dealt with by the Security Council.

Therefore, the UN General Assembly is structured to provide a sense of representation and power to all actors while, effectively, restricting decisions on the subject of peace and security to the Security Council, which is dominated by the five permanent member's veto power. The veto power, held by the actors that were deemed as powerful after the Second World War, is just one strategy employed to constantly reproduce the unequal social relations prevalent in the mid-20th century. The structuring of the UN General Assembly and Security Council is a prime example of Graham Burchell's<sup>30</sup> 'responsibilization'. Actors in the General Assembly are considered to be empowered to the same extent as others through guaranteed equal voting power and ability to address questions presented before the Assembly. This inclusionary structure reinforces the idea that the members of the UN are equally relevant in global governance

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<sup>29</sup> Kelsen, H. (1944) 'The Principle of Sovereign Equality of States as a Basis for International Organization', *The Yale Law Journal*, 53:2, pp. 207-220.

<sup>30</sup> Hoopes, T. and Brinkley, D. (2000) *FDR and the Creation of the UN*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

and bolsters a perception of cooperation through a sense of active involvement. Burchell (ibid) contends that the price of active involvement is that actors assume an active responsibility for the decisions reached and actions undertaken. This active involvement and responsibility, to a lesser extent, can also be applied to the Security Council. Despite its fifteen member composition, the Security Council employs responsabilization as an approach in its decision making. Bryant Edward Harden<sup>31</sup> For example, it is the responsibility of the General Assembly to elect the ten non-permanent, non-veto members to two-year terms. Furthermore, the Charter of the United Nations declares that any member that “is party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute.

The semblance of representation in the functioning and practice of global governance is a tactic employed by the powerful in an effort to consolidate their power; in other words, it is a tactic of what could be called global governmentality. Furthermore, the structuring of the UN is a prime example of Barnett and Duvall’s notion of interactive power. Through an institutionalization of social relations in the UN, power nearly becomes an attribute that an actor possesses and may use knowingly as a resource to shape the action or conditions of others”<sup>32</sup>. In so far as this institutionalization limits the flow of social relations, the UN effectively limits the freedom of members. Although there remains means of resistance by less powerful actors outside of the UN, the restricting institutional rules and practices severely limit the means of effective resistance

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<sup>31</sup> Barnett, M. and Duvall, R. (2005) ‘Power in International Politics,’ *International Organization*, 59: 1, pp. 39-75.

<sup>32</sup> Carr, E. H. (1939) *Twenty Years’ Crisis, 1919-1939*. London: Macmillan and Company Limited

by less powerful actors. Foucault <sup>33</sup>writes, “Where the determining factors saturate the whole, there is no relationship of power”. In this sense, the dominance of the Security Council saturates the social relations of the UN, which effectively stymies significant forms of resistance. However, since unilateral action is perceived as illegitimate, the appearance of multilateral decisions on issues of global governance becomes important for the power and legitimacy of powerful actors.

### **1.5.2: Humanitarian Interventions**

In addition to the organizational structures of the UN, the interests of the powerful are also represented by actors and organizations in global governance that reach within states’ borders to spread specific agendas. These actions are under a variety of guises from development to health to humanitarian intervention. As universal human rights were solidified by the UN with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the anchor of state sovereignty in global relations came in to question<sup>34</sup>. As Bellamy and Wheeler<sup>35</sup> point out, “Humanitarian intervention poses a hard test for an international society built on principles of sovereignty, non-intervention, and the nonuse of force”.

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<sup>33</sup> Hoopes, T. and Brinkley, D. (2000) *FDR and the Creation of the UN*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

<sup>34</sup> Reisman, W. M. (1990) ‘Sovereignty and Human Rights in Contemporary International Law’, *The American Journal of International Law*, 84:4, pp. 866-876.

<sup>35</sup> Bellamy, A. and Wheeler, N. (2011) ‘Humanitarian Intervention in World Politics’, in: John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens, eds., *The Globalization of World Politics*. Fifth Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 510-527

Similar to the transition in international population policy described in the previous section, “There was a significant shift of attitudes during the 1990s which led the way in pressing new humanitarian claims within international society”<sup>36</sup>. This transition was justified through a variety of legal and moral claims revolving around the civil and political rights declared in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Using Foucault’s discourse, the constitutive power of a universal declaration on human rights becomes apparent. The perceived universal nature of the rights found in the Declaration constitutes these rights as innate to human beings. The universality implies a shared moral understanding of the world, regardless of religion, culture, or language. Tesón<sup>37</sup> writes, “Because human rights are held by individuals by virtue of their personhood, they are independent of history, culture, or national borders”. It is important to keep in mind that “The concept of human rights was derived from a Western philosophical tradition, and was shaped mainly by European historical experience”<sup>38</sup>.

The fact that the concept of human rights stems from Western philosophical tradition does not necessarily limit its universality; however, it does illustrate the dichotomy between knowledge and power illustrated by Foucault. The increased acceptance of universal human rights throughout society has constituted relations based

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<sup>36</sup> *ibid*

<sup>37</sup> Tesón, F. (2003) ‘The Liberal Case for Humanitarian Intervention’, in: J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, eds, *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 93-129.

<sup>38</sup> Archibugi, Daniele, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi and Raffaele Marchetti 2010. ‘Introduction’.

less on state sovereignty and more on the civil and political rights of individuals across state borders. This strategic utilization of human rights has ignited this transition that has increased the powers of actors in global governance, specifically the UN Security Council in its responsibility regarding the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world.

This change in rationale regarding governance from sovereignty to universal human rights provides yet another example of governmentality. As cooperation and multilateralism boomed in global relations after the Second World War with the founding of the UN, the interests of the powerful, and their extensive influence, were threatened because of the dilution caused by the proliferation of actors. However, as shown in the previous section, the organizational structuring of the UN has secured the interests of the powerful. Similarly, the powerful have used humanitarian intervention and assistance to further their strategic interests using the same tactics of constitutive power and responsabilization. Legal and moral justifications, such as the failure of a states government to protect human rights<sup>39</sup>, provide flexibility in the interpretation of humanitarian crises.

Ayoob<sup>40</sup> describes representatives of the international community choosing “targets for intervention selectively while ignoring human rights violations of equal or greater magnitude elsewhere”. These actions were “Predicated on strategic

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<sup>39</sup> Tesón, F. (2003) ‘The Liberal Case for Humanitarian Intervention’, in: J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane, eds, *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 93-129.

<sup>40</sup> Ayoob, M. (2001) ‘Humanitarian Intervention and International Society’, *Global Governance*, 7, pp. 225-230.

considerations...[as] humanitarianism was the new code word for old-fashioned intervention undertaken for punitive purposes that had little to do with humanitarian concerns”<sup>41</sup>.

Empirical studies by Ramesh Thakur,<sup>42</sup> show that too often the UN has demonstrated a failure to tackle urgent collective action problems due to institutionalized inability, incapacity or unwillingness. Yet the world body remains the embodiment of the international community, the focus of international expectations and the locus of collective action as the symbol of an imagined and constructed community of strangers. Moreover, the UN record since 1945 demonstrates an under-appreciated capacity for policy innovation, institutional adaptation and organizational learning, for example with respect to peacekeeping missions.

That said, without continual structural and procedural reforms, the legitimacy and performance deficits will accumulate and there will be an intensifying crisis of confidence in the world’s system of organized multilateralism centred on the United Nations. The values and institutions of formalized multilateralism as currently constituted are neither optimally effective nor legitimate. The chief multilateral organizations do not meet current standards of representivity, consent, juridical accountability, rule of law, broad participation, and transparency and therefore political legitimacy.

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<sup>41</sup> Campbell, D. (2010) ‘Poststructuralism,’ in: Tim Dunne, MiljaKurki, and Steve Smith (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*.

<sup>42</sup> Ramesh Thakur, with Walther Lichem, Julia Marton-Lefèvre, and Detlof von Winterfeldt, “Needed

This is an acute problem precisely because international organizations play an increasingly important and intrusive role in people's lives. The more this happens, the more people will realize that multilateralism is value-laden, connoting fundamental social and political choices regarding the balance between the market and equity, human rights, governance, and democracy. A range of public policy decisions and practices have been transferred to the international level, raising a number of pressing normative challenges to the Westphalian foundations of multilateralism as citizens become rights holders and states are deemed to have responsibilities of sovereignty<sup>43</sup>.

## **1.6 Study Justification**

### **1.6.1 Academic Justification**

Although the problem of international security has been around for a long time and has been vastly analyzed, given the new and emerging threat dynamics that have changed the complexion and depth of international security problematique, it is my view that the subject warrants new and fresh study in order to help explain the emerging trends. There exists a knowledge gap in the literature review, especially in as far as the linkages between international security and global governance are concerned. It is therefore my contention that more scrutiny needs to be undertaken to critically examine this crucial symbiotic relationship with a view to contribute to the body of knowledge.

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<sup>43</sup> Edward Newman, Ramesh Thakur and John Tirman, eds., *Multilateralism Under Challenge? Power, International Order, and Structural Change* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2006)

## **1.6.2 Policy Justification**

This study will help in contributing to the international community's quest for a durable solution to the issue of international security. The contribution that the study will make, given the subject matter is of great national and international interest, will hopefully be of some assistance to decision makers. Policy recommendations that will emanate from this study will assist policy makers to effectively respond to international security challenges and it is my view that from that perspective that this study is justified.

## **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

This study was anchored on the Liberalism theory. Liberalism is a theoretical view which believes the goodness of human being's nature and also the importance of political institutions to achieve social development and progress.<sup>44</sup> Liberalism claims that individuals' born nature is basically good and they are able to co-operate each other to achieve better result. Liberalism sees states, intergovernmental organizations and nongovernmental organizations as main actors in the international system. States have many perspective of interests but not just unitary and independent even if it has sovereign character. Liberalism emphasizes on the states' interdependence and the interdependence of international institutions and multinational corporations. A well-known scholar of Liberalism, Hudley Bull argued that international society is a place where various actors interact and perceive common interests, necessity of institutions and common regulations. Liberal Global governance theory also sees international system as anarchic since there

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<sup>44</sup> Jorge Heine and Ramesh Thakur, eds., *the Dark Side of Globalization* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2011).

can't be single sovereign authority but each individual state acts to seek for the national interest of its own<sup>45</sup>.

Liberalism has been originated from liberal philosophical thought which was affected by Adam Smith and Immanuel Kant who argued that the nature of human being is basically good. They also believed that individual's seeking for interest can eventually contribute to promote social progress and the happiness of public. As well, a state which is collection of group and individual also easily follows international norms and procedures that they can agree. Liberal international theory was established after 1st World War to cure state's inability in controlling war in international society. Early proponents including Woodrow Wilson and Norman Angell argued vigorously that states can attain mutually from cooperation and that war was so destructive and totally meaningless. Liberalism was not recognized as a consistent theory at such till it was termed by E. H. Carr as idealism. A new phase of idealism which emphasized on human rights as the foundation of the legitimacy of international law was developed by Hans K ochler. Major theorists of liberalism include, Immanuel Kant, Montesquieu, John Mueller and Robert Keohane.<sup>46</sup> Idealists trust high possibility of mutual cooperation in international society due to their belief on innate goodness of human beings' nature. Therefore, by establishing and improving international regulations, systems, institutions, they believe that international peace and security and mutual prosperity can be fulfilled.

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<sup>45</sup>Murithi, Tim. 2003. 'Re-thinking the United Nations System: Prospects for a World Federation of Nations'. *International Journal on World Peace*, 20 (4), December.

<sup>46</sup>In Archibugi, Daniele, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi and Raffaele Marchetti (eds.), *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

## **1.8: Hypothesis Testing**

- i.  $H_0$ : The key international security challenges facing the global community are not significant  
 $H_A$ : The key international security challenges facing the global community are significant
- ii.  $H_0$ : There are no significant roles of global governance in promoting international security  
 $H_A$ : There are significant roles of global governance in promoting international security
- iii.  $H_0$ : The challenges in governance that the UN faces have no significant impact on its ability to promote international security  
 $H_A$ : The challenges in governance that the UN faces have a significant impact on its ability to promote international security

## **1.9 Research Methodology**

The methodology presents the research design and methodology that was used to carry out the research. It presents the research design, the population, sample size and sampling procedure, data collection, data analysis.

### **1.9.1 Research Design**

A research design is the general plan of how one goes about answering the research questions Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill .According to Cooper and Schlinder , research design constitutes the blueprint for data collection, measurement and analysis.

There are several research designs ranging from exploratory studies, descriptive studies and explanatory studies. This study will employ both qualitative and quantitative research design.

### **1.9.2 Population**

Target population is an entire group of individuals' events or objects having common characteristics. It is the sum total of all that conforms to a given specifications. Target population, they add is that which the researcher wants to generalize the findings of the study. The population of this study will consist of United Nations' Security Council staff and management.

### **1.9.3 Data collection**

The study will collect both primary and secondary data from various professional respondents, diplomats, Foreign Affairs staff and the UN personnel's in Kenya in seeking to establish the interconnectivity between the global governance and the promotion of international security with reference the governance of the United Nations' Security Council. Their specific role global governance in the promotion of international security with reference the governance of the United Nations' Security Council. Duly completed code sheets will be collated and coded.

### **1.9.4 Data Analysis**

Data will be captured and analyzed using the Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS). Non-text approaches such as tables and graphs will be used to present the data. Content and descriptive analysis will be employed. The content analysis will be used to analyse the respondents' views about the study variables. The data will then be

coded to enable the responses to be grouped into categories. Descriptive statistics will be used mainly to summarize the data. This will include percentages and frequencies. Tables, Pie charts and other graphs will be used as appropriate to present the data collected for ease of understanding and analysis.

### **1.10 Chapter Outline**

Chapter I – Introduction.

Chapter II – The key international security challenges facing the global community.

Chapter III- The role of global governance in promoting international security.

Chapter IV – Challenges in governance and how they impact on the UN's ability to promote international security.

Chapter V – Data analysis and Presentations

Chapter VI- Conclusion and Recommendations

**CHAPTER TWO**

**INTERNATIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES FACING THE GLOBAL  
COMMUNITY**

**2.0: Introduction**

International security is no longer a situation free of dangers, but rather an ‘insurance’ as a ‘technology of risks’ becomes a disposition of the social steering of modern societies. With the shift of focus from protection against concrete dangers towards insurance in the context of abstract risks, security has become “a general ‘societal idea of value’ and a universally employed ‘normative concept’, that is used with different meanings in an affirmative manner”<sup>47</sup>. Today ‘security’ as a political value, at least in Western thinking, has no independent meaning and is related to individual or societal value systems. As a social science concept, “security is ambiguous and elastic in its meaning”<sup>48</sup>.

The US, the EU, and also NATO have been active in multilateral fora in ensuring International Security. In East Asia, the US, China, Russia, Japan, and the Republic of Korea continue efforts to bring an end to North Korea’s nuclear program. Together with the US, the EU, on the basis of the WMD Strategy adopted in 2003, has been at the forefront of international efforts to address Iran’s nuclear programme.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Deutsch, Morton, and Peter Coleman (eds). 2000. *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

<sup>48</sup> Fisher, R. 2015. *International Mediation: A Working Guide*. International Peace

<sup>49</sup> Moore, Christopher. 2003. *The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict*, Jossey-Bass, San-Francisco.

The ultimate objective is to prevent, deter, halt and, where possible, eliminate WMD proliferation programs of concern worldwide and ensure international security. The strategy emphasizes prevention, by working through the UN and multilateral agreements, by acting as a key donor, and by working with third countries and regional organisations to enhance their capabilities to prevent proliferation. Both the US and the EU will continue their efforts with political and financial action. For both a successful outcome of the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in 2010 is critical, with a view in particular to strengthening the nonproliferation regime. They will endeavour to ensure that, in a balanced, effective, and concrete manner, this conference examines means to step up international efforts against proliferation, pursue disarmament, and ensure the responsible development of peaceful uses of nuclear energy by countries wishing to do so. National implementation obligations regularly receive less critical attention than the international conventions themselves, and are rarely verified. The absence of an international verification organisation for certain treaties contributes to the problem of international security.

## **2.1 Survival and vitality of international organizations**

As the only global institution with comprehensive competency and universal membership, the UN is uniquely positioned to deal with these multiple and complex challenges. On the operational level, the UN has a well-established institutional framework for deliberation, decision-making, and implementation. But more importantly, the UN can confer a unique legitimacy upon mandates and actions on an international level. The UN has always been the forum for countries to have their views heard,

regardless of size, influence, or political system. Therefore, the UN should never be absent from discussions on global issues. If anything, it needs to get more involved in various initiatives ranging from the alleviation of poverty to prevention of conflicts around the world.

The survival and vitality of international organizations depend on two factors: the capacity to change and adapt and the quality of their governance. Based on human solidarity across borders and transcending national perspectives, the United Nations provides and manages the framework for bringing together the world's leaders to tackle the pressing problems of the day for the survival, development and welfare of all peoples, everywhere. Yet multilateralism is under unprecedented challenge, from arms control to climate change, international criminal justice and the use of military force overseas<sup>50</sup>.

Importantly to reaffirm the UN's role as the principal embodiment of the principle of multilateralism and the main forum for its pursuit. For it remains our best and only hope for unity-in-diversity in which global problems require multilateral solutions<sup>51</sup>. It is the embodiment of the international community and the custodian of an internationalized human conscience. It represents the idea that unbridled nationalism and the raw interplay of power must be mediated and moderated in an international framework of rules and norms.

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<sup>50</sup> Polman, Linda. 2003. *We Did Nothing: Why the Truth doesn't always come out when the UN goes in*. Viking and Penguin, London.

<sup>51</sup> Zartman, William. 1989. *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa*, second edition. Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.

This is what makes the United Nations the centre for harmonizing the ever-present national interests and forging the elusive international interest. Procedurally, the consensus and majoritarian basis of decision-making of some international organizations has also come into question. According to the existing rules of many international organizations, the status quo of no action is an acceptable outcome if agreement to act cannot be reached through consensus. But while this may be acceptable to member states, it is less and less tolerable to vast numbers of peoples in the face of genocide, terrorism, nuclear apocalypse, and climate change. For many observers, international organizations that are rendered paralyzed, even if following proper rules of procedure, then their helplessness to deal with the most pressing problems makes them illegitimate. That is, their procedural legitimacy contributes to the erosion of their performance legitimacy<sup>52</sup>.

UN Security Council decision-making procedures may be flawed and defective, but at least they are regulated and subject to international oversight and are therefore preferable to unilateral action. For multilateral enforcement action to be effective, it must be based on a unity of purpose and action in the international community so as to avoid fracturing the existing consensus. For collective enforcement action to be equitable, it must balance the competing interests among the many constituencies that make up the international community and avoid privileging the interests and viewpoints of one over the others.

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<sup>52</sup> United Nations High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. 2004. *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, United Nations, New York

To achieve freedom from fear, citizens must be assured that national authorities with the legal monopoly on the means of violence will not unleash the agents and instruments of violence on the people; and states must be assured that the most powerful will aim to settle differences of opinion around the negotiating table and not on the point of tank turrets, helicopter gunships and missiles let alone nuclear warheads. When countries disagree on the substance of policy, they must agree on rules and procedures for resolving differences by peaceful means. Multilateral institutions must recognize and involve non-state actors on the basis of criteria that ensure their legitimacy and effectiveness. In the areas of social and economic welfare and humanitarianism in particular, non-state actors have become integral and essential components of multilateral action<sup>53</sup>.

Twenty-first century multilateralism cannot be confined therefore to relationships among states but must reflect the plurality of global governance, including the key roles of nonstate actors. By the same token, NGOs themselves must acknowledge, and act on the acknowledgment, that they are now oftentimes actors and participants in the global policy process. With influence on decisions come responsibility for the consequences and distributional impacts of the decisions.

Similarly, the for-profit private sector too must take a greater interest in issues of international governance and pay its due share of the costs of the provision of global

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<sup>53</sup> Strauss, Andrew. 2005. *Taking Democracy Global: Assessing the Benefits and Challenges of a Global Parliamentary Assembly*, One World Trust, London.

public goods. One solution to the conundrum lies in capacitating the office of the President of the General Assembly. One concrete example of institutional innovation would be to create a new post of Science Adviser to the President of the UN General Assembly. The modern world is pervasively influenced by science and technology in myriad ways on a daily basis. Similarly, international organizations touch upon human and social activity every day in countless little and not so little ways. It has become increasingly important to bring these two facets of human life together through appropriate governance arrangements that will put science and technology at the service of humanity without borders<sup>54</sup>.

That is, science, technology and innovation for human development for all will not simply happen but must be made to happen through global governance. This in turn presents an opportunity for the United Nations, as the custodian of the Global Agenda, to reclaim relevance with most member states and “the peoples” of the world, and, within the United Nations, for the General Assembly to reassert leadership in an important dimension of the Global Agenda. This can be done with the creation of a new post of Science Adviser to the President of the United Nations General Assembly, and for a Knowledge Compact to be among the early priorities for the Science Adviser that would set out the principles governing the global exchange of science.

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<sup>54</sup> Murithi, Tim. 2003. ‘Re-thinking the United Nations System: Prospects for a WorldFederation of Nations’. *International Journal on World Peace*, 20 (4), December.

## 2.2 Characteristics of the Current Global Governance

Areas such as maintaining international peace and security, economic development and international trade, human rights, functional and technical cooperation, and the protection of the international security and sustainability of resources require joint action to reduce costs and bring order and regularity to global governance. Such problems cannot be addressed unilaterally with optimum effectiveness. This rationale persists because all states, as well as some nonstate actors, face mutual vulnerabilities and intensifying interdependence. They will benefit from and are thus required to support global public goods<sup>55</sup>.

In an interdependent, globalized and networked world, multilateralism will continue to be a key aspect of global governance. Limitations do and always will exist. The utility and effectiveness of formal multilateral institutions are, inevitably, conditioned and constrained by the exigencies of power. Powerful states may work through or around multilateral institutions at their pleasure and selectively. Some issues may defy multilateral approaches. Changing normative expectations may cast doubt on the constitutive values of specific international institutions. But the theoretical rationale of institutionalism that all states benefit from a world in which agreed rules and common norms bind the behaviour of all actors is broadly intact and indisputable<sup>56</sup>.

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<sup>55</sup> United Nations High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. 2004. *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, United Nations, New York.

<sup>56</sup> Le Billon, Philippe. *Wars of Plunder. Conflicts, Profits and the Politics of Resources*. London: Hurst, 2012.

All actors depend upon multilateralism and the underwriting of regularity and public goods in the international system. But if they are to remain viable, international organizations and the values of multilateralism embedded in them must be reconstituted in line with 21st century principles of governance and legitimacy. Just as importantly, they must be capable of addressing contemporary challenges effectively<sup>57</sup>. This may involve moving beyond the original roots of multilateralism, reassessing the values on which multilateralism is based and promoted, and recognizing that contemporary and prospective challenges call for more agility, nimbleness, flexibility, adaptability and anticipatory rather than always reactive solutions<sup>58</sup>.

At the centre of the existing multilateral order is the United Nations. Of course one part of the United Nations is an international bureaucracy with many failings and flaws and a forum often used for finger pointing, not problem solving. Too often has it demonstrated a failure to tackle urgent collective action problems due to institutionalized inability, incapacity or unwillingness. Yet the world body remains the embodiment of the international community, the focus of international expectations and the locus of collective action as the symbol of an imagined and constructed community of strangers.

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<sup>57</sup> Tännsjö, Torbjörn. 2008. *Global Democracy: The Case for a World Government*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

<sup>58</sup> Smith, W. 1994. 'Power Ripeness and Intervention in International Conflict', *Negotiation Journal*, Vol.10, No.2, April.

Moreover, the UN record since 1945 demonstrates an under-appreciated capacity for policy innovation, institutional adaptation and organizational learning, for example with respect to peacekeeping missions. That said, without continual structural and procedural reforms, the legitimacy and performance deficits will accumulate and there will be an intensifying crisis of confidence in the world's system of organized multilateralism centred on the United Nations. The values and institutions of formalized multilateralism as currently constituted are neither optimally effective nor legitimate. The chief multilateral organizations do not meet current standards of representivity, consent, juridical accountability, rule of law, broad participation, and transparency and therefore political legitimacy. This is an acute problem precisely because international organizations play an increasingly important and intrusive role in people's lives<sup>59</sup>.

The more this happens, the more people will realize that multilateralism is value-laden, connoting fundamental social and political choices regarding the balance between the market and equity, human rights, governance, and democracy. A range of public policy decisions and practices have been transferred to the international level, raising a number of pressing normative challenges to the Westphalian foundations of multilateralism as citizens become rights holders and states are deemed to have responsibilities of sovereignty. That is, the challenge to the values and institutions of multilateralism results not merely from any particular distribution of power, but also from systemic factors like the nature of the state, the nature of power, the nature of security

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<sup>59</sup> Le Billon, Philippe. *Wars of Plunder. Conflicts, Profits and the Politics of Resources*. London: Hurst, 2012.

and threats to international security, the actors who drive security and insecurity, and the global norms that regulate the international behaviour of state and nonstate actors alike<sup>60</sup>.

### **2.3 Laps in current standards of representivity**

The centre of the multilateral order cannot hold if the power and influence embedded in international institutions is significantly misaligned with the distribution of power in the real world. A global financial, political and moral rebalancing is currently underway. From 2000 to 2010, the share of global GDP of the world's three leading emerging economies – Brazil, China and India – doubled and their share of world trade almost tripled.

Their dynamism and optimism is in marked contrast to Euro pessimism. As power and influence seep out of the US-led trans-Atlantic order and migrate towards Asia, Latin America and eventually also Africa, how and by who will the transition to a new system of structuring world affairs be managed? Conversely, how successfully and speedily will the newly empowered big players of the Global South manage their transformation from occasional spoilers to responsible globalizers? The world is interdependent in areas as diverse as financial markets, infectious diseases, climate change, terrorism, nuclear peace and safety, product safety, food supply and water tables, fish stocks and ecosystem resources.

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<sup>60</sup> Monbiot, George. 2003. *The Age of Consent: A Manifesto for a New World Order*, Flamingo, London.

In addition to their potential for provoking interstate military conflicts, these are all drivers of human insecurity because of the threat they pose to individual lives and welfare. The challenge of global governance for the world to produce order, stability and predictability even in the absence of a world government is sixfold: The evolution of international organizations to facilitate robust global responses lags behind the emergence of collective action problems; the most pressing problems nuclear weapons, terrorism, pandemics, food, water and fuel scarcity, climate change, agricultural trade are global in scope and require global solutions: problems without passports in search of solutions without passports.<sup>61</sup>

But the policy authority and legal capacity for coercive mobilization of the required resources for tackling them remain vested in states; There is a disconnect between the distribution of decision-making authority in international institutions and the distribution of military, diplomatic and economic power in the real world; and there is also a disconnect between the concentration of decision-making authority in intergovernmental forums and the diffusion of decision-shaping influence among non-state actors like markets, corporations and civil society actors; there is a mutually undermining gap between legitimacy and efficiency.

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<sup>61</sup> Kressel, K. and Pruitt. D. eds. 1989. *Mediation Research*, Jossey Bass: San Francisco: Mandell, Brian, and Brian Tomlin. 1991. 'Mediation in the Development of Norms to Manage Conflict: Kissinger in the Middle East', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.28, No.1.

Precisely what made the G8 summits unique and valuable informal meetings between a small number of the world's most powerful government leaders behind closed doors on a first name basis, without intermediaries and with no notes being taken – is what provoked charges of hegemonism, secrecy, opaqueness, and lack of representation and legitimacy. The very feature that gives the United Nations its unique legitimacy, universal membership, makes it an inefficient body for making, implementing and enforcing collective decisions; During the Cold War, the main axis around which world affairs rotated was East West<sup>62</sup>.

Today this has morphed into a North–South axis. The Copenhagen conference on climate change was suboptimal in outcome in part because of the colliding worldviews of the global North and South. The net result of the six fold governance deficits is to disempower, disable and incapacitate joint decision-making for solving collective action problems. As a corollary, the fundamental challenge for the international community is how to restructure and reform the United Nations in order to reposition it at the centre of collective efforts to manage current and anticipated global problems over the next quarter and half century<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>62</sup> United Nations High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. 2004. *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, United Nations, New York

<sup>63</sup> Barnett, Jon. "International security. In *Contemporary Security Studies*, edited by Alan Collins, 218-237. New York: Oxford, 2010.

## **2.4:Terrorism as a threat to International Security**

Terrorism remains a major threat to international security worldwide.<sup>64</sup> No matter what its origins or what form it takes, terrorism is a crime that no grievance can justify or excuse. It threatens not only the very fabric of a free and pluralistic society, but the rights of every individual too.<sup>65</sup> Even if there is no internationally accepted standard definition of terrorism, there is widespread consensus concerning what a terrorist act actually is, namely a deliberate assault on civilians with the aim of intimidating people or pressurising a state or international organisation into acting in a certain way or refraining from action.<sup>66</sup>

One of the key goals of the terrorists is to shape public attitudes and perceptions, and ultimately to undermine the will to fight. Terrorists attempt to accomplish that goal through the manipulation of media coverage. Terrorist attacks continue to take place while only few have been foiled. Approximately 11,800 terrorist attacks against non-combatants have occurred in various countries during 2008, resulting in over 54,000 deaths, injuries and kidnappings. Compared to 2007, attacks decreased by 2,700, or 18 percent in 2008 while deaths due to terrorism decreased by 6,700 or 30 percent. The largest numbers of reported terrorist attacks have occurred in the Near East. But unlike previous years, South Asia had the greater number of fatalities. These two regions were

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<sup>64</sup> Williams, Paul D. "Security Studies: An introduction". In *Security Studies: An Introduction*, edited by Paul D. Williams, 1-10. New York: Routledge, 2008.

<sup>65</sup> US Department of State, *Country Reports on Terrorism 2008* (Washington DC: US Department of State, April 2009); Risk Management Solutions, *Global Terrorism Trends 2009, Overview of Terrorism Risk, 2009* (Newark: Risk Management Solutions, Inc., August 2009).

<sup>66</sup> Declan Walsh, "Pakistan suffers record number of deaths due to militant violence," *Guardian*, 11 January 2010.

the locations for 75 percent of the 235 high-casualty attacks in 2008 – those that killed ten or more people. Attacks in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan accounted for about 55 percent of all attacks. Attacks in Iraq have continued to decline since 2007. About 35 percent of the attacks have occurred in South Asia with Afghanistan and Pakistan registering increased attacks. Attacks in Pakistan have more than doubled in 2008. And 2009 was the worst year of terrorist violence, when Pakistan saw 3,021 deaths in terrorist attacks, up 48 percent on the year before.<sup>67</sup> The sad irony of Islamic terrorism is that the great majority of its victims continue to be Muslims.

In a 2007 online forum, al-Qaeda's second in command Ayman alZawahiri, confronted questions about the organisation's use of violence and especially violence against Muslims. Zawahiri and other leaders have defended al-Qaeda's use of violence, arguing that their operations do not kill Muslims, and on the rare occasion they do, such individuals are apostates or martyrs. Since the inception of al-Qaeda, the organisation has claimed to represent Muslim interests around the world declaring itself the vanguard of true Islam, and defender of Muslim people. Unfortunately for al-Qaeda, their actions speak louder and clearer than their words – as a recent study shows that used Arabic media sources to establish the victims of al-Qaeda's violence through a non-Western prism. The fact is that the vast majority of victims are Muslims. Only 15 percent of the fatalities resulting from al-Qaeda attacks between 2004 and 2008 were Westerners.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Scott Helfstein, Nassir Abdullah & Muhammad al-Obaidi, *Deadly Vanguard: A Study of al-Qa'ida's Violence Against Muslims* (West Point: Combating Terrorism Center, Occasional Paper, December 2009)

<sup>68</sup> Frank Naif, "Obama's New Counterterrorism Message Is Good, But the Messenger Has Problems," *Intelligence And US Army Veteran*, 10 August 2009; B. Raman, "Nuanced, Not Simplistic – Obama's New Counter-Terrorism Policy" (South Asia Analysis Group, Paper No. 3336, 7 August 2009).

The readiness of the jihadists to slaughter hundreds of fellow Muslims in order to kill handfuls of infidels has already provoked a backlash in Muslim countries, including Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Jordan. A major change in counterterrorism policy has been introduced by the new US administration.<sup>69</sup> As outlined by Thomas Bossert, the Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and counter-terrorism, the new US counterterrorism policy is based on five major principles:

(1) terrorism is no longer the defining characteristic of US foreign policy. “Rather than looking at allies and other nations through the narrow prism of terrorism whether they are with the US or against the US – the new administration is now engaging other countries and peoples across a broader range of areas.”

(2) the paradigm behind US counterterrorism policy is no longer the “global war on terror,” and it will no longer dignify the cowardice and inhumanity of Islamic extremist terrorists by referring to them as “jihadist.”

(3) US counterterrorism policy will recognise and address the “upstream factors,” such as poverty, corruption, and illiteracy, which provide the fertile ground for the growth of violent extremism. Building on the third principle, the new policy will

(4) provide for “a political, economic, and social campaign to meet the basic needs and legitimate grievances of ordinary people: security for their communities, education for children, a job and income for parents, and a sense of dignity and worth.”

(5) the new policy calls for a coordinated, integrated effort on the part of all elements of US power. In this, the US is committed to using every element of national power to

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<sup>69</sup> Council of the European Union, The European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy (Brussels: Council of the European Union, 30 November 2005), 14469/4/05 REV 4, DG H2, EN.

address the underlying causes and conditions that fuel so many national security threats, including violent extremism. And in order to achieve this, the US will take a multidimensional, multidepartment, and multinational approach. In Europe, home-grown terrorist groups start to play an increasing role.

Overall, the EU has made progress with additional measures in counterterrorism inside the Union, under the 2004 Hague Program, and with a new Strategy for the External Dimension of Justice and Home Affairs, adopted in 2005. These have made it easier to pursue investigations across borders, and coordinate prosecution. The EU Counterterrorism Strategy of 2005 is based on respect for human rights, and international law.<sup>70</sup> It follows a four-pronged approach: preventing radicalization, recruitment, and the factors behind them; protecting potential targets; pursuing terrorists; and responding to the aftermath of an attack. While national action is central, the appointment of a Counterterrorism Coordinator has been an important step forward at the European level.

Within the EU, much has been done to protect societies against terrorism. However, the EU must tighten coordination arrangements for handling a major terrorist incident, in particular using chemical, radiological, nuclear, and bioterrorism materials on the basis of such existing provisions as the Crisis Coordination Arrangement and the Civil Protection Mechanism.<sup>71</sup> Further work on terrorist financing is required, along with an effective and comprehensive EU policy on information sharing, taking due account of protection of

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<sup>71</sup> Curle, Adam. 1986. *In the Middle: Non-official Mediation in Violent Situations*. Berg Publishers Limited, Oxford.

personal data. The EU must also do more to counter radicalization by addressing extremist ideology and tackling discrimination. And the EU needs to improve the way in which it brings together internal and external dimensions.<sup>72</sup> Better coordination, transparency, and flexibility are needed across different agencies, at national and European level. This was already identified in the European Security Strategy. But progress has been slow and so far incomplete. It is impossible to make predictions about the future course of terrorism, except to say that there inevitably will be surprises.

Efforts to anticipate the future of terrorism should be approached with modesty and greeted with skepticism. Nonetheless, some trends are discernable. So it seems safe to say that the jihadist enterprise, guided by al-Qaeda's ideology and leadership, will remain the dominant threat for the foreseeable future. It has yet to run its course. It may retreat and advance, depending on events; it will adapt and morph into new shapes; but it will doubtless persist. And the process of radicalization will continue. Moreover, the current insurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan are creating fungible skills that are likely to disperse throughout the world, through its veterans and via the jihadists' online distance-learning enterprise.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Moore, Christopher. 2003. *The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict*, Jossey-Bass, San-Francisco.

<sup>73</sup> Polman, Linda. 2003. *We Did Nothing: Why the Truth doesn't always come out when the UN goes in*. Viking and Penguin, London.

## 2.5: Proliferation as a threat to International Security

Preventing the spread and use of nuclear, chemical, biological, and radiological weapons is essential for creating a more secure world. Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) has been widely identified as potentially the greatest threat to international security. While the international treaty regimes and export controls arrangements have slowed down the spread of WMD and delivery systems, a number of states and non-state actors have sought or are seeking to develop such weapons.

The risk that terrorists will acquire nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, radiological or fissile materials and means of delivery, adds a new critical dimension to this threat. Opportunities for mass-casualty terrorist attacks will increase as technology diffuses and weapons programs expand. That risk has increased in the last years, bringing multilateral frameworks under pressure.<sup>74</sup>

The black market small arms' trafficking is a 1 billion USD-a-year global business<sup>75</sup>. But the financial profit comes at a tremendous cost to the world's security. SALW are responsible for almost 500,000 deaths a year, 300,000 of which occur in armed conflicts. The number of SALW in circulation throughout the world is estimated by the UN at 600 million.<sup>76</sup> Of the forty-nine major conflicts in the 1990s, forty-seven were conducted with SALW as the major weapons. And in some conflicts up to 80 percent of casualties are

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<sup>74</sup> Bush, Robert and Folger, Joseph. 1994. *The Promise of Mediation: Responding to Conflict Through Empowerment and Recognition*. Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco.

<sup>75</sup> Small Arms Survey, *Annuaire Sur Les Armes Légères 2001* (Geneva: IUHEI, 2001), 215

<sup>76</sup> Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, UN Document A/Conf.192/15.

caused by these weapons. A further 200,000 people a year die through SALW in homicides and suicides.<sup>77</sup>

Weapons such as pistols, assault rifles, sub- and light machine guns, grenades and portable rocket launchers do not cause violence and death by themselves. However, it has become widely accepted that the proliferation of these weapons, excessive accumulations and illicit trafficking makes them widely and easily available on legal and black markets. In turn, this availability of SALW destabilizes regions, sparks, fuels and prolongs conflicts; obstructs relief programs and undermines peace initiatives; exacerbates human rights abuses; hampers development; fosters a “culture of violence”, and poses a serious threat to peace, security, and sustainable development. The misuse of SALW also gravely undermines respect for human rights and international humanitarian law. Meanwhile, a substantial international track record on tackling the proliferation of SALW has been established in recent years. Internationally and regionally, a number of agreements and fora for substantial dialogue have been established. In addition, a number of specific projects have been undertaken on an ad hoc basis by donors and beneficiary countries.

The UN programme<sup>78</sup> envisions spheres of action against SALW at the international, regional, national and local levels. It calls for close cooperation among states to reach stated goals, including information sharing, assistance and standard setting, and highlights the role of regional organisations in fostering this cooperation. The OSCE

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<sup>77</sup> Jorge Heine and Ramesh Thakur, eds., *The Dark Side of Globalization* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2011).

<sup>78</sup> Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, UN Document A/Conf.192/15.

Document on SALW<sup>79</sup> recognizes the contribution of destabilizing accumulations of SALW have made to recent regional conflicts. It divides the task for combating the proliferation and spreading of SALW into several baskets of norms and measures. And the EU SALW Strategy<sup>80</sup> exploits fully the means available to the EU at multilateral and regional levels, within the EU and in the EU's bilateral relations. These entire efforts amount to the combined response needed to overcome the threats posed by the illicit accumulation and trafficking of SALW, and their ammunition.

## **2.6: Organised Crime as a threat to International Security.**

Transnational Organised Crime (TOC) poses a threat to all nations and is a fundamental threat to democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. It disrupts free markets, drains national assets, and inhibits the development of stable societies. When it escalates, economic development, political independence, the environment, human security, and global security are threatened. As practiced today, organised crime undermines civil society, political systems, and the sovereignty of states by normalizing violence, graft, and by introducing a corruptive cancer into political structures. It distorts market mechanisms, including some government regulatory activity, and deprives consumers and producers of the benefits of fair, free, safe and secure economic and commercial systems<sup>81</sup>.

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<sup>79</sup> African Union 2005. *The Common African Position on the Proposed Reform of the United Nations: The Ezulwini Consensus*, EXT/EX.CL/2 (VII), African Union, Addis Ababa. 7–8 March.

<sup>80</sup> Ahlenius, Inga-Britt. 2010. *End of Assignment Report*. United Nations Office of Internal Oversight Services, New York.

<sup>81</sup> In Archibugi, Daniele, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi and Raffaele Marchetti (eds.), *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

In extreme cases, whole legitimate economic sectors are dislocated by commerce based on illegal activities, subverting loyalties from the nation-state, and habituating individuals to operate outside the legal framework. Moreover, organised crime undermines the integrity of the banking and financial systems, the commodities and securities markets as well as cyberspace<sup>82</sup>. It degrades environmental systems through evasion of environmental safeguards and regulations. It burdens societies with the enormous social and economic costs of illegal drugs. And it hinders the progress of, and foreign investments in, economies in transition and in developing countries.

TOC penetration of states will deepen, leading to co-option in a few cases and further weakening of governance in many others. The growing span of TOC business activities and financial incentives is pushing TOC to seek strategic alliances with state leaders and intelligence services, threatening stability and undermining free markets. There is a growing nexus in Russia and in Eurasian states among government, organised crime, intelligence services, and big business figures. An increasing risk from Russian TOC is that criminals and criminally linked oligarchs will enhance the ability of state or state-allied actors to undermine competition in oil, gas, aluminium, and precious metal markets.<sup>83</sup> TOC's coercive tactics and shady business practices most likely will further undermine transparency and confidence in other key energy, metal, diamond, and other sectors where recent acquisitions and investments have occurred<sup>84</sup>.

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<sup>82</sup> Phil Williams, *Criminals, Militias, and Insurgents; Organized Crime in Iraq* (Carlisle: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 26 August 2009).

<sup>83</sup> Dennis C. Blair, *Annual Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence* (Washington DC: Statement for the Record, 2 February 2010), 44.

<sup>84</sup> Thomas G. Weiss and Ramesh Thakur, *2010 Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).

TOC can even have a debilitating impact on war. Thus, criminal enterprises and activities have made the attainment of US objectives in Iraq much more difficult. Organised crime inhibited reconstruction and development and became a major obstacle to state-building.<sup>85</sup> The insurgency was strengthened and sustained by criminal activities; sectarian conflict was funded by criminal activities and motivated by the desire to control criminal markets; and more traditional criminal enterprises created pervasive insecurity through kidnapping and extortion. Moreover, TOC acted as an economic and political spoiler in an oil industry

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<sup>85</sup> United Nations. 1945. *Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice*, United Nations, San Francisco.

**CHAPTER THREE**

**ROLE OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE IN PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL  
SECURITY**

**3.1 Introduction**

Today the world is more complex and unpredictable than ever before. Some say we live in a global disorder, in a chaotic international system, which even the most pessimistic ones were not able to predict after the end of the Cold War, since the current order is not unipolar, bipolar nor multipolar. There is still no world government-although an embryonic global governance system is emerging-and the fact that the US cannot rule the world the way it did in the 1990s, given the emergence of new powers in the international arena, seems to make it very difficult to identify present power relations.

Paradoxically, globalization is fostering the resurgence of nationalism, because emerging economic powers seek to become political powers through national (re)affirmation and Western powers, namely in Europe, are beginning to tackle the rise of nationalist, racist and xenophobic forces due to the inability to cope successfully with the financial crisis<sup>86</sup>. However, the international community faces many global problems, such as the ones related to the international security, and unless it cooperates to solve them the chaos might become much greater than what we have recently seen.

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<sup>86</sup> Zürn, Michael. "Globalization and Global Governance". In Handbook of International Relations, edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, 401-425. London: Sage, 2012.

Taking into account the great disorder which can plague the international system in the absence of true cooperation strategies in the next years and decades, the current reality cannot be deemed chaotic, as what comes next has the potential to be orders of magnitude worse. International security issues, and the ones related to the exploitation of natural resources in particular, are perhaps the most global, both in their essence and scale of action, and consequently the future of humankind largely depends on the ability to create an effective web of multilateral governance<sup>87</sup>. Thus, one can argue the world will move towards a new global order or disorder based on international security challenges and on our ability or inability to deal with them.

### 3.2

The UN works to maintain international peace and security in a world where security threats have become more complex. Although the Organization has had many successes, there are also, unfortunately, several recent tragic cases where the United Nations has not been so successful. Hundreds of thousands have died around the world as conflicts have recently mounted<sup>88</sup>. The line has become increasingly blurred between criminals and hostile groups and peace spoilers, including extremists with transnational strategies and sophisticated tactics.

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<sup>87</sup> Moore, Christopher. 2003. *The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict*, Jossey-Bass, San-Francisco.

<sup>88</sup> Deutsch, Morton, and Peter Coleman (eds). 2000. *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

The breakdown of the State security apparatus in intra-State and inter-communal conflicts now poses tremendous security challenges and tests the Organization's capacity to carry out its mandates and programmes. And the UN, as a relatively soft target, has been the victim of attacks resulting in the tragic loss of life. With the mounting complexity and growing costs of addressing crisis situations, the imperative of conflict prevention is higher than ever. In its , the United Nations continues to face challenges regarding how best to engage with sometimes amorphous movements or fractured armed groups and how to ensure inclusivity. The Organization has strengthened its relationships with regional and sub regional organizations, which play a significant role in fostering conflict prevention and mediation partnerships, in addition to rapid responses to regional crises<sup>89</sup>.

Member States have continued to see the value of United Nations support to electoral processes, with requests for assistance which include technical assistance, the engagement of good offices and support to regional organizations remaining high. Electoral assistance has been provided in challenging security international securitys, many under Security Council mandates. There is continued political will to prevent the scourge of conflict-related sexual violence, exemplified by the Declaration of Commitment to End Sexual Violence in Conflict, and the Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict, in 2014.

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<sup>89</sup> Mulligan, Shane. "Official secrets and popular delusions: security at the end of the fossil fuel age?" In *Natural Resources and Social Conflict. Towards Critical International securityal Security*, edited by Matthew A. Schnurr and Larry A. Swatuk, 152-169. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

The has also called for sustained monitoring and reporting on the violations affecting children in armed conflict and for perpetrators to be brought to account. The global campaign “Children, Not Soldiers”, is aimed at ending and preventing the recruitment and use of children by all national security forces in conflict by 2016.<sup>90</sup> Member States have demonstrated their continued interest in using peacekeeping and continue to recognize it as an effective and cost-effective tool, without which the human and material costs of conflict and relapse into conflict would be unquestionably higher.

Although the international securitys for United Nations peacekeeping operations have always been challenging, we face today a heightened level and new types of security threat, requiring new approaches and strategies. are being increasingly deployed earlier in the conflict continuum, before any peace or ceasefire agreement. Creating the political and security space necessary for successful negotiations is crucial.

Ensuring that United Nations troops are properly supported and equipped is a high priority. The complexity of contemporary peacekeeping international securitys requires strengthened partnerships with all stakeholders, including regional and subregional organizations, the wider United Nations family, international and regional financial institutions and donors, and multilateral and bilateral partners. Only through

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<sup>90</sup> Brahimi, Lakhdar and Salman Ahmed. 2008. ‘In Pursuit of Sustainable Peace: The Seven Deadly Sins of Mediation’, in Centre on International Cooperation, *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2008*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner: Boulder, Colorado.

such collaboration can we collectively address the international peace and security challenges we face now, and in the coming years.

### **3.3 The hybrid international system of the twenty-first century**

The emergence of new global players, the growing interdependence and connections on a global scale, the erosion of the traditional division between national and international levels and the advent of a global governance system have led the discipline of Global governance to a growing focus on globalization, since relations among sovereign states are now insufficient to analyze and understand the political, economic and social dynamics of the current world.

Today there is a growing interdependence among states, which cannot be regarded as independent, autonomous and impermeable entities, such as "billiard balls" moving in a table, bumping against each other—a Westphalian characteristic—but rather as interdependent and interconnected actors in the international system, forced to work together on the basis of collective efforts and energies, something illustrated by the cobweb model of world politics. The great vulnerability of national economies to events that take place anywhere in the world, the massive use of digital technologies that allow individuals to communicate using uncontrollable means by governments, and the fact that the most prominent issues in the world, as the international security ones, are inherently transnational, tell us that the Westphalian logic of the international system is increasingly questionable.

Additionally, the emergence of an embryonic system of global governance, in which interests are articulated and aggregated, decisions are made and policies implemented, reveals that the international system of the twenty-first century holds post-Westphalian features . However, it would be a mistake to assume that this is a world without borders, because, in certain cases, which are enhanced by globalization itself, they are even more important at present, as shown, for example, in the strengthening of the state's role as an economic national agent and in the emergence of authoritarian powers in the international arena, such as China and Russia<sup>91</sup>.

Sovereignty and domestic authority are changing, creating the concept of the disaggregated state . a more active state in a global world, full of overlays, in which the pursuit of national goals leads governments to participate in an extensive collaboration network, as well as in numerous forms of multilateral cooperation. Thus, sovereignty can be seen as the exercise of shared public power and authority among national, regional and global players, something that does not imply, in any way, a decline of the state. In fact, one can argue that there is a strengthening of the state's position in the international system. Sovereignty and authority are now increasingly exercised in a supraterritorial stage, even though territoriality is still politically significant. In a world full of economic and technological changes, and new forms of political and social mobilization, one also

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<sup>91</sup> Garrett, Nicholas and Anna Piccinni. *Natural Resources and Conflict. A New Security Challenge for the European Union*. Resource Consulting Services: London, 2012.

witnesses a very broad diffusion of power, associated with the rise of the BRICS and the MINTs <sup>92</sup>.

<sup>93</sup>Diffuse and uncertain power periods are difficult and dangerous, as the emergent powers may seek to challenge the status quo, while the established powers may try to stop the emerging countries through, for example, hard power strategies, which include the threats presented by traditional and new forms of military force (for instance, cyber warfare). Thus, some speak in the return to the Westphalian order of the international system, given the reevaluation of national security and the renewed concern about the outbreak of war.

Nevertheless, one cannot neglect the complex nature of the current international order, which seems to face Westphalian challenges, such as the transition of power and the rise of new powers, and post-Westphalian challenges, such as changes in the balance between national and international levels, the material conditions of globalization and the growing importance of soft power and the legitimacy notion associated with it in terms of foreign policy. States now face global challenges, the resolution of which will require the development of processes that rely on a wide range of actors and various forms of governance, international law and political globalization. Furthermore, the emergence of

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<sup>92</sup> Stedman, Stephen. 1996. "Conflict and Conciliation in Sub-Saharan Africa" in M. Brown, ed. *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

<sup>93</sup> World Economic Forum. "World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2014. The Reshaping of the World: Consequences for Society, Politics and Business". Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2014.

new powers is an opportunity to boost cooperation, since there may be a better balance of power in the international system, so that dialogue and consultation seem to be the best and most realistic relationship strategies among the various powers<sup>94</sup>.

Conflict may be the main characteristic of the system. Globalization is, therefore, a "double-edged sword," which creates a hybrid international system. Although there is the emergence of a global governance stage and a growing interdependence between states, as well as a strong link between the achievement of national interests and the active participation in supranational arenas, it is clear that, regarding global issues-i.e. the ones which affect the international community as a whole and whose implications require global regulatory approach ,international organizations and regimes in which states exercise their sovereignty have not an appropriate structure to manage and resolve such issues.

<sup>95</sup>The failure of the international society in addressing international security problems such as climate change reflects the need for a reform in the international institutions of the UN system or even the creation of new ones, eminently global-oriented, able to manage and handle situations involving long-term issues. The emergence of new powers and global issues points to this path, in order to avoid tensions in the system.

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<sup>94</sup> Thomas G. Weiss and Ramesh Thakur, 2010 *Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).

<sup>95</sup> Zartman,William. 1989. *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa*, second edition. Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.

Security issues play a significant role in this matter, as they have features that enhance the onset of conflict, but at the same time call for global cooperation and coordination. The international security appears in the twenty-first century as a key issue in global governance, as it has enormous potential to turn the tide of globalization and the structure and the dynamics of the international system. Additionally, the way the international community manages the international security will profoundly affect the future of humankind<sup>96</sup>.

### **3.4 The international security as a multidimensional issue and a global security risk**

Globalization, population growth, economic and social development, natural resource exploitation and scarcity, climate change and urbanization are external drivers in the world today. In the Anthropocene, an era marked by the central role played by humankind in geology and ecology, global sustainability appears as a civilizational imperative<sup>97</sup>.

#### **3.4.1 International security threats to security**

International security issues cut across a range of topics, namely security and economics, two areas of major importance to the state, and that is why, especially since 2007, they have come to play an important role in the international political agenda. The

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<sup>96</sup> Thomas G. Weiss and Ramesh Thakur, *Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

<sup>97</sup> Polman, Linda. 2003. *We Did Nothing: Why the Truth doesn't always come out when the UN goes in*. Viking and Penguin, London.

2007 UN Security Council Meeting to discuss, for the first time, the climate change issue and the fact that this is a recurrent theme in the G20 Summits of the last years ,major public panel sessions dedicated to the discussion of future natural resources extraction in a sustainable world, global food security, resilience to natural disasters, climate change, etc. at the 2014 Davos World Economic Forum , and the China-US Climate Agreement announced in November 2014 are some of the many examples which demonstrate that international security issues have played a prominent role on the international stage<sup>98</sup>.

Water wars, drug wars, diamond wars, oil wars-given the proliferation of resource wars in an era of scarcity-climate change, deforestation or pollution are now widely used expressions in global governance. The international security, in general, and natural resources, in particular, is deeply linked with security, which is one of the most controversial concepts of international politics.

Although difficult to define, it seems fair to say that it involves in an objective sense the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense the absence of fear that such values will be attacked ,, especially those which, if left unchecked, threaten the survival of a particular referent object , In general terms, and according to Soroos , the concept of security can be defined as the assurance people have that they will continue to enjoy the things which are most important to their survival and well-being.

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<sup>98</sup> Stedman, Stephen. 1996. "Negotiation and Mediation in Internal Conflict" in M. Brown, ed. *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts

In a changing world, international security issues are now framed in the security concept, because traditional notions of security, focused on military security, lack relevance in a world of transnational phenomena capable of affecting a wide variety of human referent objects , International security security extends the concept of security by considering risks posed by international security change to the things that people value . Such risks include climate change, deforestation, soil erosion and desertification, loss of biodiversity, air, land and water pollution, ocean acidification, depletion of the ozone layer, disruption of the nitrogen and phosphorus cycles, among others<sup>99</sup>.

The Industrial Revolution, driven by technological development, agriculture, urbanization and the development of transport, as a response to population growth and the resulting increase in per capita demand, promoted consumption levels of goods and services that require, for example, large amounts of water, consumption levels which currently seem to be increasingly difficult to maintain. Climate change has exacerbated the situation. Especially in the last 60 years, global water usage has increased twice as fast as the population, and the projected population growth for decades to come, as well as GDP growth, which coupled with the demand for energy, and food transformations in several developing countries point to a greater number of regions subject to water scarcity. Economic development and security are therefore threatened by poor management of water resources.

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<sup>99</sup> Mulligan, Shane. "Official secrets and popular delusions: security at the end of the fossil fuel age?" In *Natural Resources and Social Conflict. Towards Critical International securityal Security*, edited by Matthew A. Schnurr and Larry A. Swatuk, 152-169. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Climate change and water are two inseparable realities, since the former has and will have a strong impact on water supply, while this is the main mediator of the effects of climate change on the economy, society and the international security, a relationship intrinsically linked to other sectors, including energy and food production. International security protection, in other words, international security security, covers food security, energy security, economic security and the access to fundamental natural resources, which leads us immediately to the concept of human security and reflects the fact that the international security is a multidimensional phenomenon<sup>100</sup>.

International security involves international security, economic, food, health, community, political and personal aspects, a concept that suggests security should also focus on individuals and not only on state-centric threats and national defense, and on the analysis of processes susceptible to undermine security, such as poverty, malnutrition, health, human rights, justice and access to goods and services. By this point of view, one can think of international security insecurity as something associated with social injustice and inequality, which makes one think about the enhanced inequalities of globalization and, more specifically, of the overall economic policy something that reveals globalization is indeed a "double-edged sword."<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Burton, John and Dukes, Frank. 1990. "Mediation" / "Community Mediation" in J. Burton. and F. Dukes, eds. *Conflict: Practices in Management, Settlement and Resolution*. Macmillan, London.

<sup>101</sup> World Economic Forum. "World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2014. The Reshaping of the World: Consequences for Society, Politics and Business". Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2014.

Violence derived from international security problems involves exploitation, discrimination, unequal social and economic structures,<sup>102</sup> problems that create an atmosphere of political, cultural or religious violence, so that an approach to the international security by the human rights perspective seeks to ensure that the natural world does not deteriorate to the point in which internationally accepted rights, such as life, property, health, having a family, a private life, access to culture and drinking water are at risk. In this sense, international security protection is, at heart, an instrument to ensure all these rights. In other words, the question is founded on global international security justice, which is not merely related to the mitigation of the anthropomorphic causes of climate change, biodiversity loss or toxic pollution of the ocean crisis.<sup>103</sup>

Demands that adaptation measures do not further marginalize already vulnerable groups, because poverty kills (Soett 2012). This is an example of how hybrid the international system of the twenty-first century is, since the international security is responsible for a variety of problems and challenges, however, being a global issue, it can be seen as a tool to promote cooperation and solve a number of social problems around

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<sup>102</sup> Stedman, Stephen. 1996. "Conflict and Conciliation in Sub-Saharan Africa" in M. Brown, ed. *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

<sup>103</sup> Greaves, Wilfrid. "Insecurities of non-dominance: re-theorizing human security and international security change in developed states." In *Natural Resources and Social Conflict. Towards Critical International security Security*, edited by Matthew A. Schnurr and Larry A. Swatuk, 63-82. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

the world, hence prompting a concerted international system. So, the threats of resource scarcity, global financial instability, inequality within and between countries, and international security degradation jeopardize global security, a fact which shows us that the business-as-usual will be impossible to maintain.

Changes in socio-economic, demographic and technological dynamics have increased the demand for a wide range of goods and services, which require a large amount of natural resources. It seems fair to say that a new global order is emerging, one that is deeply associated with the international security<sup>104</sup>. Huge variations in water and food availability and growing competition over short and longer time-period objectives, as well as local and regional goals associated with water management and food production and use, will characterize the new world order .). Climate change, poverty and human rights are intrinsically associated to these challenges related to water and food, and natural resources in general, and it is not clear how to deal with them.

International security threats are, in most cases, diffuse, indirect and international, created within and outside states, in a long process strictly related to economic activities, being part of economic, social and industrial systems and thus conflicting with the existing societal structures<sup>105</sup>.

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<sup>104</sup> Reed, David. In Pursuit of Prosperity: U.S. Foreign Policy in an Era of Natural Resources Scarcity. Routledge: New York, 2014.

<sup>105</sup> Zartman, William. 1989. Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa, second edition. Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York

Therefore, the major obstacle to the development of these structures is a cultural one. Protecting the international security involves a new perception of the relationship among states, markets and societies<sup>106</sup>. Additionally, the long-term scale, the extent and nature of uncertainties and the unequal distribution of impacts and costs and political benefits over time and space associated with international security protection make it difficult to analyze and solve international security problems<sup>107</sup>.

These are inseparable from human security, as they are issues of social and international security injustice, which involve unequal power relations and potential paths to emancipation, something that is not only associated with developing countries, but also with developed ones, although the first ones are subject to larger scale international security problems. The truth is that human security hazards surpass state borders. For instance, agriculture is a key sector for humanity, being part of a high standard of living. In developing countries, agriculture is particularly important, since it provides employment and stability to several regions in the world, which means that these countries are extremely vulnerable to international security degradation and climate change.

International security protection and poverty are probably the two greatest challenges of this century, so the failure in solving one of them will undermine efforts to solve the other. International security challenges have the potential to affect the

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<sup>106</sup> Zartman, William. 1989. *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa*, second edition. Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.

<sup>107</sup> Mildner, Stormy-Annika, Solveig Richter and Gitta Lauster. *Resource Scarcity - A Global Security Threat?* SWP: Berlin, 2011.

subsistence levels in most regions of Africa and various regions of Asia and Latin America, where poverty is a major problem, which may be synonymous with a growing political and economic instability, resulting in the proliferation of failed states, because many developing countries depend exclusively on natural resources. Breaks in food production, the spread of diseases, natural resource scarcity and migration processes may weaken the political ability of governments, leading to internal and regional conflicts (the competition for natural resources could inflame old ethnic and social tensions), paving the way to the spreading of radical ideologies and autocratic movements. In this context, the developed world will run a serious risk: trying to survive disasters, climate refugees and immigrants will threaten the borders of Europe and the US, which will pressure their economies and raise questions about sovereignty, citizenship and responsibility .

Concerning energy issues, which are also inseparable from the international security and natural resources protection, highlights the possibility of an oil crunch within a few years. Consequently, he argues that this oil crash would lead to a financial crash:History shows that oil demand drops in the global economic downturn following a financial crisis, releasing pressure on tight oil markets. But in a recessionary world today, or even a global depression, how long would that demand pressure dissipate for? The demand for oil in China, India and the major oil-producing countries is likely to be enduring .follows a similar line of thought, asserting that there are three major crises facing international order: the initiation of (energy) resource wars, a near certainty of

continued climate change and an economic crisis that has no evident solution<sup>108</sup>. These crises are intrinsically linked, because climate change affects natural resources and exacerbate conflict potential, while putting at risk economic growth and development, a fundamental condition for addressing climate change effects and consequently protecting natural resources. In a context of global depression, there is an enormous potential for the rise of authoritarian and semi-democratic plebiscitarian regimes across the world, which will seek economic prosperity for their nations no matter what. This would constitute an enormous global security risk. In fact, due to the financial crisis, Europe has already been witnessing an increase in the popularity of authoritarian political forces.

### **3.4.2 Natural resources in a globalized world**

Global world has seen an abrupt fall of oil prices, due to a slowdown in the emerging countries and Europe's demand, and mostly due to the huge increase in the US production of non-conventional oil. Saudi Arabia reacted in a strategic long-term approach for avoiding the depletion of its oil reserve assets in face of a rapid development of non-conventional oil and renewable energy<sup>109</sup>. The country's bet is to keep the oil price below the cost of production of a significant part of the producers of shale oil in the US. This reduction in oil prices is producing major effects in oil exporters dependent on a high price for keeping their national budget on balance-Russia, Venezuela, Iran, Iraq, Nigeria, Ecuador, etc.-; therefore, in most of these countries

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<sup>108</sup> Zartman, William. 1989. *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa*, second edition. Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.

<sup>109</sup> Mildner, Stormy-Annika, Solveig Richter and Gitta Lauster. *Resource Scarcity - A Global Security Threat?* SWP: Berlin, 2011.

domestic social unrest is a significant threat. On the contrary, the US seems to be winning, since the country is benefiting from a large increase in its production and from being a major consumer (the country is importing cheaper oil). Some may interpret this development in prices as an aggression from the US against Russia, but howsoever there is an evident geostrategic tension in the international system, which constitutes a security risk. With regard to exporting states, the existence of valuable natural resources heightens competition for control of the state and postpones the development of other sectors of economic life, given that, in most cases, these states have very weak political institutions, something that increases the likelihood of political authoritarianism and civil strife. It is important to underline that these conflicts begin as national security risks, but can quickly turn into international or global problems.<sup>110</sup> Resource allocations, operating practices, social rights and the discursive representations contribute to shape vulnerabilities and opportunities for the emergence of armed conflicts, which means that, in many cases, security problems are originated within a state, but have a large potential to surpass national borders and affect regional and international security.

The idea of future conflicts over scarce resources and anthropogenic international security change need to be considered in terms of particular geographies of vulnerability, threat and insecurity, as well as the new dynamics associated with globalization. So, traditional geopolitics perspectives over natural resources conflicts seem to be increasingly obsolete, inasmuch as they focus on resource supply for rich countries, pointing towards military invasions and national autarky, regarding natural resources as

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<sup>110</sup> Mildner, Stormy-Annika, Solveig Richter and Gitta Lauster. Resource Scarcity - A Global Security Threat? SWP: Berlin, 2011.

strategic imperatives based on state-centric perspectives which stress conflict risks fueled by ideas of shrinking resources and difficulties in supply<sup>111</sup>.

Given that one needs to study potential conflicts over resources in light of geographies of vulnerability, threat and insecurity, one also should be careful when analyzing geopolitical narratives about the threat of interstate resource wars due to the growing economies of Asia, for example, since they can promote them instead of avoiding them, simply because this is a simplistic view on the issue, which neglects the multidimensional nature of international security issues and the need for global cooperation. As argue, mono-causal approaches underlining the international security as the reason for war in the 21<sup>st</sup> century have given way to a more modest approach in which international security factors are not discarded as a conflict factor, but positioned into a broader and more complex framework (surpassing simple neo-Malthusian approaches) where scarcity directly leads to conflict.

<sup>112</sup>One cannot assert the decay of geopolitics, one must admit that geopolitics is still relevant and important, but geopolitics cannot be the only perspective on international security issues and natural resources in particular, since globalization itself has made the international security a global problem. Globalization and its global issues challenge the orthodox vision that emphasizes traditional geopolitics and the struggle for

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<sup>111</sup> Thomas G. Weiss and Ramesh Thakur, *Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

<sup>112</sup> National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. "Greenhouse gas benchmark reached". Oceanic and Atmospheric Research.

power among states, pointing to the importance of a new perspective, one which focus its attention on a geocentric perspective (in the politics of global social relations) or in a new geopolitics, given the increasing importance of soft power in global governance. Howsoever, this is another aspect that proves globalization is a "double-edged sword. In the core of geopolitical thinking lies the realistic notion of the importance of achieving world order by means of a balance of power that seeks to prevent regional and global hegemony of rising powers, and some supporters of globalization suggest that world order can be achieved through greater economic and cultural interaction. So, according to this view, the Arab Spring events can be viewed both from the perspective of globalization and from the perspective of geopolitics.<sup>113</sup>

Globalization was important in disseminating ideas (through social networks, especially) and in spreading weapons through state borders, which challenged dictators across the Arab world. Also, external powers were asked to intervene either directly or indirectly, in order to establish a balance of power in a critical region of the world, one that can serve their interests .It was in Libya, where the ores and fuels account for 97% of exports and more than half of GDP, that the Arab Spring became, for the first time, violent, leading to NATO's intervention<sup>114</sup>.

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<sup>113</sup> Thomas G. Weiss and Ramesh Thakur, *Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

<sup>114</sup> Stoett, Peter. "What are we really looking for? From eco-violence to international security injustice." In *Natural Resources and Social Conflict. Towards Critical International security Security*, edited by Matthew A. Schnurr and Larry A. Swatuk, 15-32. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

One must keep in mind that outsiders have to deal with the problems associated with national conflicts over resources-problems such as illegal migration, terrorism, human or drug trafficking-becoming entangled in weak states trying to control these events, but that great power involvement may be aggressive and selfish, instead of defensive or altruistic<sup>115</sup>. The more assertive example of this is the US invasion of Iraq. Thus, there are many narratives about competition over resources between the US and China they mention the effects of this competition for US-China relations, as well as possible tensions between China and countries such as Japan, India and Southeast Asian countries. As emphasizes, "Chinese and US economies are intimately connected, while the two countries also compete for geostrategic influence at regional and global levels."<sup>116</sup>

Given its rise in economic, political and military terms, China may exert critical influence in countries full of valuable natural resources. Chinese influence in Africa is already a reality, because the country has surpassed the United States as the single largest provider of aid to the continent, and Chinese outward foreign direct investment is deeply

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<sup>115</sup> Hameiri, Shahar and Lee Jones. "Rising Powers and State Transformation: The Case of China." *European Journal of International Relations* (2015): 1-27.

<sup>116</sup> Stoett, Peter. "What are we really looking for? From eco-violence to international security injustice." In *Natural Resources and Social Conflict. Towards Critical International security Security*, edited by Matthew A. Schnurr and Larry A. Swatuk, 15-32. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

targeted at the extractive sector. This resource boom can occasion a geopolitical confrontation between the United States and China<sup>117</sup>.

The other reasons encompass, for example, India, which is about to be the world's most populous country, having an emerging economy and being a political force stabilizing the South and Southeast regions of the Asian continent; Brazil, a major provider of commodities on world markets and an extremely important player in terms of global food security; or the Russian Arctic, destined to be the heart of an enormous struggle of extractive industries and commercial and shipping centers. Besides, these are regions of high priority to the US; all of them are vulnerable to natural resource shocks and to the effects of climate change. "Small" events can have very significant effects across regions and the entire globe.

According to<sup>118</sup> illegal trade in natural resources runs in the hundreds of billions of dollars annually. This illegal resource trade distorts international trade, weakens rules governing international commerce, and causes economic loss to producers and consumers in the United States. Another risk encompasses the fact that natural resource exporting states are empowered by higher prices, which makes them less amenable to international norms, namely those associated with global international security governance and human

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<sup>117</sup> Thomas G. Weiss and Ramesh Thakur, *Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

<sup>118</sup> Stoett, Peter(2012). "What are we really looking for? From eco-violence to international security injustice. *Towards Critical International security*, edited by Matthew A. Schnurr and Larry A. Swatuk, 15-32. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

rights, two global issues. In fact, these states tend to be economically highly integrated and they are associated with a low degree of political integration, in other words, they are very weakly linked to the global governance system.

This fact can be explained by the fear of loss of sovereignty and autonomy, which reveals that we are living in "an international system under conservative hegemony. Its smaller political integration complicates efforts to deal with issues that require collective global action, particularly those related to the international security. This dynamic is very clear in the negotiations to manage climate change, where the material interests of oil-exporting countries are at stake . Economic integration tends to reduce the likelihood of international security treaties ratification, while political globalization increases this probability<sup>119</sup>.

Therefore, energy exporting countries will hardly participate in the global governance of the international security. Additionally, since these countries are poorly integrated in political institutions, they are less likely to adhere to international norms associated with the use of force, both nationally and across borders, so their behavior is not constrained as it should be. Moreover, their weak political institutional links mean that especially energy resource exporters have fewer forums in which to peacefully solve their tensions with other countries. Consequently, these states are also isolated regarding conflict behavior.

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<sup>119</sup> World Economic Forum. "World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2014. The Reshaping of the World: Consequences for Society, Politics and Business". Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2014

However, despite the aggressive behavior of most exporting states, the truth is that their belligerence rarely culminates in armed conflict, something related to the post-Westphalian characteristics of war in the twenty-first century system, given that about 95% of armed conflicts since the second half of the 1980s occurred within states and not among states, which reveals that, whilst international organizations are not designed to integrate the new powers' aspirations and natural resource exporters tend not to join political institutions, the embryonic global governance system of the twenty-first century has influenced states and its behavior in international arenas<sup>120</sup>. Moreover, because oil is a strategic resource, major powers invest significant resources in securing global supply lines and have incentives to prevent large-scale conflict in oil-producing countries that might result in global price spikes. As a result of both domestic spending on defense in energy-exporting countries and their strategic significance for major powers, oil producers are less likely to experience wars.

Nevertheless, these security guarantees can instigate exporting countries to act aggressively against other countries, namely those which are not exporters and don't have the same guarantees. Besides, the limited possibility of polluting the international security has the potential to inhibit resource extraction, another source of conflict, which is why the international community has to join forces to cooperate and manage the international security together through a geocentric perspective. Thus, natural resources, either in scarcity or in abundance, are a source of conflict and, at the same time, cooperation.

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<sup>120</sup> Hameiri, Shahar and Lee Jones. "Rising Powers and State Transformation: The Case of China." *European Journal of International Relations* (2015): 1-27..

<sup>121</sup> Power and wealth have always been associated to warfare and cooperation, but since the international security belongs to the entire humankind and globalization gave birth to a number of global international security challenges, which can only be addressed by all, cooperation will have to prevail in an effort to keep order in the international system<sup>122</sup>.

In fact, as underlines, resource scarcities have obliged the governments of many countries to develop bilateral and regional resource management systems to prevent conflicts among neighbors while providing citizens with access to needed resources, which proves that international security issues have the ability to promote cooperation. Emergence of conflicts is now often seen as related to the management of natural resources or more widely to the nature of resource governance regimes. This meets the idea exposed earlier that regarding global issues, international organizations and regimes have not an appropriate structure to manage and resolve such issues, reflecting the need for a reform in international institutions or even the creation of new ones, eminently global-oriented.

Institutions of governance and the international security are rudimentary at best and they largely ignore the issue at the heart of the problem. Thereby, geopolitics and globalization are not two incompatible concepts, inasmuch as globalization opens many

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<sup>121</sup> Hameiri, Shahar and Lee Jones. "Rising Powers and State Transformation: The Case of China." *European Journal of International Relations* (2015): 1-27.

<sup>122</sup> Strauss, Andrew. 2005. *Taking Democracy Global: Assessing the Benefits and Challenges of a Global Parliamentary Assembly*, One World Trust, London.

doors for international conflict, which should be considered in the light of geopolitics, but it also calls for unprecedented cooperation. Thus, the world may be heading for a new order or a new disorder. The growing interdependence among states and the global governance system "have borne fruit," but the international community is not free from the triggering of conflicts and wars.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Strauss, Andrew. 2005. *Taking Democracy Global: Assessing the Benefits and Challenges of a Global Parliamentary Assembly*, One World Trust, London.

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**CHALLENGES IN GOVERNANCE AND HOW THEY IMPACT ON THE UN'S**

**ABILITY TO PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY**

**4.1 Central role in the development of global governance**

However, the global governance has long been plagued by concerns about efficiency and effectiveness. Further reform of the institutional framework and working approaches of member agencies is needed, with the aim of helping the UN adapt to a changing world. On the other hand, the rise of emerging powers and the waning of established Western influence have, in effect, made this world more fragmented, crowded, and heterogeneous.

Most attention on structural reform in the UN system has been focused on the Security Council. It is unrepresentative in both permanent and elected membership, unanswerable to the peoples of the world, unaccountable to the General Assembly, not subject to judicial oversight, and yet has betrayed the high hopes placed in it in 1945. With respect to the primary responsibility being vested in it, of maintaining international peace and security, there were two requirements: that states would not resort to the use of force unilaterally, but would come together to use force collectively when ordered to do so by the security Council<sup>124</sup>.

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<sup>124</sup> Kressel, K. and Pruitt, D. eds. 1989. *Mediation Research*, Jossey Bass: San Francisco: Mandell, Brian, and Brian Tomlin. 1991. *Mediation in the Development of Norms*

The historical record since 1945 shows that those resorting to the use of force unilaterally need fear Security Council censure and punishment only rarely, while those who need international military assistance cannot rely on the Security Council for prompt and effective help. Given the changing nature of armed conflicts and the fact that civilians now comprise the overwhelming victims of conflict-related violence, disease and starvation, reliable and predictable protection of civilians from conflict-related grave harm is the litmus test of the UN's credibility as the security provider. In addition to a better permanent membership that reflects today's power balance, the Security Council must also be more representative of a broader constituency of interests.

#### **4.2: Confronting the Challenge of Global Governance in promoting international security**

Confronting the Crisis of Global Governance Humanity today faces a growing range of global problems that require urgent attention from the multiple wars and terrorist attacks fueled by violent extremism, repression by autocratic regimes, and conflicts in Africa, Eastern Europe, the Greater Middle East, and elsewhere, to the growing global dangers posed by climate change, economic shocks rippling through closely coupled economies, and increasingly sophisticated cyber threats. These interconnected issues cannot be dealt with effectively by any one state or group of states; we unavoidably share responsibility for one another's security. Yet meeting these challenges, which undermine human security, human development, and human rights, also exceeds the operational and

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to Manage Conflict: Kissinger in the Middle East', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.28, No.1.

political capacities of global governance institutions created in the mid-twentieth century for critical but different purposes<sup>125</sup>.

Growing global connectivity, in particular, both enables forces of disorder and opens new opportunities to tackle centuries-old afflictions, such as global poverty, gender discrimination, and the spread of disease. For these and more recent issues like environmental degradation, 2015 is a convergent year<sup>126</sup>. Powerful technologies and the intensified movement of people, goods, services, and capital associated with today's hyper connected global economy provide new ways to advance the Sustainable Development Goals for 2015–2030 to be launched this September by world leaders at the United Nations.

The December UNFCCC conference in Paris offers a critical opportunity to deliver on the agenda for combating climate change, and management of the Internet may soon be profoundly changed as well. The UN is also rethinking how it does conflict prevention, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding, and there remains contentious debate about how best to promote human rights and the international rule of law. In short, 2015 represents a watershed year, with the potential to cross a threshold into a new era in global governance and human experience<sup>127</sup>. This Report engages that prospect with the breadth that it deserves.

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<sup>125</sup> Burton, John and Dukes, Frank. 1990. "Mediation" / "Community Mediation" in J. Burton. and F. Dukes, eds. *Conflict: Practices in Management, Settlement and Resolution*. Macmillan, London.

<sup>126</sup> Stephen Chan and Vivienne Jabri. 1993. *Mediation in Southern Africa*. Macmillan, London.

<sup>127</sup> Curle, Adam. 1986. *In the Middle: Non-official Mediation in Violent Situations*. Berg Publishers Limited, Oxford.

The Commission on Global Security, Justice & Governance offers pragmatic reforms using new tools and networks to build better global institutions and a new global ethic, with the aim of focusing policymakers, opinion leaders, and international civil society on the need for more dynamic and creative global solutions to looming global challenges. Responding to new threats and opportunities requires that we overcome the deep-seated divisions driving the present crisis of global governance, which will take time. With the launch of this Report, a concerted effort will begin to promote these and related global governance innovations, looking toward and continuing through the UN's seventy-fifth anniversary in 2020<sup>128</sup>.

#### **4.3 Challenges of the United Nations is the symbol and core of global governance**

The United Nations is the symbol and core of global governance but lacks the attributes of a world government. It must continue to lead efforts for the creation and maintenance of a rules-based order that specifies both the proper conduct to be followed by all state and nonstate international actors and mechanism and procedures for reconciling differences among them<sup>129</sup>. The United Nations will continue to play a central role in the development of global governance through filling five gaps in all issue-areas: knowledge (empirical and theoretical), normative, policy, institutional, and compliance (monitoring and enforcement). For many, globalization is both desirable and irreversible for having underwritten a rising standard of living and material prosperity throughout the world for several decades. For some, however, globalization is the soft underbelly of

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<sup>128</sup> Fisher, R. 2015. *International Mediation: A Working Guide*. International Peace

<sup>129</sup> Barnett, Jon. "International securityal Security. In *Contemporary Security Studies*, edited by Alan Collins, 218-237. New York: Oxford, 2010.

corporate imperialism that plunders and profiteers on the back of rampant consumerism and almost brought the world to its knees in 2008–09. There is growing divergence in income levels between countries and peoples<sup>130</sup>.

The deepening of poverty and inequality prosperity for a few countries and some people, marginalization and exclusion for many has implications for social and political stability among and within states. The rapid growth of global markets has not been accompanied by the parallel development of social and economic institutions to ensure balanced, inclusive and sustainable growth. Labour rights have been less sedulously protected than capital and property rights, and global rules on trade and finance are less than equitable. Even before the global financial crisis, many developing countries were worried about the adverse impact of globalization on economic sovereignty, cultural integrity and social stability<sup>131</sup>.

“Interdependence” among unequals is tantamount to the dependence of some on international markets that function under the dominance of others. The financial crisis confirmed that absent effective regulatory institutions, markets, states and civil society can be overwhelmed by rampant transnational forces. It also raised questions of the roles

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<sup>130</sup> Burton, John and Dukes, Frank. 1990. “Mediation” / “Community Mediation” in J. Burton. and F. Dukes, eds. *Conflict: Practices in Management, Settlement and Resolution*. Macmillan, London.

<sup>131</sup> Zürn, Michael. "Globalization and Global Governance". In *Handbook of International Relations*, edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons, 401-425. London: Sage, 2012.

of international financial institutions and ratings agencies – with their known proclivity to insist on austerity and reduced spending for cutting deficits instead of looking to fostering economic growth as the means to raise public revenues – in dictating policy to elected governments.

Globalization has also let loose the forces of “uncivil society” and accelerated the transnational flows of terrorism, human and drug trafficking, organized crime, piracy, and pandemic diseases. The notion that endless liberalization, deregulation and relaxation of capital and border controls (except for labour) will assure perpetual self-sustaining growth and prosperity has proven to be delusional. For developing countries, lowering all barriers to the tides of the global economy may end up drowning much of local production. But raising barriers too high may be futile or counterproductive.

One possibility might be to adopt or adapt the IMF’s constituency system of representation. One of the best ways to empower the UN’s member states is to empower the General Assembly as the only plenary UN body. The UN Security Council is the most important UN organ and its geopolitical centre of gravity. But as it progressively expanded its powers and reach, so it steadily constricted the role and relevance of the General Assembly. The United Nations derives its unique legitimacy and its unmatched convening power from its universal membership; the only UN body in which all UN member states come together is the General Assembly. That should be a major source of its authority and legitimacy. But the very same universality makes the General Assembly a suboptimal organ for efficient decision-making.

#### **4.4 Reclaiming relevance with most member states in promoting International Security**

One solution to the conundrum lies in capacitating the office of the President of the General Assembly. One concrete example of institutional innovation would be to create a new post of Science Adviser to the President of the UN General Assembly. The modern world is pervasively influenced by science and technology in myriad ways on a daily basis. Similarly, international organizations touch upon human and social activity every day in countless little and not so little ways. It has become increasingly important to bring these two facets of human life together through appropriate governance arrangements that will put science and technology at the service of humanity without borders.

That is, science, technology and innovation for human development for all will not simply happen but must be made to happen through global governance. This in turn presents an opportunity for the United Nations, as the custodian of the Global Agenda, to reclaim relevance with most member states and “the peoples” of the world, and, within the United Nations, for the General Assembly to reassert leadership in an important dimension of the Global Agenda<sup>132</sup>.

This can be done with the creation of a new post of Science Adviser to the President of the United Nations General Assembly, and for a Knowledge Compact to be

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<sup>132</sup> Burton, John and Dukes, Frank. 1990. “Mediation” / “Community Mediation” in J. Burton. and F. Dukes, eds. *Conflict: Practices in Management, Settlement and Resolution*. Macmillan, London.

among the early priorities for the Science Adviser that would set out the principles governing the global exchange of science. The question of the most legitimate method of choosing the chief executives of international organizations from the heads of the World Bank and the IMF to the UN Secretary-General can no longer be avoided. The leakage of legitimacy of the CEO can quickly translate into ineffectiveness of performance of the institution itself. Article 97 of the UN Charter says that the Secretary-General “shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.” But the selection process is not specified above and beyond this vague formulation. Instead it was adopted by the General Assembly in 1946. The General Assembly could just as easily change the terms and conditions of the appointment so as to make the Secretary-General less subservient to the Security Council, for example through a non-renewable single term of office of seven years.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Brahim, Lakhdar and Salman Ahmed. 2008. ‘In Pursuit of Sustainable Peace: The Seven Deadly Sins of Mediation’, in Centre on International Cooperation, *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2008*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner: Boulder, Colorado.

## CHAPTER FIVE

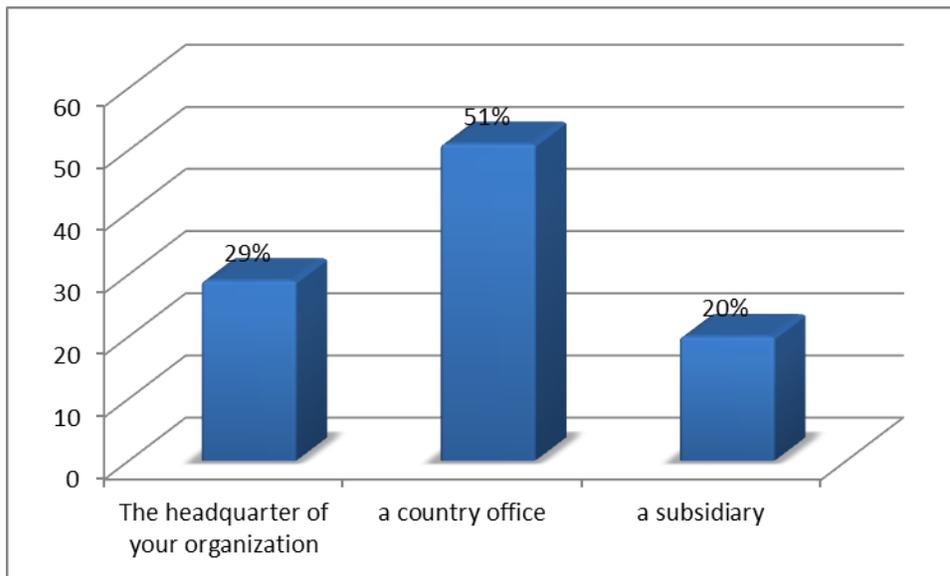
### DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATIONS

#### 5.1: Demographic analysis

The study sought to establish the demographic statistics of the respondents. The information included the regions the respondents worked in, the headquarters of the organization and the type of the organization. The results from the analysis are illustrated in the following subsections.

##### 5.1.1: Work placement

The study sought to establish the areas the study participants worked in. The results from the analysis are illustrated in the figure below as shown.



**Figure 5.**Error! Bookmark not defined.: **Work Placement**

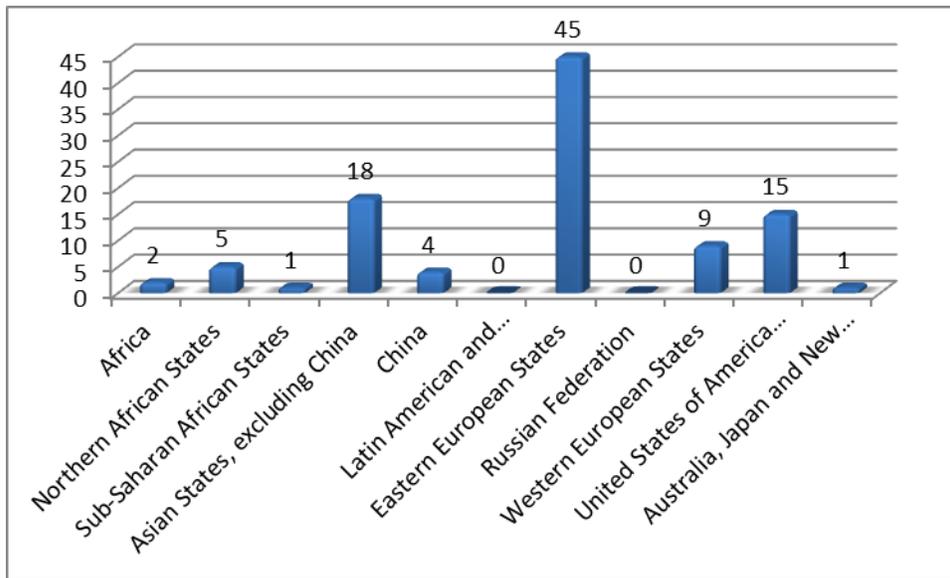
From the analysis of findings, it was established that majority of the respondents (51%) worked in the country office. Closely after were respondents (29%) who indicated that

they worked at the headquarters in their organizations while the least response was of respondent (20%) who indicated that they worked in a subsidiary.

### 5.1.2: Location of the Headquarters

The study also sought to establish the location of the headquarters of their organizations.

The results from the analysis of findings are illustrated in the figure below as shown



**Figure 4.**Error! Bookmark not defined.: **Headquarters' Location**

From the analysis of findings majority of the respondents (45%) indicated that their headquarters were located in Eastern European states. Closely after were respondents (18%) who indicated that their headquarters were located in Asian states excluding china. 15% of the respondents indicated that their Headquarters were located in the United states of America while 9% of the respondents indicated that the headquarters of their organizations was located in western European states.

## **5.2 The intersection of justice and security or just security is critical to understanding and tackling today's global governance threats and challenges**

Justice, including through the rule of law, is essential to safeguarding human security at the personal and communal level. Conversely, a just society is an illusion without security. Analyzing key global challenges through the prism of just security highlights both acute tensions and potential complementarities to be, in the first case, recognized and in the second, managed or reinforced.

It lends fresh insights and greater urgency to tackling often intractable problems across and within borders. The goal of just security is to forge a mutually supportive global system of accountable, fair, and effective governance and sustainable peace. This vision is rooted in long-standing international commitments to human rights, international law, and the critical role of flexible and evolving multilateral institutions, states, and nonstate actors in global governance.

Beyond the United Nations and other global institutions, a growing number of regional organizations, including the African Union, Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the European Union, and the Union of South American Nations, are shaping global trends. Equally important are civil society, the business community, municipalities, and the media, each offering unique perspectives and assets and varying in size and reach. These increasingly global actors can work together in a network approach to governance toward inclusive and innovative solutions to some of the world's most complex and pressing global issues.

### **5.3 Three major challenges and opportunities for global governance are fragile and conflict-affected environments, climate and people, and the hyperconnected global economy**

First, in fragile states and regions, large gaps in security, justice, and governance are readily identified but hard to fill. Despite a surge of UN peacekeeping and stability operations begun at the turn of the millennium, coping with state fragility and violent conflict remains as complicated and costly as ever, and billions of US dollars are spent annually in the quest for sustainable peace. Multiple, concurrent, and recurring intrastate conflicts, exploited by international terrorist and criminal organizations, have reversed the declining trends in political violence witnessed since the end of the Cold War. In 2014 alone, the number of refugees increased by 2.1 million to record levels, and the number of persons internally displaced by armed conflict grew by 5.2 million, another unfortunate record. At the same time, the growing roles of women, civil society organizations, and businesses, whose voices are amplified through modern communications technologies, offer new opportunities for effective peacebuilding, governance renewal, and transformational justice. Responding to these threats, challenges, and opportunities, the Commission's recommendations include:

#### **5.4 Create next-generation UN conflict mediation and peace operations capacity.**

In building responsive capacity to provide experienced mediators, including a greater proportion of women, for crisis and conflict prevention and peacebuilding; build capacity to deploy civilian, police, and military personnel to meet urgent peacekeeping

requirements; build a new cadre of experienced personnel to serve as Heads of Mission and members of mission senior management teams; beyond transitional justice, invest in transformational justice; and coordinate activities closely with and materially support regional actors and local civil society, with particular attention to inclusion of women in peace processes.

### **5.5 Strengthen the Responsibility to Prevent, Protect, and Rebuild**

Investing in early-warning capabilities and Responsibility to Protect (R2P) action plans for an approach to atrocities prevention that involves all UN agencies and programs; embed UN mission monitors in all forces participating in R2P implementation; and set concrete, achievable goals for all international actors seeking to prevent, react to, and rebuild after mass atrocities.

Second, with each successive report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the need to take extraordinary and decisive action addressing the causes and impact of climate change becomes more evident and urgent, as does the need for new, more productive approaches to meeting climate challenges, including greater public-private collaboration. A steady rise in emissions of greenhouse gases globally is heating the atmosphere and the oceans, melting polar and glacial ice, and raising sea levels and ocean acidity to the detriment of sea life and human security alike.

The changing climate strikes hardest at those with the least capacity to adapt, other than to move. The IPCC projects the number of climate change refugees at 100 million in 2025 and 150 million in 2050. Humanity's impact on the global climate is ever more clear, but its response has yet to address the deep injustices created by too little

adaptation support for such vulnerable populations. As the parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) look toward the Twenty-First Conference of the Parties in Paris, many are hopeful that a binding climate agreement can emerge, but others are also concerned that it will remain elusive. Mitigating and adapting to climate change globally may well require a new understanding of what constitutes security and justice in the twenty-first century. Responding resolutely yet creatively to this quintessential global governance challenge, the Commission makes the following major recommendations.

#### **5.6 Develop a global network of cybercrime centers and increase**

Internet access in the Global South through enhanced capacity-building: bolster the global response to cyber attacks through INTERPOL and national Computer Emergency Response Teams (CERTs), and increase Internet access and cybersecurity in the Global South through multiple initiatives, including the International Telecommunications Union's Connect 2020 Agenda and the promotion of cyber hygiene.

A practical and integrated reform approach, underscoring and closely linking security and justice concerns, enables progress on all three global issues, as well as a better appreciation for key cross-cutting issues such as gender, migration, and anticorruption. When managed effectively, the hyperconnected global economy provides tools that can empower international and local responses to the special needs of fragile and conflict-affected environments. So can new communications technologies and the Big Data revolution help to unleash human creativity and collective action for addressing the climate crisis. At the same time, our small, dense, interconnected world cannot

prosper if more than a billion inhabitants fail to cross a basic threshold for a safe, dignified life, or if rising sea levels, extreme drought, powerful floods and storm surges, trafficking gangs, and networks of violent extremists threaten the security, well-being, and survival of millions.

**5.7 A coherent set of global governance reforms to better promote just security requires innovating and streamlining global institutions and engaging critical regional organizations, local authorities, the business community, and civil society across generations more effectively.**

Repeated failures to reform within the UN and other entities deepen the global governance crisis with implications for security and justice. Advancing progress requires a strong grasp of the impediments to previous reform efforts. In particular, these include: (i) a lack of political will to change, particularly among powerful countries or within entrenched bureaucracies; (ii) poor design and advocacy for a specific policy or institutional reform; and (iii) limited skill and effort invested in sustaining a reform program through to completion.

By helping mobilize pressure for global (intergovernmental) institutional reforms while serving as resourceful partners for global institutions with fresh perspectives, non-state, regional, and local actors are an integral part of still nascent network governance. To succeed in the twenty-first century, the United Nations and other global institutions must extend their traditional convening role for Member States to include innovative ways to

engage these increasingly influential actors. Seizing the opportunities for improved global governance, though cognizant of the risks and challenges to reform, the Commission makes the following recommendations:

## **5.8 The path for cooperation: why global international security issues "belong" to Global governance**

The international security is perhaps the most global and multidimensional issue in the international system and global governance is a scientific field which benefits from a number of sciences and intends to combine knowledge from other disciplines with which the discipline itself develops, so it is the perfect field of study to analyze and build up a better understanding of the contemporary world.

Understanding the present world and its future evolution requires interdisciplinary knowledge. It requires an understanding of each of the drivers of change", which means that, concerning a multidimensional and global issue such as the international security, Global governance seems to be the most appropriate discipline to develop and provide to local, regional and international stakeholders a framework to understand global dynamics and its implications for the international community, as well as underline risks and find paths for cooperation.

In the hybrid international system of the twenty-first century, where the world faces geopolitical challenges and the need to cooperate on a global scale, global governance emerges as a highly relevant discipline. As we have seen, the world seems to be heading for a new global order or a new global disorder, deeply linked to the international security, which makes it extremely important to study this new global context, in order not to fall in global disorder.

Since global governance study the diplomatic and strategic relations between or among states, cross-border transactions of all types and the multiple dimensions of contemporary globalization, it can contribute to building solutions for the new challenges of the twenty-first century, in other words, it can help promoting collective responses for problems that affect us all and for which there is no solution unless the international community joins forces, because the discipline has the potential to develop new knowledge about the political, economic and social dynamics of the present world.

What happens inside of a state influences the global sphere and what happens globally affects the domestic domain: that is what globalization has created and has been exacerbating, and that is what we need to understand with the view to adapt to these new circumstances, avoiding conflicts and benefiting from the existence of common issues to promote a cooperative and concerted international system.

Nevertheless, there are some obstacles which have to be surpassed. Given that Global governance is a recent discipline, created after the end of the First World War, there is a very significant number of countries where this scientific field is still underdeveloped and underestimated, struggling to emancipate itself and conquer its very own place. Therefore, it seems fair to assert that, in Global governance, in many countries, there is still a very inadequate and insufficient body of knowledge, as well as inappropriate methodologies and scarce resources.

Wherefore, scholars of global governance need to work hard with the aim of developing the discipline, as well as proving its value and importance for a changing and

interconnected world. This would be extremely important not only to develop a discipline which emerges as fundamental for understanding the present world, but also to promote scientific studies and its conclusions among elites (decision makers, stakeholders, etc.)- inasmuch as it would provide them with very relevant data to think up new policies or even propose these new policies-and the general public, because an informed population has greater power and greater capacity to influence decisions, as well as the direction their countries will follow, and consequently the international system, fostering and developing the idea of global citizenship.

With respect to the international security, all of the challenges already exposed in this article require, firstly, a holistic perspective on international security insecurity, one that focuses on cause (global, economic, political, modernity), context (history, culture) and effects (health, natural disasters, slow cumulative changes, accidents, conflict) (-Global governance has tools for developing this holistic perspective-and then a new way of living, a new philosophy of life. In other words, extremely efficient life styles in terms of resource use and global responses, something that asks for a global mindset change. This is another challenge for global governance' scholars, given that, in this discipline, one finds the prevalence of a paradigm that does not link human society with its biological basis (the exception is traditional geopolitics), which is considered infinite.

The truth is that the essential holistic paradigm still lies in the sideline of the discipline. However, because the protection of the international security constitutes a civilizational imperative, this paradigm must become predominant, in other words, Global governance' scholars have to develop this area towards a view which takes into

account planetary boundaries. It is impossible to develop this scientific field without transforming it towards a total perception of the unbreakable link between social and natural spheres. We need to find a new way of articulating the local and global international security insecurities and injustices that affects us all, but unequally so .This requires a new approach to national interest.

The international community must act keeping in mind global problems and, consequently, global interest, which is not contrary to national interest. We must face national interest in a new way, different from the traditional one: we have to build a concept of national interest which is strictly related to global interest, in the sense that it is impossible to achieve the most important domestic goals without thinking globally, without achieving the interest of humankind, and the international security seems to corroborate this fact. Thus, national and global interests are two sides of the same coin and not two incompatible realities, simply because globalization, one way or another, links our destinies.

Concerning water, for instance, we need to associate water management to global governance, in order to improve governance of the drivers causing pressures on water (climate change, population growth, economic development). Thirty to fifty percent of the food produced in the world is wasted, lost or converted and the production of energy is the second largest user of water, activities that put pressure on this vital resource and make it very difficult to fight against poverty in the most vulnerable regions of the globe and promote human rights. Taking into account the great civilizational challenge of climate change, the international community needs to "re-engineer the energy of nations"

. international leaders and citizens must converge and commit to provide a fair and efficient use of fundamental resources, as well as to develop the path for a green economy, which should be a priority in a globalizing world.

Although the international community is aware of the existence of global commons, global responsibilities and common goals, the truth is that, in practice, responses are based on narrow and simplistic approaches to the problems. There are neo-Malthusian assumptions of the future, but they seem to be insufficient to trigger effective action, hence the importance of promoting the prevalence of a holistic paradigm in Global governance. Current constraints can be broken and there is no need to be Malthusian, since trends are not destiny. Changing contexts must be explored and it is vital to highlight that new opportunities are also emerging .

This is what calls "the race to adapt," which is "a contest to become among the first to adopt new materials, methods, and devices that will free the world from its dependence on finite resource supplies. Power and wealth will come from mastery of the new technologies." The disregard for the development of technology was one of the biggest mistakes in Malthus' theory. However, one may not forget that the creation of an effective international security global governance regime and the move towards a green and sustainable economy will require political will and action from the greatest powers of the international system, both with regard to its internal contexts, as for the transition to sustainability in the poorest countries.

The international community can start with a global governance regime for the resource sector which level the playing field for populations, governments, and businesses and encourage greater transparency and improved management of natural resource wealth. Thereby, scholars of Global governance have the potential and the duty to seek and propose new ways of global organization, holistic ones, because, as argue, membership in international organizations and political globalization have powerful implications for reducing international conflict behavior and increasing respect for human rights, since international institutions can be important shapers and transmitters of international norms." Furthermore, by renewing our sense of unity with the rest of Nature, we can imagine new ways of being and through cooperation and innovation we can achieve them As we have seen, globalization and the emergence of new powers can create a climate of tension and conflict in the international system, but these processes also create a great opportunity to develop a regime of unprecedented multilateral cooperation.

For this to happen, researchers of global governance must study new ways of political integration, new institutions designed to face global long-term challenges and to embrace new emerging powers, inasmuch as the Western world cannot solve the twenty-first century problems alone and the Global South cannot achieve its most prominent goals without joining forces with developed countries of the North. Ultimately, this may pressure world leaders to rethink the very basis of capitalism -in other words, to develop a "sustainable capitalism"-which will affect our political and social structures. In a much more distant horizon, this could lead to a cosmopolitan perception of the international

system, which would beat the current nationalist division of the world. The capacity of Global governance to make use of a plethora of data and knowledge from other disciplines makes it the right area to study global, international, national, community and individual perspectives, with the aim of revealing the complexity behind international security insecurity, prevent wars in the international system and create a new global order based on multilateral cooperation, promoted by the need to preserve our common international security.

**CHAPTER SIX**

**FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS CAPABLE OF  
GUIDING THE UN THROUGH SUCH MAJOR REFORMS IN ITS MOST  
POWERFUL BODY**

**6.1 Findings**

The heterogeneity is reflected in the UN's weakened mandate, especially in the international security area. The attempts of Western powers to impose their concepts and ideas on the UN have been met with great resistance from the emerging powers, as the debates arising from the 2011 NATO military intervention in Libya demonstrated.

Current differences regarding the situation in Syria also show that emerging powers are determined to break the Western domination in the UN Security Council. It also means that countries need to have a more open and candid dialogue, with the aim of forging a new global consensus based on equity, fairness, and inclusion. Only with this new global consensus can the UN fulfill its role of promoting sustainable peace and development.

**6.2 Conclusion**

Universal entities like the UN need multilateral groups of key countries that can work together across regional boundaries to achieve results that can be commended to the membership at large. There is one such multilateralist invention. Recently, member countries stabilized financial markets, coordinated regulatory reform, and launched an economic stimulus, thereby quite possibly averting a global depression. They have also

taken preliminary steps toward global macroeconomic governance by addressing issues like monetary policy, exchange rates, and debt levels, which were once regarded as the exclusive province of sovereign governments.

*Multi-stakeholder, partnerships are today's most important emergent institutional form.*

They have emerged to overcome the combined weaknesses of traditional markets and institutions and their relationship. Partnerships enable institutions to exchange and combine competencies in their broadest sense that cannot for diverse reasons be simply transacted through markets. To achieve this, they blend public and private aims in order to overcome institutional rigidities between business, the state and civil society that impede actions that can meet individual and collective interests.

*Such partnerships are, however, far more than merely 'institutional patches' to overcome technical glitches in how we organize ourselves.* They are new forms of institutionalized power and associated patterns of accountability. At times they consolidate existing patterns of control over resources, business strategy and public policy. In other instances, they are designed to and can drive shifts in wealth creation, distributional and political outcomes. Partnerships, both the fact of their emergence, and their specifics in any particular situation, are a manifestation of a contested, and dynamic social contract.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

The goal of just security is to forge a mutually supportive global system of accountable, fair, and effective governance and sustainable peace. This vision is rooted in long-standing international commitments to human rights, international law,

and the critical role of flexible and evolving multilateral institutions, states, and nonstate actors in global governance. Beyond the United Nations and other global institutions, a growing number of regional organizations, including the African Union, Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the European Union, and the Union of South American Nations, are shaping global trends. Equally important are civil society, the business community, municipalities, and the media, each offering unique perspectives and assets and varying in size and reach. These increasingly global actors can work together in a network approach to governance toward inclusive and innovative solutions to some of the world's most complex and pressing global issues.

*The governance of partnerships is therefore becoming the foundations on which we govern ourselves, in tens of thousands of ways, some relatively minor, and some profoundly important. The topic and practice is thus a window through which the dynamics of this changing social contract can be observed. However it is clearly far more than that, a means through which collaborative governance can be held to account and so outcomes impacted. Partnerships and the basis on which they are held to account is a critical foundation of how we 'civilize power' in its emergent institutional forms.*

*The cracks have begun to appear in the governance and accountability of partnerships as they have evolved from experiments to mainstream institutional foundations for the delivery of services, resource transfers and rule-setting. It is just a matter of time before they are subjected to the same probing inquiry as we have seen applied to global corporations, and most recently also to the United Nations and increasingly civil society organizations. Such probing is to be welcomed, of*

course, since it signals a healthy public discourse about how power is exercised. But it would be problematic if such probing reveals a widespread disregard by partnerships of their approaches to governance and accountability in line with their growing importance.

*AccountAbility's PGA Framework is 'beta version' of a codified approach to assessing, planning and engaging in partnerships' governance and accountability.* It is, to our knowledge, the first such framework, and as such has far to go before it is fully matured. It is a 'living tool', requiring on-going replenishment through the spirit and practice of 'open source' learning that can capture and systematize diverse experiences and perspectives in ways that can be shared between practitioners.

*There is clearly much to be done, and AccountAbility has initiated a next phase of activities* as a contribution to this work agenda. The next stage will involve a program of research comprising action-learning, tool development, advocacy and capacity building that will have:

Its *core purpose* to increase recognition by practitioners, policy makers and funders of the importance of improving the governance and accountability of partnerships and how such improvements can be achieved.

Three *secondary purposes*: (a) to develop and promote the use of practical tools for improving understanding and practice of good governance and accountability of partnerships; (b) to enhance the quality of governance and accountability of participating partnerships in the proposed international Learning Network; (c) to

increase the capacity of key ‘accountability agents’, particularly in developing countries, to advance the quality of partnership governance and accountability.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE**

1. Briefly examine and analyze the key international security challenges facing the global community.
2. Briefly assess the role of global governance in promoting international security.
3. What are some of the challenges in governance that the UN faces and how do they impact on its ability to promote international security.
4. Briefly highlight the intersection of justice and security.
5. Governance is critical to understanding and tackling today's security threats and challenges. Discuss.
6. Highlight three major challenges and opportunities for global governance in addressing international security.
7. Fragile and conflict-affected environments, climate, an interconnected population and the hyperconnected global economy are issues of global concern. Discuss.
8. Briefly highlight a coherent set of global governance reforms to better promote just security.
9. The UN requires innovating , streamlining and engaging critical regional organizations, local authorities, the business community, and civil society across generations more effectively. Discuss.
10. Discuss a path for cooperation and why global international security issues "belong" to Global governance

## APPENDIX II : QUESTIONNAIRE

### 1. Please provide the contact information (optional)

Name of the organization:

Address:

City/Town:

Country:

Email address:

### 2. You are working in

the headquarter of your organization

a country office

a subsidiary

### 3. The headquarter of your organization is based in (required)

Africa

Kenya

Northern African States

Sub-Saharan African States

Asian States, excluding China

China

Latin American and Caribbean States

Eastern European States

Russian Federation

Western European States

United States of America and Canada

Australia, Japan and New Zealand

## I. Type of Organization

### 4. Is your organization (indicate all that apply)

Civil society or non-governmental organization (CSO/ NGO)

Non-profit organization

Faith-based organization

International CSO/ NGO

National or local CSO/ NGO

Trade Union/labor organization

Academia, Institution

Other (Please specify)

## II. Fields of Activity

### 8. What are the challenges facing the global community?

Priorities of development programs:	High priority	Moderate priority	Low priority	No priority
a. Crisis prevention, emergency aid and crisis recovery, peace building				
b. Poverty eradication, basic social services, basic income				
c. Agriculture, rural development and food security				
d Health care, including combating HIV/AIDS				
e. Education				
f. Environment, sustainable management of natural resources, infrastructure				
g. Urban development, community organization, esp. in slum areas				
h. Employment and decent labor, anti-child labor, migration				
i. Human Rights , democratic governance, rule of law				
j. Indigenous people, cultural minorities				
k. Persons with disabilities				
l. Gender equality and empowerment of women				
m. Credit and savings programs, microfinance, anti-corruption				
n. Other development areas (please specify):				

## IV. Below are some of the Challenges in governance that the UN faces and how they impact on its ability to promote international security

### Financial resources and budget changes

#### 13. Did your organization face financial difficulties within the current governance?

	Yes	No
Financial budget constraints before		

If yes, please explain the underlying reasons:

**15. Please specify the categories on how to tackle today's global governance threats and challenges (estimated):**

Increase  
Decrease

a. Direct representative and contributions

b. Change of policies and governance		
c. Private foundations		
d. Governments		
e. Corporate		
f. International institutions		
g. Other (please specify)		

**V. Responses to current coherent set of global governance reforms and budget constraints**

**16. If your organization has narrowed its area of work, and/ or reduced the number of its staff, please estimate the percentage of reductions and explain how your organization determines the priorities.**

**17. How would you describe the major challenges that your organization needs to overcome in the context of the recent food, economic and environmental crises?**

**VI. Impact of the global crises on people**

**20. Did the need for support change due to the food, financial, economic and environmental crises?**

	Large increase	Moderate increase	Remain at level	Moderate decrease	Large decrease
Change of scope of requests					

**21. Did the categories of requests change ?**

Change of categories of requests	Large increase	Moderate increase	Remain at level	Moderate decrease	Large decrease
a. Request to address environmental emergencies and climate change					
b. Request in response to rising food price					

c. Request in response to the financial and economic crisis					
d. Other					
In case of 'Large increase' please elaborate					

***VII. Projected impact of the global crises and recommendations***

**22. Do you project the need for support to change over the next 2 years due to the food, financial, economic and environmental crises?**

<b>Projected change</b> of need for support from 2009 to 2010	Large increase	Moderate increase	Remain at level	Moderate decrease	Large decrease
a. Projected change of need for financial support					
b. Projected change of need for emergency relief					
c. Projected change of need for basic social services					
d. Projected change of need for long-term development programs					
e. Projected change of need for advocacy work					
Other (Please specify)					

**23. Which approaches do you want donor governments to take to meet your need for support?**

**27. What else should be done at international level to meet your needs facing the challenges of the global crises?**

**28. Do you have any other suggestions?**

**Thank you for completing our survey!**  
I really appreciate your time and feedback.

