



WHAT SCOPE IS THERE FOR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY AS A BASIS FOR GLOBAL GOVERNANCE?

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Abstract

The development of multilateral diplomacy over the past decades, its importance that the process of multilateral diplomacy withholds in solving crises and global governance, this paper will try to evaluate the current trend of processes and critically evaluate is there hope and realistic expectation that multilateral diplomacy will become a basis for global governance in the future. There are many definitions given to the multilateralism, having in account that multilateralism within the global governance is becoming increasingly complex in its form and expressions. In doing the analysis on how much there is scope of multilateral diplomacy as basis for global governance, an overview on

historical facts, international organizations and elements contributing to the global governance achievement will be touched upon. Impact and historical aspects of international organisations such as United Nations, European Union and World Trade organisations in setting the first pillars of global governance will be also elaborated, with an emphasis on impact and potential that these institutions have in global governance evolution.

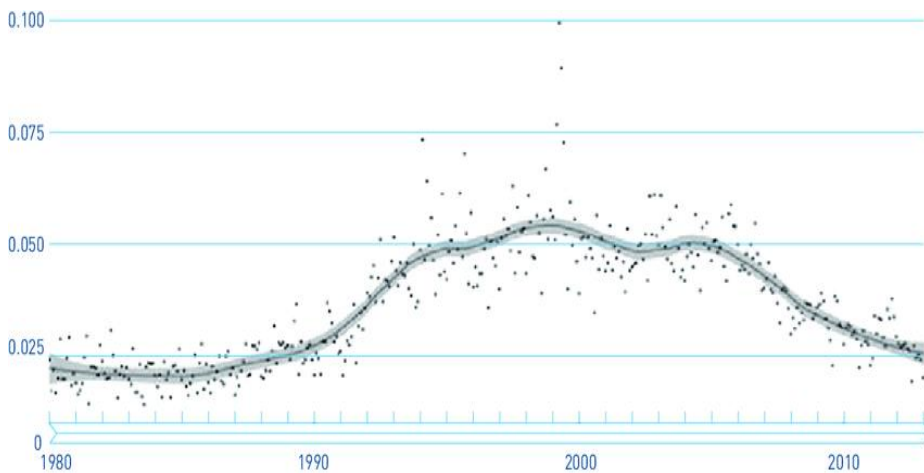
Keywords: *United Nations, Multilateralism, Diplomacy, European Union, Global Governance, International Organizations.*

Introduction

This paper will treat the multilateral diplomacy and its impact on possible transformation as a form of global governance, in doing so, initially, the historical aspects of the international organizations will be touched upon, while maintaining interest on their impact on the global governance. Most authors will agree that the current form of multilateral diplomacy emerged in the 20 century, reaching its highest point in the Security Council of the United Nations” (Berridge 1990) . While Keohene defines the multilateralism as:” the practice of coordinating national policies in groups of three or more states” (Keohene 1990). Other declare that what is distinctive about multilateralism is not merely that it coordinates national policies in groups of three of more states, which is something that other organizational forms also do, but that it does so on basis of certain principles of ordering relations among those states” (Ruggie 1992). The

creation of the international organizations especially after World I where countries met to discuss problems of common interest and to arrive at a collective solutions and the structural complexity of some of these organizations gave rise to an entire technique of multilateral diplomacy (De Magalhães, et al, 1988).

Trends of global governance structures-Rise and fall of multilateral organisations from 1980: Figure adopted from authors: Van Der Wusten, Denmark, Hoffman, and Yonten.



As the figure above would show the trend of development and the rise of multilateral organizations has reached its maximum in years between 2000, while just after that period, the 20 years of continues rise of the multilateral organizations saw its fall, and for ten years, the rise of organizations has relatively equaled the trends in 1980.

In the political sphere, multilateralism is embodied in the universally accepted obligations contained in the U.N. Charter, the provisions of international treaties, and customary international law (Van Oudernanen 2003). The term multilateral can be used as a noun

institution, so that the modern multilateral institution is a “generic institutional form in international relations” that relates to a set of constitutive rules that order the relations within the system of international relations (Ruggie 1992). Moreover, it is the formation of and the question is there basis for multilateral diplomacy to become a basis for global governance is of our prime interest. Cox, states that the “core weakness of multilateral institutions however remains in the measures of enforcement” (Cox 1987). Whereas, Wendt, adds : ... the attempt to solve international collective action problems by creating collective identities among states creates an entirely new set of problems of making those identities democratically accountable, a problem ultimately of transforming the boundaries of political community” (Wendt 1994), while the nature of governance and authority in multilateral institutions is in transition (O’Brien et al. 2000), and this transition is “a movement away from a multilateralism based primarily on the activities of states (O’Brien et al. 2000). Others have noted that there has been rapid proliferation of international institutions since World War II, as such an increasing number of international issues have arisen resulting in demand for the creation and expansion of international regimes” (Raustiala and G. Victor 2004). These authors Kal Raustiala and G. Victor state that these regimes “have become more demanding and intrusive-new rules on human rights, intellectual property, and food safety, for example, exert influence on national policies far “behind the border” (Raustiala and G. Victor 2004).

Global Governance-Multilateral Institutions

In order to go further, we need to define what we understand by the term global governance. The Commission on Global Governance defined as “the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs” (Karns and Mingst 2004). The Commission on Global Governance states that all this a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action may be taken. It includes formal.... as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest (Raustiala, et al. 2004). They also agree that “ governance systems dominated by elites have given way to more participatory modes; the policy process has become more complex as growing array of national agencies, trans-national organizations , and experts become engaged in decision making and implementation”(Raustiala et al.).

Due to that “few studies have given systematic attention to the implications of this increase in institutional density” in global governance (Raustiala et al.). In spite of many developments in the institutions and legal basis of global governance over the last decades the most part of international legal system is not hierarchical. Raustiala and Victor state” generally, no one regime is supreme over others as legal matter. Moreover, the international legal system is disaggregated. Regimes and rules are developed in one forum that frequently implicate or even challenge regimes and rules developed in other forums (Raustiala et al 2004). The issue arises at the moment when actors can and will “attempt to select the forum that best suited their interest” (Raustiala, et al 2004.), especially if encountered with individual interest

such as trade or national security. As with the preceding discussion on the overlap of rules, principles and norms in global governance, no mechanism to date has been effectively employed to allay conflicting legal instruments in international law (Coldicott). The issue of legitimacy then arises, if an institution does not have legitimacy, then issues have to be resolved differently, maybe setting aside the multilateral diplomatic efforts. Hurd states that “legitimacy matters to international institutions and to the nature of the international system as a whole” (Hurd 1999). If a structure or institution lacks legitimacy, “then their claims to authority are unfounded and they are not entitled to our support” (Buchanan et al. 2006). Thus, legitimacy allows “actors to coordinate their support for particular institutions by appealing to their common capacity to be moved by moral reasons, as distinct from purely strategic or exclusively self-interested reasons” (Buchanan et al. 2006). It is argued that “It is important not only that global governance institutions be legitimate, but that they’re perceived to be legitimate” (Buchanan et al. 2006). This is important “because, in a democratic era, multilateral institutions will only thrive if they are viewed as legitimate by democratic publics” (Buchanan et al. 2006). No action, actor or institution can be depicted as legitimate if it is not recognised socially as being rightful (Reus-Smit 2007). Meaning that the multilateral institutions/diplomacy should have the element of legitimacy engraved in them, otherwise nothing can be achieved without it, of course in a democratic manner. Keohane notes that “Multilateral institutions by no means supersede as the most important actors in the world politics. On the contrary, they are created by states, and states dominate their decision-making (Keohane, 2006).

The same approach might apply multilateral diplomacy, in cases when these multilateral diplomatic institutions might be influenced by the states that comprise these structures, at least in the moment when their “national” interests are jeopardized. Yet the advocates of the multilateralism have difficulty claiming that the United Nations or other multilateral organisations are more efficient than states (Keohane 2006). Further, “governments sometimes interfere in UN administrative processes for their own purposes, or introduce their own corrupt practices into it, as illustrated by the Iraqi oil-for-food program of the 1990s (Keohane, 2006). Indeed the, one of the most striking features of effective multilateralism is the 20th century is that it has often been precipitated by unilateral actions by powerful states (Keohane, 2006).

States versus international organisations

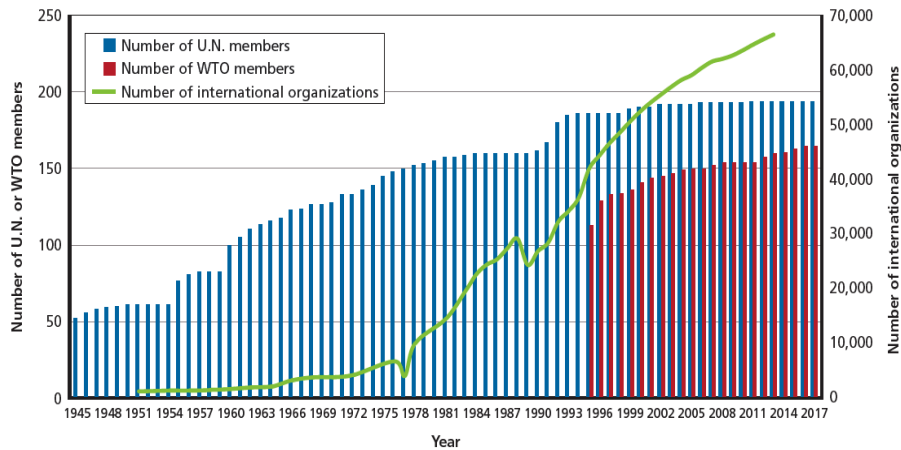
At times “when the powerful states believe that they face fundamental threats to their security or welfare, they will respond unilaterally, if unable to do so through multilateral institutions” (Keohane, 2006). After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the Bush administration declared a worldwide "war on terror," involving open and covert military operations, new security legislation, efforts to block the financing of terrorism, and more. Washington called on other states to join in the fight against terrorism asserting that "either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists." Many countries joined this campaign, often adopting harsh new laws, lifting long-standing legal protections and stepping up domestic policing and intelligence work. Washington’s response to this by many analysts was conceived as unilaterally, and without much

respect to the structures that did not approve such a military action, and by somehow coercing states to participate in the action “against terror”. But how legitimate are those actions, without the “general approval” of the UN Security Council. The reasons why many say publicly that United Nations or the League of Nations failed to do so in the first place is and was probably that did not have a uniformity of a standardized system of laws and institutions and mechanisms that would ensure the enforcement of their treaties. Further, the decision making process within the United Nations is also complex, in the setting of the Security Council (where only fifteen states are represented), make the other states represented in the organization not equally represented.

Keohane states that an institution has a valid claim to make legitimate policy on a global basis only if it meets all three standards: of inclusiveness, decisiveness and epistemic reliability (Keohane, 2006). With regard to inclusiveness, Keohane states that “ all valid interests-interests that are based on the welfare of a substantial number of people as they perceive them, rather than on hatred or an urge for dominance-must be represented effectively” (Keohane, 2006). As per the decisiveness, Keohane declares that this would “ideally means that multilateral organization could take effective action, even against opposition of its strongest member state. That is, there would be no veto, either in the organization or, effectively, by one state or a small coalition withholding material support from the organization as it pursued a policy that had been agreed on by a large majority” (Keohane 2006) . The illustration of this issue is best portrayed through the structure of the UN, with regard to many initiatives that are even stopped at the

Security Council, where any member state can stop any initiative, if it does not fit theirs or their allies' interests. Keohane, states that "its permanent membership does not reflect any principled set of criteria for representation, but rather the power politics of 1945, as negotiated at San Francisco" (Keohane, 2006). The reason for this might be found in the complexity of the decision making processes within international organizations such as United Nations or other organizations created with the aim of solving disputes between nations through peace. As per the "rise of the new institutionalism in global governance, has thus, in no way created a sense of order" (Alan S. 2010). Global governance has increasingly spawned institutions that are far more informal and unstaffed than the UN and Bretton Woods that preceded them (Alan S. 2010). The rise of the G-x process- the G-5, the G-7/8, and the G-20- is structurally and procedurally in sharp contrast with the earlier treaty based organisations of the post-war world" this according to Alexandroff was criticized, with regard to "informal structures; argued that the membership, being less than universal, fails to test of representativeness and legitimacy; and questioned the G-x process, accountability, and ability to reach the critical decisions that meet the contemporary global governance challenges" (Alan S. 2010). Alexandroff notes that "there is a sense that an enlarged and more diverse global leadership consists not just of the United States and its traditional allies but, as the G-20 demonstrates, the new rising states- Brazil, India and especially China- and then an additional ring of influential middle-income states such as Indonesia, South Korea, and Turkey" (Alan S. 2010).

U.N. and WTO Membership Levels and Number of International Organizations, 1945–2017



SOURCE: U.N., "Growth in United Nations Membership, 1945–Present," web page, undated(a); WTO, "Members and Observers," web page, undated(a); Union of International Associations, "Historical Overview of Number of International Organizations by Type," 2013.

The table above shows that the that the only steady and considerable increase is the number of international organisations, compared to the number of UN members and WTO membership, which has not changed dramatically, at least in the past three decades.

Alexandroff declares that due to the rising members and enlarged global leadership “ the question of new countries assuming more prominence as international leaders, it remains unclear what role will be played by the still acknowledged hegemonic leader- the United States” (Alan S. 2010) . The Bush administration expressed a deep-rooted skepticism toward the multilateral system of with the United States had historically been the chief architect and proponent” (Alan S. 2010). But according to Alexandroff, “the new president’s emphasis on America’s multilateral reengagement was coupled with a stress on the responsibilities of others in achieving global governance” (Alan S. 2010). Supporting the above statement, on the swift of policy from Bush administration to Obama

administration is the statement given by the Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who stated that “So these two facts demand a different global architecture, one in which states have clear incentives to cooperate and live up to their responsibilities, as well as strong disincentives to sit on the side-lines or sow discord and division. ... We’ll work through institutions and reform them, but we’ll go further. We’ll use our power to convene, our ability to connect countries around the world, and sound foreign policy strategies to create partnerships aimed at solving problems. ... In short, we will lead by inducing greater cooperation among a greater number of actors and reducing competition, tilting the balance away from a multi-polar world toward a multi-partner world “(Clinton, 2009).

In many cases during the last century the United States have acted as a hegemon particularly in the Middle East in that they intervened there repeatedly by political or military means in order to achieve their interest, but the above statement is hope giving in the foreign policy, stimulating cooperation and reducing the competition leads towards a multi-partner approach. Murphy notes that “global governance is likely to remain inefficient, incapable of shifting resources from the worlds wealthy to be the world’s poor, pro-market, and relatively insensitive to the concerns of labour and the rural poor, despite the progressive role that it recently may have played in promoting liberal democracy and the empowering of women (Murphy 2000). The realist view is that the basic motive driving states is survival because they want to maintain their sovereignty (Mearshimer, 1999). In the international system, states fear each other; there is not trust, so each state looks to its own survival

(Mearshimer, 1999) (Mearshimer, 1999). An increasing number of international actors, institutions, nongovernmental organizations, civil society have assumed key positions and responsibilities in more globalized international system. Multilateral diplomacy is becoming the main vehicle for resolving common and cross border issues, including developments in countries that can pose a threat to regional (international) security (Ramdin ,2006). The sovereign state will not disappear, but it will have to share the stable increasingly with intergovernmental organizations, international non-governmental organizations, transnational entities such as large firms, and new networks (Archer 2001). In evaluating the trends, and possible negative effects that states have on the multilateral diplomacy, it's evident that self-interest of the states is the main reason why states prefer acting on their own in governing their affairs with others, rather than using multilateral institutions in mediation or solving potential conflicts or issues.

In the past (Gowan 2018), the United States, which had become the de facto guarantor of the international order, now has a president who questions the value of international institutions on a weekly basis. Washington has pulled out, or announced plans to quit, UN bodies such as the Human Rights Council and arrangements including the Paris climate change deal. Recent United States intention of withdrawal from multilateral agreements and organizations gave a major blow to the already established fragile system of multilateral institutions.

Conclusion

There is plenty of scope for multilateral diplomacy as basis for global governance, as is evident in the plethora of effective international organizations mainly dealing with low politics (Archer 2001). After the mid-1980s, the Soviet Union disengaged itself militarily from almost all of its Third World commitments, thereby leaving a vacuum that the UN and other international agencies helped to fill with observation teams in Angola and Afghanistan and humanitarian assistance to Mozambique and Ethiopia (Archer 2001). The current move from bipolar spheres of influence and interest towards multi-polar leaves much to hope and desire. Some analysts argue that the most powerful of the public institutions of global institutions- the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, and even the World Bank- though have promoted economic globalization. The UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, stated on the 57th session of the UN General Assembly, that “[I]t is not enough to denounce unilateralism, unless we also face up squarely to the concerns that make some States feel uniquely vulnerable, since it is those concerns that drive them to take unilateral action. We must show that those concerns can, and will, be addressed effectively through collective action” (Anan 2003). In order to achieve global governance through multilateral diplomacy, further changes are needed to be done in the setting of the international organizations for this to be successful. It would be simplistic to say that the world would be a better place if global governance was adopted wholeheartedly. International organizations are the tools needed to underpin global governance (Archer 2001) but by their very nature, they can be dominated by an imbalance of power,

remaining 'creatures of the most powerful of their state members' (Murphy 2001). Given the view that the essence of politics is the struggle for power, realists maintain that countries and their leaders, if prudent, are virtually compelled to base their foreign policy on the existence, as realists see it, of a supposedly Darwinian, country-eat-country world in which power is the key of the national survival of the fittest. From this point of view, the national interest can be defined for the most part as whatever enhances or preserves the state's security, its influence, and its military and economic power. In the world that exists and probably has always existed, realists would argue, might makes right-or at least makes success (T. Rourke et al. 1998). The idealist state that such an approach impacts hugely the failure of joint actions and credibility of international organizations and their actions considerable fault go to realists, for not giving attention to cooperation, international law, joint actions and giving too much emphasis to power, self-interest and non-interference if there are no benefits for state itself, while the world is nothing more than a competition and conflict born on mistrust among states it itself a distortion of reality or even a self-fulfilling prophecy (Viotti et al. 2012.).

Although, there undeniable results and achievements of multilateralism in conflict prevention, war on terrorism, the approach of 'global governance' still faces great challenges ahead such as climate changes, migration, trade, conflict, and terrorism. Without the multilateral diplomacy and commitment in governing these complex issues, the issues that human race faces (some of which endanger the humanity) might be at stake. The only way forward in governing these issues is cooperation between nations, governing these challenges as a matter of

humanity and not as a matter of state and narrow self-interest, and this can be only done through multilateralism and cooperation between states and international organisations. Thucydides saying “The strong do what they can; the weak do what they must,” will not benefit anyone, and the approach self-state interest will only boost the riddance of existing shared legal standard developed in the past century.

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