

## A FEW REMARKS ABOUT GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

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**Abstract:** The subject of this article is analysis of the global governance issue. This issue is researched with particular interest in the post-Cold War period. The world after the Cold War is no longer bipolar, which allowed to the acceleration of globalization processes. At the same time there were many difficulties in building a new international order. Aim of this study is to show the complexity of these issues. The paper presents the change in the role of the state, as well as analytical and normative understanding of global governance by referring to the two visions of global order - the Commission of Global Governance and the Group of Lisbon.

**Keywords:** global governance, globalization, state, international order

### 1 Introduction

The modern world is difficult to clearly identify. It's globalized world, where distances are not relevant, and time and space must be redefined. We use many of the benefits of technology and science, we communicate with each other in English, we buy almost the same products, we invest in foreign stock exchanges and we move freely in the united Europe. We are also citizens of the world. It is impossible not to appreciate the modern open world, especially from the Polish perspective, which even 20 years ago was a country behind the "Iron Curtain". End of the Cold War was not the beginning of the integration of the world, but that the fall of communism collapsed bipolar balance of power that dominated international relations after World War II. Integration existed, but was applied to the world divided in half, to allies and enemies, also the goal of integration was different. The disintegration of the Soviet Union was a start of processes of transformation of Central and Eastern Europe, and very quickly introduced this large group of states in the processes of globalization. Since then, globalization has not had major barriers, and those that existed, began to slowly disappear<sup>1</sup>.

The reality, however, was not entirely painless. The transnational actors become more active and the position of the state - the guarantor of security - began to wane. The events of 11th September showed that very clearly. The non-governmental organizations and social movements entered the international relations arena, as well as large corporations, fighting for their interests<sup>2</sup>. In the minds of the inhabitants of the world there were new problems and conflicts emerged - between the various disciplines such as economics and social affairs, trade and development and Third World development and environmental protection. Moreover, there was talk of "global issues" and "global issues" - environmental, economic crisis or the problem of inequality and development<sup>3</sup>. In this context, the questions about the role of the state began to appear.

### 2 The role of the state

Emerging and developing phenomenon, creating a new, qualitative features of the international environment, mixing and modifying the old perception of the role of the state. Researchers define the emerging new order as late Westphalia or past Westphalia<sup>4</sup>. Katarzyna Marzęda points six statements for the

characteristics the late Westphalia international order in the context of the problems with the management of a new international order.

- 1) The geographical dispersion of political power between the public and private actors at different levels of government: subnational, national, regional, transnational, global.
- 2) The dispersion of political power in the functional dimension, resulting in deregulation or self-regulation of certain spheres of life.
- 3) More and more resources such as finances, knowledge and technologies that are beyond the control of states. This requires the cooperation of private actors such as corporations, NGOs or academic institutions.
- 4) The national interest of the state becomes identified with its economic interests.
- 5) Functioning of state and the scope of its sovereignty are reassessment in the axiological area.
- 6) There is a replacement for the making and implementation of policy decisions - the hierarchical model is often replaced with dispersal decisions at various levels of management. A constraint is replaced with a voluntary agreement. (Marzęda 2007: 278-279)

State evolves, also changing its functionality. Gregory Gil notes that since the end of the Cold War, the State's resources are being reduced by the process of privatization, outsourcing and decentralization. Privatization is associated with the development of private space, so grassroots and international regulation of markets. Some functions of the state passed into the hands of non-state actors. It is associated with the outsourcing, or subcontracting to specialized entities of the processes necessary for the functioning of the state (in areas such as education, science, culture, the realization of human rights, labour rights, pensions and environmental protection). Apart from the economic field this also applies to security and public order. This leads to the decentralization of the state. Power is passed "up" "down" and to some extent "outside". (Gil 2007: 376-377)

It is also an important element of risk associated with less and less predictable environment. State, trying to minimize them, can either be closed, which in practice is impossible, or resign from parts of their sovereignty by creating supranational institutions. Choosing the first option allows state to keep intact the sovereignty, but at the same time degrades the level of the periphery and receiving the chances of international aid, the benefits of international trade flows of culture, technology, ideas and values<sup>5</sup>. It is hard to be surprised that most of the country, despite the many controversies, consents to the growing integration and interdependence, giving up part of their sovereignty to supranational institutions.

Taking into account these facts, many researchers formulated the thesis of "twilight" or disappearance of the nation state. It is based on the assumption that nation-states waive their sovereignty and lose the power to decide on many issues, which leads to their disappearance. Not without significance is the globalization of culture that is perceived as a threat to national identity.

<sup>1</sup> After the fall of communism, some researchers, such as Francis Fukuyama proclaimed even the "end of history", assuming that nothing important happen, when almost all countries move towards democracy (Fukuyama 2009: 10).

<sup>2</sup> An important role was played by the global conferences. States have recognized that the scope of their policies is limited, and also realize how big is the role of other non-state subjects. A particularly important role played here the events of Seattle in 1999, the first mass anti-globalists protests.

<sup>3</sup> Of course you can not say that about the global problems it is said only since the fall of communism. The interest in global issues emerged at the turn of the 60s and 70. Then, during the emergence of the oil crisis and the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, the increasing global dependence especially began to emerge. Then began to appear the reports of "the Club of Rome", an international scientific organization (think tank). There were also reports issued by the UN (eg report "U Thant" of 1969).

<sup>4</sup> This is a reference to the Peace of Westphalia, concluded in 1648 in Westphalia. This event has become a symbol of the beginning of the nation state.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Stiglitz explains in his book 'Globalization and Its Discontents' activity of the International Monetary Fund. Stiglitz writes that peripheral countries must meet several conditions to be able to benefit from international aid. Often this condition is the requirement of market opening, as for unprepared for this economy is destructive and counterproductive results intended. For example, the IMF's activities in the 90's was based on economic openness forcing poor countries: There was a single prescription. Alternative opinions were not sought. Open, frank discussion was discouraged there was no room for it. Ideology guided policy prescription and countries were expected to follow the IMF guidelines without debate. (Stiglitz 2005: 14)

Kenichi Ohmae and Robert Reich believe that states are transformed into a global system of local government, becoming ineffective instruments of wealth distribution, the creation of the state practically does not depend. Ohmae wrote about erosion and the loss of the economic importance of the state, which is accompanied by the growing number and importance of regional economies, arising within large countries or between small countries. (Zorska 2002: 263). David Lake referring to the concept of sovereignty points to the increasing private power, which limits the authority of states. This is particularly evident in the so-called 'failed states' like Somalia or Afghanistan, but also in countries like the U.S. The state is weak, and its authority is limited and subject to negotiation in each field. (Lake 2009: 24) According to Martin Shaw's view of classic nation-state ended with World War II. The creation of the two great camps during the Cold War caused the reduction of the role of nation-state. The smaller states began to abandon because of its sovereignty to block the western countries, or were incorporated by force in the Soviet bloc. The emergence of transnational institutions, and interdependence within the rivalry created a mutual dependence, and after the Cold War, the great "country western" spread to new regions of the world. (Wnuk-Lipinski 2004: 162-163)

It should be noted that despite the validity of many of the arguments in favour of the twilight of the nation state, there are many reasons for this, that the nation state will survive, albeit in a different shape than the classic approach. Wnuk - Lipinski notes that the state is needed primarily to protect against instability of the world system, manifesting itself, among others through economic crises and armed conflicts. State in the first place will be sought to protect its territory, and only later about the scale of transnational activities. Particular safety - on many levels - often turns out to be higher priority than the interests of all mankind. (Wnuk-Lipinski 2004: 164)

Angela Dylus indicates that despite the crisis state, its future is certain. Universal state projects, which shifted to the nation-state in the shadow is only a utopia (Dylus 2005: 33). Similarly, consider Zygmunt Bauman - state transformations do not lead to their disappearance, but to change their functions. For the good functioning of the state is required to ensure a degree of stability. However, state should not be too strong and should not restrict globalization.

So it is not difficult to see that the replacement of weak states by some kind of territorial legislature and the political world-wide would be detrimental to global markets. (Bauman 2005: 83)

Certain functions of the state took over the international organizations and NGOs, and the market in some parts also is no longer under state control. Despite the changes in state functions can not be said, that it disappears completely or becomes unnecessary. Largely state stability of the international system, and his interests are still an important factor shaping the international order.

### 3 Global governance

Reflection on the role of the state does not give us a definitive answer to questions about the system of global governance. It is certain that in this system not only take longer part of the state. The increasing role of non-state actors has led to the search for new solutions and create the concept of global governance. By the global governance can be understood all actions which seek to solve global problems, of course, with the participation of new actors, which currently can not be ignored.

The theoretical treatment of these phenomena should be combined with the Washington political scientist James Rosenau and Ernest Otto Czempiel from Frankfurt am Main. In jointly work published *Government without Governance* for the first time they distinguished concept governance and government<sup>6</sup>. The authors introduced the concept governance in terms of various

forms of process control. It also highlights the fact that governance, as opposed to just the government based on law and coercion, is a polycentric. It can be understood rather as a constantly changing network of relationships between actors. (Fel 2006: 185-186)

The introduction of this distinction has contributed to the development of research on global governance. However, there is no agreement as to the meaning of the term. Lawrence Finkelstein, writing about global management even said that *We say 'governance' because we do not really know what to call what is going on.* (Finkelstein 1995: 368). In defining the term global governance first we must stop over the concept of governance. Typology of definitions of this term is dependent on the entity that defines the relationship of this entity and to the international environment. The Commission on Global Governance defines it as the sum of individual and institutional methods, as well as public and private drive and the desire to reconcile conflicting interests and different. (Report of the Commission on Global Governance 1995: 12). The two largest financial institutions, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund through the concept of management rather from economic and political governance, which is connected with the development and promotion of democracy and transparency. System perspective sees management as a system, an organized institution, that specializes in making decisions on behalf of the entire community (Natorska-Michrowska 2006: 274-275).

This management system has three key roles. First, ensure safety for participants in international relations by sanctioning certain rules and procedures for security against external and internal threats. Secondly, regulates distribution of social goods, the purpose is the management and sustainable distribution of goods, especially basic necessities. Thirdly, it is civic - political functions, which determines organizations of the control environment. (Natorska-Michrowska 2006: 275). It is easily seen that both the security and the problem of distribution of goods as well as the problem of environmental organizations contain a response to the most frequently mentioned "global issues".

In the academic debate, global governance is recognized in two major facets. *Encyclopaedia of Political Science* says that global governance can be a feature of international relations themselves, or be the target to be achieved by actors in international relations (Los-Nowak, Florczak 2010: 203-204). It is in some way consistent with the other division of the analytical and policy approach. In analytical or empirical-descriptive approach, global governance is recognized as the observable phenomenon. Researchers focused on the study and analysis of global structures and different mechanisms of control. The second approach is a prescriptive or politico-strategic approach. The concept is used to determine a particular program, the idea of how political institutions should respond to the declining role of the state and new problems. The proposals are very wide and focus on finding an alternative to control based on free competition by increasing the role of civil society, design of global ethos or world republic (Fel 2006: 185-186).

Discussing the analytical approach should be noted first of all the work of Rosenau, already mentioned above. The author sees the global governance more broadly than just through formal institutions and organizations. He believes that the United Nations system and the state are indeed important, but it is only part of the full image. According to Rosenau global governance is a system of government at all levels, although this is somewhat limited.

(...) global governance is conceived to include systems of rule at all levels of human activity—from the family to the international organization—in which the pursuit of goals through the exercise of control has transnational repercussions. (Rosenau 1995: 13)

This definition contains several important elements: the system of rule, levels of human activity, the goals and transnational repercussions. The first element indicates the mechanisms that regulate the standards, expectations and behaviour in the regulated area. The levels of human activity involve local,

<sup>6</sup> This is important because it is often mistakenly considered that the management of globalization is equivalent to the creation of a world government.

regional, national, international and supranational control mechanisms. Achievement of objectives is a reference to the fact that something can be included in global governance only if it pursues objectives, which excludes from the global management activities which are undertaken without the intention. The last element - a transnational implications of this narrows, though it seemed fairly broad, definition (Dingwerth, Pattberg 2006: 190).

#### 4 Different global governance visions

The second approach to global governance, is to relate this concept to a political program or strategy that can be applied to solve specific global problems. The authors present their vision, hence the term is called normative.

For some writers, global governance is not so much an empirical or analytical term as it is a political concept that captures a vision of how societies should address the most pressing global problems. (Dingwerth, Pattberg 2006: 193).

An example of a practical approach to global governance is the Commission on Global Governance. It is true that the definition introduced by the Commission is analytic, but its final report is a practical approach. In particular, it is expressed in the words "Call to Action", which is the last chapter of the report "Our global neighbourhood" (Report of the Commission on Global Governance 1995: 380). Key role in this system should have the United Nations and she should become a "center of global governance." But this is not possible in the present form, because the UN is based on the assumptions of the 40s, where the worldwide system was based on countries. The Commission proposes a series of reforms to global security, system management of interdependent economies (for example the Economic Security Council, which would be a coordinating body for the operation of other institutions: the IMF, World Bank and WTO), and the reform of the existing UN bodies (for example, the Trusteeship Council shall exercise control over the world resources). Important elements of these reforms is to strengthen cooperation between governments, more cooperation between state and non-state actors, and of course, greater coordination within the UN system.

Another interesting proposal has been created by the Group of Lisbon in *Limits to competition*. Its members put on the assumption that rich countries should be the precursors of change, asking for the title "limits to competition." The Group of Lisbon provides that states still compete and cooperation is the basis for change. Relying on the concept of social contract, however, seems difficult to achieve, especially when it seems very confusing further role of the UN. The contract is assumed to have a high political will for Japan, USA and Europe, which their expenditures should be largely finance a lot of investment. We do not know what is the role of poorer countries, which would contract this concern. The culture contract is considered a cultural medium and basis for the other contracts, but it seems difficult to conduct in poorer countries, which are consumed internally. In particular, much controversy raises a political contract, which refers to the new body. The role of the UN is virtually ignored, and the sketch of this body is quite unclear. Group also provides strong economic integration of world economy, compared the world economy to the national economy, and it seems that so far-reaching comparison is not justified.

Both of the concepts bring new innovative solutions, more or less controversial and realistic in the current situation of the world. However, it seems that such a comprehensive solution for entering is not working. They can be rather basis for discussion and an impulse to discuss possible changes in the world system. The process of global governance subject to a negotiation between states and other actors, and the same concepts, which are developed by experts, are only sketch proposals for consideration.

An open question is how it will look like in the future governance of globalization and in what direction will it take - whether integration will continue to increase, or rather paradoxes and problems begin to mutually impose on each other and

deepen, causing inhibition of globalization processes. Both of these trends are visible in the modern world. Similarly, the international system is not yet fully defined. So far, the State decided to minor changes - the reform of existing institutions in the United Nations system. United States and Western Europe create themselves as guarantors of security in the world, by fighting against terrorism and to engage in military action in Africa. The balance of the economic system in Europe is very unstable. Environmental protection is a problem that requires long negotiations. The next steps are carried out very slowly. The international organizations and NGOs help mainly Third World countries and the rich countries have a moderate interest in this subject. There is no indication that at least for now there have been significant changes in the international system. There is a need for the respective leaders but above all political will. It also requires major changes in the mentality of the world community and taking into account the growing nationalist tendencies in developed countries and the difficulties arising from changes in Third World countries, it may be a very difficult and long process. Especially now, when the euro zone is in crisis and ideas to return to protectionism are re-awakened.

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