

Dissertation Proposal – The Governance of Globalisation: Is it Time for an Alternative Approach?

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## *Introduction*

The process of globalisation started with advances in transportation technology in the second half of the nineteenth century which resulted in the colonization of countries outside Europe and America. This was the first wave of globalisation which can be said to have ended with the First World War and the Great Depression. The Second World War and the convening of the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 brought nations together from the ashes of the war to try and build up an international order. The capitalist world under the leadership of the United States of America moved for trade liberalisation and this agenda was accelerated by developments in information technology and communications. The dominant system for world governance in the first wave of globalisation was the colonial domination of the world by European powers. In the second wave of globalisation, various international agencies were established to loosely oversee the liberalised world economic order. The important international agencies which were established to oversee the global system were the International Monetary Fund or the IMF and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade or GATT. The GATT was later transformed into the World Trade Organisation or the WTO, which is made up of 28 intergovernmental agreements by which member states agree to limit their sovereign right to intervene in international trade. It was hoped that with such agencies, it will be possible to facilitate international trade and manage the international economic system. The WTO today has 144 member states and an additional 30 which are awaiting accession. The benefits that have been provided by the WTO agreements include the liberalisation of international trade, the rule of law, a procedure for the settlement of disputes, cutting of tariffs by the industrialised world and the elimination of the most favoured nation status amongst others. These measures have considerably enhanced the volume of international trade with nearly 25% of the global output being traded. Despite the criticism levied against it, the WTO has been successful in the past 50 years to provide a mechanism to avoid protectionism and trade retaliation, with its Council having authorised retaliation through tariff increases in very few cases. Government trade policies are more stable and predictable and the international trade which is vital for

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global stability keeps flowing (**Von Braunmohel, 2005, Chapters 1 – 2**), (**Strange, 2003, Complete**), (**Kimon, 2000, Complete**), (**Institute for International Economics, 2005, Complete**) and (**Siamwalla, 2004, Pp. 2 – 23**).

The WTO, however, also has its critics and there are demands that the functioning of this organisation be made better. It has been said that there are deficiencies in the legal-institutional framework that govern the relationship between the global regional trade agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement or NAFTA, the European Union or the EU, the Association of South East Asian Nations or ASEAN and the multilateral trade system. The member states agreed to clarify the WTO rules governing the Regional Trade Agreements or the RTAs in the Doha round of talks. It has been claimed that regionalism consisting of regional trade agreements are a danger to global multilateral trade system because they present preferential trading relationships between countries. Article XXIV of the GATT agreement had made it possible for regional trade agreements to exist without harming the multilateral trading arrangements. However, it has been claimed that Article XXIV has been abused by the member states and substantial trade diversion had been made possible in the European Union or the EU for example. Trade liberalisation, which is what WTO is all about, has also meant that the organisation has been attacked in developed countries with high labour costs and by the environmentalists for attempting to open up trade without regard to human standards. The developed world wants to maintain labour standards while the underdeveloped world sees cheap labour and the lower cost of production as its advantages. It has been claimed by all that the major issues of the current debates in the WTO, anti – dumping, labour standards and environmental implications of trade have human and developmental dimensions. There have been calls for humanising globalisation and other concerns have been expressed about unequal wealth distribution between the North and the South as well as within countries with the downsizing of the middle class. It has also been stated that trade liberalisation and globalisation has created unwanted interdependencies with system that is incapable of managing these interdependencies. Competition has become global but there are few rules for managing competition. Competition laws, anti-trust legislation, bankruptcy rules etc do not exist on a global level and the enforcement

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methods are more voluntary. The process of globalisation itself has been subjected to a backlash with there being a danger that attempts may be made to reverse globalisation. There are different opinions at work with the Centre - Right globalists calling for free trade, the Centre – Left calling for universal labour and environmental standards and ethical codes while other factions demanding international communism and a global Jihad. Hence, different groups want a different version of the globe. Whereas some regional groups such as the EU may want societal standards, other regional groups just want free trade. Critics have wondered if the lethargic national governments in the third world can do more to enhance social justice, equity and the standards of living of their people instead of blaming everything on international governance without making the efforts to take their responsibilities seriously. Hence, there is a need to rethink the governance of globalisation as extending beyond mere trade liberalisation and the International Monetary Fund so that globalisation is better managed with efforts towards a more human face so that the process of globalisation can serve the its broader aims of bringing humanity together. However, before such attempts can be made possible, it will be appropriate to consider just what is wrong with the current process of globalisation and what the various interested actors are demanding. It will then be worth investigating what can be done to reconcile such demands and bring about a better system for global governance. It can be said that there is a definite need for enhancements in global governance because there is always a room for improvement and the protests that were seen at the Seattle round of WTO negotiations do indicate there are some shortcomings with the process of globalisation. Such an investigation can be the subject of a dissertation in which the difficulties, conflicting opinions and the enhancements that are possible in the system for global governance presented by various opinions can be investigated along with the workings of the agencies associated with bringing about international order. There is an abundant body of published literature in which opinions and points of views as well as remedies have been presented about the governance of globalisation and hence, there is no shortage of material for consideration or analysis (Couso, 2004, Complete), (Lovins, 2000, Complete), (Freneau, 2001, Complete) and (Naidoo, 2003, Complete).

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In the next section, a brief literature review related to the problems associated with the process of globalisation is presented in order to highlight some of the current issues.

### *Literature Review and Theoretical Framework*

Critics of globalisation have lamented that the process of globalisation and the modus operandi of the system of global governance today is exacerbating global inequality and making the rich nations richer at the expense of the poorer nations. It is claimed that the free trade regime which is claimed to be in place is in fact denying market access to poor countries and thus denying the developing countries a chance to take advantage of their most promising sectors. It has been further asserted that there is a spread of environmental degradation, HIV / AIDS, human trafficking, the drug trade and terrorism, which are all enabled by globalisation. Another one of the themes to be found in relation to globalisation is the failure of national governments to take action in the national interest because these governments are the signatories to international agreements which make some sort of global governance possible (**Naidoo, 2003, Complete**) and (**Couso, 2004, Complete**).

It is clear that with increasingly limited ability of national governments to interfere in matters related to international trade, whole ways of life and industries that supported communities are being forced to go through traumatic changes because of economic competition. These communities had become accustomed to their standards of living, conditions of employment and societal standards which are being threatened because the poorer countries of the world want to gain competitive advantage by exploiting their workers to the extent that they never have any future security in their old age and are incapable of producing quality capable of competing. The countries of the South are all out to compete with cheap labour, reduction in manufacturing costs as a result of a disregard for the environment and with an absolute disregard for their human resources. Or is it that the countries of the North find new ways to introduce added dimensions to complexities of manufacturing and trade just when the South seems to be winning the battle? The multinational corporations have emerged as the new actors which actually

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make manufacturing decisions, have the required knowledge related to manufacturing and trade as well as funds to invest. These multinational corporations also want liberalisation of trade, as much freedom to do what they want to do and an international structure for direct foreign investments. In attempts to woo these actors, the governments of the South have gone to extraordinary lengths to dehumanise their people and their environment, but with limited success. Hence, there is a desire on the part of the intelligentsia of the globe to see that the governance of globalisation is tackled with added dimensions that extend beyond the mere reduction of trade barriers to include an enhancement in the quality of human life for all. Although interested parties have bemoaned the increasing powerlessness of the national governments, perhaps there is a need for a stronger global government which can share the burden of governance with the regional powers, or the national states. Globalisation has implications which extend to employment, economic welfare and the political capacity of governments as well as sustainable consumption at the regional level. It is inappropriate to point all blame to the WTO because despite trade liberalisation, governments in many countries of the South could have done much more to make their countries competitive by pursuing a policy of import substitution, for example. However, there has been a tendency on the part of many governments in the South to blame their own incompetence, lack of a desire to act in their national interest and the ability to come up with creative solutions on the WTO and the system of global governance. The WTO consists of four councils which meet at the WTO headquarters in Geneva. These four councils consist of The GATT or the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the GATS or the General Agreement on Services, the Council for Intellectual Property Protection or TRIPS and the General Council of the WTO. Ambassadors from member countries are members of the councils and a ministerial council meeting is required to be convened once every two years. A Dispute Settlement Body or DSB consisting of members from all member countries approves the work of dispute settlement panels and appellate bodies. Most Favoured Nation or MFN status means that a contracting party treated all other contracting parties equally favourably. GATT was initially for the developed nations and its agenda was driven by the United States and the EU. When less developed nations joined, they were required to make fewer concessions to join and more than forty countries enjoy the status of an

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underdeveloped country. These underdeveloped countries enjoy some preferential treatment and other member states are required to exercise restraint when referring these countries to dispute settlement. However, most member countries are now required to accept 95% of the whole package associated with being a member of the WTO. Hence, it is asserted that the power in the WTO belongs to the developed world and the rules can work in the favour of the developed world. The sanction for violating WTO accords is the imposition of duties. However, if an underdeveloped member state was to impose duties on a producer which belongs to the developed world, then such duties are likely to have a negligible impact. The imposition of similar duties by a developed country on a producer belonging to an underdeveloped nation, the impact is likely to be devastating and the WTO has no way available to it to enforce an unfair trade action. It is possible for the WTO to require that non-compliance with WTO rules be punished by all nations. Another alternative to the imposition of duties can be a requirement for the losses suffered by a nation to be compensated by the nation whose companies are perpetuating the unfair trading practices. However, there has been considerable resistance to such a proposal from WTO members. Hence the WTO mostly deals with trade disputes between two nations and does not deal with the unfair trading practices of all nations and what the WTO can implement as rules has to be acceptable to the developed world as well as a majority of other members. The question, therefore, that needs to be asked is what can be acceptable to all and can all the member states of the WTO agree on something which will be of real benefit to humanity, globalisation and the world? Because there are very many nations, points of views and interests at stake, therefore, it is not an easy task to reform the WTO or push through an agenda which will be acceptable to all. Because of the global membership of the WTO, the WTO operates and changes its rules by a process of lobbying, political groupings and consensus that is developed amongst member states. Because of the advanced economies of the developed world, it is the developed world which has the ability to develop consensus, alliances and interest groups at the WTO. However, it is worth examining if any of the complaints or issues that are raised by the developing world is legitimate or politicking in their national interests. There are many groups at the WTO, such as the Group of 21 developing nations and depending on their interests, these groups can develop alliances with non-government organisations and

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threaten to block matters which are not in their interest. Hence, a question does arise as to who is going to impose an absolute truth on all these nation members of the WTO and whose truth and interests will be acceptable to all. Industries and even multinational corporations are not members of the WTO and do not have a direct say in its proceedings or value systems. These corporations or industries are required to lobby their governments and get these governments to protect their interests in the WTO. Hence, although the WTO has made considerable progress on trade matters since the inception of the GATT, there is no absolute truth, morality or recipe which is going to be immediately acceptable to the whole (**Glasmeyer, 2001, Complete**), (**Kumar, 2000, Complete**), (**Ctrlbreak.co.uk, 2005, Complete**), (**Damro, 2004, Complete**) and (**Fuchs, 2000, Complete**).

Global governance also requires that there should be coordinated action amongst member states of the world to solve global problems on a broad front. Apart from the WTO, there are other agencies that assist in the process of global governance including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund or the IMF and the United Nations. Solving problems related to global poverty, inequality of wealth distribution and development is, therefore, not just the responsibility of the WTO and these problems require a multifaceted effort for their resolution. It has taken humanity since the dawn of civilisation to even have reached a stage in its development when there are global forums available for discussion of global issues. These global institutions, however, are still weak as institutions and depend on the political will of a majority of the member states to take action on global issues. Concerted action of such institutions also depends on the will of the member states to initiate such an action. An alternative approach to global governance must, therefore, appeal to a majority and the recipe should be able to develop a popular political consensus along with a will for action. Such a consensus and will is only possible if the alternative approach to global governance is appealing to at least a majority. Ideas can only be imposed on others if they appeal to the concerned parties or those imposing ideas have the force or the economic clout to be able to impose such ideas. It is because of this that the developed world consisting of the United States and the EU have been able to play a leading role in global governance. However, this does

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not mean that good ideas cannot be implemented at the agencies involved with global governance. If a national government wants to have an agenda implemented, it starts to build up support for such an agenda amongst its allies and depending on the merit of the ideas or the agenda, sufficient support can be found for its implementation after a process of consideration, debate and thinking. At this point in time, it has been claimed that many developing countries do not even have adequately trained and experienced experts who can initiate an action in the agencies of global governance such as the WTO (**Rama, 2003, Chapters 1 – 5**) and (**Boyd, 2001, Complete**).

Reforming the WTO can, therefore, include attempts towards initiating internal democratisation, with a greater inclusion of all states in decision making and transparency in negotiating agreements, external democratisation involving the right of those people who will be influenced by the decisions of the WTO to have their say in its decisions, presumably through their national governments which should attempt to educate their people about global governance and seek important consensus and inputs at the national level. Other arenas of reform can include attempts to enhance efficiency, coordination and greater collaboration with other agencies involved in global governance so that concerted action is possible. A fourth area of reform which can be attempted is one of introducing additional issues of interest which can influence global governance. However, it has to be realised that any alternative approaches for global governance can and do get discussed in the existing global forums. It is important to have the forum otherwise no discussion whatsoever is possible. A dissertation in which an in depth study of the problems and possible enhancements in the system of global governance is investigated is, therefore, likely to be feasible, interesting and useful (**IMF, 2001, Complete**), (**Lehman, 2001, Complete**), (**Kimon, 2000, Complete**), (**Ctrlbreak.co.uk, 2005, Complete**) and (**Bausch, 2002, Chapters 1 - 5**).

## *Methodology*

The proposed study of the governance of globalisation is proposed to be a qualitative study and no specific theory or set of hypothesis involving collection of data, its statistical analysis and conclusions could that have been derived from the statistical analysis are proposed to be undertaken. Many such studies are possible, but it was thought that some general theory or framework coupled by the works of many distinguished authors, academics and researchers could be reviewed and conclusions about enhancements may emerge with theoretical or conceptual understandings that may prove to be of use (**Collins, 2003, Complete**) and (**Marshall, 1999, Complete**).

There is a basic theoretical framework for research. It was thought that the topic of research should be flexible enough to enable new insights to be made possible during the process of investigation. These insights may well provide new insights into the research topic or challenge some of the existing views that may have been held about the process of globalisation (**Collins, 2003, Complete**) and (**Marshall, 1999, Complete**).

The general theoretical framework that can guide the project is, therefore, centred on an understanding of the important themes in the literature related to the governance of globalisation. Currently, there are two traditions of research which have developed along with their terminology, methods and techniques and these traditions have been referred to by different researchers with different names such as qualitative or quantitative traditions in research, humanistic and scientific traditions or the positivist and phenomenological traditions of research. The differing names refer to the same distinctions in the processes of conducting research. On the one hand, the qualitative tradition consists of case study methods, ethnography and historical as well as action research and on the other hand we have the quantitative tradition that consists of methodologies such as survey research, experimental and quasi-experimental research as well as research after the occurrence of a factual event (**Collins, 2003, Complete**) and (**Marshall, 1999, Complete**).

It is possible to express facts as objective reality which can be expressed as quantities forms the basis of the positivist tradition of research which is quantitative research and

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relies on numbers, measurements, experiments to derive numerical relationships under conditions of controlled behaviour that can be manipulated. The phenomenological tradition attempts to describe and understand reality which is set in perceptions with narratives and observations being used to focus on understanding and meaning to yield knowledge and understanding (**Collins, 2003, Complete**) and (**Marshall, 1999, Complete**).

Generalisation of situations and settings, understanding of events and why they occur as well as predictions are some of the results of the research process. There is a difference between explanation and understanding that develops as a result of seeing things happen, after reasons have been fitted into patterns and deductions can be made from other known truths. There is a requirement for elements being investigated to be related to other elements and the overall picture forms into a unified model with the unification forming the explanation. Thus, there is an explanation for something when it can be understood. Understanding requires the use of rich descriptions and formation of relationships between different parts. This fitting together of things is what is known as the pattern model and the understanding of patterns is the result of research of a qualitative tradition. Thus, this form of research is aided by review of literature. In the quantitative method of research, the more basic facts or laws are used to determine what is to be explained and a deductive model is constructed (**Collins, 2003, Complete**) and (**Marshall, 1999, Complete**).

There is a distinction between prediction and generalisation. It is not possible to deduce an unknown part of a pattern from a known part and, therefore, the symmetry of prediction and deduction uses the deductive model. In some areas, generalisations tend to be complex with there being a great deal of conflict and scrutiny (**Collins, 2003, Complete**) and (**Marshall, 1999, Complete**).

Qualitative research is, therefore, more appropriate for the development of complex interrelationships in the more natural or real life situations with a possibility of using this methodology of research to test theories which have already been developed. The

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qualitative and quantitative methods of research work together and quantitative research can be used to further test theories which have been developed using qualitative research and qualitative research can be used to further explain the results of quantitative investigations. Qualitative methods are, therefore, useful for rich descriptions of issues being studied with hopes of achieving better understandings with predictions not being the main aim and generalisations taking the form of natural generalisation. Hence, the qualitative research methodology is more suited to the study of the ingredients of the governance of globalisation, with further investigations on specific ingredients being possible using the quantitative methodology of research. The quantitative methodology can, therefore, be used as a basis for further investigations in future work (**Collins, 2003, Complete**) and (**Marshall, 1999, Complete**).

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