





Presently, in the wake of Russia-Ukraine crisis, the liberal world order that had assembled post World War II is facing multiple challenges. While the United Nations Security Council has been criticised for lack of reforms and misuse of Veto power, global trade and financial institutes are repeatedly facing financial crisis like 2008 sub-prime crisis, rise in protectionism and the much recent COVID19 pandemic. These instances in the contemporary world point towards altercations in the existing Rules Based World order.

In this context, we'll discuss about what is meant by World Order and different types of World Order? What is rule based world order and its need? What are the institutions that ensure Rule-Based World Order? What are the challenges faced by the Rule Based World Order? What role does India have? And finally What are the steps required to improve Rule based World Order?

WHAT IS MEANT BY WORLD ORDER AND DIFFERENT TYPES OF WORLD ORDER?

As defined by Baylis and Smith, the DIFFERENT TYPES OF WORLD ORDER concept of world order not only deals Defined as Open and rule-based international with the issues of international relations Liberal order, enshrined in institutions such as United International i.e. relations among the nation states but Nations and norms such as multilateralism. Order also among the transnational institutions, governments and international organisations and thus can also alternatively be used with Transformative Belief that conflicts within societies are the term 'Global Order'. determined by international factors and (Revolutionary) ചിച്ചാ Internationalism alliances e.g. Protest on UN's impact on Egypt In other words, World order is a politicophilosophical concept related to the nature Form of economic nationalism that sought to and objectives of human life, which is Mercantilist increase the prosperity and power of a nation observed and analysed in the context of nationalism through restrictive trade practices. international relations. ◎ It focuses on issues of human society Conservative Emphasises on sovereign decision-making and seeks solutions to problems like (Sovereign) by nation states, but it also understands the war and violence, unequal distribution Internationalism importance of internationalism. E.g. BRICS and concentration of economic wealth. social injustice, environmental imbalance World is being integrated based on unequal and alienation of human being from Hegemonic terms, with the dominance of one nation or themselves, society and mankind. nation state over other. e.g. Colonialism and Internationalism Imperialism

WHAT IS RULE BASED WORLD ORDER AND ITS NEED?

A **Rules-Based Order (RBO)** may generally be understood as a **shared commitment by States to conduct their activities** in accordance with an existing set of rules such as UN charter, Rome statute etc. RBO is underpinned by a system of global governance that has developed since the Second World War.

- RBO blurs the distinction between binding rules such as Montreal protocol, Non-Proliferation Treaty etc. and non-binding rules like Nationally determined contributions under COP-25 etc.,
 - This gives the impression that all States and international actors are subject to it regardless of whether they have consented to it.
- RBO can generally be described as a shared commitment by all countries to conduct their activities in accordance with agreed rules that evolve over time, such as international law, regional security arrangements, trade agreements, immigration protocols, and cultural arrangements.

NEED OF RULES BASED INTERNATIONAL ORDER

Promote an interconnected global economy based on free markets and open trade and finance e.g. WTO

Provide a forum to discuss and settle disputes, protect state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and place limits on spread of weapons of mass destruction e.g. UN, IMF, and UNSC

Create rules encouraging peaceful, predictable, and cooperative behaviour among states that is consistent with liberal values and principles like liberty, equality

Important role to advance democratic values and human rights, promote sense of brotherhood and fraternity e.g. UNHRC etc.

WHAT ARE THE INSTITUTIONS THAT CURRENTLY SEEK TO ENSURE RULE-BASED WORLD ORDER?

POLITICAL

- United Nations: It works to maintain peace and security, protect human rights, promote sustainable development, and uphold international law around the world.
- UN Convention on Laws of the Sea (UNCLOS): It is considered the primary international legal framework for governing all activities and uses of the world's oceans and seas.

ECONOMIC

- Bretton Wood Institutions: IMF and World Bank were created in 1944 to help restore and sustain the benefits of global integration, by promoting international economic cooperation.
- World Trade Organisation (WTO): Established in 1995, WTO operates a global system of trade rules, and acts as a forum for negotiating trade agreements.
- World Bank: It concentrates on long-term investment projects, institution-building, and on social, environmental, and poverty issues.
- International Monetary Fund (IMF): It focuses on the functioning of the international monetary system, and on promoting sound macroeconomic policies as a precondition for sustained economic growth.

SOCIAL

- UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC): It is an inter-governmental body within the UN system that is responsible for promotion and protection of human rights around the globe.
- World Health Organisation (WHO): It is responsible for providing leadership on global health matters, setting norms and standards and monitoring and assessing health trends.

ENVIRONMENT

- United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP): Established in 1972, UNEP has been working towards promoting coherence in implementation of the environmental dimension of sustainable development within the UN system.
- United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCC): UNFCCC secretariat (UN Climate Change) is the UN entity tasked with supporting the global response to the threat of climate change.



DISPUTE REDRESSAL

- International Criminal Court (ICC): ICC investigates and tries individuals charged with the crimes concerning international community like, genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and the crime of aggression.
 - As a court of last resort, ICC seeks to complement national Courts and is governed by the Rome Statute.
 - India has neither signed nor ratified the Rome Statute ('Statute') of the ICC.
- International Court of Justice (ICJ): Established in 1945, ICJ is the one of the six principal judicial organ of the UN.
 - ICJ role is to settle legal disputes submitted to it by States and to give advisory opinions on legal questions referred to it by authorized UN organs and specialized agencies.
- Vienna Convention on Law of Treaties (VCLT): An international agreement regulating treaties between states. Known as "treaty on treaties", it establishes comprehensive rules, procedures, and guidelines for how treaties are defined, drafted, amended, interpreted, and generally operated.





WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES FACED BY THE RULE BASED WORLD ORDER?

The post-World War II, rules-based international system (RBIO), led by likeminded allies and partners, has produced unprecedented levels of peace, prosperity, and freedom. However, now it is coming under increasing strain. A foremost challenge to the system is the return of great-power competition with revisionist, autocratic states.

- Legitimacy: For a system based on rules to have effect, these rules must be visibly observed by their principal and most powerful advocates.
 - For example, USA's invasion of Iraq in 2003 under a contested UN authorization overshadows USA's claim to be the principal defender of a RBIO.
 - Also, China ignored 2016 UNCLOS ruling regarding the disputed Islands in South China Sea and did not offer any territorial rights to the waters around them.



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- Equity: RBIO must work to the advantage of the majority and not a minority. Democracy and respect for human rights were established in Western Europe, but not in the East.
 - UNSC membership does not reflect today's world; developing countries are underrepresented, and there are no permanent members from either Africa or Latin America.
 - Decolonization reduced Western influence in Africa and Asia, but was replaced by foreign economic domination of key market sectors and finance.
- Geopolitical: Under UN Charter, Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.
 - Russia and China use veto power to reject any resolution which is against the Syrian regime.
 - US has used its veto power to protect Israel from the condemnation of its armed actions in the Gaza Strip to protect their own and their ally's interest.
- Socio- Economic: Impact of Global financial crisis of 2008–09 was both economic and ideological, spreading dissent, and exposing the structural weaknesses and unfairness of the established international economic system.
 - For example, unilateral withdrawals from international agreements as exemplified by Brexit, debt trap policy of Chinese OBOR project etc. NUMBER OF UN MEMBER STATES
- Rise of protectionism: The process of trade integration started after WW-II, had a golden age in the period 1990-2008, when total trade in goods and services increased from 39% to 61% of world GDP. Since then, trade has slowed to 52% of world GDP in 2020, while protectionism has risen, driven by an increase in non-tariff and, tariff barriers.
 - BREXIT has challenged the principles of freedom of movement and economic integration in Europe.
 - US have stalled appointments of members in the appellate body of WTO's dispute settlement system.
- **Un Member** Permanent Security Council Members Seats States 193 **UN Member States nearly** quadrupled while the number of Security Council seats 118 remains almost the same. 51 11 15 15 5 5 5 1945 1965 2010

As of September 2011

- Security: RBIO has not been able to address proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, curb terrorism and outright wars by powerful nations such as Russia annexation of Crimean Peninsula and on-going war with Ukraine.
 - For example, continued use of chemical weapons in Syria, threat posed by non-state actors and nuclear proliferation etc.



These results are for the full country sample

DELHI | JAIPUR | PUNE | HYDERABAD | AHMEDABAD | LUCKNOW | CHANDIGARH | GUWAHATI | BHOPAL | RANCHI | PRAYAGRAJ 5



IMF G-7 EU/NATO WORLD BANK G-20 ADB UN ASEAN

 Environment: Developed countries pulling out of the climate agreements under UNFCC highlights the critical issues of implementation of climate deals to address the climate change and failure of international rule-based institutions/programmes like UNEP.

BRICS NDB BRICS CRA CMI SCO

- For instance, in 2009 at United Nations climate summit in Copenhagen promised to channel US\$100 billion a year to less wealthy nations by 2020, is yet to be mobilised.
- ▶ For example, USA withdrawal from the Paris Climate deals.
- Outer space- The international rules-based order for space enshrined in the 1967 Outer Space Treaty has not kept pace with the rapid and dramatic changes in the use of space. New norms of behaviour and rules of the road are needed.
 - China successfully tested a kinetic energy Anti-Satellite Weapons (KE-ASAT) in 2007, destroying an old weather satellite with a ballistic missile.
 - USA Space Force, a new branch of the military could lead to a new arms race in outer space.





IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON PATTERNS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WORLD ORDER

As COVID-19 has grown into a pandemic, it has a profound and complex impact on the world order. It has threatened human life and impacted world economy and international relations. Following the pandemic, global affairs as well as state-to-state relationships are witnessing major, even qualitative, changes. The influences of the pandemic on the international community are highlighted by the following four changing situations.

- Economic impact: COVID-19 outbreak has hit the world economy hard triggering a global economic recession. Traditional controls like limiting the mobility of economic activity, compression of consumer market, and cutting off the supply chain.
 - WTO has predicted that global trade will decline between 13% and 32% in 2020 due to pandemic.
- Rising Nationalism and Isolationism: COVID pandemic has intensified existing nationalist tendencies and antiglobalization trends in some countries.
 - Export bans imposed e.g. Under Defence Production Act (DPA), USA restricted exports of respirators, surgical masks, PPE kits etc.
- Increased Inequality: COVID-19 pandemic has led to more than 3.1 million deaths and rising 120 million people pushed into extreme poverty and can further exacerbate the inequality among rich and poor.
 - UN World Food Programme has warned that COVID-19 could cause famine and raise the number of hungry people in the world by 130 million.
- New Multilateralism: Existing cooperation frameworks like UN, WTO, IMF, World Bank, G20 etc. have failed to respond adequately to the pandemic.
 - Vaccine nationalism by countries like Britain, USA has thwarted COVID-19 response. More than half of the vaccine doses produced in 2021 have been purchased in advance by high-income countries even though they make up 13% of the world's population.
- Threatened global social safety and security: Violence against women and human rights abuses have spiked both of which are harbingers of other forms of violence.
 - Without a social safety net, covid induced lockdown has increased the misery of migrant labourers by leaps and bounds as they are facing joblessness and many are finding it extremely difficult to return to their native places.

WHAT'S AT RISK

The World Economic Forum surveyed 347 senior risk analysts on the impending threats most likely to contribute to a global fallout -and no area from the economy to the environment is untouched.

ECONOMIC

Prolonged global recession More bankruptcies and consolidation Industries fail to recover ○High unemployment Weakening major economies Emerging market collpase •Sharp increase in global inflation OLower Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

GEOPOLITICAL

More restricted travel/ trade movement Geopolitical exploitation of Covid-19 crisis Worsened humanitarian crisis due to reduced foreign aid Nationalization of industries Lack of crisis response

support/investment



TECHNOLOGICAL

- Cyberattacks and data fraud due to shift in working patterns
- Increased automation related unemployment
- Abrupt technology adoption
- IT breakdown



SOCIETAL • Another global outbreak of Covid

or different infectious disease

• Government retaining emergency

Worsened mental health

distrust

powers/ erosion of civil liberties

• Worsened inequality/social divisions

Political dissent and government

ENVIRONMENTAL

- Failure to invest in climate strategies
- Decline in global decarbonization efforts



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HOW TECHNOLOGY IS IMPACTING WORLD ORDER?

Rapid invention or diffusion of technology can affect international politics. **Second World War,** for example, **facilitated the development of nuclear weapons.** Today, many disruptive technologies affect inter-state competition in both positive and negative ways.

Positive impact

- Deepen Democracy: Technology has benefitted democracies by giving them tools to reach out to their citizens and improve governance. Example, online grievance redressal mechanism, expanding reach to citizens through social media etc.
- Security: Technology has improved communication, intelligence sharing among agencies that can help prevent terror attacks and also improve coordination to tackle challenges posed by radical elements.
 - Use of facial recognition technology can help track movement of criminals and prevent occurrence of incidents like twin tower attack in USA.

Negative impact

- Competition: Countries are eager to exploit each other's dependence on technology and use it to settle their geopolitical rivalries. Cyberspace has now become an arena of competition and conflict, mounting cyber-attacks on critical infrastructure and services pose challenges to national resilience.
- Digital Authoritarianism: Use of digital information technology by authoritarian regimes for surveillance, repressing, and manipulating domestic and foreign populations.
 - For instance, Chinese has leveraged services of domestic technology giants like Alibaba, Sense Time, and Megvii for targeted facial recognition, AI, big data and genetic testing against the Uyghur ethnic minority in Xinjiang.

Effects of Rapid technology innovation and diffusion on international political system



Affect political, economic, military and technological contest between states E.g. arms race in space Technological changes can augment global risks e.g. Cyber terrorism Change International system by introducing new types of actor or areas of contest e.g. Cyberspace

WHAT IS THE INDIA'S ROLE IN CHANGING WORLD ORDER?

The 21st century is touted to be the Asian age, belonging to China and India. The end of the Cold War and the growing impacts of globalisation are making India redefine its position and role both at the regional and at the global level.

India's dynamic Role:

- Economic: India can act as a huge emerging market for Western technology, equipment and products, and has today evolved to the world's fifth largest almost \$3 trillion economy.
 - United States took steps to lay the foundation of a new era of strategic cooperation, with a joint naval exercise called MALABAR, pacific command renamed as Indo-Pacific Command.
- Political: India has been increasing interaction with island states under Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and Pacific Island Forum (PIF) which contribute for more than 40 members at the UN. Their impact on voting in the UN and other multilateral forums draws even major powers to these island states.

- Security: Indian Ocean Region (IOR) has been the centre of tussle between India and China. Due to China's increasing footprints, India came up with its necklace of diamonds strategy to counter China's string of pearls scheme.
 - A four-nation Indo-Pacific Quadrilateral grouping, i.e., QUAD, consisting of India, US, Australia and Japan to counter China's aggressiveness and expansionist policies.
- Geo-politics: From the era of non-alignment to bilateral strategic partnerships to memberships of multilateral groupings such as SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organisation), BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) and now I2U2 (India, Israel, UAE, and US), Indian diplomacy has smartly engineered its move to achieve its national economic and strategic objectives.
- Environment: From pledging to become net zero emitter of carbon by 2070 to achieving 500 giga-watts non-fossil energy capacity by 2030, India is leading from the front on environmental issues.

PRE-REQUISITES IF INDIA IS **TO LEAD IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS Economic** <u>~@</u>^ Strong economy with global trade Power and and investment clout $\mathcal{K}\otimes$ Leverage Political Boost credibility and respect, driven Power and by international engagement Influence **Hard Power** Enhancing military capabilities and Security Spreading of culture and values like Soft non-violence; freedom, equality, Power pluralism etc. Domestic To free up resources and engage **Stability and** with world countries Alignment

There are 18 major determining factors across countries for dealing with the changing world order (refer image).

- India as a modest power is positioned at 6th number among major countries today. It refers that India is in the gradual ascent with its strong economic and financial position and its cost competitive labour as key strengths.
- O However, on flip-side, India's performance may be jeopardised by large domestic conflicts, weak position in education, poor performance on innovation and technology, corruption, inconsistent rule of law and its lack of reserve currency status.



WHAT ARE THE STEPS REQUIRED TO IMPROVE RULE BASED WORLD ORDER?

Revitalise

- Renew Bretton Woods System: A new 'Bretton Woods' conference should redraft the institutional basis of the IMF and World Bank, and reaffirm support for international economic cooperation.
 - Executive boards of the IMF and World Bank need reform of both composition and structure. The existing system of appointing the head of each institution based on nationality should also be discarded.
- Balance of Power: Reform to international institutions should reflect changes in the balance of power, but should also be accompanied by a fundamental reassessment of the nature of global governance.
 - UNSC should be reformed by providing representation to hitherto un-represented parts of the world such as Latin America, Africa along with transparency in the use of Veto Power.

Adapt Adapt

- Global Trade: WTO's effectiveness has been undermined by structural issues and developments in technology, which have changed the nature of global trade. Thus, urgent measures are needed to boost global trade.
 - Appointments of members in appellate body of WTO's dispute settlement system should be fast tracked and address outstanding issues like Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) etc.
 - **Tariff and non-tariff barriers should be reformed** by providing standard guidelines w.r.t quality of food items etc.
 - WTO's framework for services trade enshrined in General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) should be revised to bring digital trade including software, data and other digital intellectual property etc. within ambit of WTO.
- Outer space: Norms and rules governing outer space needs to be revised to address contemporary or prospective developments, including asteroid mining, increased numbers of satellite owners, emergence of 'mini-satellites', cyber warfare, and potential deployment of 'defensive' space weaponry to protect satellites.
 - A group of like-minded countries should link up with UN bodies including UNOOSA (United Nations Office for Outer Space Affairs), COPUOS (Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space) and ITU (International Telecommunication Union) etc. to develop a global code of conduct governing outer space.
- O Defend
 - Dispute settlement: International community should take steps to adjudicate and resolve complex/sensitive matters of international, regional, and national concern.
 - International Court of Justice (ICJ) should be reformed, and over time become a mandatory universal court, such that all UN members are subject to its compulsory jurisdiction.
 - Strengthen International Criminal Court's (ICC) reach and effectiveness along with strengthening enforcement of ICC arrest warrants and judgments.
 - Human Rights: International community should, in the words of the preamble of the UN Charter, "re-affirming faith in fundamental human rights".
 - Human Rights Council should be reformed, its composition, membership, and activities should be impartial, representative of the world's peoples, and not susceptible to politicization.

CONCLUSION

The 1945 UN Charter envisioned a comprehensive revision and assessment of its provisions within ten years of its adoption. Assessment is long due and should focus on "system characteristic" of the international rule of law and on a re-affirmation of the rules-based international order. The global community has an opportunity to set course for positive change away from an unstable, power-based approach to international relations. The international community should work towards strengthening principles of the UN Charter and commit to strengthening transparent and accountable governance systems to achieve the goal of a peaceful, prosperous and just world.

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TOPIC AT A GLANCE RULE BASED WORLD ORDER

World order deals with issues of international relations i.e., relations among nation states and transnational institutions, governments and international organisations and thus, can alternatively be used with term 'Global Order'. Rule Based Order described as a shared commitment by all countries to conduct their activities in accordance with agreed rules that evolve over time such as international law, regional security arrangements, trade agreements, cultural arrangements etc.

• Need of Rules Based International Order (RBIO)

- Promote an interconnected global economy based on free markets and open trade and finance. Eg. WTO
- Provide forum to discuss and settle disputes, protect state sovereignty, place limits on spread of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Eg. UN, IMF, and UNSC
- Create rules encouraging peaceful, predictable, and cooperative behaviour among states that is consistent with liberal values and principles like liberty, equality.
- Important role to advance democratic values and human rights, promote sense of brotherhood and fraternity. Eg. UNHRC etc.

Institutions seek to ensure Rule-Based World Order

- Political: United Nations works to maintain peace and security, protect human rights and uphold international law around the world.
- Economic: Bretton Wood Institutions- IMF and World Bank created to restore and sustain benefits of global integration by promoting international economic cooperation.
- Social: UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) is an inter-governmental body within UN system that is responsible for promotion and protection of human rights.
- Environment: United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) has been working towards promoting coherence in implementation of environmental dimension of sustainable development within UN system.
- Dispute redressal: International Criminal Court (ICC) investigates and tries individuals charged with crimes concerning genocide, crimes against humanity etc.
 - ICC is governed by Rome Statute. India has neither signed nor ratified Rome Statute of ICC.

India's role in changing world order

- Economic: India is emerging market for Western technology, equipments and evolved to world's fifth largest almost \$3 trillion economy.
- Political: India's increasing interaction with island states under Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and Pacific Island Forum contributes for more than 40 members at UN. Their impact on voting in UN and other multilateral forums draws even major powers to these island states.
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Challenges faced by Rule Based World Order

- Equity: RBIO must work to advantage of the majority and not a minority. Democracy and respect for human rights were established in Western Europe, but not in the East.
- Geopolitical: Under UN Charter, Security Council is responsible for maintaining international peace and security. Russia and China use veto power to reject any resolution which is against Syrian regime.
- Socio- Economic: Global financial crisis of 2008–09 impacts economic and ideological, spreading dissent, and exposing structural weaknesses and unfairness of established international economic system. Eg. Debt trap policy of Chinese OBOR project.
- Rise of protectionism: Since 1990-2008, trade has slowed to 52% of world GDP in 2020, while protectionism has risen driven by an increase in non-tariff and, tariff barriers.
- Security: RBIO unable to address proliferation of WMD, curb terrorism and outright wars like Russia annexation Crimean Peninsula and ongoing war with Ukraine.
- Environment: Developed countries pulling out of climate agreements under UNFCC highlights implementation issues of climate deals to address climate change and failure of international rule-based i nstitutions/programmes like UNEP. Eg. USA withdrawal from Paris Climate deals.

Steps required to improve Rule based World Order

- Renew Bretton Woods System: New 'Bretton Woods' conference should redraft institutional basis of IMF and World Bank, and reaffirm support for international economic cooperation. Executive boards of IMF and World Bank need reform of both composition and structure.
- Balance of Power: Reform to international institutions should reflect changes in balance of power, but should also be accompanied by fundamental reassessment of nature of global governance.
- Global Trade: WTO's effectiveness has been undermined by structural issues and developments in technology, which have changed the nature of global trade. Thus, urgent measures are needed to boost global trade.
 - Appointments of members in appellate body of WTO's dispute settlement system should be fast tracked and address issues like Agreement on Agriculture etc.
- Outer space: Norms and rules governing outer space needs to be revised to address contemporary developments including asteroid mining, emergence of mini-satellites, cyberwarfare, potential deployment of defensive space weaponry to protect satellites etc.
- **Dispute settlement:** International community should take steps to adjudicate and resolve complex/sensitive matters of international, regional, and national concern.
- Human Rights: International community should, in words of preamble of UN Charter, re-affirm faith in fundamental human rights.