



**RESEARCH PAPER**

**Western Governance to Global Co-Governance: An Emerging World Order**

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**ABSTRACT**

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The world has been witnessing paradigm shift in global politics throughout human history in the wake of various issues and challenges among civilizations. One world order took over the other with the power shift among civilizations on the canvass of the globe as is evident from history. In the treaty of Westphalia, efforts were made to maintain peace with the balance of power however, world wars left big question on its sustainability. Moreover, the 21<sup>st</sup> century witnessed the failure of neo-liberalism during 2008 economic crises, whereas changing patterns in global politics and socio-cultural intermingling and interpenetration are opening new vistas in international relations among nations for the time to come. The prevailing world order of the United States since the end of cold war has been lacking sense of 'inclusiveness' and 'Commons', due to over assertiveness in various political, ideological and economic issues with the negation of 'others'. Paradigm shift is occurring with the emerging regionalization and increased interdependence and it calls for new global order. The Western world order is not a panacea for all ills of the globe rather multilateral approach is for socio-economic development, political stability and peaceful coexistence.

**Introduction**

Francis Fukuyama represented a remarkable work namely, "End of history and the last man", in the Post-cold war era. He opined that ideological evolution has stopped and universalization of western liberal democracy has gained status of final form of world government for all human beings (Fukuyama, 1992). On the other hand, Samuel P. Huntington proposed his own perspective that nations are divergent mainly on the basis of Cultures as diverse cultural ideologies will lead them to conflicts. Huntington further contends that cultural and religious manifestations will

be the main source of conflicts among civilizations in the post-cold war era. Moreover, he also maintained that cultural wars would be waged between countries in future. Similarly, Henry Kissinger is the arch bearer of new world order phenomenon where in his view America is a sole country that will play a leading role for the establishment of world order (Kissinger, 2014). Despite knowing divergences between nations and regions Henry ignored the role of other non-western nations and their contribution for the establishment of global world order. Henry elaborated that true world order could be shaped by engaging civilizations while throughout history; nations have seen things with their own lenses and considered their perspective the epicenter of world order. He further haggles that nations are not destined to conflict but every other nation questions the high policies of the other which leads to lack of consensus and mounting tensions and this phenomenon is opposite to Fukuyama's world government at this critical juncture of global history. Henry Kissinger also ignored the role of Latin America in the whole process and a significant point about China's role during The Hague. Henry emphasis the treaty of Westphalia (1648) because on the cessation of Church and rupturing of the Roman empire, the ordering concept of Europe became the balance of power which entailed ideological neutrality and adjustment according to the evolving circumstances. However, Europe shaped the world and expansion of Europe in the 15<sup>th</sup> century formulated the world order. It seems that the author overlooked history because the history of ideas is not unidirectional rather Western civilization has benefited greatly from Arab and Chinese innovations. He also explains that norms expanded from center (west) to peripheries (non-western civilizations) which were resisted and adopted but there was hardly any progress in this realm. As per Western diffusionists, modern history is western led process and focuses on the adaptability of norms and set of rules by non-western civilizations that were unknown to them and they had to accept them yet he ignored the role of Eastern policy makers and thinkers in the making of order to make the world in order i.e. China was part of both conferences in Hague 1899 and 1907 which made significant inroads to global law. Kissinger pointed out while analyzing the geo politics of Asia and future of Sino-US relations are indispensable to World order. Having ambivalent attitude towards the international system both the states have no exposure to deal with each other formerly. Now, how will they deal is another enigma holding in store in the prevalent scenario of global politics?

### **Religious Aspect and 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

Undoubtedly, Religion has become inevitable and crucial one in the contemporary world. Religions always come forward for resolving conflicts rather creating them. Evidently, if religion is not part of solution then definitely it is part of problem creation. The world has moved from the politics of ideology to the politics of Identity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century wherein religion has a significant role to play. The trends of religion altered in the Twenty first and came out in a different perspective. Firstly, religion has returned so strong that it can even shape the world. Secondly, presence of religion is acute in conflict zones such as Kashmir, Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Pakistan and other parts of Asia. Thirdly, religion is usually at the heart of conflicts such as Balkans,

Orthodox Serbs and the Muslims. Interestingly, all of them speak the same language and have same race but segregates them. Identity is simply 'US' vs. 'Them' irrespective of regions (Fitzgerald, 2011).

Francis Fukuyama chiefly focused on global capitalism and liberal democracy having realized global civilizations as a single culture that would govern the world. Huntington views things quite differently and clarifies that westernization does not mean modernization rather than dissemination of global capitalism is the counter narrative of the clash of cultures etc. Even more significantly, global economy cements nations significantly together by spreading universal cultures across the world to which Benjamin Barber termed them as 'Mcworld'. It is crystal clear from the dynamics of world politics among nations that all are supposed to regard the pristine dignity of differences for nurturing peace and development of state societies. (Sacks, Summer 2009)

### **West versus Non-West Debate**

The last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a great debate on westernization which was followed by the great debate/ thesis of clash of civilizations in the political arena of the world by propelling them to the revival of ideologies. Interestingly, Western and non-Western civilizations debate fostered differences on the basis of culture by lending credibility to intellectuals i.e. study of blocks formation on the basis of cultures where cultural division would be inevitable. On the falling of Berlin wall, a debate on the End of History was started that the world would be dominated by cultural conflicts especially the West and the Rest. Western civilization always succeeded in enduring peace having many counter narratives and anti-western movements which proposed antithesis to it. They derived their strength in the cloak of modernization against the third world (Federici, 1995).

Henry's proposed World order remarks pertaining to the Balance of Power phenomenon that how to achieve the shared global order in the face of world of many cultural ethos, history, and devastating conflicts. It is quite obvious that Henry shed light on the insights of the problem rather than solution. Somehow, it is imperative to have shared global world order capable of resolving conflicts, submerging cultures and creating room for all others to play their role in shaping new world order after the realizing their potential and significance for peaceful coexistence and progress of the globe. It goes without saying, until and unless shared international order is attained no world order can be the decisive world order. Taking all regional giants and emerging powers into consideration can be instrumental in providing the real path to shared understanding and real world order that can diffuse all tensions and achieve cherished peace (Aun, 2018).

### **Double Standards in Western Approach**

Everybody harps on the same string about paradigm; something that is vital and transforming force. A much talked about rhetoric has always been there on Islam and the West in general and Islam and America in particular. Islam has always been

tainted with Terrorism and violence irrespective of the fact that religion has nothing to do with these issues. This is not rational and equitable approach as violence is not an attribute of any religion. History is evident of this stark reality that there prevails partial approach of the West. While on the other hand, such sorts of incidents are not taken in the similar fashions. For instance, ethnic groups' killings i.e. Rwanda but nobody even talks about its killings. The theory of clash of civilizations came into limelight in the post-cold war era where conservative ideas and narrow believes of the West regarding Islam and Confucian civilization have been expressed.

However, Problem with the clash of civilizations theory is that Saudi Arabia is considered the most fundamentalist Islamic state which is the greatest ally of the United States. As capital is coming from Saudi Arabia assures that it may not reach people so there prevails despotic sort of system as it flows to the West there remains no clash of civilizations. These individual fundamentalists (non-state actors) the frenzy fundamentalists are extorting money from Western amounting to 6 billion. So, a question arises here where the clash of civilizations between and Islam and the west is.? In the post-Cold war times, the world got bifurcated into three main actors, the United States, the USSR and other non-aligned states. With the fall of Berlin wall, the world entered a new world order and history has ended because the West emerged victorious and the US turned out to be a sole super power and dominated other civilizations. However, a pragmatic approach is better to be opted for sustaining hegemony of the west and coping with emerging unfolding challenges and potential threats. A viable option for the US is to cultivate cordial ties with the Western world speaking volumes in general (Thakur, 2016).

### **Clash of Civilizations**

#### **Religion and World Politics**

Religion is losing its vitality in the changing dynamics of world politics wherein politics is replacing religion in contemporary times in the political arena of the globe though not altogether. Huntington prudently pointed out that the world is becoming more modern and less Western. However, Asian tigers are getting themselves thrived and flourish economically without imitating the values and culture of the West. It also manifests that the world got itself modernized on account of economic development irrespective of religion and ideology. Though religion has made cultures and societies different from one another but economy is still a decisive factor at this point in time or may be all the time. Huntington's approach of clash of civilizations merely on the basis of culture sounds out-dated idea as nations passed and progressed miles away ahead of this leaving it far behind. Dynamics of cooperation and conflicts among civilizations have changed dramatically because international political system is so complex that no single factor can be decisive one. (Fox, 2005)

## **Cultural Influence and Civilizations**

Huntington stresses that cultural influence is interdependent and unearths if Western culture influences it is also influenced by less powerful civilizations. However, the contrasting idea is that culture of mighty civilizations influences more the less powerful civilizations. Moreover, Western hegemony is not because of cultural domination but economic, political and security reasons as many Eastern countries are rich in their culture having their distinct identity due to unique culture. For instance, China and Central Asian Republics are rich in their culture having unique identity, history and religion (Cobello, 2004).

The world is getting modernized so it is going to be less Western. Economic status is making all the difference among civilizations. Anticipation of coalition and cooperation between Islamic and Cinic cultures to work against the common enemy, the west has been made. The West is striving hard for maintaining cultural hegemony over the rest. Huntington reckons, conflict between Islam and the west to be small fault line while conflict between China and the United States as potential adversaries having tendency of inter--civilization war (Huntington, 1996).

Huntington predicted that the combination of economic success of South East Asian countries and heightened military power of china may push them into deadly world conflicts. He remarked that this conflict would further intensify with the alignment of China and Islamic civilizations. However, the contrasting idea of Co-governance is that economic triumph in Asia and augmented Chinese military, economic progress and Pak-China partnership would enhance the level of cooperation and minimize the chance of conflict due to balance of power and deterrence capability on forming of great alliance of Cinic and Islamic civilizations. China-Pakistan economic corridor and BRICS are glaring case studies of socio-cultural, political and economic cooperation among diverse cultures/civilizations and obviously a clear indication of changing trends in power concentration and an indicator for shifting world order.

Another scenario that is being established here for want of collective betterment and survival of the globe in the shape of new global order where opponent civilizations and orders will co-exist is also leading them to cooperation rather than conflicts.

## **Influence of Western Culture is Declining or not?**

Huntington takes fancy to the idea that influence of the western civilization is declining as other nations are also getting modernized, developed, acquiring economic wealth, political influence and military power. For instance, in East Asian societies where Mahathir Mohammad of Malaysia in a meeting in Bangkok got up and stated that "European values are western values and Asian values are Universal values".

In the thesis of Huntington, Cold war has been tried to continue in another shape i.e. culture in the post-cold war era to dominate over the western capitalist ideology and extreme interventionist policy for the maintaining dominance of the West. 'Clash of civilizations', phrase was initially used in Bernard Lewis Essay work 'the roots of the Muslim Rage'. Huntington is an advocate and partisan of one civilization over others. He is reductionist and pointed out that how the Muslims will destroy or oppose the world. He expresses that all civilizations are different from one another and having potential conflicts are too difficult to be managed and get them resolved.

There will be no true civilization or world order until we learn to realize the rights of others. The Twentieth century has been the century of war and untold suffering; similarly the 21<sup>st</sup> century should be that of peace and dialogue. A continuous advance in information technology is truly making our world a global village. Truly, the time is approaching when war and armed conflicts will be regarded as outdated methodologies of tackling conflicts/disputes among nations, regions and communities? (Mazrui, 2001)

### **Is Islam and West are at Daggers Drawn**

Islam and West have been at loggerheads since long. Is this a religious war or clash between two civilizations? If it is so the consequences will be horrible. However, facts are to be taken into account for analyzing the vivid picture of relations between West and Islam in a pragmatic way. Evidently, after the world wars, the United States invaded over 30 countries including Cambodia, Korea, Laos, Salvador, Honduras, Haiti and Granada so on and so forth. However, these wars were not religious or cultural rather these were fought for:

- a) Occupying Economic Resources
- b) Extending power and Influence
- c) Fighting against the USSR and Communism

If these are religious wars certain points are to be pondered over:

- a) Why do the Muslims go to the west and the west accepts them?
- b) A baby born to Muslim parents in West will automatically be the citizen of that country
- c) On the other the hand, the Muslims of different countries go to Saudi Arabia for labor but they can never be citizens of that country nor their children even who are born there. This is the country that claims to be the guardians of Islam and protector of prosperity and development. Then a question arises if the

west has been at war with Islam then why there is religious liberty? However, a few say that there are certain restrictions i.e.

- d) France Banned Burqa
- e) Swiss put Rules again the Minarets
- f) The Americans Closed all the mosques near world trade Centre following 9/11 attacks. It seems more of reaction to the terrorist attacks because they immediately blamed the Muslims for the terrorist activities across the globe and started relating Islam to terrorism unrealistically and irrationally. It goes without saying, no religion in the world supports use of force so as to Islam. However, in consequence of terrorist attacks and long standing history of distrust and misunderstanding created Islamophobia in their hearts and minds that occupied the intellect of the western think tanks and political scientists in general and Americans in particular. However, the fact is that a number of Mosques increased from two hundred to two thousand approximately in the last three four decades. Moreover, constitutionally every Muslim has the same rights as any other person who lives in that country although, there is discrimination against the Muslims at work place that is occasionally true; incidents of hate crimes are also reported against the Muslims. Then on approaching the courts, the delinquents are persecuted. On the other hand, in a Muslim country like Saudi Arabia if you are treated badly by your employer then there is any chance to protest is tantamount to live in a fool's paradise. As per record, many Muslim are beheaded and declared guilty and there is no appeal against these crimes and sometimes not even reported. Now, the question is if the Muslims are treated better in western countries even better than the Muslim counties then how are civilizations at war with the west. (Khan, 2016 & Muzaffar et. al. 2017) &

The Notion of clash of civilizations was put forward by Samuel P. Huntington a professor of politics at the Harvard University and before him, Bernard Lewis rather than the Muslims. Huntington divided the world's cultures in seven civilizations largely. But defining civilization or culture exclusively or largely as in terms of religion is being a simple mindedness. For instance, if you take a Pathan Muslim and Bengali Muslim there is no civilizational similarity, similarly, comparing a catholic of Brazil with the catholic of Italy and Germany what is similarity of course there is no common civilization at all despite religious proximity.

Huntington also says, "Conflicts and violence will occur between states and groups within the same civilization, such conflicts, however, are likely to be less intense and less likely to expand than conflicts between civilizations."

In contract to this, as we all see on the face of the world that the bitter horrific conflicts are within the civilizations. For Instance, Iran-Iraq war consumed over I million lives, missiles were thrown by one side to the other. Child soldiers died tens of thousands. These were the places where poison gas and chemical weapons were

used. If we look at Syria on the other hand, it is in tatters and is in state of civil war and devastation seems all around. In Pakistan, well over 50 thousand people were killed as per official record during the war on terrorism. This is essentially a religious war where groups of the extremists extended their control in various parts of the country. (Kand, 2004)

One critical point regarding clash of civilizations theory is that there is nothing common in countries of similar civilizations too, let say many Islamic countries have nothing in common. Huntington argued that Islamic civilization is much divided and there are sub-civilizations in it like Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Malay. Moreover, there is going on competition of world leadership in Islam. The most destabilizing force is Iran-Saudi Arabia conflict as they are furnishing arms to Bosnian Muslims and competing with each other on many other fronts to assert themselves as the leaders of Islam and these two countries are also providing support to many other Muslim groups who are fighting with the non-Muslims.

We all want simple answers of big questions and avoid complexities, after all its human nature. But then there is a danger of over simplification. This over simplification breeds more problems than it resolves. Those who say that Islam and west are at war with each other are missing the elephant in the room. The fact is that today the well-being of Muslims is at stake not from outsiders but mostly from the Muslims themselves.

### **Major Challenges to Global Governance**

Firstly, over the last two decades, the United States has been showing unhappiness towards the evolving balance of power in favor of developing nations represented by China reshaping the global governance deviating from globalization and global governance from Americanism. Therefore, the United States has become more inward looking and less inclined to fulfill commitments towards 'Global Commons', it intends to change the global governance rules in her favor in order to maintain hegemony and gain more benefits from globalization. The US is not only initiating renegotiations on bilateral and multilateral issues of trade agreements but also retreating from previous commitments to resolve global issues collectively such as climate change. So world order is failing to provide basic parameters of world peace, economic development and driving the global governance in fragmentation and auto piloting as elaborated by Richard Hass in his book 'A world in Disarray'. (Haass, 2017)

Secondly, the widening gap between the rich and the poor, imbalance in market efficiency and social justice that continues even in the era of globalization is harming the very social fabric of societies including developed societies and renewing the capitalists' phenomenon of class struggle. This fundamental contradiction between capital and labor class remains the hardest nut to crack as the capitalists earn a lot of benefit when there is free and unchecked movement of capital with total



disregard to other considerations like social justice etc. this is one source of rising populism and anti-globalization movement.

Thirdly, increasing uncertainties are bringing forth entanglements and complexities between and among major powers if not handled prudently can lead to conflicts and confrontations thus affecting the course of emerging world order and globalization. Previously, the idea of maintaining balance of power and increasing economic interdependence prevented conflicts among major powers was shattered by two world wars in the first half of 20th century. The most significant point here is to diffuse tension and establish brand new relations among major powers along with traditional instrument of balance of power and economic interdependence in global governance system. Collective security arrangements are required from big guns especially America and China to avoid 'Thucydides trap' and to ensure lasting peace. Cooperative approach with understanding differences of each other will prevent the confrontation to safeguard the world peace and stability. Recent summits and trump's visit to china is a ray of hope for future of the world.

Fourthly, the challenge at the philosophical level is about civilizations and their relationships whether civilizations will go in clash or fusion and will the future world will become one civilization by conquering the other ones or peaceful coexistence. It is evident from the history of nations that sources of conflicts and turmoil have been misunderstandings among civilizations and lack of exchange of dialogue on all the issues. There are two self-claimed best civilizations in the world. The United States believes they are the best civilization with the best political system having best model for all others to follow. Whereas, Chinese civilization perceives them unique and culturally rich hence there cannot be two number ones so there can be conflict. US led civilizations tend to characterize different civilizations in hierarchical order with their own self on the top and all others inferiors, therefore, it is necessary to conquer or co-opt with other. This civilizational superiority will always misguide their foreign policy and regime change whereas, color revolutions will not cease. This explains the world today and the western logic phenomenon. (He, 2017)

### **Collision of Civilizations and its Impacts**

For ability of the West to remain global political power, it needs to adapt to the increasing influence and power of other civilizations. Otherwise, it will clash with other powerful civilizations. If the West clashes with other civilizations then it will pose daunting threat to world peace and international order. The Adaptability of civilizations to emerging world order will lead to cohesiveness and peaceful coexistence after realizing mutual interests. This will lead the emerging world orders to global world order in the form of its own assumptions and connotations. (Eric Neumayer, 2009)

In Pre cold war era, there was bipolarity on the basis of ideology, politics and economy. After the end of cold war, the world moved from bipolarity to Unipolarity. The United States emerged as a single powerful leader of the prevalent world order. Later on, regional organizations were formed on emerging new dimensions of the

global world order. This multipolar world is not prone to conflict rather cooperation in terms of politics and economy. However, With the shift of power and societies, new world orders have emerged that are trying to form new global order that will encompass all the dynamics of world politics.

### **Strategy for Non-Western Civilizations**

Another significant point raised by Samuel P. Huntington is that the central point of the global politics tends to be conflict between Western civilizations and the non-western civilizations. He is of the view that non-western civilizations can take three actions in response to the Western civilizations approaches.

- a) A few states can go for isolation in order to preserve their culture from Western civilization invasion. However, cost of this action will be higher and only a few states can survive.
- b) According to the theory of Band-Wagoning, the non-western countries can join hands with Western civilizations and may emulate their values and cultures.
- c) Non-Western civilizations can make efforts to balance the power of the Western civilizations through modernization. They can develop themselves in terms of economy, military and cooperate with others non-western countries against the Western countries while preserving their own values and institutions. (Simons, 2013) Non-western civilizations are modernizing themselves rather westernizing to improve their economic capacity, strengthening politically to balance western powers. Power shift is quite visible due to this new phenomenon of regionalism and globalization where other civilizations do not intend to conquer western civilization rather want to cooperate for collective welfare of nations but on equal footing representation for effective global governance of the world. Huntington believes that the increasing influence/power of the non-western countries in international arena will lead the west to understand the underlying culture of the non-western countries in a better way. Likewise, Western civilization will cease to exist as Universal civilization rather many other civilizations will join hands and learn to coexist and shape the future world for collective welfare. BRICS and OBOR are excellent case studies to understand the behavioral change in the non-western civilizations to balance the western civilizations/western world order by bringing new world order (governance of all for all) finding out commonalities for future discourse of civilizations and smooth functioning of real global world order.

### **Initiatives for Governance by All at the Global level**

#### **Theory of Dialogue among Civilizations**

In the recent times, theory of Dialogue among Civilizations has occupied the central position in international arena in response to the clash of civilizations. This concept of 'Dialogue among Civilization' was initially coined by Hans Kochler in his essay on cultural identity. In his correspondence to the UNESCO, Kochler wrote a letter to cultural organizations of the United Nations wherein he suggested that this issue of dialogue between different civilizations should be taken up. Furthermore, Iranian president Mohammad Khatami introduced the concept of 'global level'. On this initiative, the United Nations declared the year 2001 as "The United Nations year of Dialogue Among Civilizations". (Simmons, 2019)

### **Alliance of Civilizations (AOC)**

The concept of Alliance among Civilizations was proposed by Spanish Prime Minister Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero that was co-sponsored by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan at the 59<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the United Nations in 2005. This initiative aims at collective action across diverse societies to fight against terrorism and to overcome cultural and social barriers between western and Islamic world and to reduce tensions and polarization among the societies of different cultures and religions.

### **The Strategy to Improve Co-Governance**

Structural flaws in international institutions which help in strengthening the hegemony of a few powerful states also impede the process of learning how to live together. In order to ensure the better working of the global village, international institutions are to be strengthened ending all the undue influence on them.

People need to find common goals and mutual interests in order to learn the art of living together in the global village. At the same time, states need to fight the common threats collectively i.e. Climate Change and Terrorism. Preference of liberalism to realism can be more beneficial towards achieving this goal. This liberalism may not be that affective unless all others contribute their due role to it.

In compact, nations depend on each other. This level of dependence when reaches its peak, the world begins to become a global village. Hurdles in the way of globalization persist amid the efforts of the international community to unite on the point of mutual interests. This point of mutual interests can only be sought by finding out commonalities to resolve the challenging / complex issues among civilizations and to avoid future wars and conflicts. Dialogue among comity of nations considering opinions of all to find out collective rules of governance based on consensus and establishing impartial global institutions representative of all can ensure peace and justice in the world by keeping strong check on the transgressors and violators. A shared governance system representative of all where there will be no exception and immunity to anyone merely on the basis of power and status, treating every actor on equal footing can win the confidence of all nations for its smooth functioning can enhance cooperation by increasing levels of peace and justice unlike the role of previous global institutions.

Conclusively, In the post-cold-war era, when world underwent transitional changes, the United States that emerged as sole super power with western world order has been striving hard to maintain hegemony and sole-super power status due to its unilateralism. On the other hand, with the emergence regionalism and globalization, interdependence has been enhanced manifold and truly calls for New Global World Order as co-governance theory. Co-governance theory will work on the basis of global multilateral cooperation approach. World politics is on the turning point, on one side it is passing through globalization and regionalism while on the other hand, old system and ideological paradigms have been challenged but not replaced with new ones. There is clear and logical call for multilateral governance system of all by all. A theoretical framework in conformity with old system and historical trends including all others and their stakes is direly required. Circumstantial trends, enhanced level of interdependence and regionalization are opening up new horizons of opportunities for shifting governance system and decreasing reliance on western system of governance to collective governance for cooperation, common betterment, development, peace and justice.

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