



E-ISSN: 2664-603X
P-ISSN: 2664-6021
IJPSG 2020; 2(1): 47-53
Received: 06-02-2020
Accepted: 16-03-2020

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Global governance: Rising powers of India

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Abstract

Post-cold war politics witnessed changes in power equations and a new world order emerged with new actors of global governance. Global presence of these actors has been endorsed by the international community. In this process, the world has recognized India's achievements and admitted India in the new architecture of Global Governance along with Brazil, China and Russia, South Africa and assigned her larger global role to play. The inclusion of India initially as a member of O-5 group G-8, G-20, and the leadership of the nonaligned movement followed by that of G-77, India's participation in global negotiation like WTO, Climate change, drug trafficking, disarmament, multilateral and associated agencies reflects India's desire to carve out a global role. India has risen to the juncture and emerged as a global power despite so many internal political upheavals and external shocks. Any country aspiring to be a global power should be able to influence policy decisions in governance structures and that it develops capacity to actively engage in global order. The proposed paper aims to describe various approaches to the role of India in global governance system.

Keywords: India, global power, Economic growth, international organization, foreign aid

Introduction

After World War II, the marginalization of developing countries in the world order were shadowed by the super powers US and its allies- European countries. The developing countries did not have much role to play as an effective actor in global affairs and politics so that they could exert a comprehensive and sustained influence in global governance processes. It was frequently remarked that developing countries either had very limited or no participation or influence in global governance. The end of the Cold War has altered the international system. From 1990s, global governance framed as a neo-liberal policy agenda aimed at promoting faster economic growth through economic globalization constantly integrating an ever-increasing number of states into the structures of world economies. At the same time, technological developments have changed the ways in which we process and distribute information. It becomes apparent that humankind no longer predominantly alters its local and regional environment, but has entered into a phase of change of a truly planetary dimension. In this context of large-scale transformations, a growing number of scholars are concerned with the perennial question of governance, or in other words, the manifold ways in which states regulate their affairs to reach common goals and react to a changing environment. In particular, attention has been paid to processes of steering in political settings beyond the nation state. However, the emergence of multi actor-multi level-global governance system has created sufficient space for effective participation of developing countries in many flora like trade, environment and climate change, security and conflict issues.

Global governance is a multi-level and multi-actor system characterize by a global pattern. According to Global governance perspective, it is "emerging spheres of authority as both geographically and functionally fragmented; the range of a formal or informal rule system's capacity to generate compliance on the part of those persons towards whom their directives are issued; and the acquisition of authoritative decision-making capacity by non-state, state and supra-state actors". 1. It stipulates "no hierarchy between actors; the mode of steering is predominantly non-hierarchical and often based on arguing rather than traditional bargaining". Therefore, the purpose and goal of global governance is "the development of a system of institutions and rule as well as of new mechanism of international co-operation that make the problem posed by global challenges and trans-boundary phenomena". For evaluating the role of India in Global governance and challenges, there are several important

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characteristics and indicators for drivers of global governance.

- Governance / political system (autocratic or democratic).
- The economic growth in reference to per capita income, size of the economy and their rank in over all Human Development index. It is relevant here India’s financial capacities to invest in global governance’s institutions and projects.
- Organizational capabilities and rule setting in international negotiations in specific policies of governance- Poverty eradication, health, trade, environment protections, climate change and security issues and conflict prevention are essential.
- Membership of Intergovernmental organization and international organizations.
- Leadership role and roles played by the country at the regional level provide both experience and training for global negotiations and may help the developing country increasing influence in global arena.

The Emerging economic power of India influencing world economy along with China, Brazil and South Africa, has draws the attention of the world order led by the US and industrially developed European countries. These countries have acquired leadership roles partly because of their ability to formulate policy and partly because they articulate the views held by broad groups of developing countries. India as a developing country has been frequently participating within the global governance structures and institutions

always presented itself as a leader of the developing world and the voice of third world countries. India - the world largest democracy and the third largest growing economy and the leading champion of non-alignment movement followed by G-20 and G-77, India is acquiring a new paternalism. The intrusiveness of global governance has forced India to become more active within the aura of global governance.

Since, two decades, Indian economy grew and consolidated both in absolute and relative terms while the global financial and economic crisis witnessed erosion in economies of developed countries. The high growth rate achieved by India, has integrated it into the global economic powers as it had overtaken European economy including UK, Canada, Japan in 2000. The Goldman Sachs’s Report “Building Better Global Economic” stated that BRICS’s were considered as larger emerging market economies showing higher economic growth than G-7 countries (Table-1). It is projected that Indian economy will be the third largest in the world by 2050. (O’Neil 2001). In terms of economic growth from 2007 to 2010, India’s contributed 6.6% in world economic growth and ranked in fourth place. India’s contribution in Global GDP in 2000 was 4%, in 2012 was 6%, it will be 8% in 2025.5. Global Outlook for Growth of GDP provided data for 2013-2025, India’s actual growth in 2010-2012 was 6.8%; Forecast growth for 2013 and 2014 are 4.2% and 4.4% respectively; while projected growth for 2014-19 is 4.8% and trend growth for 2020-2025 will be 3.6% that is by 2025 Indian economic growth will supersede China’s economic growth 3.5%.(Table-2).

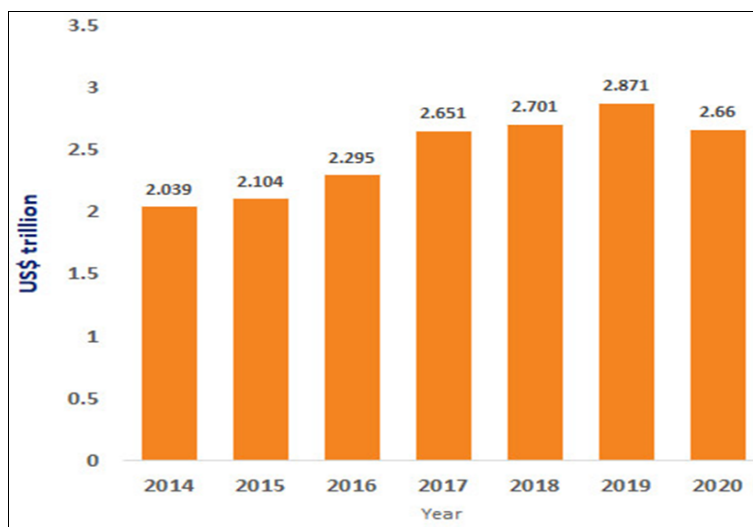


Fig 1: India’s Gross Domestic Production

Table 1: GDP Growth in G-7 and BRICS (2000-2015)

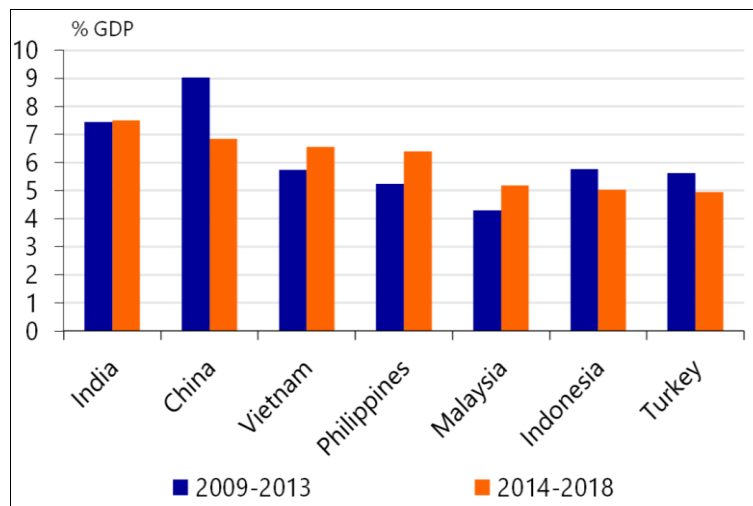
Country	2000	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
US	4.1	3.1	2.6	3.1	3.0	3.7	3.9
Euro-land	3.4	1.0	1.5	0.7	0.4	1.0	1.4
UK	2.9	1.3	2.5	0.3	1.7	2.4	2.2
Canada	4.4	3.1	3.2	1.7	1.7	2.2	2.4
Japan	1.5	1.9	2.0	1.4	1.7	1.7	1.0
China	7.4	10.0	9.9	7.7	7.7	7.5	7.3
India	5.2	8.8	8.4	3.2	4.4	5.4	6.4
Brazil	4.2	5.5	4.1	1.0	2.3	2.3	2.8
Russia	5.4	4.0	3.3	3.4	1.5	2.0	2.5
S. Africa	0.8	3.1	3.6	2.5	1.8	2.8	3.3

Source: International Monetary Fund World Economic Outlook Database, Feb.2014.

Table 2: India and China growth of GDP

	Actual Growth 2010-12	Forecast Growth 2013	Forecast Growth 2014	Projected Growth 2014-2019	Trend Growth 2020-2025
India	6.8	4.2	4.4	4.8	3.6
China	9.2	7.5	7.0	5.9	3.5

Source: The Conference Board Global Economic Outlook, Feb.2014.



Source: MoSPI, IMF, Macrobond, Rabobank

Fig 2: Show the GDP

During this period, India’s sustained economic growth and stability being recognized by scholars, think tank, journalists and economists when we compared with other countries where the effects of the financial crisis devastating. India’s economic model is successful in growing up with the industrialized economies because it has adopted broadly neo-mercantilist policies not the market oriented. India has followed purposive state intervention to guide market development and national corporate growth rather than relying on self-regulated market growth. For those who predict challenges to the existing global order from rising powers particularly international economic institutions in which the rising powers can be expected to exert the greatest influence, their preferences represent a clear challenge to the market-oriented prescription of the so-called Washington consensus.

Like other rising power, India viewed mastery of nuclear technology as an important attribute of a great power. Although it endorsed the aim of non-proliferation with varying degrees of enthusiasm, It also carefully reserve as a wide sphere as possible for national action within the formal multilateral constraint of the NPT regime.

India is playing significant role in global politics more decisively and pro-actively in organizational capabilities and international negotiations in many specific global issues of governance. We must see how India has engaged herself in global governance areas as mentioned in tables-3 & 4. Today India is party to approximately 231 international treaties and member of mostly all important international organizations and inter-governmental networks. Participation in international regulatory bodies permitted India to have leverage over the future regulatory developments in the financial capital of industrialized world. It has consistently pressed for greater quota share and greater representation in the top echelon of global economic institution IMF and WTO. India is also willing to commit greater resources to these institutions. India’s preference demonstrates a pragmatic desire for maximum policy

decisions to deal with the efforts of globalization. India has developed capacities and strategies to achieve the international outcomes it wants as in case of Doha negotiation, Kyoto negotiations on Climate change etc.

India has been an active participant in international events and treaties like UN peacekeeping mission, development goals, sustainable development, climate change and anti-terrorism. India is also contributed to the UN in fighting against global challenges such as terrorism, climate change, energy security, refugee crisis, pandemics and restructuring the existing international economic world order. India’s commitment to disarmament and non-violence can be a significant contribution to the world. India has time and again reiterated its stand as a responsible nuclear weapons state and its deterrence to no first use and non-use against non-nuclear states. India has often criticized the discriminatory and undemocratic nature of the NPT (Non-proliferation treaty).

India’s contribution in UN General Assembly, Security Council, whether conflicts, peacekeeping Missions or economic and social issues in UN bodies or specialized Agencies are commendable. India has been a staunch supporter of peace even before its independence and contributed nearly 11-13% in total peace keeping operations. India is the largest contributor of troops to UNPKMs since 1945. So far, more than 2.00, 000 India troops has taken part in 49 Peacekeeping missions of the 71. Even today there are approximately 93,368 personnel serving on 14 peace operations led by UNDPKO, in four continents.3802 troops from UN member-states have given their lives defending the UN Charter between 1948-2018. The highest number (164) are from India.

India also stood to uphold non-discriminatory and transparent working in international organizations. Within the UN reform system, India’s claim for permanent seat in Security Council is undeniable. It has been supported and recognized by the heads of States of all permanent members of UN Security Council. Both President Obama to Trump

during their visit endorsed India’s bid to secure a permanent Seat in the Security Council. President Obama further reinforced the sentiment saying, India is not an emerging but an

emerged power.8. India demanded for permanent membership based on its economic

Table 3: Global governance: Structures and Global Issues

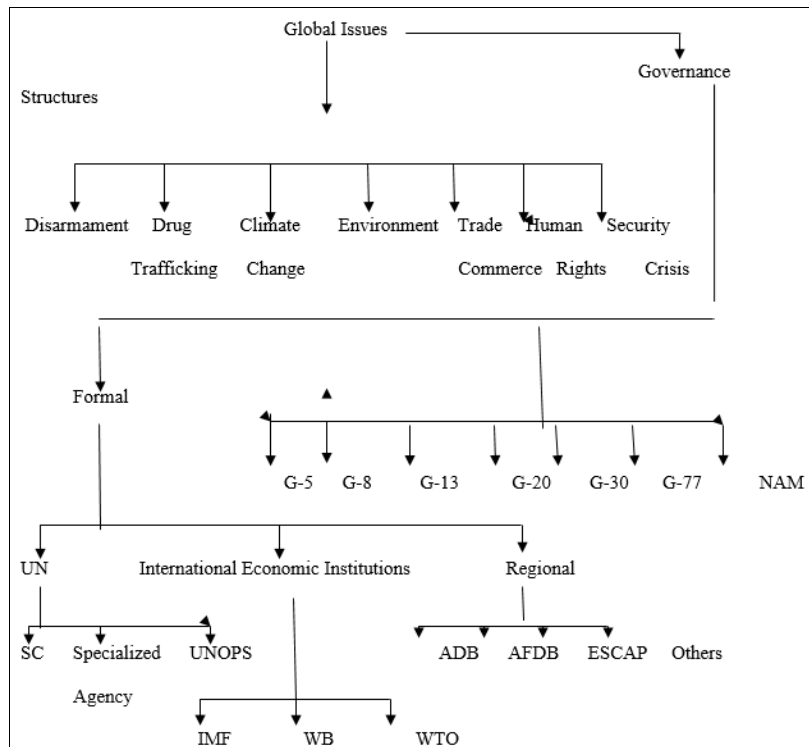


Table 4: India’s Activities and International Leading Institutions

	Lead Institution	Areas of Competence	Current Issues
Financial institutions	WTO	Trade Negotiation Compliance with Treaties and Obligations	Doha Round
	WIPO	Intellectual Property	TRIPS
	World Bank	Development Finance and policy	Reform Plan; loans vs grants MDG Agenda Environmental Criteria for lending
	IMF	Macroeconomic issues	Debt cancellation Expansion of funding
	Basle	Regulation of international Banking system	Basel 2 capital & risk requirements.
	ISO,OIE,CAC	Standards for traded products	
Environmental institution	UNFCCC-COP, UNFCCC secretariat IPCC IEA	Global Climate change	Kyoto Kyoto 2 (emission reduction; adaptation to climate change; future resources of global energy supply.
	CBD-COP IUCN, WWF	Convention on biodiversity	Protection of global biodiversity
	FAO	International treaty on plant protection	Protection of plants important for basic nutrition
	CCD-COP	Convention on combat desertification	Combat desertification
Security Crisis	UN Security Council	Management of regional and global crisis Decision about military interventions to secure international stability and protect Human Rights NPT	Reform of the security council Transnational terrorism Proliferation of nuclear biological and chemical weapons Regional peacekeeping
	Un General Assembly	All issues relevant within the un charter	UN reform Transnational terrorism MDG Agenda
	Human Rights Commission International Criminal Court	Protecting Human Rights Condemn genocide and crimes against war	Reform of the commission.

growth, size, democratization, political stability, the rise of soft-power, nuclear power, military power and its emergence as a rising power in the South Asian region. India is actively participating in environment, climate change and global warming issues and promoted the G-20 coalition during the Doha Round, WTO and Climate

Change negotiation. Clean air, energy, and power balanced with optimum growth were India's priorities in its mission to combat climate change. India believes that the developing countries' need for inclusive growth, sustainable development, poverty eradication, and energy access to all must be recognized as fundamental to the approach of

differentiation. The focus on development has long been the central point of reference in India's approach to environmental issues. At the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi set the goal for India's environmental policy for decades to come. She stated that "we do not wish to impoverish the environment any further and yet we cannot for a moment forget the grim poverty of large numbers of people. Is not poverty and need the greatest polluters?". Indian position in environmental governance institutions has been defensive and conservative, focusing on equity concerns and arguing for the right to development first and the necessity for industrialized countries to provide financial and technology transfer in line with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities.

In the meantime, India has demonstrated openness for environmental action beyond pure equity concerns. It accepted an energy intensity target of 20 to 25% by 2020 from 2005 levels, which it inscribed into the Annex of the Copenhagen Accord and a commitment to which it has reconfirmed since then (UNFCCC 2011). At the same time, the country's stance against an international verification of its actions has remained, India has actively sought to join ranks with China and other emerging economies within the BASIC coalition. In this group, it has taken on a key role in developing positions and strategies, mediating, for instance, between the US and China in Cancun Conference. In sum, if India has become part of the problem of environmental degradation at a global scale, it will also take on responsibilities as part of the solution, with the stated ambition of providing "responsive leadership" in global environmental governance.

Climate change is a global phenomenon and requires the cooperation of all nations based on the principles of 'Equity' and 'Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities'. India is a Party to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), its Kyoto Protocol (KP) and the Paris Agreement (PA). The ambitious Paris Agreement has mechanisms like global stock take and ratcheting up action every 5 years to address climate change and avoid adverse consequences. For addressing the challenge of climate change, India adheres to the paramountcy of the UNFCCC processes. India has undertaken actions at home with a view to the global negotiations under the UN auspices. Domestically, the Indian government has initiated actions at regional and local levels, trying to nest global conventions, notably the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Kyoto Protocol, in its national policies. It has created national and regional versions of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), i.e., an "Indian Network for Comprehensive Climate Change Assessment" of monitoring bodies that are to provide a clearer picture of changes occurring within the country and to publish GHG inventories at regular intervals. India is also leader of G-33 on the key agriculture agenda. India has been taking steps at the national and bilateral level to protect its biodiversity. Besides the Biological Diversity Act, 2002, and the national Biodiversity Authority, India has also put in place a traditional knowledge database - the Traditional Knowledge Digital Library (TKDL). Managed by the CSIR, TKDL is a computerized database of documented information available in Indian texts, relating to Indian

systems of medicine.

Bilateral and Regional Co-operation

In new changing world order, India has shifted its policy of non-alignment to multi alignment maintain good relationships with major and minor powers. Since Independence, its foreign policy has been guided by the principles of peaceful co-existence, mutual respect and equality, policy of non-interference and non-aggression. In 1955, the five principles were extended and developed into the "Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation" adopted at Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia. India has been taking leadership role more decisively and pro-actively to promote India's partnerships "based on its firm belief that we live in an interconnected world where the global community shares a common destiny" India helps these countries build up their capacity to strengthen their institutions and human resources for self-development. South-South co-operation is an effective means to equip developing countries to face the development challenges. It has become an important instrument for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and promoting global interdependence (OECD/WTO, 2011).

Regional integration and cooperation are an important objective of India's foreign policy. As a leader of the developing world, India provides technical assistance, offering better market access to goods produced in countries, trade liberalization to deepen regional integration in the neighborhood and subcontinent. 14. It has revised agreements with Bhutan and Nepal and signed a strategic partnership agreement with Afghanistan, framework agreement for development co-operation with Maldives and Bangladesh and expanded the partnership with Myanmar. It has actively sought to moderate internal conflicts in Maldives, Sri Lanka and Nepal. In line with its status as a regional power, India has been focusing its bilateral assistance on its immediate neighboring countries. India's bilateral co-operation efforts are supplemented and complemented by its regional co-operation efforts, notably within the context of the SAARC/SAFTA framework, but also increasingly in its proactive engagement in various regional and multilateral co-operation groupings and forums. India, for example, is involved in a number of sub-regional co-operation programmes, such as the Mekong-Ganga Co-operation (MGC) with Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Vietnam (CLMV) as well as Thailand, and the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Co-operation (BIMSTEC) with South Asian countries, Thailand and Myanmar. As part of the multifaceted ASEAN Indian co-operation, India has also set up training centers for entrepreneurship development in CLMV, as well as offering places for training in India.15.

India's Foreign aid program

India, one of the recipient's countries of foreign aid, has come up to transit position as an emerging donor and enhancing its global reputation through its foreign aid programme. Minister of State for External Affairs General VK Singh in a written reply to the Parliament. said "India is currently a net donor of foreign aid. In the last three years, India has provided more aid to foreign countries, than it has received". Along with China and Brazil, India has also agreed to support the New Global Partnership for Effective

Development Co-operation, which has been mandated to support and ensure accountability for the implementation of the commitments made in Busan, South Korea.

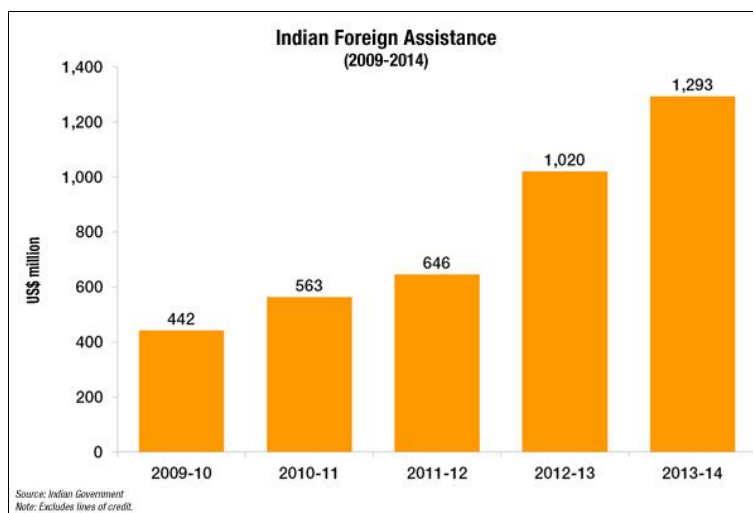
Development Aid to foreign countries not only serves economic objectives but also as a strategic tool to commensurate its role as an emerging power. In 2007, the Indian government announced to establish a aid agency modeled after US Agency for International Development (USAID). In Jan. 2012 India has launched a coordinating and monitoring body for foreign assistance with in the Ministry of External affairs called the Development Partnership Administration.

In 2019-20, Indian Government allocated 1.32 billion US dollar in its budget for foreign aid programme. Since 2009, the foreign aid had increased around 3.2 times annually. In 2015-16, India had been a net donor. India is giving aid to Bhutan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Mauritius, Sri Lanka, African and Caribbean Nations and others. In 2019, government of India allocated \$60 million to African Countries; \$54

million to Myanmar; \$54 million to Afghanistan. Bhutan has been the single-largest recipient of Indian development assistance followed by Afghanistan and Sri Lanka. India announced financial aid of 47 million dollar to Bhutan in Union Budget of 2019-20. In 2019, PM Modi granted \$14 million for community development projects in the Caribbean Community and Common Market and \$150 million Line of Credit for solar renewable energy and climate change related projects. India donated 5 million euro to Jordon to help Syrian refugee crisis, \$10 million to Palestine, \$4 million aid to reconstruct Gaza. In 2015, India extended 4.5 billion Line of Credit agreement with Bangladesh for its Infrastructure and development. India’s emphasis on geographical proximity is also in line with the country’s strategic goal of regional leadership and influence. India was among the thirteen WTO members of the Task Force on Aid for Trade and joined the Regional Technical Group on Aid for Trade for the Asia-Pacific (RGT).

Table 5: India’s Foreign Aid and Loan Program 2009-2013 (US\$)

Country/region	2009-2010	Country/region	2010-2011	Country/region	2012-13
Bhutan	235.01	Bhutan	311.01	Bhutan	366.43
Afghanistan	51.81	Afghanistan	55.9	Afghanistan	52.35
Nepal	27.08	Nepal	27.08	Maldives	49.28
African Countries	22.56	African countries	27.08	Nepal	27.08
Mongolia	22.56	Sri Lanka	16.25	African countries	22.38
Sri Lanka	14.44	Myanmar	16.25	Sri Lanka	24.01
Myanmar	9.93	Eurasian Countries	5.42	Myanmar	20.18
Eurasian countries	3.61	Maldives	1.99	Eurasian Countries	5.42
Bangladesh	0.68	Lt. Am. Countries	0.72	Bangladesh	1.44
Maldives	0.63	Bangladesh	0.54	Lt. Am. Countries	0.36
Lt. Am. Countries	0.36	Others	64.32	Mongolia	0.09
Others	37.10	others	48.84	-----	617.85
Total	425.77		526.60		



Source: Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Reports 2009/10, 2010/11, 2011/12

Fig 3: Indian Foreign Assistance (2009-2014)

Conclusion

The above discussion projects India as a rising global power in terms of present indicators in global institutions, economy, technology, military powers and technology and nuclear and near nuclear power status grant force in setting the global rules and regime. Though, India is facing many challenges ranging from historical legacies to the dispute over territorial and maritime rights and from traditional to

non-traditional security threats. India is on a very similar path as China but with a time lag of some 10-15 years. India’s momentum, however, will continue over the coming year and the country would find itself in similar role and will supersede China’s and US economies by 2025. By 2025-2030 India will constitute significant poles of power along with the US, China and in the architect of Global governance. The world powers will have to recognize this

fact and India will get a place at the global high table despite certain ostensible challenges and in future years together with its increasing assertiveness. But to achieve this, India will have to shed its historically evolved self-perception of being a member of the poor “have not”.

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