

Redefining Global Governance vis-à-vis Centrality of Global South

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1. Abstract

This research paper delves into the evolving nature of the Global South, exploring its aspirations for control over resources, equitable representation, economic fairness, and human rights. It takes into account the climate resilience strategies of the Global South, hinting at its crucial role in achieving a sustainable environment. Assessing the contribution of the Global South in UN peacekeeping operations, the paper highlights challenges such as imbalances in voting power and representation in international forums, as well as obstacles arising from the inefficiencies of the Inter-Governmental Negotiation (IGN) process. These complexities underscore the difficulties faced by the Global South in its pursuit of equity on the global stage. The paper concludes with policy recommendations aimed at achieving equitable global governance based on the core principles of democracy and equality.

2. Introduction

The world is not compelled to select between the established concept of multipolarity, and multilateralism. Multipolarity acknowledges the world's inherent diversity and divisions, and multilateralism seeks to foster collaboration among nations. As the world enters the third decade of the 21st century, it confronts poly-crisis spanning health, climate change, food, and energy security, along with various geo-economic and geopolitical challenges. These crises are eroding the efficacy of multilateralism, making the call for 'reformed multilateralism' increasingly pressing and widely embraced.

The Global South, once marginalized and often seen as passive actors in global affairs, is now asserting itself as a pivotal force in shaping the course of global governance. The historical exploitation of the Global South by the Global North, whether through the legacy of colonialism or the persisting dominance in contemporary world affairs, has raised profound questions about the fairness of global governance.

3. From 'Third World' to 'Global South'

In the aftermath of World War II, a significant wave of decolonization occurred, resulting in the emergence of numerous new nation-states that joined the United Nations between the 1940s and the 1970s. During the Cold War, the world was divided mainly into two blocs: the Western capitalist bloc led by the United States and its allies (the First World) and the Eastern communist bloc led by the Soviet Union and its allies (the Second World). This division created a binary view of the world or bilateralism. In 1952, *Alfred Sauvy* introduced the term 'Third World', which referred to the developing nations, many of which were still under colonial rule at that time¹. Sociologist *Peter Worsley's* 1964 publication, "The Third World: A Vital New Force in International Affairs," played a significant role in popularizing the term². They were economically weak, with limited industrial development. They formed alliances like the Non-Aligned

¹ [Third World](#)

² [Peter Worsley](#)

Movement³, which aimed to unite them in global politics. Its agenda included opposition to colonialism and racism, support for state-directed economic policies, rejection of nuclear weapons, and a commitment to using the United Nations for peacekeeping and addressing international inequalities. However, in the 1960s, divisions began to emerge within this movement. India's significant military defeat by China in 1962 weakened its potential to lead the global South effectively. Moreover, a series of military coups in countries ranging from Chile to Uganda tarnished the moral reputation of the movement. Soon after, both India and Pakistan initiated the development of nuclear weapons which went against the Non-Aligned Movement's stance on nuclear disarmament.

After the Cold War ended and the communist bloc dissolved, the term "Third World" began to lose its relevance. The usage of the term fell rapidly by the 1990s. In the meantime, terms like "developed," "developing," and "underdeveloped" came under scrutiny for perpetuating Western nations as the benchmark, inadvertently characterizing those outside this category as less advanced. Consequently, the more neutral and inclusive term "Global South" began to gain prominence as an alternative. The term "Global South" seems to have been initially coined in 1969 by political activist *Carl Oglesby*⁴. The Global South is a term that broadly comprises countries in the regions of Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean, Asia (without Israel, Japan, and South Korea), and Oceania (without Australia and New Zealand), according to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The term "Global South" is not purely geographical; it is primarily a geopolitical concept. China and India, the two most populous countries associated with the Global South, are situated entirely in the Northern Hemisphere. Memories of European colonial domination, especially in Africa, remain a factor shaping geopolitical thinking.

4. Global South's Critical Lens on Global Governance

Russia's war in Ukraine has reminded Western observers that a world exists outside the great powers and their core allies. Crucially, Global South nations continue to express significant dissatisfaction with their representation in global decision-making bodies. This marginalization stands in contrast to the economic influence that middle powers now possess, a weight they did not hold in the 1960s. Several of these states play pivotal roles as sources of vital minerals, supply chains, and, at times, innovations critical for global progress and the fight against climate change. This newfound importance grants them greater leverage than in the twentieth century.

A significant concern within the realm of global governance revolves around the Global North's approach to normative issues such as democracy, human rights, and the Responsibility to Protect (R2P)⁵. What becomes apparent is the Global North's utilization of these normative principles as a framework to assert its

³ [Non Aligned Movement](#)

⁴ [Global South term](#)

⁵ [Responsibility to Protect](#)

dominance over the Global South. In this context, a noteworthy example is the Ukraine War, which can be traced back to the pro-Western regime change in 2004, subsequently leading to political turmoil, including the Crimean crisis of 2014. Hence the notion of democracy has a universal appeal but has to be contextualized in socio-cultural and historical processes.

In addition to democracy, the Global South views two other normative terms, Human Rights and the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), with a significant degree of skepticism. There is a perception that the Global North often uses R2P as a pretext for intervening in various countries to advance its more narrowly defined geopolitical objectives, as seen in crises like Libya. The outbreak of COVID-19 and the ongoing Ukraine War have disrupted the status quo in global geopolitics. These crises have not only shaken the foundations of global geopolitics but have also ushered in new challenges, including supply security for food and energy, technology transfer, energy transition, and climate change. The most significant impacts are expected in the Asia-Pacific region, followed by sub-Saharan Africa and the Near East and North Africa, highlighting the vulnerability of Global South nations to the Ukraine crisis. In addition to food shortages, soaring energy and fertilizer prices present a significant challenge for the Global South. There is a pressing need to reconsider how vital commodities can be effectively delivered to these regions, emphasizing the critical importance of securing supply chains for the Global South.

Urgent action is needed to combat climate change and limit temperature rise to 1.5 degrees Celsius, with a focus on the Global South, which suffers the most due to historical polluters in the Global North. This requires addressing energy access and climate disruption vulnerabilities. The growing disparity fuels Global South's discontent with the current world order and the UN system, but reforming the UN Security Council remains challenging. Despite obstacles, Global South countries seek greater autonomy and global influence through various means, including participation in coalitions like BRICS and regional institutions.

5. Global South's Aspirations for Equitable Governance

- a. **Control over native resources:** Developing nations are demanding control of their resources, reordering a relationship from colonial times, in part by insisting on factories in their own countries. Africa serves as a prime example of colonial exploitation to modern exploitation. French control over resources is contributing to the impoverishment of African nations⁶. Former French colonies in Africa are rapidly gaining notoriety for frequent military coups. These coups result from poverty, ineffective governance, significant French interference, and disparities in resource distribution⁷.
- b. **Proportionate Voice:** Global South nations seek greater representation in international forums. For example, India's call for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council reflects its desire for a more significant voice in global decision-making. Due to a lack of international representation, the Global South often establishes its regional forums and meetings. For instance, in

⁶ [African nations](#)

⁷ [Coups](#)

addition to the Voice of Global South summit before the G20, some regional forums like the BRICS summit, ASEAN summit, and African Union summit provide Global South countries with a platform to voice their concerns, collaborate on shared challenges, and pursue common goals outside of traditional international structures.

- c. **Equitable Representation:** The demand for more equitable representation can be seen in initiatives like the G20, where countries from the Global South, including Brazil, South Africa, and India, advocate for a stronger presence in global economic governance. Affluent nations wield disproportionate influence in shaping international trade and finance rules. The power distribution in the undemocratic World Bank and IMF is evident as their leaders are appointed without election and are traditionally from the US and Europe. Rich nations, holding significant voting power, often control decisions. Examples include the US has de facto veto power, and in the IMF, a British vote is valued 41 times more than a Bangladeshi's and 23 times more than a Nigerian's. Political leaders of the Global South propose elections for leaders of the IMF and World Bank. They advocate for a 'double majority' system, demanding that crucial decisions necessitate approval from both shareholder majorities and member-state majorities⁸. This ensures fair representation for Global South countries and empowers them to veto detrimental policies.
- d. **Economic Fairness:** Global South countries like Brazil have challenged agricultural subsidies in the United States and the European Union, which can disadvantage their agricultural exports. They call for fair trade practices to level the playing field.
- e. **Climate Justice:** Global South nations argue that industrialized nations, historically the largest polluters, should contribute more to the Green Climate Fund. The loss and damage fund, established in COP27, pledges to help developing nations deal with climate change, thereby providing compensation. COP28 marked a key milestone by putting the fund into operation. Various nations including the US, UK, and EU have come forward to fund vulnerable countries. Initially cautious about the World Bank's oversight, developing nations have now embraced this arrangement. This signals a positive shift in hearing the concerns of developing nations, though there is still much work to be done to ensure its proper implementation.
- f. **Pharmaceutical Assistance:** India's efforts to promote affordable healthcare through the sharing of generic drugs and vaccines are astounding. India contributes 20% to the global generics supply and provides 60% of global vaccines⁹. Pharmaceuticals from India reach more than 200 countries, fulfilling over 50% of Africa's generic medicine needs, nearly 40% of the generic demand in the US, and approximately a quarter of all medicines in the UK¹⁰. Debt-ridden countries, like those in Africa, need assistance in the medical sector. Investing in it could help these countries.

⁸ [Undemocratic Institutions](#)

⁹ [India's Pharmaceutical Sector](#)

¹⁰ [Generic share](#)

- g. Debt Relief and Development Assistance:** African countries, many of which face substantial debt burdens, seek debt relief and increased development assistance from international financial institutions and wealthier nations to promote economic growth.
- h. Human Rights:** Brazil's efforts to address income inequality through social programs like Bolsa Família illustrate a commitment to social justice and human rights on the global stage.

6. The Footprints of the Rising Global South

As the era of unipolarity that followed the end of the Cold War fades into the past, the Global South is experiencing a resurgence. However, its guiding principle this time is not idealism but realism. Following the outbreak of the Russia- Ukraine war, many Global South countries chose not to align with or yield to U.S. pressure to condemn and sanction Russia. This signifies the Global South's move away from the influence of major powers, a redefinition of its international standing and role, and a quest for strategic self-confidence and autonomy.

Many commentators focus on the emergence of institutions such as the G-20, the BRICS, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as symbolic of the global South's return. BRICS represents a powerful force that challenges the existing global order. Its expansion, marked by the inclusion of countries like Argentina, Ethiopia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Iran, etc. highlights the growing recognition of the Global South's role in shaping international dynamics. Furthermore, BRICS expansion reflects the bloc's growing capacity to influence the global agenda. With its substantial share of the world's population, economy, trade, and foreign direct investment, BRICS is well-positioned to address shared challenges and reshape the international landscape. It also underscores the Global South's determination to assert its global governance and decision-making role.

The establishment of the 'Loss and Damage Fund'¹¹ at the COP27 Climate Change conference in Egypt underscores the rising influence and prominence of the Global South. The COP28 climate summit marked a significant milestone by operationalizing it. This reflects the growing influence of the Global South in climate negotiations. Pledges totaling around USD 700 million have been made, with notable contributions from the UAE (USD 100 million), the UK (GBP 40 million for the Fund), Japan (USD 10 million), the USA (USD 17.5 million), and the EU (including Germany, pledging 225 million euros)¹². This development signifies a significant acknowledgment of the disproportionate challenges faced by nations in the Global South, highlighting their increasing role in shaping global climate negotiations and policy.

The inclusion of developing countries like India, Brazil, Vietnam, Indonesia, Comoros, and the Cook Islands in the discussions at the G7 summit, hosted by Japan, demonstrates a clear recognition of the escalating influence of the Global South on the world stage. This proactive outreach by the world's wealthiest nations signifies a growing awareness of the Global South's impact and the desire for more

¹¹ [Loss And Damage Fund](#)

¹² [COP28](#)

inclusive and collaborative dialogue. Similarly, the G-77 summit in Havana, Cuba, emphasized the rising importance of the Global South in global affairs, as it brought together a significant number of developing nations to discuss crucial global issues.

The inclusion of the African Union in the G20 signifies a growing recognition of African nations in global affairs and the need for their contributions. This empowers Africa to push for global governance reforms, particularly in the financial system and the UN Security Council. The India summit highlighted the G20's potential to benefit the Global South in two crucial ways: amplifying their voice and promoting more inclusive agendas, and focusing on critical issues like inclusive growth, Sustainable Development Goals, climate change mitigation, health emergencies, and multilateral reforms, etc.

At the UNFCCC COP 28 in the UAE, India, a pioneer in democracy and a guiding force for the global south, set a precedent by launching the Global River Cities Alliance (GRCA) and the Green Credit Initiative. The GRCA encompasses over 275 global river cities across 11 countries¹³. This platform aims to promote knowledge exchange, foster partnerships between river cities, and share best practices. The Green Credit Initiative is dedicated to water conservation and afforestation¹⁴. The combined GDP of BRICS nations exceeds that of the G-7. India is active in the global energy transition with initiatives like the International Solar Alliance and support for hydrogen-based fuel. It provides technical aid to Global South nations and advocates for UN reform. Growing influence from Global South political actors, including China, Saudi Arabia, and Brazil, is evident in global affairs

7. South-South Cooperation

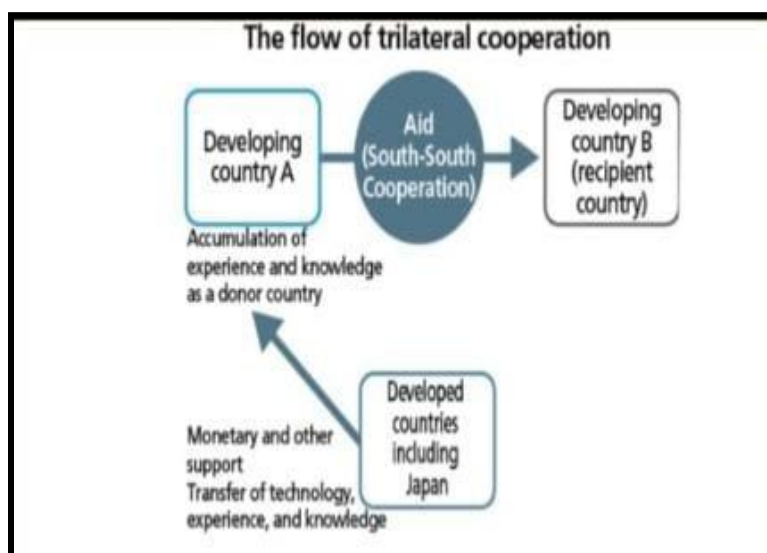
The concept of South-South cooperation took root during the 1950s and 1960s as newly independent developing nations sought to advance their shared interests and forge fresh international economic relationships. A pivotal moment in this trajectory occurred at the 1955 Bandung Conference in Indonesia. Formalizing this cooperation, the 1970s witnessed the establishment of the G-77 and UNCTAD, solidifying the framework for South-South collaboration. During this period, the notion of “collective self-reliance” gained prominence among developing countries. Progressing into the 1980s and 1990s, South-South cooperation expanded as more developing nations joined hands. This era also saw the emergence of influential institutions like the India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum (IBSA), the Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa (BRICS) group, and the India-Africa Forum Summit. International bodies, including the UN, played a pivotal role in advancing South-South cooperation through various mechanisms. In recent years, South-South trade and investment have experienced substantial growth, offering burgeoning economic prospects for developing nations. The formation of organizations like the G-77, UNCTAD, SCO, IBSA, BRICS, and the India-Africa Forum Summit, etc. reflects the increasing cooperation and shared interests among countries in the Global South.

¹³ [GRCA](#)

¹⁴ [Green Credit Initiative](#)

7.1 Triangular Cooperation

Triangular cooperation involves three actors: two from the South and one from the North. In this partnership, traditional donor nations and multilateral organizations, often from the North, provide financing, training, technical expertise, and other forms of assistance to South-South initiatives. This collaboration facilitates the exchange of technical assistance among Southern countries, supported by Northern resources or international organizations.



Source: textbook.com¹⁵

8. Global South's Climate Resilience And Adaptation

The global climate crisis affects all nations, but its impact is significantly harsher on communities residing in the Global South. This divide between the current 'developed' Global North and the Global South, which grapples with a legacy of historical exploitation, is deeply rooted in history. For instance, India, which gained independence in 1947, witnessed the eviction of 24 million Adivasis from their lands between 1947 and 2000, all in the name of development projects¹⁶.

The Amazon Rainforest in Brazil suffered from government actions. In Egypt, land was transferred from small farmers to large landowners for supposed development. Resources amassed through exploitation have allowed some to better prepare for climate-related disasters. Meanwhile, the Global South faces disruptive climate effects, such as Indian farmers battling crop damage from snowstorms and heatwaves, Mozambique's cyclone devastation, and Madagascar's drought-induced migrations. India and Pakistan are enduring a severe heatwave. Kenya faces prolonged drought, while Bangladesh deals with recurring floods.

¹⁵ [Textbook.com](http://textbook.com)

¹⁶ [Climate Justice in the Global South](#)

These examples illustrate how the conditions in the Global North, established at the expense of the Global South, affect 3.6 billion people¹⁷.

BRICS countries, representing the Global South, are making strides in addressing climate change. Russia's energy resources hold potential for cleaner alternatives. Brazil's extensive biofuel capabilities underscore a commitment to renewable energy solutions. India is rapidly expanding its solar and wind energy sectors, harnessing the power of the sun and wind. South Africa is dedicated to promoting renewable energy and moving away from fossil fuels. China plays a crucial role by significantly increasing its energy product imports, including crude oil, coal, lignite, and natural gas, from other BRICS nations. A 50MW solar farm in Kenya, built by Chinese and Kenyan engineers, exemplifies their commitment to sustainable energy solutions¹⁸.

For decades, climate negotiations followed a familiar pattern with developed nations acknowledging the need for emissions reduction and developing countries seeking support for cleaner energy transitions. Financial pledges were often made but rarely delivered. In 2022, a notable shift occurred due to the severe climate impact, particularly in the Global South. COP27 witnessed wealthy Western nations finally accepting the 'loss and damage' concept, with Scotland leading by pledging \$5.7 million¹⁹, acknowledging their responsibility. This change highlights the resilience and commitment of Global South nations in addressing climate change, emphasizing their crucial role in achieving a more just and sustainable world.

9. Global South's Contribution to Peace and Security

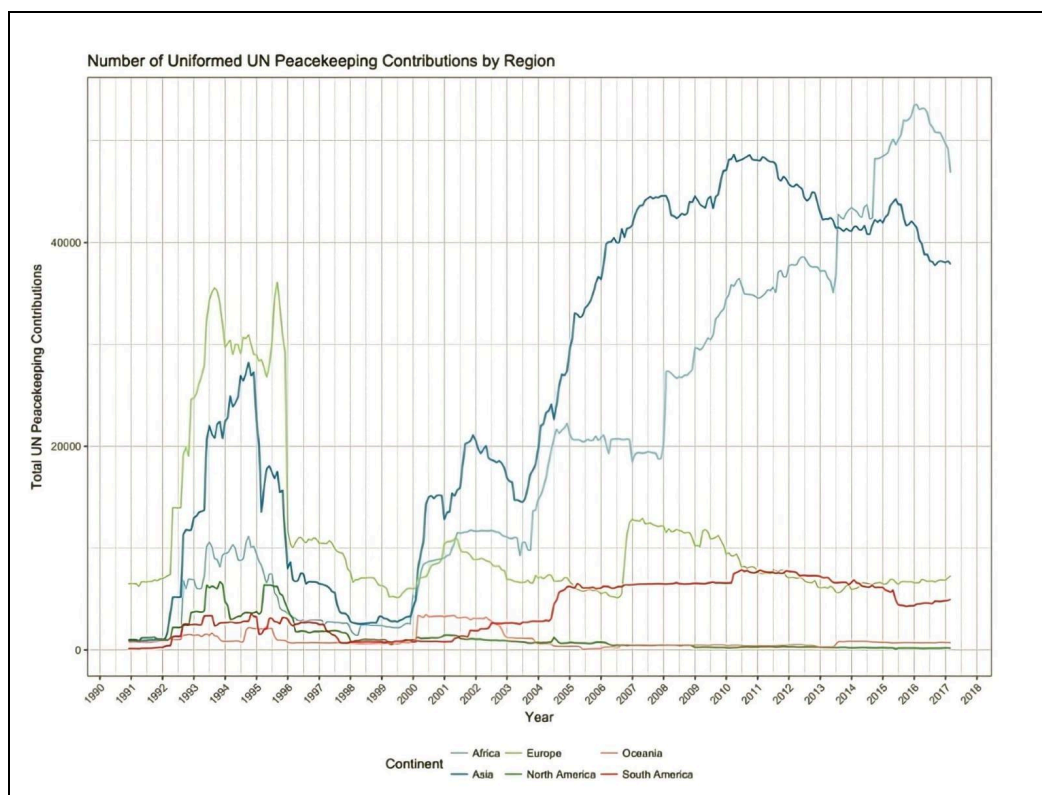
In UN peace operations, countries from Africa, Asia, and Latin America provide 92% of military and police personnel but only contribute 15% of the budget. China, a major economic power and Security Council member, inflates this budget share by over 10%²⁰. The West pays most of the bills but hesitates to send their personnel to high-risk areas with minimal national interests, leading to criticism of "racism in peacekeeping". However, Global South countries continue to actively participate in UN peace operations. Western contributions declined in the 1990s due to their involvement in operations tied to their interests, while coalition operations like NATO-led missions gained importance.

¹⁷ [Climate crisis](#)

¹⁸ [Kenya](#)

¹⁹ [Scotland Loss and Damage fund](#)

²⁰ [UN Peacekeeping](#)



Source: IPI Peacekeeping database²¹

Global South countries have consistently and actively engaged with the UN, notably the BRICS coalition which reaffirms the UN's crucial role in global peace and security. They contribute to UN peacekeeping, often taking the lead compared to the Global North. Nations such as Brazil, on the rise as influential global players, actively participate in peacekeeping missions to bolster their international status. This is especially important for regional powers like India and South Africa, as it strengthens their case for obtaining permanent seats on the UN Security Council. Emerging nations from the Global South consistently push for a more inclusive UN Security Council to ensure fair and representative global governance in international security decisions.

India ranks fourth among the largest troop and police-contributing countries (T/PCCs), with a consistent history of involvement in peacekeeping missions, including its role in establishing UNEF I²². India's engagement in peacekeeping aims to boost its global stature as a major power. The North-South divide influences knowledge and norms related to UN peace operations, with occasional convergence on issues like the militarization of such missions, such as financing AU peace operations.

Global South nations have diverse motivations for contributing troops to peacekeeping missions, including enhancing their international reputation, safeguarding regional stability, and gaining financial benefits. Their contributions and leadership are crucial for global peace efforts. It's worth noting that Western

²¹ [Global South and UN Peace Operations](#)

²² [India T/PCCs](#)

governments often criticize the training and equipment standards of current T/PCCs but tend to avoid deploying their most skilled soldiers to riskier UN missions.

Global South countries view the Russia-Ukraine conflict as a strategic rivalry between Russia and the US/West. They adopt a neutral stance, acting as mediators to promote diplomacy over military actions. This reflects their increasing global influence, signaling a shift in power dynamics from West to East. Nations like China, African countries, Saudi Arabia, Brazil, and Turkey actively engage in peace efforts, highlighting their economic and diplomatic strength and asserting strategic independence. Focusing on economic progress, sovereignty, and solidarity, they form a consensus. The rise of the Global South, post-Ukraine crisis, is reshaping global governance towards greater flexibility and equity.

10. Impact of the Reformed Global Governance

Redefining global governance, with a central focus on the Global South, holds profound significance and impact. It empowers these developing nations by encouraging South-South collaboration, enabling them to pool resources and experiences for mutual growth. This shift challenges the conventional notion that progress primarily flows from the North to the South. Additionally, it strengthens self-reliance and resilience through initiatives like technical assistance, capacity building, and knowledge sharing, fostering unity among Global South countries. This collective strength allows them to negotiate with the Global North as a unified force, leading to more equitable diplomatic outcomes. Moreover, redefining power dynamics entails addressing economic disparities through fair trade practices and policies that promote equitable growth, thereby reducing dependence on the Global North and promoting greater economic autonomy. By embracing inclusive diplomacy and recognizing the agency of the Global South in shaping global governance, the international community can contribute to creating a more just and inclusive global order, essential for addressing global issues and achieving sustainable development for all nations, transcending boundaries of justice and equity.

The impact of redefining global governance encompasses several critical aspects, with multilateralism at its core. This new approach emphasizes cooperation among nations to address shared challenges collectively. Rooted in the belief that global issues like climate change, poverty, and conflict necessitate collective action and shared responsibility, this paradigm shifts the focus from individual national interests to negotiating shared goals.

At its heart, this redefined global governance places great importance on principles like equality, inclusivity, and consensus building. These principles ensure that all nations have an equal voice in decision-making processes, where decisions are made in pursuit of the common good. This shift towards multilateralism carries substantial benefits. It fosters trust and cooperation among nations by creating an environment that promotes inclusivity and consensus building. This trust is vital for addressing global challenges that demand collective efforts.

11. Challenges in the Global South's Efforts to Redefine Global Governance

- 1) **Crisis of representation:** One of the most significant challenges is the crisis of representation. The challenge to achieving just global governance lies in the inequitable structure of the UNSC, marked by the veto power of the P-5. The inter-governmental negotiation (IGN) process to reform the UNSC is hindered by strong opposition from P5 and China. Hence, the long-standing problem of inequality has not been addressed to date as no charter amendments have been allowed since 1991. Moreover, the undemocratic nature of the global institutions, for example, the World Bank and IMF is evident as their leaders, appointed without an election and are traditionally from the US and Europe.
- 2) **Unrecognizing India's Potential for the Global South:** Another crucial challenge is the failure to acknowledge India's potential, which can undermine the unity between the global North and South. Despite being a major economic power, India faces a perception that it doesn't qualify for permanent membership in the UNSC. This will hinder the progress of the Global South, as India is seen as a leader in advancing equitable global governance.
- 3) **Ineffectiveness of the IGN:** The current United Nations General Assembly (UNSC) President, Ambassador Csaba Kőrösi of Hungary, has criticized the IGN process for being ineffective. The IGN process lacks a formal negotiating text, an agreed procedure, and a set deadline, posing a challenge to achieving meaningful results.
- 4) **Unveiled Loopholes:** Recognizing the existing loopholes is the first step toward correcting them. To begin with, inequitable access to resources has long characterized the North-South divide, particularly in terms of industrialization, with little evidence of global convergence. Another flaw has been the lack of global solidarity during the early days of COVID-19, with nations prioritizing their interests. The pandemic exacerbated inequalities, and highlighted shortcomings in the World Health Organization (WHO), including poor communication, slow response, and transparency issues, while revealing problems like underfunding, political interference, and insufficient collaboration with other sectors.
- 5) **Vaccine Monopoly:** The most significant obstacle to global order was undoubtedly the pandemic. During 2020-2021, vaccine nationalism and vaccine monopolies emerged as major factors hindering the fulfillment of COVAX's promise to provide 2 billion vaccine doses to the world's most vulnerable populations²³. This created new billionaires every 30 hours, while on the other hand, the United Nations warned of a global hunger crisis. The suffering of developing countries during the pandemic was primarily caused by the vaccine monopoly.
- 6) **Dollar Dominance:** One of the challenges to achieving global multipolarity is the continued dominance of the US dollar in international trade and finance. BRICS nations have the financial means but face institutional challenges in creating a sustainable new currency.

²³ [Vaccine Nationalism](#)

- 7) **Predisposed supply chains:** As noted in a 2022 Council of Economic Advisers report, supply chains currently “are efficient but brittle”. The ‘just-in-time’ approach, while cost-effective, was exposed as vulnerable during the COVID-19 pandemic. Heavy reliance on distant suppliers raises concerns about food, energy, and finance, as seen in African countries during the Russia-Ukraine conflict. This hinders the development opportunity for vulnerable and least developed countries, thereby posing a challenge to multipolarity.

12. Recommendations

1) Fair representation:

- a) A suggested course of action is to consider amending Article 6 of Chapter 2 in the UN Charter, making it more deliberative to limit the exclusive influence of major powers and mandate their adherence to the principles outlined in the Charter.
- b) The IMF must undergo comprehensive reform to rectify the imbalance where only five countries hold 38% of voting power while over half of the global population has a mere 3%. This reform should ensure equitable representation for the Global South and other developing nations in decision-making processes.

- 2) **Enhancing IGN:** International forums should also promote the improvement of IGN negotiations by introducing a written text, established procedures, and an achievable deadline. This would facilitate a meaningful negotiation process that could shape a new, just global order.

- 3) **Corrective measure:** As the world recovers from the devastating impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, it cannot afford another such global health crisis. The G20, being more inclusive than the G7, has the potential to enhance collaboration between WHO, governments, and international organizations in shaping health policies. It can play a vital role in strengthening global health by supporting WHO reforms, funding its initiatives, and coordinating efforts with other global actors to address health disparities and prepare for future threats.

- 4) **Health capacity-building:** It is recommended that to address vaccine inequality in the long term, the G20 and G7 (which consist of major industrialized countries) should suggest the establishment of dedicated vaccine, therapeutic, and diagnostic manufacturing units in diverse global regions. This is necessary not only to break manufacturing and production monopolies but also to prepare for increased production capacity in the event of another pandemic.

- 5) **De-dollarization:** To reduce the dominance of the US dollar and promote multipolarity with a focus on empowering the global South, the following steps are recommended:

- a) **Institutional Framework:** Similar to the European Central Bank (ECB), the BRICS nations could consider the establishment of a “BRICS Monetary Fund” as a robust institutional framework. This organization would be responsible for supervising the issuance, regulation, and stability of a new currency, thereby ensuring its effective functioning in global trade and finance.

- b) **Exchange Rate Mechanism:** BRICS countries can learn from examples like WAEMU (West African Economic and Monetary Union) and establish a transparent and fair exchange rate system for their potential new currency, ensuring stability in international trade and finance.
- c) **Secure Payment and Clearing System:** Create a secure and efficient payment and clearing system, akin to *SWIFT* (Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication), to ease international transactions and instill confidence in the currency.
- 6) **Variiegating supply chains:** To address the supply chain challenges it is recommended to consider adopting strategies like on-shoring and near-shoring which involve relocating production closer to your home country, to reduce dependence on foreign suppliers. Nonetheless, reshoring should adopt a more selective approach, meaning it should be specifically aimed at industries or products where it is most necessary. Also engaging in regional economic integration initiatives, such as the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) can promote efficiency, cost-effectiveness, and closer economic relationships with neighboring countries. Developing nations' governments should provide incentives, support, and invest in essential infrastructure to promote local and regional manufacturing, making on-shoring and near-shoring feasible.

13. Conclusion

In essence, the reimagining of global governance, with a specific focus on elevating the significance of the Global South, underscores the necessity for a world order that is more balanced and participatory. There are three international aspects of accountability: constitutional, political, and financial. Constitutional accountability involves adherence to powers delegated by member states, while political accountability addresses the democratic deficit through alternative regulatory mechanisms. Financial accountability stresses the oversight of budgets by states. In response to the changing global order, there's a need to redefine accountability, striving for a balance between universal rights and democratic principles in our increasingly diverse world.

Addressing challenges such as sustainable development, inclusive growth, climate change, food security, the digital divide, regulation of emerging technologies, and reform of multilateral development banks requires active involvement and representation from the developing world. This shift in perspective emphasizes the crucial need to acknowledge the distinctive contributions, challenges, and voices of nations in the Global South as pivotal in shaping a global governance framework that is both fair and effective.

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