

The Future of Global Governance: China Perspective

2016 States' Participation Index of Global Governance World Report

## 中国方案与全球治理的未来

# 全球治理指数报告



北京国际和平文化基金会 Beijing International Peace Culture Foundation





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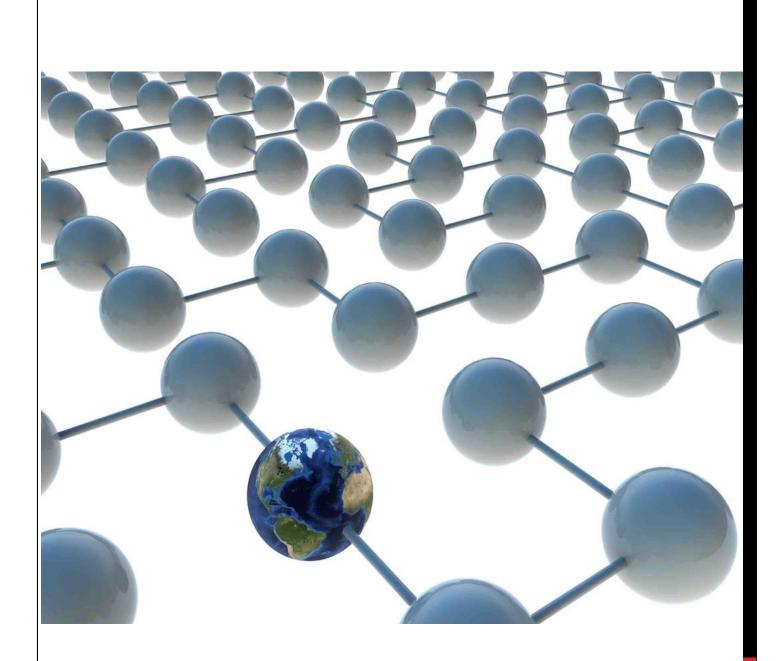
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# FOREWORD

## **CHINA'S ROLE IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE**

## REFORM

前言: 全球治理改革中的中国角色

# CHINA'S ROLE IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE REFORM

Today, the institutional reform of global governance has come to a critical stage. The United Nations (UN) cannot be expected to take up all the responsibilities, nor is the Group of 7 (G7) able to handle the issue alone. Against such a backdrop, the emerging markets and developing countries are rising to become an important driving force for relevant reform.

#### 1. Significance of Global Governance

In the world of today, fast changes are taking place in global politics and economy: The United Kingdom has announced to quit the European Union (EU), the Middle East is reigned by chaos, the European and American countries are turning politically conservative, and globalisation is facing a subtle reversion. While global economic growth remains sluggish, the emerging markets are also confronting serious periodic and structural challenges. Economic slowdown and structural transformation have posed an overarching pressure on the leading developing countries and all regions in recent years. "Global governance", as a measure to address global issues, has been proven to be neither "global" nor "effective" in terms of institutional design and policy implementation. Under such a circumstance, it becomes all the more important for the international community to find a new way out for global governance that is representative, effective and legitimate.

#### 2. Status and Influence of Emerging Countries

As the world political landscape is going through dramatic changes in the redistribution of forces, this has given rise to the increasing importance of the emerging countries. They are playing an active role in global economic governance by promoting the reforms of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), and, under the framework of the Group of 20 (G20), they have become both participants and promoters in the exploration of multilateral global governance.

The G20, a forum with a wide representation around the globe, has a combined population accounting for 65% of the world's total, GDP holding 90% of the global economy, and trade volume, 80%. Its member countries enjoy a dominant voting power in the IMF and the WB. Inside the institution itself, and in global governance as well, the emerging countries are becoming an important force. This increasingly important status in the global economy will enable the emerging markets and emerging developing countries to promote global governance to be more equitable and rational.

## 前言

•全球治理体制改革正处于 历史关键点,联合国无法 承担所有责任,而七国集 团(G7)在全球经济治理 中无力单独应对。在这一 背景,新兴市场和发展中 国家在全球治理改革中的 地位凸显,已经成为改革 的助推器。

当前,世界政治经济形式 处于极速变动之中。一股 反全球化的浪潮正在形成。孤立主义、民族主义 逐渐抬头。在这一背景 下,探索新的方向,建构 一个具有代表性、有效性 和合法性的全球治理体系 变得尤为关键。

 新兴国家在全球治理中的 作用和地位正日渐提高。
全球经济治理方面,新兴
国家积极推动国际货币数
金组织和世界银行的改革。同时,以二十国集行的改革。同时,以二十国集团
等多边合作组织为依托, 新兴国家逐渐成为多边主
动者。

●中国是具有地缘政治影响 的大国,也是经济总量居 于世界第二位的大国。全 球治理的改革,需要中国 承担责任和贡献智慧。

 "全球治理指数"一方面 客观反映世界一百八十九 个国家对全球治理的参与 和贡献度,另一方面能够 促进和引导全球治理发展 和改革,为中国方案的实 现起到助推作用。

#### 3. Voice of China

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China is a major country with great geopolitical influence. It is also the World's No. 2 economy. Global governance reform needs China to play a due role and share its wisdom. It is unimaginable that China is absent from world development agenda, climate change talks, IMF reform, counter-terrorism efforts, cyberspace security and other key global governance issues. China has adhered to the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and worked for the formulation of global governance rules in a democratic and law-based manner and for the international order to be more fair and rational so as to provide institutional guarantee for world peace. The 11<sup>th</sup> G20 Summit in China's Hangzhou in September 2016 has chosen the reform of global financial governance a major subject for discussion, for which China has its own proposals.

Based on the fruits of the Hangzhou Summit, as well as the findings from the scores and rankings of the 189 countries in the world, this report attempts to specify the "voice of China" in global governance reform by a series of proposals.



# **ABOUT SPIGG**

## **INDEX SYSTEM AND METHODOLOGY**

指标体系和方法论

### **ABOUT SPIGG**

The States' Participation Index of Global Governance (SPIGG), developed by the Political Science Institute of East China University of Political Science and Law, is designed to scientifically evaluate states' participation in global governance. There is no similar index in the World to evaluate states' participation in global governance except some loosely relevant ones.

SPIGG is significant in the following aspects: First, it can more comprehensively and accurately measure states' participation in global governance, thereby laying a scientific basis for relevant research; second, it can boost states' enthusiasm for participation in global governance, thereby establish a robust competition mechanism in this regard; and third, it can enhance China's soft power in global governance and help the world better understand China's policies and positions through the integration of Chinese philosophy into the index study, thereby strengthening China's leading role in global governance.

The project was started in 2014. The reports for 2014 and 2015 evaluated 25 major countries, including G20 members. For the 2016 report, the research team has modified some indicators and added new ones, and increased the number of countries evaluated to 189. In taking various statistical methods, the team has overcome such obstacles as lack of data of small countries, weak sensitivity of data and non-uniform data measurement caused by different levels of economic development of the countries evaluated (some are recipient countries and some donor countries), and finally succeeded in collecting and analysing the data of the 189 target countries. It can be judged from the present results that the indices have fully and accurately reflected the degrees and ways of states' participation in global governance. Based on the indicator, decision-making bodies and international intergovernmental organisations can make targeted policy adjustments and improvements, and academia, think tanks and international non-governmental organisations can carry out various types of extended research.

# 指标体系和方 法论

"全球治理指数"全称"国家参与全球治理指数",旨在对国家在全球治理中的参与和贡献状况进行评估。

•当前,全球范围内还没有 类似的指标体系。

•指标体系研发始于 2014 年。今年报告是该系列指 数发布的第三年。本年度 报告将评估范围由 25 个大 国扩大到全球189个国家, 实现了全球覆盖。

•指标采用两级体系。一级 指标包括"机制"、"绩效"、 "决策"、"责任"四个全球治 理领域的核心部分,各部 分又下辖一系列具体二级 指标。

评估指标全部采用客观数据,指标间权重采用"层次分析法",综合相关专家的评估,得出指标体系权重表。

Primary Indicator	Secondary Indicator	Data Source	Weig	
	A1 International organisations participated (2015 increment)	International Organisations Association	0.018	
	A2 International organisations participated (stock)	CIA The World Fact Book 2016	0.074	
А	A3 International treaties acceded (2015 increment)	Treaty database on the UN website	0.018	
Mechanism	A4 International treaties acceded (stock)	Treaty database on the UN website	0.074	
	A5 International forums or conferences hosted (2015 increment)	Wikipedia and world mainstream media	0.009	
	A6 International forums or conferences hosted (stock)	Wikipedia and world mainstream media	0.037	
	B1 Health (total health spending as a share of GDP)	World Bank database	0.039	
B Performance	B2 Environment (volume change in the total renewable inland water resources, PM2.5 particulates, and forest coverage)	World Bank database	0.029	
	B3 Economy (trade to GDP ratio)	World Bank database	0.021	
	B4 Climate (CO <sub>2</sub> emission per capita)	World Bank database		
	B5 Development (contribution to 2015 world GDP growth)	World Bank database	0.053	
	B6 Poverty reduction (changes in the proportion of population with a daily income of less than USD 1.9, the proportion of improved water sources in rural areas, and the malnutrition rate)	World Bank database	0.046	
	C1 G8 and G20 member states	Research team statistics	0.066	
	C2 Permanent and non-permanent members of the UN Security Council	Research team statistics	0.099	
	C3 Home countries of the leaders of various UN organisations	UN website	0.033	
C Decision- making	C4 Home countries of the judges of the International Criminal Court	International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court Websites	0.033	
	C5 Home countries of the WTO dispute arbitration panel experts	WTO website	0.033	
	C6 Proportion of shares subscribed in the World Bank	World Bank database	0.033	
	C7 Share in the International Monetary Fund	International Monetary Fund database	0.033	
	D1 UN contributions paid	UN website	0.060	
	D2 UN scale of assessment	UN website	0.045	
D Responsibilit	D3 UNDP funding share	UNDP website	0.045	
ies	D4 Size of UN peacekeeping troops	UN website	0.03	
	D5 Number of UNESCO-national government projects	UNESCO website	0.023	

The weighting of the primary and secondary indicators is set by Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) Software YAAHP that operates on the basis of the ratings of experts. Experts are expected to compare the importance of each pair of indicators (e.g. the importance of indicator A equals to 1/3 indicator B), then YAAHP aggregates the ratings of experts (approximately 30 experts are involved) and eventually exports the weight of each indicator. The experts are required to compare the importance of 4 primary indicators; the secondary indicators belonging to each primary indicator are then compared.

Scoring	Implication
1	The importance of A equals to that of B
3	The importance of A slightly outweighs that of B
5	The importance of A clearly outweighs that of B
7	The importance of A significantly outweighs that of B
9	The importance of A exorbitantly outweighs that of B
1/3	The importance of B slightly outweighs that of A
1/5	The importance of B clearly outweighs that of A
1/7	The importance of B significantly outweighs that of A
1/9	The importance of B exorbitantly outweighs that of A
2, 4, 6, 8	Scores used to connect the above shown odd scoring (e.g. in case that 3 and 5 are both inappropriate, 4 is scored).

[Figure 2. AHP Analysis Expert Scoring Criteria]



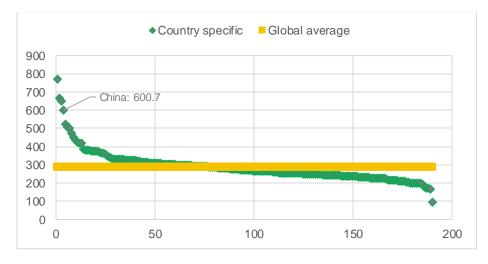
# **SPIGG 2016 GLOBAL SURVEY**

## **BRIEF ANALYSIS TO SCORES AND RANKINGS**

2016 全球治理指数得分及排名分析

## **OVERALL SCORES AND RANKINGS**

SPIGG 2016 Global Report analyses the world's 189 sovereign states and studies these states' participation and contribution to global governance. The 189 states' final score, including the scores in all four primary indicators, are shown in part IV. The overall scores are illustrated by a dotted line in figure 3 with a red global average line at the score of 287.



#### [Figure 3. Overall scores of the 189 countries]

The ranking differs very little from ordinary expectation: global powers are ranked in high place, while a large number of countries have their scores surrounding the global average line. Four of the top five countries are permanent members of the UN Security Council (the United States, France, the United Kingdom and China). Japan and Russia are ranked 5 and 6. Germany is in the 7th place. It is notable that the United States not only tops the ranking, but also is featured by a very high score. Its score of 770 surpasses its closest rivalry by 108.

Focusing on the group of top 30 countries, almost every G7/8 and G20 countries are included (South Africa is the only exception). Several European countries, including Spain, Norway, Switzerland, Netherland, Denmark, and Belgium, although participating in G20 in the name of European Union instead of individual sovereign states, are also found in the group. This illustrates that European countries, north and west European countries in particular, still have strong impact on global governance.

### 总排名分析

•大国和经济强国在总排名 中位居前列,大多数国家 得分在平均线上下。

●美国在全球治理中仍居主 导地位,领先第二名法国 108分。

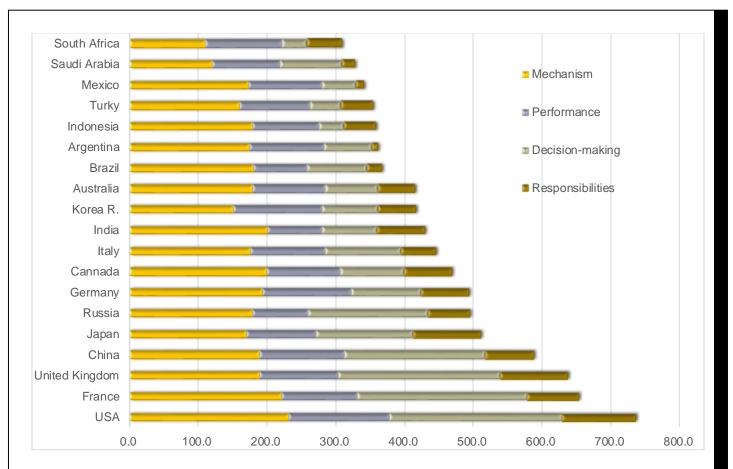
•绝大多数 G7/8 及 G20 等 国际组织成员国位于前 30 名内。

前三十名中还包括西班牙、挪威、荷兰等西欧北欧国家,以及尼日利亚、马来西亚等区域大国也位列前 30 名内。

•南非、肯尼亚等部分区域 大国排名低于预期。

从地理分布上看,美、英、地理分布上看,美、英、法、中位于第一梯队。加、俄、印及几个西欧国家位于第二梯队。北非、东欧、南美诸国组成第三梯队。第四梯队国家多为太平洋及加勒比岛国、沙哈拉以南非洲国家、中东和中亚国家。

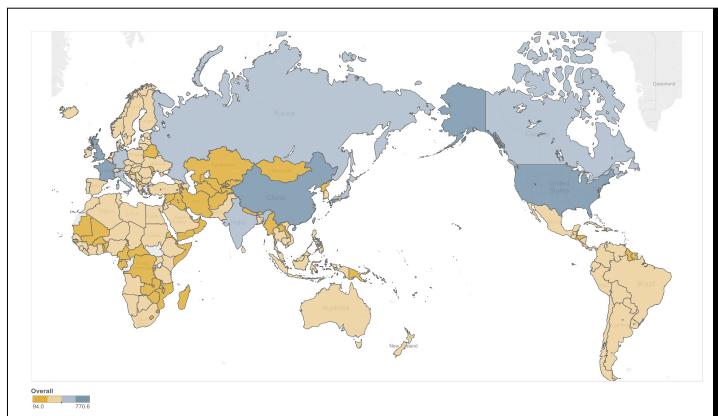
从各州排名前五位国家得分情况看,非洲国家较低,欧洲国家普遍较高。
亚太和美洲国家出现一定的分化趋势。美洲国家尤其明显:美、加得分比加勒比国家和南美国家要高得多。



#### [Figure 4. Scores of G20 membership countries]

Most of the regional powers and major developing countries are seen from the list of top 30, some of which are not G20 members. This includes Nigeria, Malaysia, Chile, and Venezuela. Their relatively high scores come primarily from their laudable performance in at least one area of global governance (e.g. Chile has high score in "performance"). Also worth highlighting are those countries with lower ranking than ordinary expectation. For example, Kenya is found in the 66th place, which is not well compatible with its geopolitical importance in east Africa. In the same vein is South Africa that is ranked 49. It is shown that both countries receive low score in "mechanism", meaning that they are not very keen to participate in international organisations, sign treaties or host international conferences.

The map chart below (Figure 1) illustrates the geographical distribution of each country's score by four groups (scares evenly divided based on score). It is shown that the United States and two western European countries (the United Kingdom and France) are in the first group. China, Canada Russia, India, and several European countries are in the second scale. It is worth highlighting that countries in this group cover more than half of the world's landed area. Population in these countries also occupy almost two third of the world's population (China and India in Particular). These countries' comparatively high score is a positive sign highlighting a solid human resource and natural resource basis that would promote the global governance innovation.



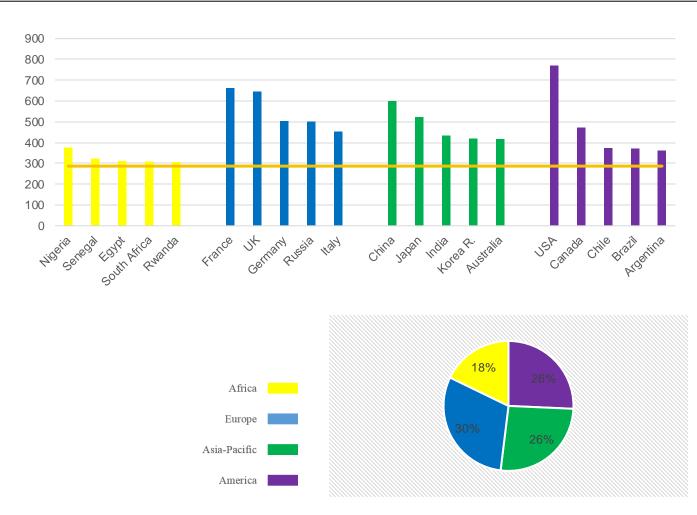
[Figure 5. Geographic distribution of the countries' overall score]

Countries in the third group are most commonly found from three regions, namely North Africa, East Europe, and South America. The geographical distribution coincides with these regions' geopolitical and economic condition in the world. Most countries in these area have colonial history. While enjoying fast economic development, they are more or less 'late comers' in global governance.

There are vast number of countries in the fourth group. However, many of which are too small to be shown in the map (particularly the Pacific and Caribbean island countries). Sub-Sahara, Mideast, and Central Asia are the three regions with many countries in this scare.

Figure 6 further compares scores between continents by showing five countries with the highest scores from the four continents: Africa, Europe, Asia-Pacific, and America. It is observed that African countries have comparatively lower scores. Although tops Africa, Nigeria's score is less than half of the United States. The scores of other four Africa countries are just slightly above the global average line.

All of the five European countries have recommendable scores and rankings. Two of which exceed 600, Germany and Russia exceed 500. According to the pie chart, although there is no 'super' country like USA in America continent, the sum of the five European countries still occupies a greater part than that of other continents (see the pie chart in figure 6).





China leads Asia-Pacific region by the score of 601. Japan exceeds 500 as well. Other three countries in this region have their score just exceeds 400. To some extent, it suggests an imbalance between the countries in this region in participating the global governance. Such an imbalance is rather remarkable in American continent where two North American countries (USA and Canada) enjoy apparent advantage in scores and rankings. Due to the sharp socioeconomic disadvantage, Caribbean countries and South American countries would be hard to challenge North America countries' leading position in global governance within the foreseeable future.

#### **INDICATOR A: MECHANISM**

Primary indicator A aims to examine countries' activeness in participating and supporting international regimes. It includes six secondary indicators: international organisations participated (2015 increment), international organisations participated (stock), international treaties acceded (2015 increment), international treaties acceded (stock), international forums and conferences hosted (2015 increment), and international forums and conferences hosted (stock). For example, the International Summit on Counterterrorism which was launched and hosted by Washington in 2015 shows the US's leadership and activeness in anti-terrorism. China's initiation and creation of BRICS Development Bank and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank fits with its increasing impact in global economy and trade, and embodies its big country image of promoting good governance in global economy.

In terms of overall scoring of this indicator, UNSC permanent members, populous countries and major economies come out on the top of the ranking. To be specific, the United States, which is a permanent member of the UNSC, the largest economy, and the third most populous country in the world, scores 232, which is 10 points ahead of its closest rivalry. France and India take the second and third places by scoring over 200 points. Moreover, all permanent members of the UNSC list in the top ten of the ranking. Seven out of ten most populous nations enter the top ten list. Eight out of ten largest economies also make their way into the top ten. Netherland ranks eighth by scoring 188 points. It has stronger performance in participating in international organisations and treaties. Tenth to twentieth places are mainly occupied by middle powers and emerging developing countries, Indonesia ranking eleventh with 179 points, Australia and Mexico ranking twelfth and fifteenth with 178 and 173 points respectively. In general, this ranking reflects the degree of activeness in the countries' engagement in international regimes, and basically coincides with their overall strength and international status. It tells us that major powers of the world are playing essential role in participating in international regimes and maintaining international order, while emerging countries are playing more and more important part.

According to the overall scoring of the indicator A, the top five places of each continent are occupied by regional powers, which illustrates that big powers still enjoy a dominant position in this respect. Regional powers have very important effects on regional and global issues. They play a significant role in stabilising regional order and promoting regional cooperation. For instance, Germany and France, as two leading countries of the EU, hold dominant

### ▲ 项数据分析

该项指标主要考察各国参与和维护全球治理机制的积极程度。其中包含六项指标,分别为加入国际组织(当年与存量数据)、加入国际条约(当年与存量数据)、承办国际会议(当年与存量数据)。

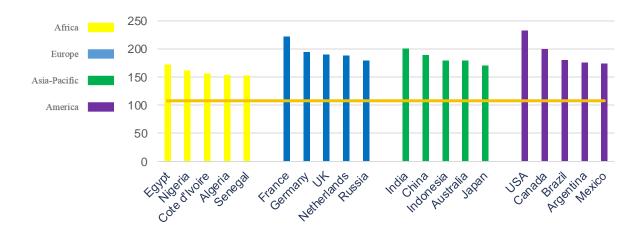
联合国常任理事国、人口和经济大国名列前茅,新兴经济体表现不俗。反映出在参与和维护国际机制和秩序方面,世界主要大国起关键作用,而新兴国家也扮演着越来越重要的角色。

各国得分全球分布情况显示,北美、西欧、东亚三个地区得分高于其他地区。非洲、东欧、西亚、中亚和中美洲地区得分偏低。显示各国参与和维护国际机制的积极程度差异较大。

•发达国家在"加入国际组 织"指标中有优势,但发展 中国家正在缩小其差距。

 在"国际条约"指标中, 欧洲国家普遍获得高分, 美国等其他发达国家得分 则并不突出。

 "国际会议"指标显示出 强烈的大国主导趋势。二 十余个大国几乎包揽该指 标。其它一百余国在此项 上得零分。 positions in the European integration and development. Japan has dominance in the foundation and evolution of Asian Development Bank. It should be noted, though, that among the five African countries with highest scores in the ranking, Nigeria is the only country that has more than one hundred million population, and possesses a relatively large economic volume.



[Figure 7. 'Top-five' from each continent]

The map chart reveals that North America, Western Europe and East Asia have higher scores than other regions, which reflects their prominent places in world power. Other regional powers such as Australia, Brazil, and Argentina, also receive higher scores. By contrast, Africa, East Europe, Western and Central Asia, and Central America have lower marks. Especially, countries in Central Asia and Africa normally score under 140 points, while Central Asian states are even less than 120 points. Hence one can see that in terms of supporting and maintaining international regimes, there are big gaps and differences in performance and activeness among various states.

In regarding to the rankings of each secondary indicator, France, the US and the UK take top three places in "participating in international organisations", all receiving scores above 85 points. Emerging countries like Brazil, India and China are a bit behind these traditional powers such as France and the United States. Their work is also recommendable with scores higher than 80 points, which manifests their willingness to take active part in international organisations and global governance. It also demonstrates that, compared with developing countries, early industrialised countries enjoy advantage in terms of the score in "international organisations participated (stock)". However, late developing countries are accelerating and narrowing the gap.

Regarding the indicator of "international treaties acceded", Luxemburg, Norway, and Iceland occupy first three places. Luxenberg is a particular standout which receives a score above 85, more than 10 points ahead the second place (with a score of 75). Moreover, European countries generally receive good marks, scoring above 60 points. This includes Denmark with 69 points, Italy with 68, and France with 66. The generally high score illustrates that European Countries have strong performance in maintaining and engaging in international treaties. France, for instance, has made major contribution to signing Paris Agreement in 2015 Paris Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. By contrast, the performances of great powers are not impressive. Take the United States as an example. It is not actively involved in many international treaties, such as UN's Convention on the Law of the Sea that plays an important guiding and ruling role in resolving maritime disputes.



#### [Figure 6. Geographic distribution of the countries' score in A]

As to international conferences, great powers show obvious advantages in this respect. To be specific, the United States receives a score above 45 and ranks first, with a gap greater than 15 points from the second place (scoring 29). Its score accounts for nearly one tenth of the overall scoring of all states in the world (scoring 554). It is adequate to say that each year about one out of every ten international conferences is hosted by the US. Canada, Germany, Russia, and France rank 2nd to 5th, all scoring over 20. China, India and the UK come behind as the second group, all scoring above 10. Most of the rest countries receive fewer marks below 10. It's worth noting that there are nearly 100 countries having no opportunity of hosting any international conferences, which proves that big powers with outstanding overall strength and international influence possess an unparalleled advantage in winning the bid. In general, big powers take prominent leading role in setting regimes of global governance by hosting international conferences.

#### **INDICATOR B: PERFORMANCE**

The data of Indicator B describes the performance of global governance in each country. The report covers hot topics of global governance around the world, including six aspects: global governance on health, environment, economy, climate change, development and poverty reduction. After collecting and analysing the global information of 2015, the report scores 189 countries.

The scores of global governance performance differ insignificantly among the top 30 countries. In this index, global average score is 112.3, while the average of top 30 is 128.9, which is 16.6 higher than global average. The United States and Bhutan both exceed 140, making them the first echelon. Marshall Islands and Singapore score higher than 138. Countries like China, Germany and even San Marino also score more than 120. Overall, small countries are ranked relatively higher. The United States occupies in the first place with 146.1 points, while Ukraine shows in the 30th place with 122 points. The top 30 countries located geographically fragmented in all continents. There are even more developing countries than developed countries among the top 30, in regard to economic perspective. This suggests that developing countries are playing an important role in global governance as well. For example, Bhutan is second only to the United States and has 143.9 points. Bhutan has made great achievements in global health governance, which makes Bhutan scored 39.8 points and reaches the first place in health governance field. Several BRICS countries have lower ranking. Russia's development performance is below expectation. Influenced by lower oil prices and economic sanction, Russia only has 2.8 points in global economic governance. In comparison, Germany scores 6 points.

The top 30 countries can be categorised into two groups. One is traditional developed countries in Western Europe and North America, Countries of this group have recommendable score in each secondary indicator due to their relatively balanced development. For example, as a traditional developed country, Germany scores 129.5, and has high scores in almost every area, especially in the area of climate change. Its score of 34.3 tops this area. The other group is developing countries that rapidly developed in recent years. These countries enjoy high score as several secondary indicators are measuring increment. For example, Libya, the North African country, scores 36.8 in poverty reduction. Such a high score is due to its great performance in postwar rebuilding and development. In the meantime, the United States only gets 19.02 points in poverty reduction, half the Libya's score. The later even gets 6.9 points in economy area, making it the highest scoring country in North Africa.

#### ■ 项数据分析

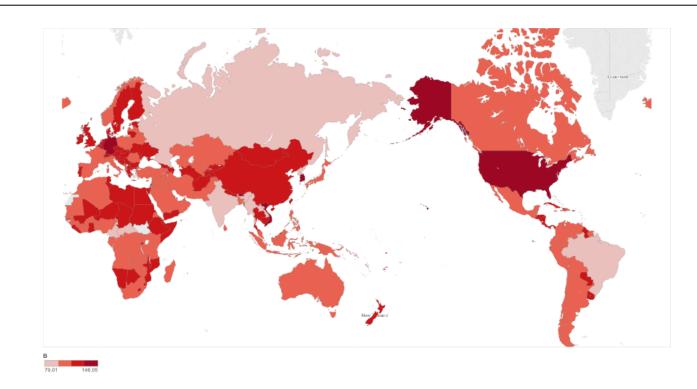
•B项数据主要考察各国参与全球治理的绩效情况, 分为卫生治理、环境治理、经济治理、气候治理、发展和减贫六个二级指标。

•排名前 30 名的国家,得 分差异不大。从整体上 看,小国排名相对比较靠 前。在经济体量上,发达 国家和发展中国家都有, 且发展中国家居多。

小国和发展中国家排名相对靠前的原因是部分指标考察变化量。如利比亚在动乱后重建和恢复较快,因此在减贫方面得分很高。越南也在发展和减贫方面得分较高。

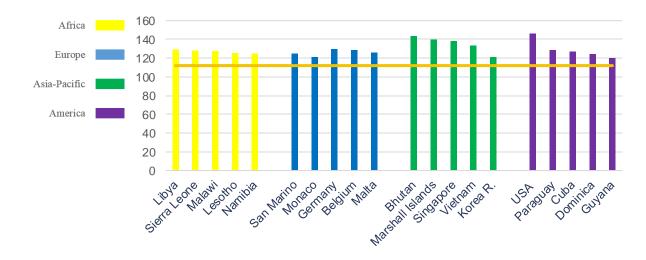
•在洲际分布上,前 30 名 的国家分布比较均衡。北 美、东南亚、北非和西欧 诸国得分相对较高。

 在各洲排名前五的国家
中,欧洲皆为发达国家, 而非洲皆为发展中国家。
在亚太和美洲这样国家众
多条件复杂的大洲,则出
现了发达国家和发展中国
家交替上榜的现象。





According to the map chart, Most of the top 30 countries in North America, Southeast Asia, North Africa and Western Europe score higher than countries in other region. Vietnam is a developing Southeast Asian country. In recent years, Vietnam makes great achievements in global governance. Benefit from its compelling economic success, Vietnam gets 29.3 in development and 28.7 in poverty reduction.



#### [Figure 10. 'Top-five' from each continent]

There is no doubt that all the top 5 countries in Europe are developed countries, and all the top 5 countries in Africa are developing countries. While in Asia-Pacific and America, countries on the list can be either developed countries or developing countries. In Asia-Pacific region, Marshall Islands and Bhutan are in the top list due to their excellent environment scores, and Vietnam should thanks to its economic success. Other than the United States, American countries have impressive scores in environment and health governance. Although the total scores of different countries are close, their score in each secondary indicator may vary a lot. For example, in the field of global health governance, as a developed country, Singapore only scores 7. While as a developing country, Marshall Islands scores 31.84, which is 4.5 times higher than Singapore. In economy area, Belgium scores 16.4, while Japan only scored 1.8. The reason for the gap is due to Japan's long-term economic recession that has yet to recover, and the huge economy size and impact magnified such negative effect. In the area of development, the United States scores 53.8 points and China scores 51.9 points. Comparing with small countries, the advantage of economic great powers is not obvious. But, based on their significant achievement during the global economic slowdown, these two countries still lead the world's economy today.

#### **INDICATOR C: DECISION-MAKING**

These are seven indicators examining the participation of countries in decision-making in global governance: G8/G20 member states; permanent and non-permanent members of the UN Security Council; home countries of the Leaders of various UN organisations; home countries of the judges of the International Criminal Court and International Court of Justice; home countries of the WTO dispute arbitration panel of experts; proportion of share votes in the World Bank; and Share in the International Monetary Fund.

One significant feature of these indicators is the huge gap of scores among these countries. In the rankings, the United States tops with the score of 250.59, which is even higher than the sum of various small and developing countries. Eight countries, including North Korea, Monaco, Algeria and so forth, score zero. Led by the US, 19 sovereign states of the G20 are in the world's top 30, among which the vast majority are developed European, America countries, as well as the emerging countries in Asia and South America. Nigeria, Chad, Venezuela and some other countries, by virtue of their international status as the non-permanent members of Security Council, also rank among the world's top 30.

Being the superpower, the United States heads the top 5 American countries list; China, by right of its booming economy as well as its active participation in global governance, has ranked first in the Asia-Pacific region, surpassing Japan. With the advantage in the indicator "leaders of major UN organisations", France won the European champion, beating Britain. Scores of African countries are generally low, among which Angola ranks first.

According to the comparison between continents, the statistics accurately reveal the trends and gaps among the states' participation in global governance. According to the rankings, on the overall level, Europe scored the highest; there are large disparities within the Americas and Asia-Pacific regions; the participation level of African countries is generally lower than other regions worldwide.

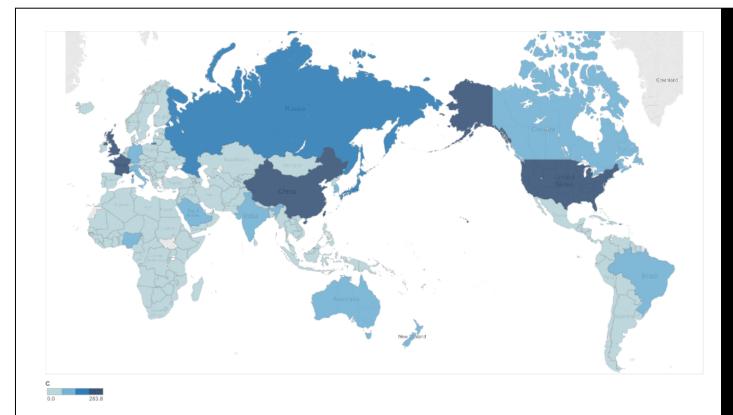
### **℃**项数据分析

•本项指标的一个显著特点 是各国得分差距巨大。如 美国得分甚至超越众多小 国和发展中国家的分数总 和。

中国在全球治理决策机制
中的影响力不断提升,位
列亚太地区第一名。

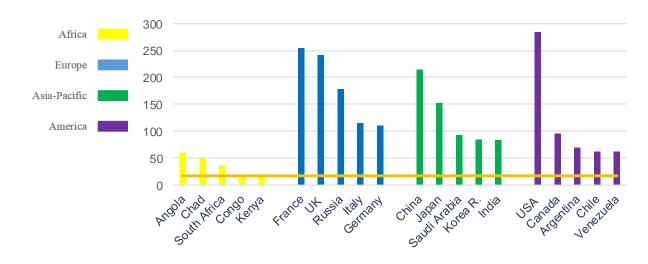
•各洲情况来看,欧洲各国 得分高且差异不大。美洲 和亚太区域各国得分差距 较大;非洲国家的水平普 遍低于全球范围内的其他 地区。

各重要组织在选择领导人或专家时会考虑到国别及洲际的均衡,因此经济实力并不直接决定决策话语权。但相关关系分析表明,两者关系仍然比较明显。特别是世界银行和国际货币基金组织等全球经济治理机制的决策方式仍然与国家经济实力紧密挂钩。



[Figure 11. Geographic distribution of the countries' score in C]

As can be seen from the colour-difference in the map chart, the permanent members of the UN Security Council, including the United States, China, the UK, France and so forth, shape the leading group of countries in the world, and followed by the traditional powers, such as Japan, Germany and Canada. The overall participation level of emerging countries, including Brazil and India, has also been accurately reflected; Africa is in the last league as a whole. This tendency has also been displayed in the statistical bar chart of the top five in each continent.



[Figure 10. 'Top-five' from each continent]

Reasons for the differences above are complicated. First, the world power distribution World War II has had an obvious impact on the participation of countries in the current global governance. The United Nations and its

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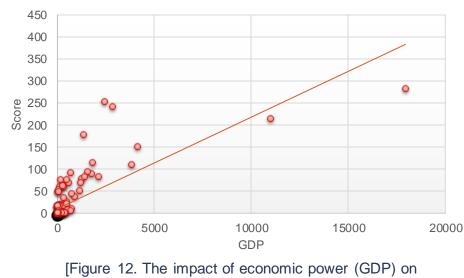
related bodies have played an important role; the United States, China and some other countries have gained special advantages in the governance of global affairs as permanent members of the UN Security Council. Second, the decision-making power of countries in global governance is closely related to their levels of economic development, which is revealed in the scores of the old powers, such as Germany, Japan and other developed countries.

Members of the G8/G20 and other groups are mostly developed countries and emerging powers. In sharp contrast, the level of participation of African countries in global governance is generally low, and their performances are clearly behind most countries from other continents. The primary reason for African countries' overall lagging in rankings is their poor economy and slow growth rates. In this indicator, "Proportion of Share Votes in the World Bank" and "Proportion of Votes in the International Monetary Fund" are directly related to the level of a country's economy, therefore, African countries scored relatively low. However, it should be noted that the evaluation of the decision-making level of countries in global governance is not necessarily correlated to the ranking of their economic development. Third, in the context of other similar factors, degree of attention attached to and participation in the International Court of Justice, WTO and other international organisations also contributed to score differences among countries in each continent.

The indicators such as "G8/G20 member states" and "Permanent and non-Permanent Members of the UN Security Council" aim to examine the international status and role of the countries in the current world order. Among them, Russia is slightly lower to the others more or less reflecting its exile from G8; Nigeria, Chad and other African countries, holding the non-permanent membership of the UN Security Council, rank higher than South Africa, a BRICS nation.

The indicator "Home Countries of the Leaders of various UN organisations" is consistent with the two indicators above. More intuitively, however, it reflects the extent of countries participating in major UN organisations. The significance is especially evident in the ranking of the UK and France. In the statistics of major United Nations organisations, there are 36 leaders from France, which earned 33.2 points; 17 leaders are from the UK with a score of 15.7 points, less than half of that of France. With the similar scores in other indicators, France best s the UK because of the higher score in this indicator, and thereby led the ranking in Europe. Angola als o ranks beyond Chad by virtue of its active participation in major UN organisations, scoring the highest in Africa. In the top five African countries, only Angola receives a score of 9.2 in this indicator, which is an irreversible advantage to the other African countries.

As far as the indicator "Home Countries of the Judges of the International Criminal Court and International Court of Justice", the highest score belongs to Brazil, which is even greater than those of many developed countries. Countries such as Brazil score 2 points, while Congo and other African countries scored 1 point, which is almost the same as the United States and other countries. It also proves that there is room for emerging countries to participate in global governance. The absolute difference in terms of data is not large, but the relative difference comes at 200%. Likewise, for the indicator "Home Countries of the WTO Dispute Arbitration Panel Experts C5", China ranks first, scoring 33.2 points, which is 1.6 times the score of the United States. This indicator shows China pays high attention to and actively participates in international trades. Russia's non-accession to the WTO leads to zero point, and thus pulled down its ranking.



decision-making]

Indicators "proportion of share s subscribed in the World Bank" and "share in the International Monetary Fund" are highly related to the country's level of economic development. The United States ranks first with 33.2 points, while Japan and other developed countries also have obvious advantages. Many developing countries, particularly African countries, fall behind. At the same time, there is a huge gap within the developed countries. In the indicator "proportion of share s subscribed in the World Bank", Japan has the second highest score of 13.84 points, less than half of that of the United States. The gap between developed and developing countries is even up to thousands of times.

It is worth highlighting that International organisations may deliberately balance the home countries of its leaders or experts between developed and developing countries, as well as the continents. This contributes to the weakening of the correlation between countries' economic power and their decision making power. However, as the above figure shows, the correlation is still observable. The main reason comes from major global economic governance mechanism (e.g., WTO and the World Bank) that each country's decision making power is still heavily depends on its economic power.

#### **INDICATOR D: RESPONSIBILITY**

Primary Indicator D mainly evaluates countries' manpower and material resource investments in global governance, thereby measuring countries' contribution to global governance. The secondary indicators include "UN membership fee", "UN membership fee payment", "UNDP funding share", "Size of UN peacekeeping troops", and "Number of UNESCO-national government projects".

As can be seen from data analysis, the countries ranking among the top 30 in Primary Indicator D are mainly developed countries. The country ranking 1st is the United States scoring 108.33 points, closely followed by other developed countries such as Japan, the United Kingdom, and Norway. Major developing countries such as China and India also have remarkable scores. China ranks 10th with 71.69 points and India ranks 11th with 70.39 points. Moreover, small countries such as Rwanda, Senegal, and Dominica achieve amazing results. In particular, Rwanda ranks 13th with 70.28 points, even higher than Germany and Russia. Rwanda scores high in both "UN membership fee payment" and "Size of UN peacekeeping troops", while Germany ranks 14th with 69.68 points because it scores in all secondary indicators but stands out in none of them, and Russia ranks 15th with 60.95 points because its scores in secondary indicators are ordinary with the only exception in the indicator "Number of UNESCO-national government projects". Senegal ranks 16th with 60.61 points and Dominica ranks 26th with 47.41 points, both scoring high at 45.1 points in "UN membership fee payment".

20 of the countries ranking among the top 30 in Primary Indicator D are developed countries, and the others are developing countries. Developed countries rank high mainly because they generally have high scores in "UN membership fee payment" and "UNDP funding share". For example, Norway scores 45.1 points in "UN membership fee payment", and ranks first with 44.17 points in terms of the secondary indicator "UNDP funding share". The remarkably high scores in these two secondary indicators ensure that Norway ranks 4th in the total score in Primary Indicator D. But the United States is special, since it scores 60.2 points in "UN membership fee", much higher than other countries, but it scores 0 in "UN membership fee payment" because the payments are in arrears by more than 12 months. By contrast, developed countries score low in "Size of UN peacekeeping troops". This is mainly associated with their economic strengths and the life costs. Developed countries prefer to participate in global governance through capital expenditures rather than dispatching of "UN peacekeeping troops", because they have strong economic strengths and high life costs. Developing countries

#### ▶ 项数据分析

 本项指标主要评估各国在 全球治理领域的人力和物 力付出。具体指标分为联 合国会费实缴、联合国会 费缴纳率、联合国开发计 划署(UNDP)援助额、 维和人员派出以及联合国 教科文组织国家合作项目 五项。

本项得分前三十名以发达
国家为主。大型发展中国
家如中国、印度等也取得
了令人瞩目的成绩。

•发达国家普遍在"联合国 会费缴纳额"和"UNDP 援助额"上得分较高,但 在"维和人员派出"上得 分较低。这主要与发达国 家经济实力和生命成本相 关。

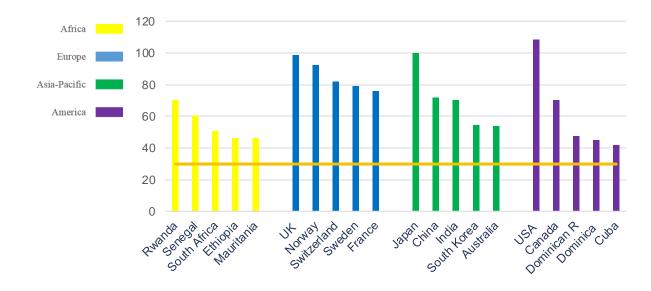
•发展中国家主要在"联合国会费缴纳率"和"维和人员派出"上得分较高。此类国家更倾向于用人力派出的方式参与全球治理。

各洲情况来看,欧洲国家前五名主要集中在西欧, 且得分普遍较高。非洲五国得分普遍较低。亚太地区前五国家包括东亚大国(中日韩)及印度、澳大利亚。美洲前五名分数差距较大。除美、加外,三个加勒比地区国家也榜上有名。

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generally score high in "UN membership fee payment" and "Size of UN peacekeeping troops". In particular, India scores 30.07 points in "UN membership fee payment" and 32.31 points in "Size of UN peacekeeping troops", ensuring India's good position in Primary Indicator D. Rwanda scores 45.1 points in "UN membership fee payment" and 25.18 points in "Size of UN peacekeeping troops". For their weak economic strengths, developing countries prefer to participate in global governance through manpower dispatching.

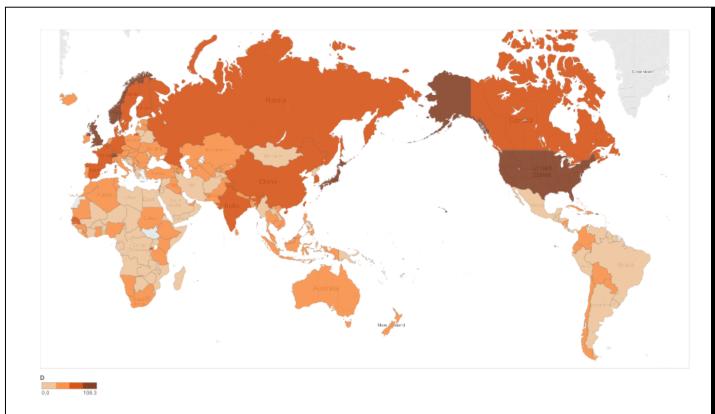
In terms of BRICS, China ranks 10th with 71.69 points, India ranks 11th with 70.39 points, Russia ranks 15th with 60.95 points, South Africa ranks 24th with 50.63 points, and Brazil ranks 113th with 21.56 points. Brazil ranks low because it scores low in "UN membership fee payment" and other secondary indicators.



[Figure 13. 'Top-five' from each continent]

As can be seen from the above figure, the five highest-ranking European countries mainly locate in the Western Europe, and they generally score high, from 75 points to 99 points. The five highest-ranking African countries are geographically dispersed, and they generally score low, mainly from 46 points to 71 points. All of the five topranking countries in the Asia-Pacific region (Asia plus Oceania) locate in Asia, scoring from 53 points to 101 points, and China, Japan, and South Korea are all included. The five highest-ranking American countries (South America and North America) have wide gaps in scores, ranging from 41 points to 109 points, and three Caribbean countries are included. These three Caribbean countries all have high scores in "UN membe rship fee payment". In addition, Cuba has a good score in "Number of UNESCO-national government projects".

From the global perspective, countries in the northern hemisphere have significantly higher scores than those located in the southern hemisphere, and developed countries generally score higher than developing countries. Countries in the Western Europe and the North America have high scores, showing their traditional advantages and power in global governance. Countries in the Asia-Pacific region, especially those in the East Asia, also stand out in scores, proving that the region is playing an increasingly influential role in global governance. South American countries generally have low scores.



#### [Figure 14. Geographic distribution of the countries' score in D]

In terms of the each secondary indicator, developed countries generally have higher scores in the indicator of "UN membership fee" than developing countries, but China scores high in this secondary indicator. When it comes to "UN membership fee payment", some developing countries have significantly higher scores than certain developed countries. For example, Thailand scores high at 45.1 points, while the United States scores 0, but of course, many developing countries also get 0. As for "UNDP funding share", developed countries have significantly higher scores than developing countries. It turns out to be a different situation in terms of "Size of UN peacekeeping troops", some developing countries with higher scores than developed countries, but of course, there are many developing countries scoring 0. As regards "Number of UNESCO-national government projects", developed countries have slightly higher scores than developing countries. The overall picture in terms of these five secondary indicators is depicted that developed countries and developing ones have their respective advantages in global governance.



# **SCORES AND RANKINGS**

# WITH SCORES OF FOUR PRIMARY INDICATORS AND OVERALL SCORE

各国得分及排名表

Rank	Country	А	В	С	D	Total	Rank	Country	А	В	С	D	То
1	USA	232.4	146.1	283.8	108.3	770.6	58	Ethiopia	135	118.2	0.4	46.4	
2	France	222.2	109.9	254.2	75.9	662.2	59	Iceland	143.9	106.8	3.5	45.2	2
3	UK	189.5	115.4	241.9	98.5	645.4	60	Angola	102.8	109.8	59.9	26.7	2
4	China	189.4	124.7	215	71.7	600.7	61	Tunisia	138.1	116.2	0.5	44.1	
5	Japan	170.2	101.8	152.1	100	524.2	62	Jordan	111.8	111.6	54.9	20.2	2
6	Russia	179.3	81.9	172.9	60.9	495	63	Colombia	155.3	102.3	9.9	29.9	2
7	Germany	194.5	129.5	99.9	69.7	493.6	64	Kenya	144	103.6	17.3	32.2	2
8	Canada	200	107.5	95.6	70.3	473.4	65	Romania	137.6	109.3	4.5	45.6	2
9	Italy	176.6	108.8	115.1	52.1	452.5	66	Malta	128.3	126	1.3	41.4	
10	India	200.8	80.1	83.8	70.4	435.1	67	Sri Lanka	155.7	101.1	2	36.5	2
11	Spain	170.9	108.5	69.8	73.9	423.1	68	Latvia	137	110.7	0.5	45.9	2
12	Korea Republic	151.4	130.1	84	54.5	420	69	Barbados	147.2	112.1	0.4	33.8	2
13	Australia	178.9	106.2	79.4	53.7	418.1	70	Slovenia	130.5	123.3	0.6	39	2
14	New Zealand	148.5	115.9	76.3	46.1	386.9	70	Estonia	132.9	123.5	0.0	45.8	2
14	Nigeria	148.5	97.1	75.6	43.3	377.3	72	Vietnam	132.9	133.1	0.4	30.6	2
	-	161.4	107.2	61.6	45.5	376.9	72	Liberia	128.2	135.1	0.9	41.5	2:
16	Malaysia												
17 18	Norway Chile	163.2 159.1	111.8 111.9	9.2 62.4	92.5 39.4	376.7 372.8	74 75	Bolivia Guinea	140.9 145.2	112.2 112.5	1.5 0.4	37.7 33.9	2
18	Netherlands	159.1	111.9	62.4 9.7	39.4 49.8	372.8	75	El Salvador	145.2	112.5	0.4	33.9 15.9	2
20	Switzerland	162.9	121.3	5.4	82	371.6	77 78	Greece	149.5	114.1	2.5	19.8	2
21	Brazil	180.3	79	90.2	21.6	371.1		Israel	120.2	112.6	13.5	39.3	
22 23	Denmark	160.8 175.4	119.4	12.3	73.2 9.9	365.7 362.9	79 80	Cambodia Serbia	118.3	125.7	0.4	41.3 36.3	2
	Argentina		108.3	69.4					128.1	120.3			
24 25	Indonesia	179.1 161.2	97.9 102.9	37.3 45.6	46.5 45.9	360.8 355.6	81 82	Trinidad& Tobago Botswana	140.2 139.5	110.5 114.2	17.3 17	15.1 11.7	2
25	Turkey Mexico	161.2	102.9	45.6	45.9	355.6	82	Chad	139.5	114.2	50.2	5	2
20		173.8	107.7	26.1	54.8	338	84	Peru	111.7	115.5	5.4	1	2
27	Belgium Venezuela	128.3	128.5	62	1.9	332.8	85	Sierra Leone	132	107.6	0.4	19.2	2
28	Saudi Arabia	104.3	98.3	92.8	1.9	331.9	86		129.5	115.8	6.6	26.7	2
								Uruguay					2
30 31	Finland Luxembourg	152.7 168	115.8 113	3.3 1	58.1 47.4	329.9 329.3	87 88	Uganda	133.2 129.3	108.1 106.9	17.1 1.4	19.4 39.2	2
				2				Bangladesh					2
32 33	Singapore Thailand	141.8	138.2 116.1	2.3	46.2 47.4	328.2 327.2	89 90	Pakistan Mauritius	135.3 139.3	98.7 104.8	9.4 2.5	32.6 26.7	2
33 34	Philippines	158.1	110.1	18.6	47.4	327.2	90	Tanzania	139.5	104.8	0.6	33.3	2
35	Czech R.	143.1	100.7	19.4	42.7	325.3	92	Costa Rica	153.8	116.8	0.0	0.9	2
36	Dominican R.	143.1	108.7	17.1	47.4	324.3	93	Niger	145.6	115.4	1.3	9.3	2
37	Senegal	151.2	109.3	0.6	60.6	323.5	94	Dominica	143.0	113.4	0.3	45.1	2
		136.6	105.5	20.6	44.6	323.5	95	Panama	148.4	115.9	6.4	0.1	2
38 39	Hungary Sweden	136.6	121.1	9.3	44.6	322.8	95	Libya	148.4	115.9	1.2	0.1	2
40	Austria	142.4	120.0	7.2	51	322.3	97	Albania	122.5	108.4	0.4	38	2
40	Slovakia	133.4	121.5	17.6	43.6	317.6	98	Sudan	114.6	117.7	0.4	36	2
42	Poland	145.7	110.4	21.1	39.8	317	99	Bahamas	1113.8	111.4	0.4	41.4	2
43	Paraguay	142.7	128.6	0.4	41.7	313.4	100	Bosnia & Herzegovina	121.5	117.4	0.4	26.5	2
44	Cuba	141	126.7	3	41.8	312.5	101	Cote d'Ivoire	156.4	104.9	1.8	1.5	2
45	Nicaragua	150.1	119.7	0.3	41.4	311.4	102	Azerbaijan	102.8	115.1	0.6	45.9	2
46	Egypt	172.2	119.2	7.9	12	311.3	102	Namibia	96.9	124.6	0.3	42.4	2
47	South Africa	1/2.2	112.5	35.9	50.6	310	103	Georgia	93.1	123.6	0.4	46.6	2
48	Ukraine	147.6	122	2	36.9	308.5	105	Guatemala	158	102.2	1.4	1.7	2
49	Ireland	135.3	116.1	3	53.1	307.5	105	Croatia	133	115.6	0.8	13.1	2
50	Rwanda	135.5	117.6	0.4	70.3	306.3	100	Jamaica	137.8	115.0	18.1	0.4	2
51	Ecuador	154.1	109.8	3.7	38.5	306.1	107	U. Arab Emirates	137.0	100.1	1.4	32.1	2
52	Ghana	154.1	109.8	3.7	36.2	305.4	108	Haiti	135.7	109.9	0.3	7.5	2
52	Portugal	149.6	114.7	2.5	36.5	303.4	109	Kazakhstan	115.7	100.3	0.9	43.1	2
55 54	Lithuania	136.1	115.5	50.4	1.6	304.7	110	Honduras	139.9	119.1	0.9	45.1	2
55	Algeria	153.1	105.6	0.8	43.2	303.7	111	Montenegro	118.3	109.5	0.4	30.5	2
56	Morocco	133.1	105.0	17.8	42.8	301.8	112	Maldives	94.1	126.6	0.3	33.8	2
57	Bulgaria	132.1	118.6	5	45.2	301.3	113	Marshall Islands	76.6	139.9	0.1	37.6	2.
57	Duigaria	132.1	110.0	5	43.2	201	114		/0.0	139.9	0.1	37.0	Z:

Rank	Country	А	В	С	D	Total	Rank	Country	А	В	С	D	Total
115	Guyana	132.7	120	0.4	0.7	253.9	153	Seychelles	110.5	105.7	1.1	15	232.3
116	Mali	133.4	113.7	5	1.2	253.3	154	Papua New Guinea	123	106.8	0.4	1.5	231.7
117	Monaco	81.8	132.7	0	37.6	252.1	155	Uzbekistan	77.8	111.8	0.7	40.9	231.2
118	Lesotho	85.2	125	0.3	41.4	252	156	Antigua & Barbuda	112.2	105.1	0.2	11.3	228.7
119	Brunei	92.6	120.4	0.4	37.8	251.2	157	Swaziland	80.1	117.7	15.3	15	228.2
120	Mauritania	101.4	102.6	0.4	46.3	250.7	158	Iran	120.5	99.8	3.1	4.6	227.9
121	Congo, D. R.	127.9	100.5	17.6	4.6	250.7	159	Somalia	89.6	121.4	16.7	0	227.8
122	St. Lucia	102.9	110.1	0.1	37.6	250.6	160	Zimbabwe	107	103.6	0.9	16.2	227.
123	Benin	140.9	100.9	0.4	7.6	249.8	161	Turkmenistan	59.9	128.1	0.2	37.6	225.
124	Gabon	126.6	106	0.3	16.9	249.8	162	Laos	107.6	90.8	0.3	26.3	22
125	Cabo Verde	113.3	106.1	0.3	30.1	249.7	163	Qatar	95.8	103.6	1.6	23.1	22
126	Cyprus	136.3	112	0.5	0.9	249.7	164	Burundi	109.1	108.9	0.4	5.5	223.
127	Iraq	100.7	112.3	1.1	34.4	248.4	165	Myanmar	107.6	91.9	0.6	22.6	222.
128	Djibouti	113	118.3	1.3	15.6	248.2	166	Lebanon	113.5	108.7	0.3	0.1	222.
129	Kyrgyzstan	88.2	113.8	0.4	45.5	247.9	167	Afghanistan	85.4	114.8	0.4	18.8	219.
130	Cameroon	134.2	94.7	1.5	17.4	247.7	168	Oman	97.6	105.8	0.6	11.9	215.
131	Kuwait	101.4	101	2.2	42.3	247	169	Central African R.	116.3	83.3	0.3	15.4	215.
132	Belarus	121	110.4	0.7	14.4	246.5	170	St. Vincent & G	100	114.6	0.1	0	214.
133	San Marino	85.4	136.8	0.1	22.6	244.8	171	Suriname	108	103.6	0.2	0	211.
134	Fiji	132.2	109	0.3	3	244.5	172	Micronesia	71.7	121	0.2	18.8	211.
135	Armenia	89.5	106	0.4	47.1	243	173	Syria	109.8	100.2	0.4	0.4	210.
136	Nepal	83.6	119.4	2.4	37.6	243	174	Vanuatu	106.1	103.4	0.3	0.1	209.
137	Congo, R	114.8	123.5	0.3	4.1	242.8	175	Timor-Leste	84.8	95.8	0.3	26.3	207.
138	Bhutan	52.5	143.6	0.3	45.2	241.5	176	Tajikistan	85.8	119.7	0.4	0.4	206.
139	Samoa	90.8	108.4	0.3	41.4	240.8	177	Grenada	98.2	106	0.2	0	204.
140	Тодо	119	111.8	0.4	8.9	240.1	178	Sao Tome and P.	94.9	107.4	0.3	0	202.
141	Gambia	117.8	120.6	0.3	1.2	240	179	Kiribati	82.6	117.1	0.2	0	199.
142	Moldova	100.5	119.5	0.4	19.6	240	180	Guinea-Bissau	102.9	95.7	0.3	0	198.
143	Bahrain	93.6	111.3	0.4	34	239.2	181	Equatorial Guinea	90.8	106.5	0.2	0.8	198.
144	Yemen	111.7	124.6	0.6	1.7	238.7	182	Tuvalu	69.7	113.4	0.1	15	198.
145	Madagascar	137.8	99.1	1.4	0.2	238.5	183	Comoros	91.6	106	0.4	0	19
146	Tonga	95.7	110	0.2	30.1	236	184	Eritrea	78	102.7	0.3	15	19
147	Mozambique	115.6	118.1	0.4	1.5	235.6	185	Solomon Islands	87.3	102.3	0.3	3.8	193.
148	Burkina Faso	119	102.7	1	12.8	235.5	186	Palau	64.1	112.8	0.2	0	17
149	Belize	109.7	106.6	0.2	18.8	235.3	187	St.Kitts and Nevis	61.7	107.2	0.1	3.8	172
150	Mongolia	89.1	118.5	0.3	26.9	234.7	188	Macedonia	52.8	114.8	0.3	0.8	168.
151	Malawi	101.4	127.2	0.4	4.7	233.7	189	Andorra	42	85.7	0	34.2	161
152	Zambia	119.3	109.2	0.9	4.3	233.6							



# THE FUTURE OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

## **CHINA PERSPECTIVE**

中国方案与全球治理的未来

# THE FUTURE OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE: CHINA PERSPECTIVE

Currently, global governance faces severe challenges. Difficulties and problems have emerged in the relationship between big powers, security, global counterterrorism, economic development, financial security, global rich-poor gap, climate changes, transnational migration and exchanges. The G7, the IMF and other governance institutions have put on a clumsy performance in their prediction, relief provision and other counter-measures when addressing these global challenges. Naturally, reform and transformation become highly needed for the global governance institution that is previously dominated by the European and American countries, as their systems, democracy and model of economy of have failed to show superiority. Given the insufficient representativeness and effectiveness of current global governance framework, the world is expecting China, a representative of the emerging countries, to offer its suggestions and proposals for advancing global governance reform.

China has extensively participated in international affairs on an equal footing and pursued cooperation and innovation. This can be manifested in the following aspects. First, China abides by the principle of respect for sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and works to promote the democratisation of international relations. China has followed the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, which is an important guarantee to safeguarding national sovereignty, defending territorial integrity and realising national independence. Second, China pursues the principle of opening up, inclusiveness and cooperation to benefit all, and especially sets store by the interests and demands of developing countries. True global governance should have in place a new multilateral institution of governance that is flexible and efficient and includes all developed countries, emerging economies and developing countries. Third, building "a community of a share future" for mankind has been a new concept and philosophy put forth by the Chinese government. In an era of globalisation, all countries and regions are becoming interdependent, with mutual influences in such spheres as politics, economy, military, foreign affairs and culture, and are increasingly growing into a community in which everyone has in himself a little bit of others.

Based on the SPIGG evaluation results, the research team has developed the short-, medium- and long-term plans for global governance reform from the perspective of China, a representative of the emerging countries and

## 中国方案与全 球治理的未来

面对全球治理在当前面临的严重挑战和困难,作为新兴国家代表的中国理应为推动全球治理改革提供智慧和方案。

•中国方案的三个特点:一 是中国尊重主权和不干涉 内政的原则,坚持促进国 际关系民主化。二是坚持 开放包容、合作共赢的原 则,力求建立一种灵活高 效的"新多边主义"治理 机制。三是倡导一种你中 有我,我中有你的"命运共 同体"。

●根据《全球治理指数》的 评估结果,报告提出了关 于全球治理改革的近期、 中期和远期规划方案。

•以2020年为节点,近期方 案重点放在推动全球经济 的持续增长、强化 G20 等 国际和多边组织地位和功 能以及中国为世界提供公 共产品和服务等方面。

•以2030年为节点,中期方案的重点是推动全球经济的包容性增长、鼓励新兴国家的参与以及进一步为世界提供公共产品和服务。

•以2050年为节点,全球治 理改革的远期方案以推动 联合国改革为首要目标, 力图促进联合国在全球治 理中发挥重要影响,建立 完善的全球治理机制。 developing countries, and presented China's proposals and principles for promoting global governance reform.

#### I. Plan for 2020

This is the short-term plan for global governance reform by 2020. At this stage, the efforts should focus on promoting the sustainable growth of the global economy, reinforcing the status and function of G20, and China's provision of public products and services to the rest of the world. To this end, the following work is recommended:

• To improve the mechanism of the Financial Stability Board, speed up the formulation of norms for international financial regulation, advance the reform of international financial regulation, curb international financial disorder, and maintain global economic stability;

• To set up a G20 Secretariat to coordinate the communication within the G20 and the transition between G20 presidencies, thereby ensuring the continuity of the issues discussed at G20 summits and arousing the attention to their implementation; to address the problems G20 faces such as "impracticality of decisions" and "difficulty in implementation" by creating unambiguous regulations, decision-making process, implementation mechanism and supervision system;

• To found the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and achieve its connection and interaction with the G20 mechanism, and invest USD 100 billion in infrastructure construction;

• To build the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road with concerted efforts, in which China and Asia will play the leading role to reinvigorate the economy and enhance regional cooperation;

• To promote the reform of the decision-making institutions of the IMF, the WB and the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and increase the representation and right to speak of the emerging economies and developing countries;

• To facilitate the creation and improvement of regional cooperation mechanisms to deal with global public crisis; and

• To accede to the Paris Agreement and increase international cooperation to cope with climate changes.

#### II. Plan for 2030

This is the medium-term plan for global governance reform by 2030. At this stage, the efforts should focus on promoting the inclusive growth of the global economy, and supporting the emerging countries to participate and provide more public products and services to the world. To this end, the following work is recommended:

• To reform the IMF, the WB and the WTO, the three major international financial institutions, and expand the representation, participation and decision-making power of the emerging markets and developing countries;

• To promote independent innovation, remove international technological barriers, enhance technological exchanges and cooperation, and noticeably cut international technology transfer prices;

• To promote the global economic development to benefit all, strive to raise the proportion of developed countries' aids to least developed countries (LDCs) to 0.2% of their gross national incomes, and relieve the unrepaid due debts of LDCs, landlocked developing countries and small island developing countries;

• To explore new philosophy and ways for global governance, for instance, the Chinese proposal of building "a community of a share future" that is by all, for all and of all; and

• To make the Renminbi an international currency of payment and settlement, and provide public services and products for global economic exchanges.

#### III. 2050 Outlook

This is the long-term vision for global governance reform by 2050. At this stage, the efforts should focus on promoting the reform of the UN, building up the UN's influence in global governance, and establishing a complete institution of global governance. To this end, the following work is recommended:

• To reform the main institutions of the UN, the Security Council in particular, and grant more right to speak and more power to make decisions to the emerging countries and developing countries;

• To reinforce the UN's political and military forces, and limit the arbitrary military interference by hegemony-seeking countries;

• To further promote all countries to accept the trade liberalisation strategy, and basically eliminate artificially imposed international trade barriers;

• To optimise the international financial regulatory system to ensure the stable and healthy development of global financial system and avoid the frequent occurrence of cyclical financial crises;

• To basically achieve innovation-driven economic development so that science and technology will contribute to 70% of the economic growth of G20 members; and

• To promote international law-based governance and fairness and justice so as to make international law the basis for the mediation of international disputes.

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华东政法大学政治学 研究院的"全球治理指 数"项目始于2014年。在 三年多的时间里,项目组 得到了国内外专家的大力 支持。围绕相关主题,政 研院组织了一系列主题研 讨会,对相关机构和组织 进行了走访调研,并通过 邀请访问及远程交流等形 式与专家展开了方式多样 的交流和对话。得益于国 内外专家的智力贡献,

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