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## **Escalating crisis in the governance of the global trading system**

### **Abstract**

*Object:* The crisis in the governance of the WTO multilateral trading system is manifested in the destruction of the negotiation process and decision-making within the rounds, virtually fruitless Ministerial Conferences and a protracted pause in the implementation of the dispute settlement mechanism. Crises and increased geopolitical tensions provoke national governments to use protectionist policy instruments that violate trade norms and rules adopted within the WTO. There is increasing attention to the problems of global trade from the IMF, the World Bank and the UN. The possibility of creating a new governing body for the global trading system under the auspices of the UN is being discussed. Target. The purpose of the study is to identify the main trends in the development of international trade relations that influence the deepening crisis in the management of the global trading system.

*Methods:* General scientific and special methods were used: the dialectical method of understanding international trade relations; methods of historical and logical analysis; comparative analysis methods; methods of statistical and structural analysis; methods of empirical research, identifying individual parts of an object, identifying cause-and-effect relationships; methods of systems approach.

*Findings:* The influence of modern trends in the field of international trade on the deepening crisis in the management of the global trading system is empirically substantiated, which is manifested in: the deepening disagreements among WTO member countries regarding the agenda and decision-making within the WTO; increasing geopolitical tensions; an increase in the types and number of violations of trade rules adopted in WTO agreements; increased attention to crisis phenomena in international trade by the IMF, World Bank and UN

*Conclusions:* Crisis phenomena in trade relations and increased geopolitical tensions provoke national governments to use protectionist policy instruments that violate trade norms and rules adopted within the WTO. The above allows us to speak about the validity and adequacy of the formulated research hypothesis and the achievement of the set goal.

*Keywords:* global governance, global trading system governance crisis, geopolitical tensions, fragmentation, subsidies, barriers to trade.

### **Introduction**

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the development of the global economy and its integral components – trade and financial systems – has been accompanied by numerous crises of a global and local nature. And if quite effective national policy instruments have been developed to reduce the impact and eliminate the consequences of most financial crises, then at the global level, anti-crisis management is only just being formed. Permanent crises in the field of international trade turned out to be even more problematic for management. The COVID-19 pandemic has fully demonstrated the devastating impact of violations of the principles of free and barrier-free trade on the economic growth of both developed and developing countries. Of particular importance for the escalation of crisis phenomena in international trade are the so-called trade wars, both between individual countries and with the participation of regional associations. It was trade wars that created the preconditions for the fragmentation of world trade. In this regard, representatives of international institutions and the scientific and expert community are increasingly raising the question of the consistency of the global governance architecture, the need to reform both its entire system and its main components — the systems for managing global trade and financial relations. In 2023, the expert community was forced to admit that global economic governance has not kept pace with changes in the global economy, the rise of the global South and other geopolitical changes (Our Common Agenda Policy Brief 6, May 2023). At the same time, certain areas of the globalized economy have distinctive management features and mechanisms for responding to crisis phenomena.

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The purpose of the study is to identify the main trends in the development of international trade relations that influence the deepening crisis in the management of the global trading system.

Research hypothesis: The escalation of the crisis in managing the global trading system, in our opinion, is manifested in: the deepening disagreements among WTO member countries regarding the agenda and decision-making within the WTO; increasing geopolitical tensions; an increase in the types and number of violations of trade rules adopted in WTO agreements; increased attention to crisis phenomena in international trade by the IMF, World Bank and UN.

### *Literature review*

Discussions on global governance issues have continued since the beginning of the 21st century. Conceptually, global governance is a process of shared leadership that brings together national governments, multilateral institutions and civil society to achieve common goals and address global challenges. The main principles are complexity, dynamism, the ability to cover national and sectoral boundaries and interests, the use of “soft” methods and tools (Slozko et al., 2013, 78; Boughton James et al., 2007). The authors noted that the existing international management system is fragmented and specialized, and does not provide opportunities for effective general analysis and unification of efforts to solve global problems (Boughton et al., 2007). In particular, the World Trade Organization deals with international trade issues, the World Bank and regional development banks provide official financing to developing countries, the IMF oversees the functioning of the international monetary and financial system, and provides financial and technical assistance to member countries to overcome balance of payments problems. The UN and its structural divisions monitor both global development and the development of individual spheres of human activity, in particular, international trade and investment, humanitarian and food spheres. However, despite regular, extensive consultation and cooperation between such institutions, each of them acts independently within the limits of its competence (Slozko et al., 2013, 77).

Analyzing the problems of managing global trade, Dadush U. and Nielson J. noted that “the strength of the multilateral trading system cannot be taken for granted. The system is facing significant challenges, and two issues lie at their core: the increased role of developing countries and the sensitivity of the unfinished liberalization agenda. The picture is further complicated by the proliferation of preferential trade agreements. How these challenges are met will determine whether international trade will continue to be governed by multilateral disciplines or characterized by competing trade blocs and escalating disputes” (Dadush & Nielson, 2007). At the turn of the millennium, the key drivers for the growth of international trade were falling transport costs, technological innovation and lower barriers. The strength of the WTO lies in the fact that it is based on treaties between its members, and its main function is to provide a forum for governments to negotiate with each other. But consensus-based decisions at the WTO can be long and difficult. The latter is decisive for decision-making processes. The authors of the article, despite identifying the problems of international trade development that were relevant at the end of 2007, expressed hope for the successful completion of the Doha Round.

Extremely important for our research was the publication of Faizel Ismail (Faizel, 2020) with an analysis of different and directly opposite approaches to reforming the WTO and the crisis in managing global trade relations using the principle of multilateralism. The author clearly states that “There is a universal consensus among trade experts that the WTO is in its worst crisis since the formation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1947. This crisis can be traced to the debates during the Doha Round on governance and reform of the WTO, stimulated by the Sutherland and Warwick Commissions (in 2003 and 2007)”. The failure of the Doha Round of negotiations in 2008 ushered in a more vigorous debate on WTO reform and development prospects. “The crisis of the WTO has worsened with each WTO ministerial meeting since the Doha Round collapse in 2008. WTO Ministerial Conferences (MCs) since 2009 until the last one in Buenos Aires in 2017 have not been able to agree to continue the Doha Round. While developing countries have continued to reassert the development objectives of the Doha Round, the developed countries, led by the US have pursued “new pathways” that sought to abandon the Doha Round and shift the trajectory of the WTO in favor of the developed countries once again. This process can be said to be a first wave of reform proposals put forward by the developed countries, led by the US, and actively advanced in the WTO” (Faizel, 2020, R. 2,3).

The global crises of 2020 (Covid-19 pandemic) and 2022 (food and energy) brought the attention of IMF economists to the problems of international trade, which led to the publication of articles in a special issue of the journal “Finance & Development” under the general title Trade, Disrupted (Trade, Disrupted,

June 2023). A key message for the prospects for the development of the multilateral trading system may be the provisions of a joint publication by IMF Managing Director Cristalina Georgieva and World Trade Organization Director General Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala: “Navigating trade policies through the current turbulent period is challenging. But keeping trade open and looking for new opportunities for closer cooperation will be essential to build on existing gains and to help deliver solutions to climate change and other global challenges. The IMF, WTO, and other leading international institutions have a critical role in charting a way forward that is in the collective interest. We must cooperate tirelessly to strengthen the multilateral trading system and demonstrate that our own institutions can adapt to a fast-changing world. The IMF has a mandate to support the balanced growth of international trade. The WTO remains the only forum that brings all economies together to advance trade reform. We cannot afford to stand still” (Georgieva & Okonjo-Iweala, 2023).

The results of the literature review allow us to conclude about the relevance of research into crisis phenomena both in the management of the global trading system and in trade relations between countries.

### **Methods**

To conduct this research, general scientific and special methods were used: the dialectical method of understanding international trade relations; methods of historical and logical analysis (when analyzing the processes of transformation of governance mechanisms of the global trading system in different periods of development of the world economy and escalation of crisis phenomena); methods of comparative analysis (when studying the processes of formation of preconditions for the escalation of the crisis in the management of the global trading system); methods of statistical and structural analysis (in determining trends in the development of international trade); methods of empirical research (identification, comparison, analysis, synthesis (generalization), identification of individual parts of an object, identification of cause-and-effect relationships; methods of a systems approach (when considering management problems of the global trading system as a component of the global governance architecture).

### **Results**

Asynchronous fluctuations in global development indicators — GDP and international trade. The importance of maintaining an open and inclusive multilateral trading system is noted in the World Trade Organization report, according to which free trade (rather than protection by all countries of domestic producers and products) is the best way to reduce the high and growing costs of the unfolding crisis. It is noted that in 2022, global trade in goods and services amounted to a record 31.4 trillion. USA (Annual Report, 2023).

However, the statistics presented in the table indicate significant differences in the growth rates of GDP, exports and imports during 2019-2022 and disappointing forecasts for 2023-2024. At the same time, there are significant differences in the dynamics of these indicators between regions. These tables clearly record the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic at the end of 2020 and the impact of the food and energy crises of 2022.

Table. Merchandise trade volume and GDP growth, 2019-2024 a), Annual % change

	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023 <sup>a)</sup>	2024 <sup>a)</sup>
<b>World</b>						
GDP at market exchange rates	2.6	-3.3	5.9	3.0	2.4	2.6
Merchandise trade volume <sup>b)</sup>	0.4	-5.1	9.4	2.7	1.7	3.2
<b>North America</b>						
GDP at market exchange rates	2.1	-3.8	5.5	2.2	1.5	1.0
Exports	0.4	-8.9	6.5	4.2	3.3	3.1
Imports	-0.6	-5.9	12.5	6.0	-0.1	1.4
<b>South America<sup>c)</sup></b>						
GDP at market exchange rates	0.5	-6.5	7.4	4.0	1.4	2.0
Exports	-1.3	-4.9	5.8	1.9	0.3	0.6
Imports	-1.8	-10.8	25.6	4.2	-1.6	2.3
<b>Europe</b>						
GDP at market exchange rates	1.7	-5.6	5.9	3.4	0.9	1.8
Exports	0.4	-7.7	8.1	2.7	1.8	2.0
Imports	0.3	-7.2	8.5	5.2	-0.6	1.8
<b>Asia</b>						
GDP at market exchange rates	4.0	-0.9	6.2	3.3	4.2	4.3

Exports	0.8	0.6	13.1	0.6	2.5	4.7
Imports	-0.5	-0.8	10.5	-0.4	2.6	5.2
<b>CIS<sup>d)</sup></b>						
GDP at market exchange rates	2.6	-2.5	4.9	-0.9	-0.9	0.7
Exports	-0.1	-0.9	-3.0	-4.9	2.8	2.2
Imports	8.3	-5.5	9.1	-13.5	14.9	0.8
<b>Africa</b>						
GDP at market exchange rates	2.6	-2.4	4.7	3.4	3.5	3.9
Exports	-0.3	-7.2	3.5	0.7	-1.4	1.4
Imports	3.3	-14.8	6.4	5.6	5.6	5.5
<b>Middle East</b>						
GDP at market exchange rates	1.0	-4.1	4.2	5.8	2.9	3.1
Exports	-1.0	-6.6	-2.4	9.9	0.9	4.7
Imports	11.2	-10.1	8.3	9.4	5.5	4.3
a) For 2023 and 2024 are projections.						
b) Average of exports and imports.						
c) Refers to South and Central America and the Caribbean.						
d) Refers to Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), including certain associate and former member states.						
<i>Sources: Global Trade Outlook and Statistics. World Trade Organization, 2023, P.10</i>						

### Challenges in governance of a multilateral trading system based on WTO rules.

The multilateral trading system is a historic achievement for the international community. The system, which replaced the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1995, is evolving and expanding through the admission of new members — there are currently 164, with more than 20 on the waiting list. Emerging new tools and practices are gradually changing trade policies in the transition to a green and digital future, helping to solve problems of food and economic security (González, 2023). For example, intensive negotiations on the eve of the 12th Ministerial Conference in June 2022 resulted in a number of important results. Adopted an emergency response to the food crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as a groundbreaking agreement to limit harmful fisheries subsidies, the first WTO agreement with an environmental objective at its heart.

In recent years, the WTO has been criticized for the low effectiveness of its dispute resolution mechanism. Negotiations on this issue are key to updating and adjusting the WTO rulebook to meet the challenges of the 21st century. Without a fully functional trade dispute resolution system, compliance may be patchy, and participants may be reluctant to agree to new rules if they cannot be fully implemented. This topic is part of ongoing efforts to reform the WTO. However, there is another very important function of the organization, which is to provide a forum for dialogue and discussion, as well as understanding the rationale for a particular activity, clarifying its scope, assessing the consequences and consistency with WTO rules. These discussions can help members address trade irritants and avoid them escalating into conflicts (González, 2022).

The main task of the WTO in an era of polycrisis is to maintain confidence in the multilateral trading system. It is important not only what trade policy commitments member countries make, but also the extent to which these commitments are perceived as credible. After all, any violation of WTO rules is accompanied by significant collateral damages, undermining the functioning of the multilateral trading system as a whole (Ossa, 2023).

The WTO cooperates with a number of other international public organizations under the “flag of coherence”, a term derived from the “Decision to Achieve Greater Coherence in Global Economic Policymaking”, which ministers agreed in Marrakech in April 1994. But coherence in the formation of global economic policy goes beyond the formal and specific agreements of the WTO on cooperation with the IMF and the World Bank. It is recognized that the WTO system is only part of a broader set of international rights and obligations of WTO members. The WTO maintains broad institutional relations with other international organizations; about 140 international organizations have observer status in WTO bodies. The WTO also participates as an observer in the work of several international organizations. The WTO Secretariat maintains working relationships with nearly 200 international organizations in activities ranging from statistics, research, standard setting to technical assistance and training (The WTO and other organizations).

Geopolitical tensions. Among the problems that have become relevant in recent years in the field of international trade management, the most acute is the geopolitical tension between the two largest trading countries — the United States and China. The rest of the world is forced to either identify an inclination to-

wards the policies of one of these states, or adhere to a policy of non-alignment. This creates the preconditions for the fragmentation of trade relations (Woods, 2023).

WTO economists estimate that the fragmentation of the world economy into two warring blocs will reduce real incomes by an average of 5.4%. Reviving multilateralism could boost real incomes by 3.2%, so the opportunity cost of abandoning international cooperation and embracing geopolitical competition would be 8.6%. Importantly, opportunity costs range from 6.4% for developed economies to 10.2% for developing countries to 11.3% for least developed economies. Rates are highest for low-income countries, as they will benefit most from the positive impact of technology associated with international trade (Ossa, 2023).

The COVID-19 pandemic has disrupted trade and supply chains, increasing the focus on security of supply. The term friendshoring (transfer of production to friendly countries) has entered the economic lexicon, that is, reducing dependence on potentially hostile supplier countries. For example, in December 2022, Canada and friendly countries and allies (Australia, Germany, United Kingdom, United States, France, Japan) announced the creation of the Alliance for Sustainable Mining of Critical Minerals, and the Group of Seven is developing a sustainable investment initiative (Woods, 2023).

Violation of global trade rules.

Distribution of subsidies. An important problem of violations of the rules of trade relations in recent years has been the spread of various types of subsidies. Existing WTO rules, including the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM Agreement), have generally served governments well for more than two and a half decades as part of a broader system of trade rules.

Important new questions have emerged, including the role of subsidies in addressing climate change, global value chains, digital transformation and economic and health emergencies. New forms of state support have gained importance. Despite many efforts, subsidy practices often remain opaque. Disagreements over subsidies are a major source of tension in some key bilateral relationships, and existing multilateral subsidy rules have been criticized in some quarters as having limited effectiveness; there were calls for their reform. Of particular interest are subsidies with possible harmful international effects, particularly those that may distort (i) international trade or investment, including by undermining the value of existing tariff links or other market access obligations, or (ii) “global common goods”, for example, by promoting production that is harmful to the international environment (Subsidies, trade, and international cooperation, 2022).

Barriers to trade. The WTO Trade Monitoring Study shows that from October 2021 to mid-October 2022, the estimated trade coverage of regular (non-COVID-related) import facilitation measures imposed by WTO members (\$1,038.4 billion) significantly exceeded trade in COVID-19 measures. import restrictions (\$163.5 billion). In this context, at the 12th WTO Ministerial Conference in June 2022 in the Ministerial Declaration on Emergency Response to Food Insecurity, WTO Members committed to take concrete steps to facilitate trade and improve the functioning and long-term sustainability of global markets for food and agriculture, fertilizers and other inputs agricultural production. However, pressure for new restrictions will continue as long as the war continues. As of February 17, 2023, 95 restrictive measures on food, feed and fertilizer exports have been introduced since February 2022, with 67 still in place, covering approximately \$85 billion of trade, USA. These figures have increased, but are still well below the level of restrictions seen during the food price crisis in 2007 and 2008. It remains true that WTO members have introduced more trade-facilitating measures than restrictive goods, with the average number of trade-facilitating measures per month being the highest since 2012 (One year, 2023).

Sanctions. Sanctions of some coalitions against aggressor countries have become specific instruments of national policy.

Increased attention to crisis phenomena in international trade from the IMF, the World Bank and the UN. Contemporary challenges to the continued functioning of the multilateral trading system have prompted the IMF to reconsider its policies in this area. Thus, on March 27, 2023, the IMF Executive Board completed its periodic review of the role of trade in the work of the Fund. The review allows the IMF to update the objectives and modalities of its work on trade issues (IMF Executive Board Concludes, April 2023). There are three key messages to note. First, deteriorating trade policy conditions pose risks to current levels of welfare. Second, although the Fund has responded quickly to key trade developments in its multilateral surveillance, its focus on trade policy has declined. Third, reinvigorating the Fund's trading strategy will help address key challenges, including adapting to structural changes associated with climate change and new technologies; promoting policy coherence between trade and non-trade goals such as climate, inequality and security; managing growing geopolitical tensions and risks of geo-economic fragmentation (Review of the Role of Trade, April 2023). Directors noted that the Fund can help address key trade policy issues through many

channels, including bilateral and multilateral surveillance and inter-institutional cooperation. They agreed that a strong multilateral system is central to open, stable and transparent trade policy, and the Fund must remain a strong advocate. The Fund could become more involved in major discussions about global trade policy, such as subsidies and other trade-distorting policies and barriers to trade and investment. Directors noted that the Fund is not in a position to evaluate the appropriateness of trade measures imposed for reasons of national or international security, but must evaluate the economic consequences of such policies, including spillover effects.

International institutions have addressed the problems with subsidies. Following the publication of the joint report on Subsidies, Trade and International Cooperation in 2022, the IMF, OECD, World Bank and WTO created a common online platform for subsidies data, containing links to existing data sources from each organization (Subsidies, trade, and international cooperation, 2022). The platform aims to facilitate access to information as a first step towards finding a common language between governments regarding the proper use and nature of subsidies. The different types of subsidy data available in the four organizations are explained, as well as the structure of the various subsidy databases, with a detailed description of their contents and basic data collection methodologies. From a WTO perspective, one of the key goals is to facilitate access to WTO subsidy reports by making them available in a more research-friendly format, which experts have rightly identified as a minimum requirement for statistical analysis. Working both individually and jointly, the IMF, OECD, World Bank and WTO intend to continue to develop and expand the platform and deepen their analysis, for example assessing the fiscal efficiency of subsidy schemes and their cross-border spillover effects, or improving the rules and policy design governing subsidies.

These organizations have a number of mechanisms to facilitate dialogue on subsidies: the IMF provides policy advice through its regular surveillance mechanisms; The OECD maintains an ongoing conversation with its members on issues related to subsidy structures, implications and reform options; The World Bank supports analysis and monitoring at the country, regional and global levels; The WTO provides a forum for discussing and resolving trade-related issues.

### ***Discussions***

The results of the study suggest the importance of the development of the global trading system for stable and inclusive growth of the world economy. The WTO, due to its inertia and adherence to principles adequate to the situation in the global economy at the end of the twentieth century, is losing its leadership position in the management of the multilateral trading system. At the same time, the WTO cannot really and quickly respond to massive violations of the established rules of international trade in relation to prohibitive instruments in exports and imports, the use of subsidies and sanctions. In this regard, it seems possible to form a new paradigm for managing the global trading system.

### ***Conclusions***

Numerous global crises have increased the attention of the world scientific and expert community to the problems of reforming both the architecture of global governance and the failure of managing the world trading system. There is no doubt that there is a crisis in the management of the multilateral trading system within the WTO, which is manifested, first of all, in the destruction of the negotiation process and decision-making within the framework of rounds, practically fruitless Ministerial conferences and then the resulting pause in the implementation of the dispute settlement mechanism.

Crisis phenomena in trade relations and increased geopolitical tension provoke national governments to use protectionist policy instruments that violate trade norms and rules adopted within the WTO. Numerous publications by international institutions and experts on the problems and prospects for the development of global trade relations indicate increased attention to crisis phenomena on the part of the IMF, the World Bank and the UN. The possibility of creating a new governing body for the global trading system under the auspices of the UN is being discussed.

The above allows us to speak about the validity and adequacy of the formulated research hypothesis and the achievement of the set goal.

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### **Ғаламдық сауда жүйесін басқару дағдарысының күшеюі**

**Аңдатпа:**

ДСҰ көпжақты сауда жүйесін басқарудағы дағдарыс келіссөздер үдерісі мен раундтар шеңберінде шешімдер қабылдаудың бұзылуынан, іс жүзіндегі нәтижесіз министрлер конференцияларынан және дауларды реттеу механизмін жүзеге асырудың ұзаққа созылған үзілісінен көрінеді. Дағдарыс пен геосаяси шиеленістің артуы ұлттық үкіметтерді ДСҰ шеңберінде қабылданған сауда нормалары мен ережелерін бұзатын протекционистік саясат құралдарын қолдануға итермелейді. ХВҚ, Дүниежүзілік банк және БҰҰ тарапынан жаһандық сауда проблемаларына назар аударылуда. БҰҰ аясында жаһандық сауда жүйесін басқарудың жаңа органын құру мүмкіндігі талқылануда.

**Мақсаты:** Зерттеудің мақсаты — ғаламдық сауда жүйесін басқарудағы дағдарыстың тереңдеуіне әсер ететін халықаралық сауда қатынастарының дамуының негізгі тенденцияларын анықтау.

**Әдісі:** Жалпы ғылыми және арнайы әдістер қолданылды: халықаралық сауда қатынастарын танудың диалектикалық әдісі; тарихи және логикалық талдау әдістері; компаративті талдау әдістері; статистикалық және құрылымдық талдау әдістері; эмпирикалық зерттеу әдістері, объектінің жекелеген бөліктерін оқшаулау, себеп-салдарлық байланыстарды анықтау; жүйелік тәсіл әдістері.

**Қорытынды:** Ғаламдық сауда жүйесін басқарудағы дағдарыстың тереңдеуіне халықаралық сауда саласындағы заманауи тенденциялардың әсері эмпирикалық түрде дәлелденген, ол мыналардан көрінеді: ДСҰ-ға мүше елдердің күн тәртібіне және ДСҰ шеңберінде шешім қабылдауға қатысты келіспеушіліктердің тереңдеуінен; геосаяси шиеленістердің күшеюі; ДСҰ келісімдерінде қабылданған сауда ережелерін бұзу түрлері мен санының артуы; ХВҚ, Дүниежүзілік банк және БҰҰ тарапынан халықаралық саудадағы дағдарыстық құбылыстарға назар аудару.

**Тұжырымдама:** Сауда қатынастарындағы дағдарыс құбылыстары және геосаяси шиеленістің артуы ұлттық үкіметтерді ДСҰ шеңберінде қабылданған сауда нормалары мен ережелерін бұзатын протекционистік саясат құралдарын қолдануға итермелейді.

**Кілт сөздер:** ғаламдық басқару, ғаламдық сауда жүйесін басқару дағдарысы, геосаяси шиеленіс, фрагментация, субсидиялар, саудадағы кедергілер.

## Е. Борзенко, Т. Панфилова

### Эскалация кризиса управления глобальной торговой системой

#### **Аннотация:**

Кризис управления многосторонней торговой системой ВТО проявляется в разрушении переговорного процесса и принятия решений в рамках раундов, практически безрезультатных министерских конференциях и затянувшейся паузе реализации механизма урегулирования споров. Кризисы и усиление геополитической напряженности провоцируют национальные правительства к применению инструментов протекционистской политики, нарушающих принятые в рамках ВТО нормы и правила торговли. Усиливается внимание к проблемам глобальной торговли со стороны МВФ, Всемирного банка и ООН. Дискутируется возможность создания нового органа управления глобальной торговой системой под эгидой ООН.

**Цель:** Цель исследования — идентификация основных тенденций развития международных торговых отношений, влияющих на углубление кризиса управления глобальной торговой системой.

**Методы:** Используются общенаучные и специальные методы: диалектический метод познания международных торговых отношений, методы исторического и логического анализа, компаративного анализа, статистического и структурного анализа, эмпирического исследования, выделение отдельных частей объекта, выявление причинно-следственных связей, методы системного подхода.

**Результаты:** Эмпирически обосновано влияние современных тенденций в сфере международной торговли на углубление кризиса управления глобальной торговой системой, что проявляется в углублении разногласий стран-членов ВТО в отношении повестки дня и принятия решений в рамках ВТО; усилении геополитической напряженности; увеличении видов и количества нарушений правил торговли, принятых в соглашениях ВТО; усилении внимания к кризисным явлениям в международной торговле со стороны МВФ, Всемирного банка и ООН.

**Выводы:** Кризисные явления в торговых отношениях, усиление геополитической напряженности провоцируют национальные правительства к применению инструментов протекционистской политики, нарушающих принятые в рамках ВТО нормы и правила торговли.

**Ключевые слова:** глобальное управление, кризис управления глобальной торговой системой, геополитическая напряженность, фрагментация, субсидии, барьеры в торговле.

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