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Revisiting the Global Governance Framework in History and Understanding its Contemporary Potential for the European Union

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Abstract

This study investigates the historical development and implementation of global governance theory, recognizing its collaborative framework as a critical tool in global politics. While the theory, alongside its epistemic foundations, offers productive and useful guidance for approaching transnational affairs, the question remains whether or not the application of this theory to reality has been successful and advantageous. In order to evaluate this translation, three key structures for transnational relations are examined: the Entente Cordiale, the League of Nations, and the European Union. By consulting key global governance theorists, academic assessments, as well as news reports, this paper analyzes and evaluates Europe's use of a global governance framework. Although the reality of implementing this theory has exposed significant flaws, this study points to global governance theory as a valuable framework, suggesting the need to return to this theory, particularly for navigating through uncertainty and instability in global politics.

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Contents

Introduction

The recent election of President Trump, along with the shock Brexit vote, hint at the possibility of an approaching cultural and political crossroads. Nation-states are more economically and socially interdependent than ever before, but a subsequent backlash to this cosmopolitanism is pointing toward a potentially significant shift in politics. Diplomacy, core values, and international relationships are vulnerable to the nationalistic goals that are once again at the forefront of many nation-states. In this uncertain climate, returning to the fundamentals of transnational politics is a necessary step to thoroughly evaluate the most effective means of approaching global challenges. At the heart of these politics is global governance theory. This theory supports a collaborative agenda, a useful tool in a globalized community. Global governance theory suggests the fostering of productive relationships and protection of values that transcend national boundaries. In this environment, nation-states are able to protect their sovereignty while also working together to create more cohesive relations.

This study focused on Europe as a case study to access the development and translation of global governance theory to reality. Three key historical precedents were examined in order to understand the potential for global governance structures to address transnational issues effectively. These three precedents included the creation of the Entente Cordiale, the League of Nations, and the European Union. Significant progress was made through all three of these products of global governance towards establishing the ultimate structures and mentalities supporting lasting peace and a collaborative transnational agenda. Using a historical lens, this study argued that a return to the global governance theory is necessary in order to best approach contemporary politics, avoiding diplomatic breakdowns of the past.

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The literature review featured key contributors to global governance theory such as American political scientist James Rosenau, global governance expert Thomas Weiss, and international relations scholar Rorden Wilkinson. These experts investigated global governance theory's effect on peace and security affairs, and development of global expectations. International relations academics, such as Andrew Hurrell, provided a thorough understanding of the gap between applied and theoretical global governance and how this problematic relationship must be scrutinized in order to overcome its deficiencies. While scholars commonly conceded there are significant shortcomings to global governance theory, they also recognized the application of this theory as a necessity in a globalized world. This existing scholarship provided a fundamental understanding of global governance theory, which could then be applied to products of global governance throughout history in the form of the Entente Cordiale, the League of Nations, and the European Union.

The Entente Cordiale was analyzed and heralded as a monumental step forward in the movement for collaborative politics. With the tumultuous past relationship of Britain and France, this partnership represented a major measure taken to achieve a peaceful and beneficial global structure. While it ultimately failed to prevent another conflict, the agreement provided a critical foundation for future transnational negotiations and cooperation. The Entente Cordiale's surrounding historical context and its lasting repercussions suggested the bilateral agreement was an important step in the development of applied global governance theory.

The League of Nations was then examined, revealing the innovative vision that created it in alliance with the goals of supporting a particular world order that theoretically ensured peace and stability. As a response to the devastation of WWI, the League of Nations implemented Woodrow Wilson's idea, establishing a political organization used to promote international

negotiation. The organization was founded upon the foundations of global governance and represented an ideological breakthrough as the League supported a new era of multilateral cooperation.

Finally, the European Union was thoroughly discussed to understand the contemporary role of global governance. Functioning within an extremely globalized community, the European Union has had the potential to gain influence and guide transnational politics in a structured and united manner, acting as a springboard for global governance growth. However, its shortcomings have hindered its potential success. Moving forward from Brexit, the European Union's future appears uncertain, but its ability to combat contemporary transnational challenges remains so long as politicians choose to support the fundamentals of global governance.

By reviewing global governance theory and its historical successes and shortcomings, this research explored the potential for global governance structures to address potentially problematic patterns emerging in contemporary policymaking and social attitudes.

Literature Review

Current trends in literature suggest that the theory behind global governance is a useful and positive tool, yet its implementation is problematic and includes its own set of challenges that must be addressed. Particularly significant is the gap between conceptualization and practical execution. Global governance theory offers a platform to confront modern issues. However, this theory must be adequately employed to ensure success.

Conceptualizing Global Governance

Global governance relies on two distinct, multifaceted, and loaded terms used in conjunction with one another. It is important to acknowledge the numerous understandings of global governance along with its core principles. Although global governance lends itself to a wide range of interpretations, scholars widely agree that the broad definition commonly employed must be narrowed to successfully apply global governance principles to contemporary challenges.[1] To understand and appreciate the complexity of global governance as one concept, both "global" and "governance" must first be deconstructed. Together, these terms form a distinct concept with its own set of capabilities and challenges.

The notion of "global," in the particular context of politics, encompasses the growing necessity for international cooperation and multilateralism in order to address "pressing transnational challenges of our times—issues of peace and security, development, human rights, the environment, and health among them."[2] Closely associated, the concept of globalization developed particularly in the twentieth century as a "widespread perception that there is a

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[1] Pattberg, Philipp, and Klaus Dingwerth. "Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics." *Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics* 12.2 (2006): 185-203. Print.

[2] Bruce W. Jentleson (*2017*) Global Governance, the United Nations, and the Challenge of Trumping Trump. Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations: April-June 2017, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 143-149.

broadening, deepening and speeding up of a worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of life, from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the environment."[3] The expansion of the world economy, in particular, led to an increase in transnational activity and subsequent need for an updated academic analysis of global order.[4] The shift in global structure encouraged an alternative understanding and classification of international interactions. Lawrence Finkelstein, former Vice President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and participant in the conference that formed the United Nations, explains how rather than relying on the previous classifications such as "international," "interstate," "intergovernmental," or "transnational," the term "global" emerged as the next expression to encompass modern-world connections.[5] This change reflected the adjustments in both the "dynamics of relations in the world of states and in the understandings of those dynamics," emphasizing an interconnected and interdependent world where efforts to promote and protect principles such as human rights and democracy were no longer designated solely to the individual sovereign state.[6] As academics began to analysis this shift in politics, "global" became a necessary term to reflect the modern age.

Equally nuanced, "governance" became an essential term used by scholars who dedicated themselves to understanding world politics. Governance refers to the "mechanisms that make societal or global determinations."[7] Derived from the Greek verb *kubernan*, meaning "to pilot" or "to steer," governance acts as a form of guidance in policy and actions for nations.[8] Political

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[3] Held, David, Anthony Mcgrew, David Goldblatt, and Jonathan Perraton. "Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture." *Politics at the Edge* (2000): 14-28. Print., 14.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Finkelstein, Lawrence S. "What Is Global Governance?" *Global Governance* 1.3 (1995): 367-72. JSTOR. Web. 02 June 2017., 367.

[6] Ibid., 367.

[7] Komesar, Neil, Luis Miguel Poiares Pessoa Maduro, Wendy Wagner, Antonina Bakardjieva-Engelbrekt, and Gregory Shaffer. *Understanding Global Governance : Institutional Choice and the Dynamics of Participation*. N.p.: European U Institute, 2014. Print. Global Governance Institute., 13.

[8] Daniels, P. W., Michael J. Bradshaw, Denis J. B. Shaw, James D. Sidaway, and Tim Hall. "Global Governance." *An Introduction to Human Geography*. Harlow: Pearson, 2016. 486-506. Print., 486.

scientists Vasudha Chhotry and Gerry Stoker emphasize the distinction between governance and governments. Rather than relying on governments, governance operates as a "system-level concept," with emphasis on macroscale operations across "societies or systems."[9] According to the Commission on Global Governance, "governance, is the sum of the many ways that individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. Since world politics is characterized by governance without government, the process of governance encompasses a broad range of actors."[10] Governance relies on actors both in the private and public fields. Due to this horizontal structure, negotiation is a key factor for governance activity. This negotiation works on a multi-tiered social system where states, businesses, NGOs, and non-profits intertwine, collaborate and sometimes conflict with one another. However, there is no single entity of power that leads a hierarchy of governmental figures. Rather, these organizations share the burden and the opportunity of addressing global issues together, establishing a form of "governance without government" with each participant representing their own interests and resources.[11]

Together, the terms "global" and "governance" form an extremely powerful theoretical model as well as practical tool used to approach modern politics: global governance. Global governance has the ability to function across political boundaries, seen as a form of administration or regime with "ideas and rules about how states should behave."[12] Global governance is not, however, a global government or "single world order."[13] In fact, its lack of

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[9] Chhotray, Vasudha, and Gerry Stocker. *Global Governance Theory and Practice: A Cross-Disciplinary Approach*. New York: Macmillian, 2009. Print., 12.
[10] O'Brien, Robert. *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge U, 2004. Print., 2.
[11] Ibid., 45.
[12] Ozgercin, Kevin, and Thomas Weiss. "The Evolution of Global Governance: Theory and Practice." *International Relations* (n.d.): 137-56. Print.,
[13] Karns, Margaret P., and Karen A. Mingst. "The Challenges of Global Governance." *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2015. 1-33. Print.

central authority and inclusion of various participants lends itself well to inclusion, a particularly

useful characteristic in a globalized world. Serbian scientist Mihajlo Mesarovic and German

industrial designer economist Eduard Pestel, stress the potential for global governance to provide

a necessary model for the "emerging world system," fulfilling the need for a "world

consciousness…through which every individual realizes his role as a member of the world

community."[14] James Rosenau explains how global governance includes "systems of rule at all

levels of human activity—from the family to the international organization—in which the pursuit

of goals through the exercise of control has transnational repercussions."[15] This structure

provides a means of implementing control to a complex environment accounting for a multitude

of participants.

Rosenau argues how it is critical to clarify that global governance denotes more than

formal institutions and organizations. Organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and

International Monetary Fund (IMF) are products of the application of this theory to the real

world. However, global governance encompasses much more than any one particular

organization. Its theory provides the framework that these institutions rely upon. Global

governance itself is "a process, not an entity, which embraces any stakeholder with an interest in

whatever topic is at hand."[16] Furthermore, it provides standards for a social system.[17] If global

governance is understood only through its products, scholars, politicians, and citizens alike risk

missing the full picture, including the nuances of the theory behind the institutions.

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[14] Mesarovic, Mihajlo D., and Eduard Pestel. *Mankind at the Turning Point: The Second Report to the Club of Rome*. New York: Dutton, 1976. Print., 43.

[15] Rosenau, James. "Governance in the Twenty-first Century." *Governance in the Twenty-first Century*1.1 (1995): 13-43. *JSTOR [JSTOR]*. Web. 2 June 2017.,14.

[16] Weiss, Thomas G. *Global Governance: Why? What? Whither?* Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2015. Print., 42.

[17] Rosenau, James. "Governance in the Twenty-first Century." *Governance in the Twenty-first Century.*, 14.

Global governance is ever-changing, continually evolving to reflect the values and conditions of the time.[18] While it may not serve as a single world order, it provides a level of "coherence to the multitude of jurisdictions that is proliferating on the world stage."[19] International relations experts Thomas Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson highlight how global governance acts as a collective effort, transcending capacities of individual states.[20] Similarly, Finkelstein argues that global governance is achieving what "governments do at home" on an international scale.[21] It should be noted, however, that while there has been a "rise of political authority beyond the nation-state," it by no means signals "the demise of the nation-state."[22] Rather, state legislation has adapted to suit the needs of a more globalized world filled with global governance organizations.[23]

<u>Envisioning the Possibilities</u>

When evaluating key themes in global governance theory, there are several prominent areas of application repeatedly addressed in the literature. Adherents of global governance envisioned its potential to address security issues, build economic stability, and institutionalize a human rights agenda.

Security

In the aftermath of World War I, one clear goal emerged: to achieve lasting peace. After experiencing the violence and sheer scale of WWI, leaders across the globe pledged to prevent such an event from occurring ever again. Although this goal was not met, its vision was

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[18] Rosenau, James. "Governance in the Twenty-first Century."
[19] Ibid., 18.
[20] Weiss, Thomas, and Rorden Wilkinson. "Rethinking Global Governance? Complexity, Authority, Power, Change." *International Studies Quarterly* 58 (2014): 207-15. Print., 208.
[21] Finkelstein, Lawrence S. "What Is Global Governance?" *Global Governance* 1.3 (1995): 367-72. *JSTOR*. Web. 02 June 2017., 369.
[22] Levi-Faur, David. Oxford Handbook of Governance. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Print.
[23] Ibid.

preserved in various practical manifestations of global governance theory. These applications of

global governance theory provided a clear vision and means for a diplomatic future, aiding

nation-states to take steps toward preventing further catastrophic conflicts. For example, the

League of Nations developed from principles rooted in fostering "cooperation among nations"

with the goal "to guarantee them peace and security."[24] After World War II, the United Nations

Security Council established 15 members devoted to maintaining peace and security through

evaluating acts of aggression and any threat to peace.[25] The European Union (EU) insists

member states "have committed themselves to a Common Foreign Security Policy."[26] With

clear security policies and expectations created within influential global governance institutions

such as these, the global governance framework illustrated its potential to aid in maintaining

peace and security.

Woodrow Wilson recognized this potential and strongly supported such a framework,

emphasizing the need for a global organization that would work to provide collective security in

his speech on War Aims and Peace Terms in 1918. Wilson stated how "[he] can predict with

absolute certainty that within another generation there will be another world war if the nations of

the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it."[27] This method is global

governance. The process of global governance "can be thought of as elevating global

knowledge, the sorts of intelligence and communication that contribute to and help to coordinate

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[24] United Nations Office at Geneva. "UNOG - The United Nations Office at Geneva." *Where Global Solutions Are Shaped for You | The Palais Des Nations | 80th Anniversary of the Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Palais Des Nations*. United Nations Office at Geneva, n.d. Web. 06 June 2017.
[25] United Nations. "Security Council, SC, UNSC, Security, Peace, Sanctions, Veto, Resolution, President, United Nations, UN, Peacekeeping, Peacebuilding, Conflict Resolution, Prevention." *United Nations*. United Nations, n.d. Web. 06 June 2017.
[26] European Union External Action Service. "Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)." *EEAS - European External Action Service*. European Union, n.d. Web. 06 June 2017.
[27] The President Woodrow Wilson House. "League of Nations." *The President Woodrow Wilson House*. The President Woodrow Wilson House, n.d. Web. 17 June 2017.

other aspects of globalization."[28] Through this process, a new transnational authority can

emerge. This authority has the ability to produce "attention, respect, and trust at a distance,

based on expertise and professional eminence."[29] The core principles of global governance

theory provide the ideal landscape to preserve global security.

Before the First World War, security was linked to state responsibility. After the war,

politicians recognized a need for change; that need continues today as we face new threats. In

the past, security has been linked to the state due to its responsibility to protect its own citizens.

However, Canadian politician and academic Lloyd Axworthy argues that the changing

international relations and world system reflect a demand for a new tactic toward tackling

security.[30] With the threat of terrorism, open-borders, and infectious diseases transcending state

powers, handling security must surpass previously held boundaries, both in the academic field as

well as in a practical application. In such an "interconnected world, our own security is

increasingly undividable from that of our neighbors. Globalization has made individual human

suffering an irrevocable universal concern."[31]

The 1995 Commission on Global Governance states that "global security must be

broadened from its traditional focus on the security of states to include the security of people and

the planet."[32] With modern human security often threatened by international threats, a global

approach may provide the necessary solution. In contemporary politics, international

organizations are not only aware of "conflict and its effects," they also "gear their work towards

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[28] Hewson, Martin, and Timothy J. Sinclair. *Approaches to Global Governance Theory*. Albany, NY: State U of New York, 1999. Print., 10.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Axworthy, Lloyd. "Human Security and Global Governance: Putting People First." *Global Governance in the Twenty-first Century* (2001): 19-23. *JSTOR [JSTOR]*. Web. 3 June 2017.

[31] Ibid., 20.

[32] *Our Global Neighborhood: The Report of the Commission on Global Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Print.

conflict resolution and helping to rebuild war-torn societies in a way that will avert future violence. Such engagement is regarded as essential if development and society are to prevail."[33] This approach is reflected in the policy statements of organizations such as UN agencies, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international financial institutions, and intergovernmental organizations.[34] These organizations, often rooted in global governance frameworks, aid to combat the security threats that face the modern world. No longer confined to traditional interstate war, "the threat of…international instability through conflict, criminal activity and terrorism is now part of a new security framework."[35] Political scientist Campel Craig emphasizes that the threat of nuclear war should be the conclusive reason to employ global governance. This threat will exist "as long as sovereign nations continue to possess nuclear arsenals," and the only way to avoid the risk is to create "some kind of world government…with sufficient power to stop states."[36]

Emmanuel Bombande, conflict resolution and peace-building consultant for the UN, and Peter van Tuijl, Executive Director of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict at the Global Secretariat, discuss how the broadening conceptualization of security is necessary to accomplish goals focused on establishing sustainable development. This expanded understanding of security requires a nuanced approach in order to achieve specific goals. Recognizing peace as more than simply state security, human security accounts for freedom from violence and personal security. Human security "embraces the central role of governments…as governments implement regulations and have the ability to apply a variety of context-specific

[33] Duffield, Mark, and Antonio Donini. *Global Governance and the New Wars the Merging of Development and Security*. 2nd ed. London: Zed, 2014. Print. Critique Influence Change., 1.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., 3.
[36] Craig, Campbell. "The Resurgent Idea of World Government." *Ethics & International Affairs* 22.2 (2011): 133-42. Print., 137.

approaches to violence, but it also accommodates a greater involvement of local communities,

civil society, and other non-state actors as part of a sustainable solution."[37] This collaboration of

resources can be achieved through a global governance method. Furthermore, with obstacles

such as confronting economic strife, globalization, and struggles within its own government,

some states are simply unable to protect their citizens.[38] Global governance has the capacity to

solve such problems, providing an alternative form of security by employing a variety of

resources, rather than solely relying upon a nation-state's government. In fact, understanding

such potential, the Commission on Global Governance developed the concept of the

"responsibility to protect," a "legitimate norm in the international relations which supplants the

'right to intervene' approach to security crises. The responsibility to protect lies first with each

nation-state, whose duty is to protect its population. But if the national authorities are unwilling

or unable to practice their citizens, then the responsibility shifts to the international

community."[39] In the 21st century, now more than ever, no one nation-state can fully stand

alone.[40] Global governance fosters international cooperation in order to combat this challenge.

Economic Stability

  With national economies integrating more and more into the global market, particularly

within the past half-century, financial growth and stability have increasingly become more

reliant on international trade and worldwide financial flows.[41] Regulation, or governance, of the

global economy in recent years is "really rather a recognition that the overdevelopment of the

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[37] Bombande, Emmanuel, and Peter Van Tuijl. "Can Human Security Drive Global Governance?" *IPI Global Observatory*. IPI Global Observatory, 20 Sept. 2013. Web. 05 June 2017.

[38] Ndulo, Muna. Security, Reconstruction and Reconciliation When the Wars End. London: UCL, 2007, Print.

[39] Phan, Hao Duy. *A Selective Approach to Establishing a Human Rights Mechanism in Southeast Asia: The Case for a Southeast Asian Court of Human Rights*. N.p.: Martinus Nijhoff, 2012. Print., 106.

[40] United Nations. *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change*. New York: United Nations, 2004. Print.

[41] Gilpin, Robert, and Jean M. Gilpin. *The Challenge of Global Capitalism: The World Economy in the 21st Century*. New Delhi: New Age International (P) Limited, 2006. Print.

global economy has been accompanied by the underdevelopment of global policy."[42] While the

liberalization of trade regimes and privatization of state assets supported globalization, this

process has not been "accompanied by a comparable development of the global polity and it is

increasingly recognized in policy circles that without the development of appropriate norms,

institutions, and processes to manage globalization, it could be undone by a failure to mitigate its

excesses and negative consequences that emanate from it."[43] Globalization without global

governance is a dangerous development.[44] Economist Robert Gilpin explains how citizens of the

industrial world have entered the "Second Great Age of Global Capitalism" with an open and

integrated global economy reliant upon particular political foundations that should not be "taken

for granted."[45] These foundations include a variety of components, often working in conjunction

with institutions formed out of a global governance agenda. The collaboration and shared goals

inherently included in a global governance organization allows these institutions to handle

economic interdependence among states. In this way, international economic institutions "will

be better able to address the contradictions inherent in global capitalism if they are able to adopt

a system-wide perspective which is not identical to the concerns of a particular state or set of

states, or particular private capitalist interest."[46]

    Alexander Kern, Senior Research Fellow in Banking and Financial Regulation at the

University of Cambridge, Rahul Dhumale, formerly with the Policy Group at the Federal

Reserve Bank of New York, and British economist John Eatwell argue that international

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[42] Grant, Wyn P., and Graham K. Wilson. *The Consequences of the Global Financial Crisis: The Rhetoric of Reform and Regulation*. New York: Oxford UP, 2014. Print., 4.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Gilpin, Robert, and Jean M. Gilpin. *The Challenge of Global Capitalism: The World Economy in the 21st Century*., 15.
[46] Cammack, Paul. "The Governance of Global Capitalism: A New Materialist Perspective." *Historical Materialism* 11.2 (2003): 37-59. Print., 40.

financial institutions (IFIs) are necessary in order to manage systematic and other types of

financial risk in the global markets.[47] Any potential market failure due to systematic risk is

extremely difficult to overcome with nation-states acting on their own. IFIs allow states to come

together in order to effectively solve the "collective action problem."[48] These IFIs also permit

preventative measures to be taken by encouraging states to reduce the odds of a financial crisis

from occurring by serving as "focal points for states in exchanging information about other

states' performances, intentions, and motivations."[49] With global governance, "economic

resources and actors, across contiguous and heterogeneous geographies" can be connected,

facilitating "infrastructure connectivity."[50]

     Gordon Brown, former British Prime Minister of the Labour Party, in a meeting of the

International Monetary and Financial Committee of the IMF, reasoned that the complex tasks

associated with globalization should be addressed in an equally comprehensive manner,

involving the principles of global governance.   He argued that "the answer is not to retreat from

globalization but to advance economic reform and social justice on a global scale—and to do so

with more global co-operation not less, and with stronger, not weaker, international

institutions."[51] Even in the 1940s, in an attempt to organize and regulate the growing global

economy as well as prevent another depression, the framework of global governance was

embraced and implemented in Bretton Woods Institutions, including the World Bank and the

International Monetary Fund. These institutions were shaped to establish a set of norms, rules,

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[47] Alexander, Kern, Rahul Dhumale, and John Eatwell. *Global Governance of Financial Systems: The International Regulation of Systemic Risk*. New York: Oxford UP, 2006. Print.
[48] Ibid., 34.
[49] Ibid., 34.
[50] Palit, Amitendu. "The Maritime Silk Road Initiative (MSRI): Why India Is Worried, What China Can Do." *Global Policy*. Global Policy Journal, 31 May 2017. Web. 6 June 2017.
[51] Cammack, Paul. "The Governance of Global Capitalism: A New Materialist Perspective." *Historical Materialism* 11.2 (2003): 37-59. Print., 19.

and shared understandings for nations across the globe to follow. U.S. ambassador to the

Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau explained how the "bewilderment and bitterness resulting

from the Depression became the breeders of fascism, and finally, of war" and in order to prevent

this from occurring in the future, "the creation of a dynamic world community in which the

peoples of every nation will be able to realize their potentialities in peace" is necessary and

achievable through these institutions.[52] Global governance provides the backbone to

international institutions, such as the IMF and World Bank, that work to monitor and regulate

global financial activity and allow collaboration to actively prevent future economic collapse

while fostering growth and stability.[53]

Human Rights

Another key theme that emerges from the narrative examining global governance

includes global governance's ability to provide a means of protecting and establishing human

rights. John Ruggie, a former UN Special Representative on business and human rights, writes

how contemporary conceptual debates surrounding global governance calls for "a building

blocks approach that develops different elements of an overall solution and embeds them within

an international political framework."[54] In using this approach, it is "possible to achieve a

significant degree of convergence of norms, policies, and practices even in a highly controversial

issue area," such as human rights.[55] One of the greatest strengths of global governance includes

its ability to create norms.[56] These norms provide the setting necessary for the creation of

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[52] Bretton Woods Project. "What Are the Bretton Woods Institutions?" *What Are the Bretton Woods Institutions?*Bretton Woods Project, 23 Aug. 2005. Web. 06 June 2017.

[53] Cammack, Paul. "The Governance of Global Capitalism: A New Materialist Perspective."

[54] John Gerard Ruggie (*2014*) Global Governance and "New Governance Theory": Lessons from Business and Human Rights. Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations: January-March 2014, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 5-17., 5.

[55] Ibid., 6.

[56] International Institutions and Global Governance Program. "The Global Human Rights Regime." *Council on Foreign Relations*. Council on Foreign Relations, 11 May 2012. Web. 07 June 2017.

treaties and other international agreements that solidify and legitimize the collaboration of

nations working to respect human rights. Through a "myriad of [these] treaties, agreements, and

statements," human rights have been brought forth to the "international community's agenda."[57]

In cases where formalized policy with legal repercussions has not yet been created, these norms

play a critical role in influencing government action as well as companies' behavior. Legal

scholar Larry Backer explains how the "role of social norms and expectations can be particularly

important where the capacity or willingness to enforce legal standards is lacking or absent

altogether. An additional governance system—social, non-state based, and grounded between

corporations and their stakeholder—would be required."[58]

The "contemporary international human rights regime" relies on a collection of formal

and informal institutions and practices, including the UN, regional bodies, and NGOs.[59] These

institutions, rooted in global governance theory, were founded following two major actions taken

to protect human rights: the creation of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in

1946 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) passed in 1948. The guidance

provided through these two historical steps taken to protect human rights provides the

groundwork for a global culture valuing a particular standard of life and treatment of fellow

human beings. Out of what started as a non-binding document, the UDHR has "over the last

decades evolved into a complex legal human rights regime."[60] A product of various global

governance institutions, many treaties have endorsed the "claiming, monitoring, and sanctioning

[of] human rights violations on a global level."[61]

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[57] International Institutions and Global Governance Program. "The Global Human Rights Regime."
[58] Ibid., 122.
[59] Hughes, Steven, and Rorden Wilkinson. *Global Governance: Critical Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 2001.
Print., 75.
[60] Hirschmann, Gisela. "Global Governance and Human Rights – A Fruitful Relationship." *Global Policy*. Global
Policy Journal, n.d. Web. 07 June 2017.
[61] Ibid.

Global governance organizations such as the UN create a sort of "polycentric multilevel law-governance system" that is extremely useful in the context of human rights protection.[62] With transnational firms operating on a global scale, they must adopt a "system embracing many corporate entities spread across and within many countries" in order to "manage the global value chain" and decrease the "likelihood that a company will violate its own principles or social expectations."[63] Global governance supports a "plurality of mechanisms that horizontally link activities of various actors," a characteristic particularly useful in the context of human rights.[64] In this way, authority is no longer restricted to state actors. Transnational advocacy networks have the ability to "exercise moral authority in issue areas ranging from biodiversity to human rights."[65] By following a global governance framework, private companies are able to participate in global politics and contribute to a particular world order.

With the ability to theoretically contribute to overcoming critical challenges ranging from a variety of aspects of life across cultures, scholars widely support global governance theory and praise its potential. The ability for a variety of actors to actively contribute to global affairs and establish particular expectations allows politics to transcend nation-state borders and bring important issues to the forefront of politicians' as well as citizens' minds.[66]

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[62] Backer, Larry Catá. "On the Evolution of the United Nations' "Protect-Respect-Remedy" Project: The State, the Corporation and Human Rights in a Global Governance Context." *Santa Clara Journal of International Law* 9 (2011): 102-156. Print., 102.

[63] Ibid.,120.

[64] Pattberg, Philipp, and Klaus Dingwerth. "Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics." *Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics* 12.2 (2006): 185-203. Print., 192.

[65] Ibid., 193.

[66] Weiss, Thomas George, and Rorden Wilkinson. *International Organization and Global Governance*. London: Routledge, 2014. Print.

<center>Challenges to Overcome</center>

Lack of Authority

Alongside the experts who have written about the benefits of global governance are those

who acknowledge and engage with its limitations. While global governance offers many

potential opportunities, its theory often rests in a "compartmentalized world [that] is only a

useful abstraction: it does not accord with the nature and complexity of the most pressing public

policy issues, social tensions and environmental stresses"[67] The institutions that emerged from

global governance have offered a means to achieve global development goals and foster

international cooperation. However, many scholars, including global governance specialist

Colin Bradford and UN members of the Committee for Development Policy, agree that current

governance mechanisms are not functioning at the level necessary to overcome modern obstacles

and achieve an ideal global order.[68] This gap between theory and practice, academics and policy,

appears in a variety of contexts.[69]

One of the most common limiting factor of global governance organizations noted by

many global governance academics includes their lack of authority. For a global governance

organization to achieve its goals and operate as an effective institution, its policy or rules must be

regarded as binding.[70] While global governance institutions have the ability to establish policy,

they often lack a third party to ensure repercussions are carried out to an offending party.[71] This

policy, often based on good faith, has the risk of lacking the necessary influence to ensure its

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[67] Whitman, Jim. *The Limits of Global Governance*. London: Routledge, 2006. Print.

[68] Alonso, Jose Antonio, ed. *Global Governance and Rules for the Post-2015 Era: Addressing Emerging Issues in the Global Environment*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, An Imprint of Bloomsbury, Plc, 2015. Print. The United Nations Ser. on Development.

[69] Hurrell, Andrew. "The Theory and Practice of Global Governance: The Worst of All Possible Worlds?" *International Studies Review* 13.1 (2011): 144-54. Print.

[70] Babic, Jovan, and Petar Bojanic, eds. *World Governance: Do We Need It, Is It Possible, What Could It (all) Mean?* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010. Print.

[71] Ibid.

policies are followed and points toward a need for reform in order to ensure future success and efficiency of global governance organizations.[72]

In the quest to protect human rights, NGOs play a pivotal role with institutions such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch leading the charge against violations occurring across the globe. These organizations play a critical role in "collecting, dissemination, analyzing information, providing input to agenda-setting and policy development processes, performing operational functions," and advocating for equal rights.[73] However, they also face the mounting task of overcoming the challenge of limited legitimacy, needing a more "formalized institutional structure for engagement."[74] Kenneth Anderson, nonresident senior fellow in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution, argues that international NGOs "lack the capacity in accountability, representativeness, and political intermediation to carry out the legitimation function that one prevailing, prominent account of global governance gives them."[75] These organizations, alongside other public international institutions, "engage in a mutually congenial but quite circular act of 'auto-legitimation,' each to the other. Each believes itself importantly 'legitimated' in this process—so enhancing, each in its view, its authority in the international community.[76] However, this "auto-legitimation" is too small to expand actual legitimacy.[77] In the case of protecting human rights, global governance institutions often publicize human rights abuses to encourage change, rather than taking steps themselves to force nations to change their

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[72] International Institutions and Global Governance Program. "The Global Human Rights Regime." *Council on Foreign Relations*. Council on Foreign Relations, 11 May 2012. Web. 07 June 2017.

[73] Gemmill B., Bamidele-Izu A.The role of NGOs and civil society in global environmental governance . In: Esty DC, Ivanova MH, editors, Global environmental governance: options and opportunities. Princeton, NJ: Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies; 2002, 1.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Anderson, Kenneth. ""Accountability" as "Legitimacy": Global Governance, Global Civil Society and the United Nations." *Brooklyn Journal of International Law* 36.3 (2011): 841-90. Print., 845.

[76] Ibid., 846.

[77] Ibid.

behavior such as "providing technical advice or applying punitive measures."[78] For example, "no global body was capable of forcing the United States to stop its mistreatment of detainees at the Guantanamo Bay Detention Facility, but mounting international pressure did encourage fundamental U.S. reform of its detention and interrogation policies in 2009."[79] While many agreements have been created between nation-states, these agreements lack "binding clauses to ensure that actions match rhetoric" and many nation-states who are often significant violators, have not signed on.[80] Additionally, caveats are often included in signatures, weakening their commitments.[81]

In the context of finances, multinational corporations can be difficult to regulate without "binding international legal framework."[82] This leads to an uncertainty of responsibility, particularly in regards to human rights. Without officially "extending responsibility for human rights violations to transnational corporations... it is uncertain whether [they] are responsible to their home country or to the country in which they are operating, making it increasingly difficult to regulate companies using legal practices."[83] Following soft law agreements, indicating that participants have voluntarily declared their commitment to "responsible governance," multinational corporations adhere to self-regulatory mechanisms.[84] Corporation social responsibility often shapes a particular company's expectations and ethical code. While this can lead to a "more socially embedded and democratic form of governance that emanates from civil

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[78] International Institutions and Global Governance Program. "The Global Human Rights Regime." *Council on Foreign Relations*. Council on Foreign Relations, 11 May 2012. Web. 07 June 2017.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Rachel Chambers, "The Unocal Settlement: Implications for the Developing Law on Corporate Complicity in Human Rights Abuses," Human Rights Brief, 2005, 14.
[83] Holland, C., *Multinational Corporations and Global Governance: Is Corporate Social Responsibility Enough? A Study of Chevron's Yadana Gas Pipeline Operations in Burma.* Covalence: Covalense Intern Analyst Papers, 2010., 5.
[84] Ibid., 8.

society," it can also promote a "privatized system of corporate governance that lacks public accountability."[85] While international financial organizations are increasingly playing a role in global politics, inadequate regulation impedes its potential for success. From both "an unwillingness to address claims of an unfair distribution of benefits, including insufficient attention to the plight of the poor throughout the world, and the absence of effective oversight over devious and imprudent banking and accounting practices associated with financing and indebtedness," financial institutions have thus far struggled to bridge the gap between theory and practicality of global governance.[86]

In order to combat this limitation within the current global governance implementation, several scholars have suggested possible solutions. Political theorist Michael Walzer argues that the UN should "have its own military force which would be supranational, along with many other instruments (international instruments of global economic control, international courts, etc.)."[87] While this may seem an extreme option, it emphasizes the critical need for an increase in power in order to bolster the UN's ability to follow through with change and hold nations accountable. Professor Cai Tuo, Dean of the Globalization and Global Issues Institute, stresses the need for "global coordination, management, and punishment mechanism" in order aid in the functioning of global governance institutions.[88] It may not be clear what is the best solution for overcoming this challenge within the global governance framework. However, most scholars agree, some form of change is necessary.

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[85]Levy, David, and Rami Kaplan. Corporate Social Responsibility and Theories of Global Governance: Strategic Contestation in Global Issue Arenas. N.p.: n.p., 2008. Print., 439.

[86]Pavkovic, Aleksandar. "Secession as a Crime Against the World State." World Governance: Do We Need It, Is It Possible, What Could It (All) Mean? (2008): 101-09. Print., 105.

[87] Ibid., 106.

[88] Cai, Tuo. *Chinese Perspectives on Globalization and Autonomy*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. Print., 196.

Unelected Officials

      One of the more unique aspects of the global governance structure includes its ability to accommodate a wide-range of participants. From NGOs to transnational businesses, the ability for non-state actors to take part in a global governance agenda fosters a growth in "cross-border engagement" and "global partnerships" that extend beyond the state.[89] These non-state "structures are helpful, even power, and flexible," however, there is a consequence to such a structure that many scholars scrutinize.[90] While many participants are involved, the current global governance outline does not meet democratic standards.[91] With organizations rooted in global governance encompassing vast geographic domains, political theorist Robert Dahl maintains that this democratic deficit is inevitable.[92] By involving organizations that do not include democratically elected officials, "relationships between national governments and global governance agencies have mainly flowed through unelected technocrats who lack any direct connection with citizens."[93] Rather than citizens actively engaging in choosing their own representatives, and consequentially the policies these individuals support, global governance organizations do not possess a relationship with state citizens. The leaders of the organizations "have not been subject to direct popular election. Nor has any global governance institution had a democratically appointed legislative arm."[94] In the current global governance system, non-

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[89] Weiss, Thomas G., D. Conor Seyle, and Kelsey Collidge. *The Rise of Non-State Actors in Global Governance Opportunities and Limitations*. N.p.: One Earth Future Foundation, 2013. Print., 15

[90] Ibid., 16.

[91] Zurn, Michael. "Global Governance and Legitimacy Problems." Government and Opposition 39.2 (2004): 260-87. Print.

[92] Moravcsik, Andrew. "Is There a 'Democratic Deficit' in World Politics? A Framework for Analysis." *Government and Opposition*, vol. 39, no. 2, 2004, pp. 336–363., doi:10.1111/j.1477-7053.2004.00126.x.

[93] Scholte, Jan Aart. "Global Governance, Accountability and Civil Society." *Building Global Democracy?* 39.2 (2014): 8-41. Print, 30.

[94] Ibid., 31.

state actors are shaping international politics, yet they lack the legitimacy and approval of state-elected officials.

This democratic deficit has the potential to hinder the development of global governance institutions. In the case of the European Union, with only one branch democratically elected, many EU citizens view the organization as technocratic and lacking democratic legitimacy. This perception played a significant role in the recent "Brexit" referendum. When campaigning for Britain to leave the EU, prominent British politicians Boris Johnson, Michael Gove, and Gisela Stuart claimed the EU is a "dysfunctional bureaucracy that has no proper democratic oversight."[95] Jeremy Corbyn, leader of the Labour Party, stated that the EU had become an "unelected set of bankers."[96] The EU developed with the goal of fostering economic cooperation in order to avoid conflict. Receiving the Noble Peace Prize in 2012, the organization's success in promoting peace, reconciliation, and democracy has been widely acclaimed.[97] However, its lack of direct contact with citizens has created a reputation among Europeans for "being elitist and bureaucratic."[98] With the EU a key representative of an organization developed from global governance theory, this negative characterization is disheartening for global governance enthusiasts. Global governance institutions depend upon the participation and support of its members and any perceptions of policymaking as underhand, behind closed doors, and ineffective, is detrimental. In the case of the EU, these suppositions played a significant role in Britain's vote to withdraw, leaving the EU with one less core power. The 'democracy deficit' demonstrated in many global governance institutions, including the EU, has led many scholars to

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[95] Rankin, Jennifer. "Is the EU Undemocratic?" *The Guardian*. The Guardian, 13 June 2016. Web. 16 June 2017.
[96] Ibid.
[97] European Union. "The EU in Brief." *European Union - European Commission*. European Union, 05 Apr. 2017. Web. 16 June 2017.
[98] McCormick, John, and Jonathan Olsen. *The European Union: Politics and Policies*. Boulder: Westview, 2014. Print., 195

question whether global governance is inherently an undemocratic system, raising debates for its usefulness and place within society.[99]

Fundamentally Western

Deemed "global," global governance should, in theory, achieve a truly international scope; yet scholars remark that it centers around a Western centrality, with the United States and Western nations "articulating agendas for economic, political, and security cooperation."[100] In fact, the post-WWII era brought the West, and in particular the United States, to the forefront of global politics, shaping a new "international order, organized around open trade, alliances, client states, multilateral institutions, and democratic partnerships.[101] With these powers at the helm, Western-centric notions of "universal norms," values, and reality, were prioritized and implemented within global governance organizations, once again excluding the Global South.[102] While the global governance outline has the potential to offer a means to solve complex international problems, if Western states continue to hold greater influence and power within that framework, issues with inequality will only continue to grow. Political scientist Aleksandar Pavkovic argues that within the economic sector, "the concern about inadequate regulation of the world economy persists…[due to] the continuing unwillingness to address claims of an unfair distribution of benefits, including insufficient attention to the plight of the poor throughout the world."[103] In the context of science and environmental protection, the Global South's lack of resources hinders their involvement in global governance policy and priorities. The "comparative invisibility of environmental issues prioritized by the South can be linked to the

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[99] Goodhart, Michael, and Stacy Bondanella Taninchev. "The New Sovereigntist Challenge for Global Governance: Democracy without Sovereignty." *International Studies Quarterly* 55.4 (2011): 1047-068. Print.
[100] Ikenberry, John. "The Quest for Global Governance." *Global Trends* 113.759 (2014): 16-18. Print., 16.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Lo, Bobo. *Russia and the New World DIsorder*. Longon: Chatham House, 2015. Print., 71.
[103] Pavkovic, Aleksandar. "Secession as a Crime Against the World State." *World Governance: Do We Need It, Is It Possible, What Could It (All) Mean?* (2008): 101-09. Print., 21

North-South power gradient within the current international system, where the more powerful countries set the agenda."[104] Global governance has the opportunity to provide a platform to address issues that transcend borders of nation-states, however, if it fails to truly include all nation-states, the theory will be extremely limited in its translation to reality.

Global governance theory relies on the concept that global governance creates rules and norms, establishing "the conditions for ordered rule and collective action."[105] When these rules and norms are not shared across nation-states, the resulting power structure places numerous nation-states at a disadvantage. A "hegemonic approach" takes a "dominant set of assumptions about social life and then attempts to universalize these principles through expanding key institutions."[106] However, many nation-states in the Global South are pushing back, with "resistance amongst the world's 'rule takers' to a hegemonic global order growing."[107] By adopting Western standards as universal norms, global governance institutions are failing to address global needs and reality. Michael Barnet, professor of International and Political Science at the George Washington University, argues that the "UN has become, through its official reports at least, an agent of normative integration that can increase the number of actors who identify with and uphold the values of liberal international order."[108] In this way, the UN is no longer working within an East-West conflict during the Cold War, but rather a North-South struggle.[109]

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[104] Karlsson, Sylvia. "The North-South Knowledge Divide: Consequences for Global Environmental Governance." *Strengthening Global Environmental Governance: Options and Opportunities*, 53-76., 59. ,
[105] Duggan, Niall. "BRICS and the Evolution of a New Agenda Within Global Governance." The European Union and the BRICS (2015): 11-25. Print., 12.
[106] O'Brien, Robert. *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge U, 2004. Print., 4.
[107] Higgott, Richard A. (2004) *Multilalteralism and the limits of global governance*. Working Paper. Coventry: University of Warwick. Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation. Working papers (University of Warwick. Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation) (No.134)., 2.
[108] Ibid., 14.
[109] Ibid.

Global Governance: Revolutionary Potential

Global governance's development into a valuable tool for conceptualizing and establishing order in an environment experiencing globalization at a rapid rate provides a tremendous opportunity for politicians and academics alike to better understand and work with contemporary society across borders. Yet even with its potential advantages, global governance is a complex concept that can have powerful implications, placing a responsibility upon researchers and politicians to employ this framework with respect to these consequences. This thorough review of the literature highlights the common understanding of the challenges and benefits of global governance as a legitimate means of establishing global order and providing a "means for cooperation and consolation among states on a variety of issues."[110] Global governance allows nations to pursue common interests while advancing values in a nonviolent manner.[111] Upon considering these theories and viewpoints, when examined alongside common practices, there is clearly a gap between the potential and current approach. In order to allow global governance to reach its full potential, it is imperative to fill this gap.

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[110] Diehl, Paul F. The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World. 3rd ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2005. Print., 3.
[111] Barnett, Michael, and Raymond Duvall. "Power in International Politics." *Power in Global Governance* 59.1 (2005): 1-32. Print., 1.

The Development of Global Governance: The Entente Cordiale

While global governance theory has been applied in many different circumstances and given rise to a variety of governance platforms throughout history, certain key moments were pivotal in its development from theory to reality. The 1904 agreement reached between France and Great Britain undoubtedly is an example of such a moment. Termed the Entente Cordiale, this agreement provided the foundation for foreign affairs between France and Great Britain for the next century.[112] Following centuries of conflict including the Hundred Years' War and the Napoleonic Wars, these two powerful nation-states ultimately decided to focus on shared values and reach a mutually beneficial agreement. During such a competitive time, particularly considering economic and colonial expansion, Théophile Delcassé, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, played a critical role in directing France to a more productive transnational engagement. While this agreement ultimately failed to prevent the future global catastrophe of World War I, it offered a cornerstone to the global governance framework and illustrated global governance's potential use in directing a peaceful and constructive global order. Taking part in such an agreement, Britain and France explored a different political tactic, one which did not build on growing hostilities, and provided a base for future international agreements and cooperation. The Entente Cordiale exemplified core fundamentals of global governance theory, including shared authority, the participation of actors across borders, and the pursuit of a shared interest. However, its bilateral construction created a threat to adversaries—particularly Germany— fueling existing antagonisms. Given its historical context and lasting repercussions, the Entente Cordiale was a key step in the development of applied global governance theory; yet its bilateral

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[112] Mayne, Richard, Douglas Johnson, and Robert Tombs, eds. *Cross Channel Currents: 100 Years of the Entente Cordiale*. London: Routledge, 2004. Print.

structure as well as its existence as an agreement rather than treaty, allowed conflicts to escalate into World War I.

Historical Context

In the years leading up to this historic agreement, France and Great Britain were powerful rivals, often at odds as each nation-state sought to surpass the economic prowess and international presence of the other. Together, with their accumulated colonial empires, they formed approximately a third of the Earth's surface.[113] With such vast available resources, both nation-states could become destructive adversaries or powerful allies. With centuries of longstanding antagonism between the two nation-states, achieving the latter would prove a difficult challenge.

Particularly influential in shaping political relations in their future, the Hundred Years' War created the foundation for the complex past shared between these two nations. Lasting from 1337 to 1453, the Hundred Years' War was an arduous struggle over the succession to the French throne.[114] England's loss of part of its vast overseas empire stunned the powerful nation-state and left many with the desire to reclaim lost lands in France.[115] A certain "Francophobia" left a lasting impression on the British people following this lengthy conflict, fueling resentment that would eventually instigate conflict resulting in the Napoleonic Wars.[116] For the French, Britain's involvement in the demise of Napoleon fueled the growing resentment between the two nation-states. Many Frenchmen believed Napoleon to be a hero that Britain had "prevented from uniting Europe."[117] For the British, Napoleon was undoubtedly a tyrant who deserved his fate.

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[113] *L'entente Cordiale (1939). Youtube*. British Pathé, 13 Apr. 2014. Web. 13 July 2017.
[114] Keen, Maurice. "The Hundred Years War." *BBC*. BBC, 17 Feb. 2011. Web. 15 July 2017.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Bell, P. M. H. *France and Britain, 1900-1940: Entente and Estrangement*. London: Routledge, 2014. Print., 3.

These two major events in European history provide a glimpse into the complex and turbulent connection between these two powerful nation-states.

The true test and turning point of their relationship occurred in 1898. Only six years before the Entente Cordiale, France and Great Britain faced a critical crossroad at Fashoda. The Fashoda Incident represented the climax of imperial power disputes between these two countries. In efforts to colonize the African continent, Britain had been working from south to north while France was directing its efforts from west to east. These strategies led to both parties crossing paths in the Sudan. While the French reached Fashoda first, the British possessed far more men and artilleries. For four months, the possibility of war became increasingly imminent. However, Foreign Minister Delcassé decided to evacuate French troops and bitterly conceded defeat in order to avoid an escalating conflict.[118] Delcassé's strategic handling of this particular situation allowed for the first step to be taken toward a constructive and formal agreement between the two countries. Following centuries of unstable relations between these two powers, the Fashoda Incident marked a certain ending point in the longstanding conflicts between France and Great Britain, pointing toward a new era in Anglo-French relations.

Taking nearly two years to negotiate, the Entente Cordiale, officially titled the "Declaration Between the United Kingdom and France Respecting Egypt and Morocco," focused on the colonization of Egypt and Morocco. The agreement officially declared the end of open hostilities between the two nation-states, and settled questions of imperial expansion, and formally distributed power in colonial states. The document outlined the new expectations of both participants, recognizing France's dominance in Morocco as well as Britain's authority in Egypt. While Britain agreed to maintain the political status or government of Egypt, the French

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[118] Boyd, William. "Carving Up Africa." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 28 Feb. 1988. Web. 14 July 2017.

agreed to "not obstruct the action of Great Britain."[119] The second article explained how the

French government was allowed to colonize Morocco as long as they did not change its political

status and allowed Britain to continue to trade with Morocco. The document also acknowledged

both countries' relationship with Spain, including provisions addressing Spain's inevitable

interest in North African colonies.[120] This document served as a means of distributing power

over African colonies, yet its implications extended beyond colonial conquests. Following

decades of conflicts often resulting in war, Britain and France decided to pursue an alternative

path and lay the foundation for future peace between the two nations. While this document may

not have created a global organization or even have earned the status of a formal treaty, it played

a significant role in the development of global governance. At the heart of the document lies the

decision of two major players in the international community to embrace diplomacy and reach a

mutually beneficial understanding, which laid a foundation for future transnational activities.

<div align="center">Goals of the Entente: Why Support Such an Agreement?</div>

For the British, the 19th century was a time marked by a policy of "splendid isolation,"

with a majority of British politicians believing England had no need of allies and "only British

interests were paramount and permanent."[121] However, toward the end of the century, this

policy began to reveal its inadequacies.[122] With Russia and Germany both gaining power in

conjunction with expressing an adversarial attitude toward England, Lord Lansdowne, Foreign

Secretary of England, embraced a new direction for British foreign policy, one which

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[119] *Declaration Between the United Kingdom and France Respecting Egypt and Morocco,* France-Britain, April 8, 1904, Vol. CIII, Cmd. 5969.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Binns, Jack. "End of Splendid Isolation." *The Scarborough News*. The Scarborough News, 20 June 2014. Web. 23 July 2017.
[122] Ibid.

productively engaged with allies.[123] For the French, Théophile Delcassé worked extremely hard

to strengthen French security through fostering ally relationships.[124] This new era of politics of

cooperation aimed to create equally advantageous alliances. British politician Joseph

Chamberlain worked to establish an alliance between Britain and Germany during the 1890s but

to no avail. Rather, Germany supported Britain's opponents in skirmishes in 1884, 1894, and

1896, revealing its growing opposition in strategic and economic tactics.[125] Meanwhile, France

and Russia established a military alliance in 1893, mainly developed out of fear of a growing

German threat.[126] With the constant shifting of transnational relationships, as well as growing

economic and security threats, the Entente Cordiale served as a "diplomatic and strategic

agreement," providing stability and security for both nation-states.[127] It also gave a message to

surrounding nation-states, signaling an amicable Anglo-French relationship, despite their

acrimonious past.

The Entente Cordiale was produced with specific goals in mind: to ensure economic

stability by preserving colonial power structures and limiting future conflict, thereby spending

less on defense and strengthening security. As both nations worked to accomplish these goals,

concepts that are rooted in global governance theory guided them toward a stable and secure

future. A core principle of this theory is the idea that, through exercising power beyond a single

nation-state, behaviors can be influenced to "generate resources or to allocate authority."[128]

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[123] Gov.UK. "Past Foreign Secretaries." *History of Henry Petty–Fitzmaurice - Gov.UK*. Gov.UK, n.d. Web. 18 Aug. 2017.
[124] Andrew, C. *Théophile Delcassé and the Making of the Entente Cordiale*. N.p.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. Print.
[125] National Archives. "Events of 1901." *The National Archives*. The National Archives, n.d. Web. 24 July 2017.
[126] Reynolds, David. *Britannia Overruled: British Policy and World Power in the Twentieth Century*. London: Routledge, 2014. Print.
[127] Williamson, Samuel R. *The Politics of Grand Strategy Britain and France Prepare for War, 1904-1914*. London: Ashfield, 1990. Print.
[128] Watt, Horatia Muir, and Fernández Arroyo Diego P. *Private International Law and Global Governance*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015. Print., 1.

Particularly for Britain, following its years in political isolation, this was a novel approach that could be applied to international relations. Thomas Weiss, a scholar of international relations and global governance, emphasizes the need for a communal effort to implement a global governance framework, exceeding the capacities of nation-states acting alone.[129] By coming together with a collaborative vision, Britain and France agreed upon a normative framework and created a distinct policy not only regarding their colonial empire but also in their future approach to transnational politics. With a history full of intermittent conflict, the Entente Cordiale recognized longstanding issues while providing a mutually beneficial path forward.

International relations expert Judy Demsey explains how applying global governance theory can produce three different results: "first, an entente cordiale among the great powers to respect each other's rights and come together against troublemakers; second, the growth of a global system of rules and norms of behavior; or third, the rise of international organizations, which bring countries closely together into communities of shared values."[130] While the weakest of the three possibilities, the Entente Cordiale succeeded in establishing the first option given by Demsey. Separately, France and Great Britain were powerful nation-states; but together, they became a considerably more daunting entity. Not only did the agreement prevent future conflict between these two nation-states, but it also sent the clear message to the international community that France and Great Britain were willing to work with one another.

Global governance theory suggests that global issues can be addressed in an effective manner by establishing formal standards and collaborating with transnational players. While only involving two players, Britain and France were at the time two of the most powerful nation-

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[129] Weiss, Thomas, and Rorden Wilkinson. "Rethinking Global Governance? Complexity, Authority, Power, Change." *International Studies Quarterly* 58 (2014): 207-15. Print.
[130] Demsey, Judy. "Judy Asks: Is Global Governance Finished?" *Carnegie Europe*. Carnegie Europe, 10 June 2015. Web. 21 July 2017.

states in the world. Their decision to come together and formally establish their new policy

succeeded in deescalating hostilities through collaboration and paving a path of respect for both

parties.

Perhaps the most impactful objective of the Entente Cordiale was to provide a starting

point for productive and mutually advantageous Anglo-Franco relations.[131] These

"geographically close neighbours…shared political and strategic interests" as well as "shared

cultural roots, similar liberal-democratic institutions and values." The Entente Cordiale formally

solidified these two nation-states desire to work together and create a mutually beneficial

framework for handling a potential colonial conflict. While the document dealt with colonial

issues specifically, it implied a shift in Anglo-French relations moving forward. Reflecting upon

the past 100 years of Anglo-French relations, contemporary politicians Jack Straw and

Dominque de Villepin express how "Alongside both our countries' thirst for glory and greatness,

alongside our peoples' intense patriotism and our unconquerable desire for independence, other

principles have united us."[132] From Locke to Montesquieu, "tolerance and a loyalty to

fundamental liberties" have provided the foundation for French and British politics. By focusing

on these connections, rather than their tumultuous past, French and British politicians resisted the

"siren voices calling for war" and exemplified a "triumph of political will and diplomacy."[133] In

addition, this agreement served as a critical precedent for future political decisions. Straw and

Villepin explain how today, "in Franco-British diplomacy, the search for agreement and the habit

of dialogue are firmly entrenched. Protocol has evolved and the states are different, but one

conviction endures. It was Delcassé's and it is ours: for every dispute, a solution can be

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[131] Bell, P. M. H. *France and Britain, 1900-1940: Entente and Estrangement*. London: Routledge, 2014. Print., 4.
[132] Johnson, Douglas. *Cross-Channel Currents: 100 Hundred Years of the Entente Cordiale*. London: Routledge, 2004. Print., xii.
[133] Ibid., xiv.

negotiated."[134] By working together to achieve a mutually beneficial agreement, France and

Great Britain launched a new era of politics, one which relied on political discussion rather than

military action. By enacting this new policy, Straw and Villepin reflect how the Entente

Cordiale began a "great revolution…to ensure that our century of shared diplomacy has been

marked by only 'friendly disagreements'…it has enabled the Channel to become the area of

freedom and frankness that all dialogue needs."[135]

<div align="center">Shortcomings and Ultimate Failure: Creating a Larger Threat</div>

While the Entente Cordiale allowed France and Great Britain to move forward in a more

productive and peaceful manner, the implications of the agreement fueled a hostility and fear

from their Eastern competitor, Germany. With its bilateral structure, the Entente Cordiale

excluded surrounding nation-states, and France brought forth a significant threat, not only in its

vast military presence but also as an economic challenger. Although intended as a "colonial

settlement, the Entente pulled Britain further into European affairs."[136] The success of bringing

Britain out of isolation was "achieved at the unintended cost of increasing Germany's own sense

of isolation within Europe."[137] Stemming from this anxiety, Germany attempted to test France

and Great Britain's new relationship by sending the German Kaiser to Morocco to challenge

France's influence. However, Britain stood by its new ally, eventually escalating to an informal

military alliance when the First Moroccan Crisis took place in 1911.[138] With Britain already in

alliance with Russia, by 1907 Europe was divided into two separate camps that would eventually

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[134] Johnson, Douglas, xv.
[135] Ibid., xv.
[136] Gov.UK. "Past Foreign Secretaries." *History of Henry Petty–Fitzmaurice - Gov.UK*. Gov.UK, n.d. Web. 18 Aug. 2017.
[137] Ibid.
[138] History.com Staff. "Britain and France Sign Entente Cordiale." *History.com*. A&E Television Networks, 2009. Web. 18 Aug. 2017.

face one another in World War I— the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. Between 1907

and 1914 an uneasy peace existed, with each alliance seemingly working to maintain peace,

however contentious. Yet this structure of alliance eventually broke down, with frictions

mounting to a climax point when a Serbian nationalist assassinated the heir to the Austro-

Hungarian throne. Ironically, the ties between so many countries provided an environment

where any future conflict would engage a global effort.[139] In European War pamphlets published

in 1911, an article writes how "What concerns us is that the system of alliances into which we

have been drawn by the fear of Germany is the very source of whatever danger threatens us from

Germany. Germany is embittered against us, because she finds us in her way."[140] Creating these

bilateral alliances was only the first step necessary to build lasting peace. Without following

through with a more structured and global effort, these alliances only served to increase the

forces on either side of a war.

     While the Entente Cordiale would eventually extend its influence beyond the realm of

colonial affairs, the military alliance between France and Great Britain had not yet been formally

recognized. Consequently, the document evoked fear and mistrust from its adversaries, yet

failed to formally warn other nation-states of mutual military protection. While the Entente

Cordiale "meant that France and Britain would consult each other in a climate of aggression, the

treaty was not based upon an engagement to co-operate in war."[141] This lack of formally

declaring a military alliance left Germany both in fear and uncertainty in regard to future military

aggression. German politicians "had maintained ever since July 1914 that British policy had to

some extent been responsible for the outbreak of war because Britain's leaders had not made

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[139] Wadsworth, Phil. *Cambridge International AS Level International History 1871-1945 Coursebook*. N.p.:
Cambridge UP, 2013. Print. Cambridge International As Level History.
[140] Books Group. *European War Pamphlets Volume*. Vol. 55. N.p.: RareClub.com, 2012. Print.
[141] Brock, Michael. *The Coming of the First World War*. Oxford University Press, 1990. Print., 147.

their intentions of supporting France and Belgium clear from early in the crisis."[142] Even within

France and Great Britain, the supposed relationship was questioned by citizens. For England,

"the idea of friendship with France was curiously antagonistic to the Imperialist movement

which in the heyday of its favour flouted the Latin races and courted Germany. In both

countries, the new friendship had grown up unobserved from between the cracks in the

foundations of a fashionable creed."[143] While French and British politicians were working to

ensure the prosperity of their own countries, their citizens questioned the newly installed affable

relations. The "Entente Cordiale did not represent some great surge of public opinion on either

side of the Channel. It was, in fact, an instrument of political policy at the time."[144] The absence

of public support gave a mixed message to neighboring nation-states.

Acting upon political precedent, nation-states across Europe shaped international

relations by strengthening their military prowess. While the Entente Cordiale was unique in its

ability to reconcile France and Great Britain, it was relatively conventional in its efforts to

increase military force to subdue transnational threats.[145] In this way, the Entente Cordiale failed

to foster peace outside of the relationship between France and Great Britain. Without extending

its efforts beyond a bilateral structure, the Entente Cordiale failed to achieve any potential lasting

peace global governance scholars herald. In conjunction with military growth, the end of the

nineteenth century was filled with "destabilizing ideologies [such as Pan-Germanism and Pan-

Slavism] that were supporting internal intolerance and aggressive external policies."[146] These

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[142] Mombauer, Annika. *The Origins of the First World War Controversies and Consensus*. N.p.: Routledge, 2014. Print., 191.
[143] The Guardian. "The Anglo-French Agreement." *The Guardian* 9 Apr. 1904: n. pag. Print.
[144] Andrew, Christopher. "France and the Making of the Entente Cordiale." *The Historical Journal* 10.1 (1967): 89-105. Print., 89.
[145] BBC. "The Road To War: The Triple Entente." *BBC*. BBC, 20 Oct. 2014. Web. 18 Aug. 2017.
[146] Telò, Mario. *Globalisation, Multilateralism, Europe: Towards a Better Global Governance?* Farnham: Ashgate, 2014. Print., 44.

philosophies alongside military alliances played a significant role in the "breakdown of the multipolar and multilateral system in 1914."[147] Additionally, Germany's and France's inability to peacefully resolve hostilities revolving around the disputed territory of Alsace-Lorraine fueled a fire of mutual distrust and resentment.[148] Meanwhile, Britain's decision to support both France and Russia was "actually provoking Austria-Hungary and Germany into a direct military reaction through direct and indirect backing for pan-Serb goals."[149] With so much "hubris and a general lack of willingness to compromise, neither side was willing to give up its system of alliances."[150] In this context, the Entente Cordiale was not strong enough to overcome entrenched traditions in handling international relations as well as sentiments toward other nation-states.

Lasting Impact

What makes the Entente Cordiale particularly important in defining European and even world history is its emergence from a tumultuous past and its enduring nature. While numerous bilateral agreements have been made throughout history, the Entente Cordiale was created during a particularly significant time, in advance of World War I, and following hundreds of years of hostile politics between the two parties. Over 100 years old, the Entente Cordiale continues to provide a guideline for contemporary politics and relations between France and Great Britain. Although France and Great Britain are no longer presiding over the largest colonial empires in the world, they continue to play a substantial role in European as well as world politics. Their continued peaceful relations with each other have not only allowed their own countries to avoid

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[147] Telò, Mario. *Globalisation, Multilateralism, Europe: Towards a Better Global Governance?*
[148] Gardner, Hall. *The Failure to Prevent World War I: The Unexpected Armageddon (Military Strategy and Operational Art)*. N.p.: Routledge, 2015. Print.
[149] Ibid., 70.
[150] Ibid., 71.

conflict with one another, but they have also established a strong allied relationship, providing

important support to other allies and warning adversaries of their powerful joint support.

The Entente Cordiale undoubtedly paved the way for a future of cooperation between

France and Great Britain, particularly against German expansion both in World War I and in

World War II. The full implication of this agreement was not fully recognized until the start of

WWI. The "cooperative developments in the last decade of peacetime were, though largely

confidential, hypothetical and conditional; even most cabinet ministers did not entirely grasp

their significance until July 1914."[151] In fact, the ambiguity of the of the document in the event

that one nation-state failed to protect the other nation-state led to many disputes within the

British cabinet.[152] However, on the eve of war in July 1914, Sir Eyre Crow, assistant under-

secretary wrote how "The whole policy of the Entente can have no meaning if it does not signify

that in a just quarrel England would stand by her friends."[153] This decision to stand with France

proved the Entente to be stronger than simply an alliance as it was not limited to specific

circumstances.[154] Not only did the Entente influence French and British relations during WWI,

but it also ensured the two nation-states found themselves working together again as they faced

another World War in 1939. In a British Pathé film released in 1939, the British and French

military are shown working together, their countries' relationship absolutely critical in their fight

against the threat of Hitler. This relationship is clearly linked to the establishment of the early

Entente Cordiale, with the narrator welcoming the president of the French Republic to England

as "our firmest friend amongst the great nations."[155] The president's visit to England "sealed

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[151] Capet, A. *Britain, France and the Entente Cordiale since 1904*. N.p.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. Print., 9.
[152] Mayne, Richard, Douglas Johnson, and Robert Tombs, eds. *Cross Channel Currents: 100 Years of the Entente Cordiale*. London: Routledge, 2004. Print.
[153] Ibid., 30.
[154] Ibid.
[155] British Pathé. "L'Entente Cordiale." Online video clip. *Youtube*. Youtube, April 13, 2004. Web. August 18, 2017.

anew the understanding between two great nations."[156] The film reminds viewers of the

importance of France and Great Britain coming together "in defense of a common ideal, united

in purpose."[157] Thirty-five years of trust and friendship allowed Anglo-French relations to

prosper and grow, preparing them to once again defend one another against not simply another

nation-state, but an ideology which threatened the very foundations of both countries. The two

global conflicts of WWI and WWII further ingrained productive and supportive Anglo-French

relations which started from the agreements of the Entente Cordiale.

Even over 100 years later, this Entente continues to be remembered and valued. As

recently as 2004, posters at the Gare du Nord railway station in Paris and the Waterloo railway

station in London celebrated the Entente Cordiale, stating "United We Stand; Vive l'Entente."[158]

While Europe and the world have endured hardships and conflicts since 1904, the Entente has

ensured one less adversary for both France and Great Britain. Consequently, it has also

guaranteed that allies can rely on these two nation-states to work together in the face of another

global conflict. British ambassador Sir John Holmes recently emphasized in *Le Figaro*

newspaper how "the rivalries, the misunderstandings and the snags of the past, which

troublemakers are quick to highlight, too often hide the reality of our common interests. In the

dangerous world we live in, it is time…to admit we have much to gain from combining our

efforts and closing ranks."[159] The shared values of democracy, human rights, and rule of law

across the globe continue to unite France and Great Britain.[160] In this way, the Entente Cordiale

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[156] British Pathé. "L'Entente Cordiale." Online video clip. *Youtube*.
[157] Ibid.
[158] HistoryPod. "8th April 1904: The Entente Cordiale." Online video clip. *Youtube*. Youtube, April 7, 2015. Web. August 18, 2017.
[159] CNN International. "UK Queen Marks Entente Cordiale." *CNN International*. CNN International, 6 Apr. 2004. Web. 18 Aug. 2017.
[160] Mayne, Richard, Douglas Johnson, and Robert Tombs, eds. *Cross Channel Currents: 100 Years of the Entente Cordiale*. London: Routledge, 2004. Print., xiii.

illustrated that some of the fundamental positive characteristics of global governance theory that

global governance scholars herald are in fact possible to achieve in reality. These inherent

values have guided policies and provided certain expectations between these two nation-states,

exemplifying the constructive effects of global governance in practice.

By taking steps to unite two extremely powerful European nation-states, the Entente

Cordiale marked a shift in global politics. The Western identity began to solidify as France and

England discarded historical differences and embraced their shared similarities. Establishing

themselves as allies, however tentatively, set the tone for the next century. With the constant

need to increase power, combined with the instability of international relations, there was a lack

of unity in Europe. Thomas Lindemann, professor of international relations at the École

Polythechnique argues it is because of:

> "the absence of shared identity that democracies behaved as potential enemies amongst
>
> themselves before 1945. On the contrary, as soon as the concept of the 'Western
>
> Community' became anchored into the minds of democratic leaders, the symbolic price
>
> of a muscled approach, i.e., military mobilization against another democratic state,
>
> became so costly that this course of action was no longer realistic."[161]

The Entente Cordiale marked the beginning of a new attitude surrounding conflict resolution and

provided a fundamental step forward in creating a "Western Community."

While the Entente died not "abolish all argument between the two nations nor

inaugurated an era of perpetual cross-Channel harmony," it did achieve a new expectation of

policy and behavior among powerful world players.[162] In fact, it provided the foundation for

modern-day valued principles including choosing diplomacy rather than war in solving conflicts,

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[161] Lindemann, Thomas. *Causes of War: The Struggle for Recognition*. N.p.: Colchester, 2010. Print., 64.
[162] The Guardian Staff. "The Best of Rivals." *The Guardian*. The Guardian, 4 Apr. 2004. Web. 18 Aug. 2017.

as well as emphasized the shared values and problems of France and Great Britain. The last

"100 years have seen a development in understanding, rapprochement and co-operation between

France and Great Britain; both in shared adversity and in peacetime with shared aims and

objectives."[163] In more recent years, French and British armed forces have played a significant

role within NATO in the Balkans, including responding to events in Kosovo. This fostering of a

healthy relationship shaped contemporary European politics and continued to balance power.

The Entente Cordiale "marked a more settled and stable approach to empire. Most of all it

signaled the great powers' switch in focus from the imperial to the European scene."[164] This

switch has been particularly important as the nature of modern conflict usually demands a

multinational response.[165]

<div align="center">Diving Deeper: The Entente Cordiale and Global Governance Theory</div>

The Entente Cordiale stands out as a key step in the gradual emergence of global

governance theory. Its lasting impact and development from such a tumultuous history resulted

in a powerful agreement which would help shape modern political strategy. In 1995 the

Commission on Global Governance argued for an approach to security to include more than

merely the state, but people across the globe and the planet as a whole.[166] The Entente Cordiale

only linked two nations and focused on a very specific area of conflict. However, contextualized

within France and Great Britain's tumultuous past, the agreement marks a revolutionary shift in

security tactics. Dominique de Villepin, former French Minister of Foreign Affairs, argued that

the Entente Cordiale is "more than a simple page in the history books. It has become a way of

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[163] Hoon, Hon Geoff. "Common Defense Goals." *The RUSI Journal* 149.2 (2004): 32-34. *Taylor and Francis Online*. Web. 18 Aug. 2017.
[164] Mayne, Richard, et al., 7.
[165] Hoon, Hon Geoff. "Common Defense Goals."
[166] *Our Global Neighborhood: The Report of the Commission on Global Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Print., Chapter Three.

living together in a complex and sometimes difficult relationship, but one always rich in new possibilities. It remains the best witness of the fact that our two countries and peoples need to listen to each other."[167] This novel approach to handling Anglo-French relations created a new set of social standards, a significant element of global governance theory.

Treaties have existed for hundreds of years, but this document goes beyond the standard characteristics usually associated with these settlements. The agreement passed in spite of both countries' previous discord. Its ambiguity left room for either nation-state to avoid supporting one another militarily, yet for over one hundred years these countries have acted as allies. The document managed to achieve "*La solidarité des deux grandes nations qui, au course de leur histoire, ont façonné la modèle de la démocratie occidentale*"[168] [The solidarity of two great nations which, in the course of their history, shaped the model of Western democracy]. The shift in tactics used to address transnational conflicts extended far beyond the beginning of the twentieth century. It stands out as a key step toward establishing respect and appreciation for principles praised by future global governance advocates, such as a cooperative approach to ensuring stability and a new security framework. This approach laid the foundation for further development and application of Thomas Weiss's idea of global governance as the amalgamation of both informal and formal values, norms, procedures, and institutions working together to guide states and organizations to overcome transnational challenges.[169] Not only did the Entente begin to establish a mentality valuing diplomacy over military action, it also emphasized the powerful democratic ideological bond connecting these two nation-states.

[167] Johnson, Douglas., xvi.
[168] Kerven, D. "Cinquantenaire De L'Entente Cordiale." *Politique étrangère* 19.2 (1954): 117-22. Print., 117.
[169] Weiss, Thomas G. *Global Governance: Why? What? Whither?*

Yet even with these positive characteristics, the Entente failed to maintain peace. Examining why it was unable to do so reveals several shortcomings, including its lack of authority in the economic sector of both France and Great Britain as well as its inevitable alienation of other nation-states. It furthered hostility and fear from neighboring nation-states and failed to extend guiding values to a global field. A core feature of global governance theory centers around a multilayered approach toward guiding transnational activity.[170] Without multiple "systems of rule," the Entente Cordiale only served as a single step toward the mechanisms necessary for the application of global governance theory.[171] Its bilateral structure limited its political influence that is required to meet a global governance framework. Nevertheless, the Entente Cordiale stands as an influential and vital document in history, revolutionizing global politics.

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[170] Pattberg, Philipp, and Klaus Dingwerth. "Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics." *Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics* 12.2 (2006): 185-203. Print.
[171] Ibid.

The League of Nations: A Manifestation of Global Governance

In the years leading up to 1914, Europe became increasingly armed and hostile under the surface image of cooperation brought about through treaties and agreements. With international power dynamics shifting, alliances and subsequent counter alliances played a role in escalating mistrust and tensions between nation-states across the continent.[172] Suddenly, alliances created to help guarantee stability, security, and peace now ensured that a bilateral conflict would expand into a global battle. When war came, the damage incurred by both the Allies and Central Powers starkly highlighted mankind's potential to destroy itself in pursuit of power and political agendas. With the total number of military and civilian casualties reaching around 40 million, WWI achieved a scale of suffering perhaps never before experienced.[173] Facing physical damages, returning soldiers tormented by post-traumatic stress, and stalled economies, many nation-states struggled to recover even after the fighting had ceased.[174] Nevertheless, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson—a key leader who emerged in the latter half of the war—described WWI as the "war to end all wars" and optimistically believed that the chaos endured would actually prove invaluable for securing lasting peace.[175] The traumatic aftermath of the war, combined with this hope for a nonviolent future, ignited a quest to secure Wilson's vision. Central to this goal was the League of Nations, a new platform for communication and cooperation. While the lessons of WWI ultimately proved short-lived, the implications of Wilson's novel approach toward shaping peace influenced the politics of future generations. The League of Nations served as a working organization employed as an innovative technique for

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[172] Levy, Jack S. "Alliance Formation and War Behavior." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 25.4 (1981): 581. Print.
[173] Mougel, Nadège. *World War I Casualties*. Publication. N.p.: Centre Européen Robert Schuman, 2011. Print.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Stepp, Edwin. "A War to End All War." *History: A War to End All War*. Vision.org, Spring 2014. Web. 06 Oct. 2017.

supporting a particular world order, one that, in theory, would maintain a cooperative and respectful methodology to handle political disputes. The organization provided a step forward in applying the tenets of global governance theory to reality, even though ultimately the League of Nations failed to instill a lasting peace.

<div align="center">Historical Context and the Birth of the League of Nations</div>

In the pre-war years, a growth of alliances, paired with growing distrust and burgeoning nationalism, created the kind of unstable climate that historically fueled conflict.[176] With Germany challenging the world dominance of France and Britain, in addition to Austria-Hungary and Russian struggling to determine who would control the Balkans, some form of conflict did indeed appear imminent.[177] However, the scope and length of World War I took many nation-states by surprise. Widespread arms buildup in conjunction with growing mistrust fostered a hostile and inflammatory environment.[178] By the end of 1907, the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance were firmly established. Germany was expanding its naval powers and Britain, feeling increasingly threatened, responded by increasing its own. Multiple affronts experienced by Germany in Morocco furthered tensions.[179] Imperialistic ambitions fueled Germany's quest to gain power over rival imperial forces. The desire to grow empires influenced the major powers within Europe. The development of both clandestine and overt alliances pointed toward shifting power and support between nation-states. This altering of European order alongside the ambitious goals of influential political leaders furthered general unease and distrust across much of Europe.[180] While an increase in alliances reflected an attempt to use diplomatic means of

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[176] Keene, Jennifer D. *United States and the First World War*. N.p.: Routledge, 2016. Print.
[177] Henig, Ruth B. *The Origins of the First World War*. London: Routledge, 1993. Print.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.

achieving political support, the historical precedent of using war as the primary instrument for

settling transnational issues continued to influence political and military leaders.[181] With Europe

acting as a "powder keg of tensions," maintaining peace became extremely difficult within the

current system of international relations.[182] In Germany, select politicians faced the possibility

of war with hopeful enthusiasm, believing the encounter to act as a favorable means of achieving

their own goals.[183] Lacking a transnational forum to aid in avoiding a global catastrophe, these

nation-states eventually turned to war to solve escalating tensions.

Considering the future of global politics in the aftermath of the war, Woodrow Wilson

was determined to change a system that had failed so spectacularly. He viewed WWI as "the

folly of an old style of failed diplomacy," based on selfish imperial interests.[184] As the end of

WWI approached, discussions revolving around the return to and maintenance of peace began to

take place as the Entente Powers advanced to victory. In 1918, ten months before the official

end of WWI, President Wilson created his famous list, or The Fourteen Points, offering

guidelines for the future handling of victors and losers. Wilson's statement outlined the

principles that would be employed for peace negotiations. His philosophy of "peace without

victory" guided his strategy, emphasizing freedom of the seas, restoration of territories

conquered during the war, and the right to national self-determination.[185] Included in this

proposal was the establishment of the League of Nations. Wilson sought to create lasting peace

through a victory that achieved justice without vindication. However, his idealistic approach

rested on a moral high ground that many other politicians did not wish to share. For the nation-

[181] Henig, Ruth B. *The Origins of the First World War*.
[182] Sondhaus, Lawrence. *World War One: The Global Revolution*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2011. Print., 9.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Allen, Erin. "Library of Congress." *World War I: A New World Order – Woodrow Wilson's First Draft of the League of Nations Covenant*. Library of Congress, 5 Apr. 2017. Web. 6 Oct. 2017.
[185] History.com Staff. "Wilson Outlines the Fourteen Points." *History.com*. History.com, 2009. Web. 6 Oct. 2017.

states that had entered the war since its inception in 1914, a strong desire to incapacitate the

Central Powers, particularly Germany, fueled their decisions.[186]

The Paris Peace Conference met in January 1919 in Versailles as the Allied nations

negotiated a treaty to formally end WWI. The Treaty redistributed territory and limited the size

of the German Army and Navy.[187] The Treaty also included Article 231, known as the "War

Guilt Clause," which forced Germans to accept complete responsibility for starting the war and

therefore stand subject to reparation payments, crippling their economy and increasing the

German people's resentment.[188] Following the end of WWI, the German, Austro-Hungarian,

Russian, and Ottoman Empires ceased to exist.[189] With such turmoil, the political climate

proved challenging to appease so many nation-states and maintain the peace that had come at

such a steep price. While President Wilson was unable to keep his Fourteen Points as provisions

in the Treaty of Versailles, his proposal for a League of Nations was successfully included.

Ironically, the United States would never join the organization, undermining the organization and

President Wilson's ambitious goals. This series of events would ultimately shape the future of

global governance for generations to come, providing insight into both the successes and failures

of crucial political decisions, particularly those which centered around the global governance

framework.

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[186] U.S. Department of State Staff. "The Paris Peace Conference and the Treaty of Versailles." *U.S. Department of State*. U.S. Department of State, n.d. Web. 06 Oct. 2017.
[187] Ibid.
[188] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "World War I: Treaties and Reparations." *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d. Web. 06 Oct. 2017.
[189] Ibid.

A Bold and Innovative Idea: Creating an Alternative Approach for International Relations

Woodrow Wilson's Grand Vision

Established in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations was created with the clear objective to "promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security."[190] President Wilson's focus on a particular type of peace, one that attempted to achieve justice without retribution, significantly influenced his vision for the League of Nations, shaping some of its fundamental objectives. With this vision in mind, the first "truly international political organization, whose aim was to promote international arbitration and world peace, was born."[191] The League of Nations was the most promising and innovative product of the Treaty of Versailles, providing a "whole new concept for eliminating the recourse to war in international relations and ensuring the peace to which people fervently aspired after having been battered and shaken by the greatest martial conflict that humanity had yet known."[192] While the details of how to best structure and run the organization brought forth new disagreements between member countries, most politicians were captivated by the groundbreaking nature of Wilson's proposal.[193]

Wilson's vision greatly contributed to a new narrative and approach regarding international relations, one that supported the core principles of global governance theory. His proposed organization would use multilateralism to guide foreign policy. It would rely on "international law, shared norms, [and] practices" that aid in managing common affairs,

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[190] UN Staff. "History of the United Nations." *United Nations*. United Nations, n.d. Web. 06 Oct. 2017.
[191] United Nations Office at Geneva Staff. "Before the League of Nations." *UNOG United Nations Office at Geneva*. United Nations, n.d. Web. 06 Oct. 2017.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Boemeke, Manfred F., Gerald D. Feldman, and Elisabeth Glaser. *The Treaty of Versailles: A Reassessment after 75 Years*. Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 2006. Print.

fundamental elements in global governance theory.[194] The League of Nations relied on the

concept that through open dialogue and cooperation, countries could successfully address

international conflicts without having to resort to violence. The League pushed for introspection

within each nation-state, encouraging a new global perspective that "made them view themselves

in a much wider context, one of a global community of states."[195] This bold idea left lasting

impressions, contrasting "with the bilateral alliances and coalitions of the pre-1919 era, and

indeed the period of World War I itself, represent[ing] a major step forward in international

affairs. Indeed, the principle of collective security and solidarity is so important a concept that it

figures prominently in the United Nations Charter."[196] This charter has withstood 73 years and

was the first international agreement that specifically laid out the principles of equality along

with the expectations of a global constitutional process.[197]   The League provided one of the most

significant and impactful physical manifestations of theoretical ideals. Not only did it contribute

to the development of thought that produced formal global governance theory, it acted as an

example of the potential for such an ambitious organization.

The "Draft Covenant" proposed by President Wilson, containing the many articles

addressing issues from disarmament to conditions of labor for working people, also included a

more controversial feature, Article X. Article X ensured that international enforcement, or

"collective security," was the fundamental principle that guided the League.[198] Article X

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[194] Ruggie, John G. 2006. "Doctrinal Unilateralism and its Limits: America and Global Governance in the New Century." Corporate Social Responsibility Initiative Working Paper No. 16. Cambridge, MA: John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

[195] Muedini, Fait. "League of Nations." *International Relations: Know the World*. Internationarelations.org, n.d. Web. 07 Oct. 2017.

[196] Boemeke, Manfred F. et al. *The Treaty of Versailles: A Reassessment after 75 Years*., 509.

[197] Toepfer, Susan, and Bryan Wells. "E Worldwide Market for Sex: A Review of International and Regional Legal Prohibitions Regarding Tracking in Women." *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law* 2.1 (1994): 83-128. Print.

[198] Cooper, John Milton. *Breaking the Heart of the World: Woodrow Wilson and the Fight for the League of Nations*. N.p.: Cambridge UP, 2010. Print., 11.

guaranteed the "political independence and territorial integrity of League members against external aggression, and it required members to take action, even to the extent of using military force, against violators of this guarantee."[199] World War I had demonstrated how a conflict had the ability to escalate into a global effort. Nation-states became involved not simply for the safety of their own people, but to protect fundamental values. This truly global event highlighted globalization and its effects, shifting politics from an individualized, isolated attitude to a transnational approach. With this reality imminent, Wilson began to envision an alternative future, one that promoted international cooperation rooted in shared values, two fundamental features in formal global governance theory. This was particularly significant considering the United States' "traditional policy of isolation from international power politics."[200] Although nation-states would continue to play a primary role in politics, the introduction of a system of diplomacy where shared values determined international policy paved the way for the growth of global governance theory. President Wilson had "initiated a bold departure in world politics" and embraced a new era of global interactions.[201]

Global Participation

The League of Nations primarily acted as a means of managing relations between nation-states. The organization provided a platform to protect an established global order and fostered transnational cooperation. The responsibility to provide security to citizens began to shift from that of the individual government of nation-states, to that of the global community. The League established new standards for leaders as they sought to secure their own nation-states. Universal efforts toward achieving lasting peace became a key expectation within the League, an

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[199] Cooper, John Milton. *Breaking the Heart of the World: Woodrow Wilson and the Fight for the League of Nations*., 11.
[200] Ibid., 11.
[201] Ibid., 10.

expectation that is critical in global governance theory.[202]   While this idea is commendable and

theoretically possible, in reality, achieving such idealistic goals proved an extremely difficult

task. Yet even with many challenges and its ultimate failure, the League succeeded through

much of the 1920s. During this period, the League influenced many transnational disputes and

functioned as an organized power working to achieve international justice, thus fulfilling its

purpose. In particular, Article X committed nation-states to a vast system of alliances. By

extending resources and expectations beyond the nation-state, the League was better equipped to

adequately handle the challenges of the 20th century. In this manner, the League began what

would later develop as fundamental obligations when applying global governance theory,

particularly, the "responsibility to protect," created under the Commission on Global

Governance.[203] These alliances required "a community of interests for its foundation."[204] The

advantage of formally recognizing these alliances added precision, "especially in the form of

limitation, to an existing community of interests and to the general politics and concrete

measures serving them."[205] This structure fostered a more productive means of achieving

justice. For example, in 1921 Sweden and Finland accepted the League's negotiation to give the

Aaland Islands to Finland.[206] The organization also aided Turkish refugees by setting up camps

and providing food. When Austria went bankrupt in 1923, the League sent economics experts to

help. In 1925, the League threatened Greece with sanctions unless it withdrew from Bulgaria, an

action that successfully influenced Greece without any use of violence.

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[202] Axworthy, Lloyd. "Human Security and Global Governance: Putting People First." *Global Governance in the Twenty-first Century* (2001): 19-23. *JSTOR [JSTOR]*. Web. 3 June 2017.

[203] Phan, Hao Duy. *A Selective Approach to Establishing a Human Rights Mechanism in Southeast Asia: The Case for a Southeast Asian Court of Human Rights*. N.p.: Martinus Nijhoff, 2012. Print.

[204] Morgenthau, Hans J., Kenneth W. Thompson, and W. David. Clinton. *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2006. Print., 245.

[205] Ibid., 245.

[206] BBC Bitesize Staff. "History: The League's Successes and Failures." *BBC - GCSE Bitesize*. BBC, n.d. Web. 08 Oct. 2017.

While setting an international standard for human rights would not officially be accomplished until the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights, the League of Nations contributed to pivotal progress for the protection of human rights. The League created norms that provided the starting point for the development of a "complex legal human rights regime."[207] In this way, the League epitomized the potential for a product of global governance to support a human rights agenda. Acting as a preliminary version of a human rights global watchdog, the League focused efforts on attacking slave traders in Africa and Burma. Its contribution to the defense of human rights brought this issue to the forefront of the "international community's agenda."[208] In addition to these efforts, the League approved the 1926 Slavery Convention and freed over 200,000 slaves.[209] The League also worked to protect women and children, adopting a Convention on the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children. In addition to the League insisting individual nation-states address such issues and implement policies, "its work was heavily substantiated and moved by complex transnational networks."[210] Through this structure, the League successfully contributed to a global governance framework by fostering a collaboration with its own member nation-states as well as other entities, developing and defending common goals. By working to unite 63 countries under common goals—specifically to maintain peace and further democracy and human rights—the League was able to navigate extremely challenging issues in a productive manner. The League was able to "codify norms and transform them into an agreed global public policy for member states."[211] The League ensured

[207] Hirschmann, Gisela. "Global Governance and Human Rights – A Fruitful Relationship." *Global Policy*. Global Policy Journal, n.d. Web. 07 June 2017.
[208] International Institutions and Global Governance Program. "The Global Human Rights Regime." *Council on Foreign Relations*. Council on Foreign Relations, 11 May 2012. Web. 07 June 2017.
[209] BBC Bitesize Staff. "History: The League's Successes and Failures."
[210] Metzger B. (2007) *Towards an International Human Rights Regime during the Inter-War Years:The League of Nations' Combat of Traffic in Women and Children.* In: Grant K., Levine P., Trentmann F. (eds) Beyond sovereignty. Palgrave Macmillan, London., 54.
[211] Weiss, Thomas G. *Global Governance: Why? What? Whither?*

nation-states were involved and participating in a global community, extending their perception

of politics beyond the scope of an individual nation-state, a key step in ensuring global human

rights worldwide.[212] This achievement illustrates fundamental elements in global governance

theory at work, and the potential success that can be accomplished, particularly in the

advancement and protection of human rights.

One of the more unique characteristics of the League of Nations, particularly for its time,

was its ability to influence without officially governing any territories. This is a critical

component of global governance theory. The organization primarily acted as an international

mediator, formally recognizing transnational values and working to protect them through a

communal effort. British statesman and winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1937 "bemoaned

the lack of a League of Nations [at the beginning of the twentieth century] that would prepare

'the principles, technique, and machinery of peacekeeping' before the outbreak of potential

conflict."[213] Although it survived for only a brief period, during the time between the world

wars, the League of Nations provided a pivotal tool to guide nation-states toward improving

human rights and avoiding violence.

James Rosenau views global governance as a theory "conceived to include systems of

rule at all levels of human activity—from the family to the international organization—in which

the pursuit of goals through the exercise of control has trans-national repercussions."[214] This

definition has four critical elements, including a system of rule, levels of human activity, pursuit

of goals, and transnational repercussions. The League of Nations succeeded in achieving all four

[212] Muedini, Fait. "League of Nations." *International Relations: Know the World.* Internationarelations.org, n.d. Web. 07 Oct. 2017.

[213] Gardner, Hall. *The Failure to Prevent World War I: The Unexpected Armageddon (Military Strategy and Operational Art).* New York: Ashgate, 2016. Print., 40.

[214] Pattberg, Philipp, and Klaus Dingwerth. "Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics." *Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics* 12.2 (2006): 185-203. Print., 189.

elements with the system of rule it created through regulations and set expectations. In this way,

the League of Nations allowed a democratic control of foreign affairs. While many politicians

and scholars alike have classified President's Wilson's vision as naïve, there can be little doubt

as to its power and rationale along with its influence in shaping international politics.[215]

<u>Internal Structure: How did the League of Nations Function?</u>

The main goals of the League of Nations focused on encouraging disarmament,

discouraging aggression, and maintaining peace through collective security, while also

improving social conditions such as working environments and health care.[216] To achieve these

goals, the organization needed a specific structure and resources, ensuring a global influence as

well as balance to a non-governing body. The decisions made during the formation of the

organization shaped its future and provided valuable insight regarding the application of a global

governance theory framework to the real world.

The key pieces within the League of Nations included the General Assembly, the

Council, and the Secretariat. By 1920, 48 states had signed the League Covenant.[217] Each

nation-state had only one vote, but was allowed up to three representatives. The Assembly met

annually and directed general policy.[218] The Council included four permanent members: Britain,

France, Italy, and Japan, along with up to 10 non-permanent Council members that were elected

by the Assembly for a three-year period.[219] The main goal of the Council included settling

international disputes. Appointed by the Secretary General, the Secretariat was responsible for

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[215] Mirza, Rocky M. *The Rise and Fall of the American Empire: A Re-Interpretation of History*. N.p.: Trafford, 2007. Print.

[216] BBC Bitesize Staff. "History: The League's Successes and Failures."

[217] Townshend, Charles. "World Wars: The League of Nations and the United Nations." *BBC History*. BBC, 17 Feb. 2011. Web. 08 Oct. 2017.

[218] Bodleian Libraries. "League of Nations: Structure of the League of Nations." *Oxford LibGuides*. Bodleian Libraries, 18 May 2017. Web. 08 Oct. 2017.

[219] United Nations Office at Geneva. Library. *UNOG Library: Registry, Records, and Archives Unit*. N.p.: United Nations Office at Geneva Library, 2000. Print.

arranging the agenda and publishing reports of meetings. The Secretariat also determined the

methodology of international cooperation. In addition, the Permanent Court of International

Justice (PCIJ) was provided for in the Covenant of the League of Nations. The PCIJ contributed

to the clarification and development of international law.[220]

While the broad planning of the organization was important to create a functional body,

some of the smaller details were essential in creating a novel organization. Situated in Geneva,

the location of the organization set the tone of the organization, emphasizing neutrality. This

was particularly important as Brussels was also considered as a potential host for the

organization, but its role in the war may have elicited unwanted emotional responses from

member nation-states. President Wilson had the foresight to plan for the eventual addition of

Germany and believed the lack of fighting on Swiss soil would allow less emotional turmoil to

influence the work of the organization.[221] The League's daily activity often focused on legal

responsibilities along with assigning arbitrators to disputes. Issues addressed by the League

covered a variety of challenges, including many such as terrorism and trafficking that continue to

trouble nation-states today.[222] Distribution of power, monitoring politics, and ensuring

rehabilitation for war-town countries drove much of the League's work. The carefully planned

details of the organization provided the foundation for a new system of politics, concentrated on

collaboration and efficiency, changing the face of international politics.

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[220] International Court of Justice. "Permanent Court of International Justice." *Permanent Court of International Justice | International Court of Justice*. International Court of Justice, 2017. Web. 09 Oct. 2017.
[221] United Nations Office at Geneva. Library. *UNOG Library: Registry, Records, and Archives Unit*.
[222] Ridgely, Gill. "The League of Nations." *The British Library*. The British Library, 24 July 2012. Web. 09 Oct. 2017.

Reinforcing Existing Power Structures

Having achieved such success, understanding how and why the League of Nations ultimately failed is a critical step toward creating future organizations or new techniques that could achieve lasting peace, improving the application of global governance theory to reality. While the League of Nations provided a platform for nation-states to begin following a new approach to international relations, the start of World War II overshadowed its progress and marked the end of the organization. The League of Nations was born out of political turmoil, and while its goals focused on ensuring such turmoil would never again escalate to the level of World War I, several key factors contributed to the failure of this aspiration. In order to succeed in creating an organization that does not follow a similar path, identifying these factors is key.

Central to the functioning of the League, the membership of the organization not only shaped its actions but also determined its power to carry through its goals. The assembly of members, including those who were deemed permanent, upheld a specific hierarchical structure, giving the impression of the League as a "peace agency imposed by the victorious powers."[223] Germany in particular considered the body as a "victors club."[224] From its creation, the drafting committee was composed entirely of Allied powers, with significant influence given to the five larger powers including the United States, France, Italy, Japan, and the British Commonwealth.[225] While these countries were allowed two spokesmen, the smaller nation-states of Belgium, Brazil, China, Portugal, and Serbia were permitted only one. Neutral nations

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[223] Löhr, Isabella. "The League of Nations." *European History Online*. European History Online, 17 Aug. 2015. Web. 9 Oct. 2017.
[224] Sobel, Russell. "The League of Nations Covenant and the United Nations Charter: An Analysis of Two International Constitutions." *Constitutional Political Economy* 5.2 (1994): 173-92. Print., 188.
[225] Ibid.

were informally consulted later in the process and defeated nation-states were not consulted.[226]

The legitimacy and fairness of the social contract constructed through the League of Nations

rested upon the voluntary nature of the agreement. Thus, "Germany's later claims of being

unfairly treated under the League, which it was forced to join through its signature of the Treaty

of Versailles, seemed justified based upon this procedural theory of fairness."[227] Born out of a

controversial treaty, the League acted as "essentially a European league, in large part aimed at

Germany, rather than a world league with the United States as a moderating member."[228]

Enacted with this predetermined agenda, including decisions influenced by extreme emotions,

the League failed to provide a platform readily available for all parties.

Particularly problematic was the determination of "small' and "large" states. These

classifications were not based on population or area. In fact, the only common feature among

smaller states was their lack of permanent representation, reserved for the "Great Powers." The

determination of these Great Powers rested on military domination during the nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries. By distinguishing between the Great Powers and all those who remain,

the League created a power structure that upheld a world order where the Great Powers could

regard themselves as "a pivot around which the whole of Society revolved."[229] This

exaggeration of equality between the "great and small powers" greatly contributed to the

growing lack of solidarity and cooperation and to the failure of the League.[230]

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[226] Sobel, Russell. "The League of Nations Covenant and the United Nations Charter."
[227] Ibid., 177.
[228] Bailey, Thomas Andrew. *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*. Chicago: Quadrangle, 1963. Print.
[229] Rappard, William E. "Small States in the League of Nations." *Political Science Quarterly* 49.4 (1934): 544-75. Print., 546.
[230] Sobel, Russell. "The League of Nations Covenant and the United Nations Charter."

Critical Weaknesses

One of the most distinct weaknesses of the League was the absence of the United States membership. Although the League developed from President Wilson's 14 Points, the United States Senate rejected joining the organization, immediately undermining its influence. Article X of the League Covenant required all League members to aid any member state under attack. This policy greatly perturbed the American people, who continued to hold isolationist ideals. The United States desired to return to a policy of isolationism after WWI and the League's commitment to European, and even global, involvement was not a desirable obligation.[231] President Wilson was faced with the task of convincing the American people "that the Treaty and the League together represented an Americanization or a liberalization of world politics, rather than an absorption of a liberal-exceptionalist America into the complexities of the Old World's imperialistic democracy."[232] The decision to abstain from joining this global institution, greatly diminished the League's influence and power.[233] As the newly formed organization took shape, the United States "left it an orphaned waif on the international doorstep."[234] President Wilson stressed the necessity for the United States to join the institution, emphasizing the need to "create an inclusive liberalized international order of peace and legality transcending the traditional European balance of power system."[235] By 1920 the United States had emerged as the world's leading economic power and achieved the first rank in world trade.[236] Creating a successful global organization would prove difficult in the absence of a major international force,

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[231] Lodge, Henry Cabot. *The Senate and the League of Nations*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1925. Print.
[232] Levin, Norman Gordon. *Woodrow Wilson and World Politics; America's Response to War and Revolution*. London: Oxford UP, 1980. Print., 254.
[233] Ridgely, Gill. "The League of Nations."
[234] Bailey, Thomas Andrew. *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*.
[235] Levin, Norman Gordon. *Woodrow Wilson and World.*, 254.
[236] Norton, Mary Beth. *A People and a Nation: A History of the United States*. Stamford, CT: Cengage Learning, 2016. Print.

demonstrating a critical need to enroll all of the top global forces to aid in creating a successful global governance organization.

Although the League of Nations had successfully intervened in previous territorial disputes, the 1930s presented the organization with several substantial transnational conflicts that revealed the League's key limitations. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria, the German defiance of the Versailles Treaty, and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia were particularly significant during this period.[237] The League's inability to address these issues significantly influenced world politics and ultimately helped pave a path to another world war. The non-compulsory nature of the League Council's decisions weakened its capabilities to act and influence international affairs.[238] Additionally, the lack of force provided through the means of military power exposed a critical fault in the structure of the League. Without its own military, the League struggled to enforce its own biddings. The lack of third party weakened the League's ability to apply repercussions and left the organization with insufficient power to stop states, a common flaw within global governance organizations.[239] When Japan invaded Manchuria, the League's order for Japan to leave China only resulted in Japan leaving the League of Nations.[240] This behavior illustrated how any member nation-state that disagreed with the League could simply leave it in order to avoid making concessions. The Council recommended sanctions and military action but without military forces such as the US and USSR, the organization did not have the power to require them.[241] The lack of compulsory compliance allowed acts of aggression to go unchecked.[242] While nation-states such as France would have embraced a

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[237] Sobel, Russell. "The League of Nations Covenant and the United Nations Charter."
[238] Ibid.
[239] Babic, Jovan, and Petar Bojanic, eds. *World Governance: Do We Need It, Is It Possible, What Could It (all) Mean?* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010. Print.
[240] BBC Bitesize Staff. "History: The League's Successes and Failures."
[241] Sobel, Russell. "The League of Nations Covenant and the United Nations Charter."
[242] Ibid.

strong League with military power, many other members rejected this structure for fear that it may "impede upon national sovereignty."[243]

The League's creation marked a pivotal point in approaching international politics, contributing to the eventual birth of formal global governance theory and illustrating some key strengths and weaknesses when applying this theory to reality. There was a common view during this time that the League represented "something really unique being created. However, we have come to recognize that even the League system was primarily a systematization of pre-war ideas and practices, with some innovations added in the light of war experience."[244] The voluntary nature of the organization alongside its fundamental lack of power from major international forces such as the United States left the organization vulnerable. It also lacked an impartiality and was inherently tied to WWI. By the end of the of the 1930s, the League "had weak links spreading everywhere and no grip anywhere."[245]

<div align="center">Moving Forward: The Legacy of the League</div>

A Necessary Global Governance Failure

When Woodrow Wilson constructed his Fourteen Points, he focused on politicians' duty to ensure that a calamity such as WWI would never occur again. His League of Nations was a central component of this goal. Its inability to prevent World War II has often led scholars to brand the League as a failure, yet its significant legacy not only deserves to be recognized, but was an absolutely critical element in creating a successful global governance organization in the future.[246] The experimentation of thought involved in the development of the League introduced

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[243] Ridgely, Gill. "The League of Nations."
[244] Ibid., 4.
[245] Townshend, Charles. "History - World Wars: The League of Nations and the United Nations." *BBC*. BBC, 17 Feb. 2011. Web. 09 Oct. 2017.
[246] BBC 4. "Things We Forgot to Remember, Series 4, The League of Nations." *BBC Radio 4*. BBC, 25 Sept. 2012. Web. 09 Oct. 2017.

a fresh approach to understanding and managing international relations, one that aided in building the foundation of global governance theory. Eduard Benés, former president of the League of Nations, claimed that "the League of Nations was the expression of a general democratization of the postwar world and an organ of international democracy."[247] This democratization of global governance continues to be a valuable objective within international politics. Pursued through modern organizations, "democracy beyond the state" is achieved through a "global civil society," signifying a collaboration between state governments and formal institutions working on an international level.[248] With its eventual termination, the League ironically provided a means of learning how *not* to achieve peace, information that is extraordinarily useful for future pursuits. [249] By recognizing its failures as well as its successes, scholars and politicians alike have been able to achieve a better understanding of the challenges and benefits of a global governance organization.

Sparking a Growth in International Organizations

One of the most impactful techniques the League established to approach international relations was its facilitation of a "network of cooperation."[250] With commercial and political developments, in conjunction with the increased advances in knowledge, technology, and communications, the inter-war period saw a significant increase in the number of intergovernmental organization (IGOs) and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs).[251] These organizations would later appear in global governance theories as a crucial

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[247] Davies, Thomas Richard. "A "Great Experiment" of the League of Nations Era: International Nongovernmental Organizations, Global Governance, and Democracy Beyond the States." *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 18.4 (2012): 405-23. Print., 407.
[248] Ibid., 410.
[249] BBC 4. "Things We Forgot to Remember, Series 4, The League of Nations."
[250] Smith, Jackie G. *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity beyond the State*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse U, 2001. Print., 26.
[251] Ibid.

component of global governance, allowing a variety of parties to shape international values and expectations. Studying the faults of the past, historians and theorists recognized the value of international organizations in transnational politics.[252] The League played a pivotal role in introducing this system. While the League itself was intended as an "agency of national governments, primarily to stabilize the interstate order, it cultivated a transnational civil service and role for itself."[253] This flow of information and evaluations ensures that "diplomatic debate consider all issues within a wider context and policy is less likely to have unintended consequences," considering domestic politics as well as international politics.[254] The functional relationship between IGOs, INGOS, and nation-states was recognized as a useful tool to handle international affairs and was later embraced in the creation of the United Nations.[255] These organizations often promoted humanitarian, multinational programs, representing "epistemic communities" with shared values and a desire to translate these values into policies.[256] James Rosenau explains how global governance highlights a shift in the location of authority. This change is felt in the economic, social, and political systems.[257] By reorienting authority and political goals, the League of Nations acted as a valuable preliminary agency of global governance.

An Ideological Breakthrough

While founding practical and structural means of operating such a large transnational organization was both necessary and important in creating a precedent for future global

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[252] Gabriela, Sterian. "International Organizations in Global Environmental Governance." *Advances in Economics, Risk Management, Political and Law Science* (2009): 257-62. Print.
[253] Smith, Jackie G. *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics*., 26.
[254] Willetts, Peter. "The Role of NGOs in Global Governance." *World Politics Review*. World Politics Review, 26 Sept. 2011. Web. 10 Oct. 2017.
[255] Willetts, Peter. "The Role of NGOs in Global Governance."
[256] Ibid., 33.
[257] Hewson, Martin, and Timothy J. Sinclair. *Approaches to Global Governance Theory*. Albany, NY: State U of New York, 1999. Print.

governance organizations, the logistical details involved in the League's operation paled in significance compared to the ideological principles established. These philosophies were fundamental to the organization and to the future of international politics. The expectations and values associated with the League reflected a global effort to translate global governance theory to reality. The League "codified a set of ideas—collective security, self-determination, and multilateral cooperation across issue areas."[258] New global principles were founded and continue to "constitute the core of the modern liberal international order."[259] The League instituted a new era of transnational politics emphasizing a political, international accountability. By accepting the League, nation-states across the globe recognized that "their existence depends upon the general maintenance of law, and consequently that they must prefer the claim of the law for defense, as against the lure of an immediate national profit."[260] The League instituted fundamentals of global governance theory by operating with politics of cooperation rather than politics of power.[261]

Political scientist John Harley has argued that the League of Nations "represents the greatest attempt which ever has been made to substitute reason and justice for force and intrigue as the governing principle of international relations."[262] The League instituted ideals and ideas into reality and while this reality may have been flawed, it paved the path toward a new future for international relations.

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[258] Cottrell, Patrick. *The League of Nations: Enduring Legacies of the First Experiment at World Organization*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017. Print.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Wright, Quincy. "Effects of the League of Nations Covenant." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 13, no. 4, 1 Nov. 1919, pp. 556–576. *JSTOR*.
[261] Tosi, Luciano. "The League of Nations: An International Relations Perspective." *Uniform Law Review*, vol. 22, no. 1, 2017, pp. 148–157., doi:10.1093/ulr/unw055.
[262] Harley, John Eugene. *League of Nations and the New International Law*. Nabu Press, 2010.

Paving the Way for Future Core Transnational Organizations

Products of transnational cooperation such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the

World Bank, the United Nations (UN), and the G8 Summit play a critical role in the

contemporary world of global governance. The League of Nations paved the path for these

organizations and global interactions to develop. In the case of the UN, the League acted as a

direct predecessor. With the onset of WWII, the League faced the reality that the organization

had failed to achieve one of its most important goals: preserving peace. This failure proved fatal

for the League; however, the "concept of [an] international organization was firmly embedded in

minds" by the time the world faced WWII.[263] Franklin D. Roosevelt introduced the term

"United Nations" in 1942 and in 1945 the League passed on its properties and assets to the newly

formed United Nations Organization. The United Nations continues to exist as a "world centre

for diplomatic conferences" with the "majority of the specialized institutions…the legacy of the

work initiated by the League of Nations."[264] The UN has played a pivotal role in both furthering

global governance as well as continuing the work of the League. The UN works to accomplish

goals ranging from ending poverty, to protecting the environment, to providing education to all.

In 2015, Time Magazine recognized five major accomplishments from the UN including saving

the Pyramids, eradicating smallpox, protecting the ozone, helping to save the lives of 90 million

children, and promoting arms control.[265] The League provided an essential prototype for the

UN, allowing politicians to adapt successful qualities of the League to the new organization and

reject or alter weaker aspects. The UN has gone on to be recognized as an "incubator of new and

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[263] UN Office at Geneva. "UNOG - History: From the League of Nations to the United Nations." *The United Nations Office at Geneva*. N.p., n.d. Web. 04 Dec. 2017.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Zorthian, Julia. "5 United Nations Achievements Worth Celebrating on U.N. Day." *Time Magazine*. Time Magazine, 23 Oct. 2015. Web. 4 Dec. 2017.

powerful ideas which have shaped policies at all levels."[266] With new and growing challenges in

the 21ˢᵗ century, the UN may need to adapt and "reinvent itself."[267] However, with such a strong

foundation, politician Helen Clark argues that its basic framework will allow these alterations to

occur and continue to contribute to global governance and the regulation of a globalized

world.[268] This foundation and its success is due in large part to its predecessor, the League of

Nations.

The League also contributed to the development of other core global governance

institutions, including the IMF and World Bank. Having witnessed the benefits of an

international financial cooperation in the form of the League's Economic and Financial

Organization (EFO), politicians sought to achieve financial stability with a new type of

regulation following WWII. After witnessing the chaos of the financial system during the inter-

war period, including the collapse of the gold standard, the Great Depression, and the rise of

protectionism, the Bretton Woods conference sought to bring order to transnational

economics.[269] The IMF and the World Bank were created at the 1944 Bretton Woods

conference, both sharing the goal of "raising living standards in their member countries."[270]

Regularly cooperating with one another, the IMF focuses on macroeconomic issues, and the

World Bank concentrates on "long-term economic development and poverty reduction."[271] This

global and active approach toward economics stemmed from the League's EFO that sought a

hands-on approach to financial diplomacy. Its vast range of goals led leaders to encourage the

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[266] Clark, Helen. "Improved Global Governance to Meet Our Shared Challenges." World Government Summit. United Arab Emirates. 01 Dec. 2017. *United Nations Development Programme*. Web. 8 Dec. 2017.
[267] Ibid.
[268] Ibid.
[269] Buttonwood. "What Was Decided at the Bretton Woods Summit." *The Economist*. The Economist, 01 July 2014. Web. 8 Dec. 2017.
[270] Ibid.
[271] International Monetary Fund. "The IMF and the World Bank." *International Monetary Fund*. International Monetary Fund, Oct. 2017. Web. 08 Dec. 2017.

EFO to separate from the League in order to "form a 'technical' organization akin to the Bretton Woods institutions created in 1944."[272] The EFO began collating statistics globally, providing crucial data for future analysis, including Depression-era reports.[273] The EFO's efforts lent support to the Bretton Woods conference and helped establish the principles behind the IMF and World Bank. The League of Nations provided a preliminary version of what would eventually transform into two financial institutions that continue to influence global policies and further the global governance agenda.

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[272] University of Cambridge. "The Economic Legacy of the League of Nations." *Joint Center for History and Economics*. University of Cambridge, n.d. Web. 08 Dec. 2017.
[273] Ibid.

The European Union: A Modern Product of Translating Global Governance Theory into Reality

Less than three decades after facing the devastation of WWI, Europe once again found itself ravaged in the aftermath of another global conflict. The developing implementation of global governance techniques was not enough and contained too many flaws to avert another worldwide conflict. Yet again, the sheer loss experienced by both the Allies and the Axis powers left a depletion of resources, tense relations, and questions of how to cope moving forward. In such an uncertain time, several key objectives emerged at the forefront of European politics: "economic reconstruction, security in the face of cold war tensions, and efforts to prevent European nationalism spilling over once again into conflict."[274] These key points provided the foundation for the future steps taken to maintain peace between neighboring nation-states. The question remained: how could these objectives be addressed in a manner that would not fail? How would this time be different?

Just as the United Nations emerged from the ashes of the League of Nations in 1945, another entity began to take shape with the goal of promoting a nuanced approach to politics, one that recognized nation-state sovereignty while supporting a development of regionalism. This regionalism became a vital step to integration and cooperation between historic rivals, emphasizing commonalities and collaboration rather than competition and conflict. The European Union (EU) arose as a tool for change tailored to the European region, the heart of both World Wars. Officially created in 1993, the EU is a recent development. However, it unfolded from decades of politicians' efforts to unite the region and work together and is often

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[274] McCormick, John. *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction.* London: Macmillan Education Palgrave, 2017. Print., 48.

recognized as developing in 1957, under the Treaty of Rome, which established the European

Economic Community. These efforts for unification were often heavily focused on cultivating

an economic interdependence that would prevent another conflict from taking shape. Starting off

as an economic union and developing into an organization that addresses climate, health,

security, justice, and migration, the European Union has played a significant role in ensuring

peace for more than half a century.

The EU provided a key institution to allow global governance to develop as an approach

to politics, promoting international cooperation to tackle global issues and maintain peace.[275]

While each European nation-state preserved its own identity, the EU solidified a

Europeanization, supporting a "European public space."[276] In this way, the EU allowed a co-

existence of a wide range of identities and provided the first steps toward a post-national

identity.[277] The institution was "not something limited to concrete elements but also to abstract

entities, images, and memories; that is, the symbolic experiences through which people

apprehend the social world and that guide and give meaning to their behavior."[278] Its established

laws, as well as implicit expectations, created a specific European culture and identity to

accompany national culture, furthering European integration with the goal of strengthening ties

between neighboring nation-states. In the context of global governance, the EU provides a

critical example of a contemporary interpretation of the theory. The Entente Cordiale acted as a

catalyst toward an alternative mindset used to approach global challenges, emphasizing

[275] United Nations Regional Information Centre for Western Europe (UNRIC). *How the European Union and the United Nations Cooperate*. Berlin: United Nations Regional Information Centre for Western Europe (UNRIC), 2007. Print.

[276] Cowles, Maria Green, James A. Caporaso, and Thomas Risse-Kappen. *Transforming Europe Europeanization and Domestic Change*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2001. Print., 200.

[277] Fossum, Jon Erik. *Identity-politics in the European Union. ARENA Centre for European Studies*. University of Oslo, Jan. 2017. Web. 19 Oct. 2017.

[278] Menéndez-Alarcón, Antonio V. *The Cultural Realm of European Integration: Social Representations in France, Spain, and the United Kingdom*. Westport (Connecticut): Praeger, 2004. Print., 7.

transnational cooperation rather than military force. The League of Nations served as one of the

first major multinational organizations dedicated toward protecting worldwide security and

promoting universal human rights, providing critical elements of what would later be recognized

as global governance theory. The EU translated this established theory into reality. Neither a

state nor a classic international organization, the EU offers a platform for a multilateral system.

Faced with contemporary challenges, including a growing return to nationalism and climate

change, the EU will inevitably play a crucial role in maintaining a stable global order. Yet its

relevance and value have recently come into question with the controversial vote for the United

Kingdom to leave the EU. Understanding how global governance theory has taken shape in this

organization is key to recognize how to tackle increasingly globalized challenges that lie ahead.

Historical Context

The end of the Cold War marked a new beginning for much of the world. In 1985,

Mikhail Gorbachev began his role as the last leader of the Soviet Union. His policies of

glasnost—welcoming Western ideas and goods—and *perestroika*—allowing limited market

incentives to Soviet citizens—introduced a new technique of managing politics and the economy

within the Soviet Union.[279] While Gorbachev established these policies in hopes of sparking a

surge in the Soviet economy, the Soviet bloc began to break apart. Eastern Europe witnessed a

rise in independence while the rest of the world started to adjust to a new global order,

recognizing actors entering nationhood for the first time in addition to shifting transnational

political attitudes. For the United States, the collapse of the Soviet Union shocked the nation.

While the Cold War had ended, for many, "facing one superpower was simpler than challenging

dozens of rogue states and renegade groups sponsoring global terrorism."[280] The 1990s brought

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[279] "The End of the Cold War." *Ushistory.org*. Independence Hall Association, n.d. Web. 25 Oct. 2017.
[280] Ibid.

new challenges and uncertainty to political leaders, both old and new. Global politics

transformed into a world in which integration, as well as fragmentation, started to play primary

roles in transnational interactions.[281] With these dynamics shaping diplomacy, the state shifted

from its previous position as a principal author in international affairs, altering the state-centric

theoretical perspectives that had grown during the Cold War.[282] Free trade agreements arose

alongside increased globalization and a growing trend toward regionalism. The nation-state's

role in politics began to recede as multinational agreements and organizations rose in power and

influence.[283] In this unique climate, global governance theory flourished.

In 1992, an international commission of 28 individuals was established to discuss how

this altered global community could work together to achieve global security, sustainable

development, and universal democracy. This organization, the Commission on Global

Governance, recognized that the twenty-first century was quickly approaching and with it came

the challenges associated with an increasingly interdependent and interconnected world.[284] The

Commission worked to "capitalize on the myriad opportunities afforded the world community in

the wake of the Cold War," analyzing the effects of globalization and the major alterations

within the political, economic, military, technological, intellectual, and institutional sectors in the

last fifty years.[285] Although the threat of imminent war between the Soviet Union and the United

States had subsided, the world now faced the spread of nuclear capability and biological and

chemical weapons available for conflicts both within and between nation-states.[286] The

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[281] Krahmann, Elke. "American Hegemony or Global Governance? Competing Visions of International Security." *International Studies Review* 7.4 (2005): 531-45. Print.
[282] Krahmann, Elke. "American Hegemony or Global Governance? Competing Visions of International Security."
[283] Urata, Shujiro. "Globalization and the Growth in Free Trade Agreements." *Asia-Pacific Review* 9.1 (2002): 20-32. Print.
[284] Carlsson, Ingvar, and Shridath Ramphal. *Our Global Neighborhood*. Rep. New York: Oxford UP, 1995. Print.
[285] Ibid.
[286] Ibid.

Commission of Global Governance worked to understand the steps necessary to combat these threats to stability. In *Our Global Neighborhood*, the 1995 report by the Commission on Global Governance, two principle norms were explored that guided relations among nation-states both before and after the Cold War: sovereignty and self-determination. The Commission emphasized key shared transnational values, such as justice, equity, tolerance, liberty, and nonviolence, to provide a set of global responsibilities and rights rooted in cooperation with the goal of "meet[ing] the new realities of the emerging global community."[287] This Commission acknowledged the current political climate along with its challenges. With the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations approaching in 1995, global governance theory and its application rose to the forefront of international politics, no longer a partial technique in guiding transnational politics, but an unequivocally powerful and valuable force for addressing challenges in the modern world.

<div align="center">The Formation and Functioning of the European Union</div>

Preliminary Conceptualization and Configuration

While the European Union was not formally established until 1993, its creation was not an entirely radical idea or a direct product of post-Cold War European politics.[288] The EU was rooted in policies that emerged in the late 1940s and early 1950s, following the destruction of World War II. Politicians and citizens alike sought to maintain peace while working toward reconstruction and rehabilitation. Inter-state cooperation was recognized as an essential component toward achieving these goals.[289] The 1949 Council of Europe reflected the desire to

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[287] Carlsson, Ingvar, and Shridath Ramphal. *Our Global Neighborhood*.
[288] Cini, Michelle, and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán. *European Union Politics*. Fifth ed. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2016. Print.
[289] Ibid.

formally promote peaceful reconciliation through supranational integration.[290] In 1950, the

French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman proposed to integrate the coal and steel industries of

Western Europe, especially France and Germany, and the European Coal and Steel Community

was established in 1952.[291] This step welcomed a new era of European integration, beginning a

process of European nation-states working together. This collaboration was intended to

strengthen economic ties and eventually foster political integration by creating common interests

between European nation-states. Schuman's focus on the essential materials for the armaments

industry ensured that "whoever did not have control over coal and steel production would not be

able to fight a war."[292] Schuman's declaration, delivered on May 9, 1950, shaped Europe's

future and May 9 is now recognized as Europe Day and considered the beginning of what is now

the European Union, although the official creation of the union would not take place for several

more decades.[293]

　　This willingness to work together developed further in 1957. Belgium, West Germany,

Luxembourg, France, Italy, and the Netherlands signed the Treaties of Rome, creating the

European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community

(EAEC).[294] Deemed 'the Six,' these nation-states arose as the core of European integration.

These treaties aimed to encourage nation-states to be dependent upon one another and reduce

rivalries to the extent that war was "not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible."[295] The

EEC and EAEC merged in 1967, and the European Parliament was created, allowing citizens to

[290] Cini, Michelle, and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán. *European Union Politics*.
[291] NPR. "A Brief History of The EU." *NPR*. NPR, 08 July 2010. Web. 27 Oct. 2017.
[292] European Commission Communications Department. "The Founding Fathers of the EU - European Union - European Commission." *European Union*. European Commission, 24 Oct. 2017. Web. 2 Nov. 2017.
[293] Ibid.
[294] NPR. "A Brief History of The EU."
[295] Allen, Emily. "What Is the Treaty of Rome?" *The Telegraph*. Telegraph Media Group, 24 Mar. 2017. Web. 31 Oct. 2017.

vote for candidates. The 1970s saw new efforts to deepen integration and incorporate more

diversity. Expanding membership permitted the Communities to represent more of Europe as a

united entity. While this strengthened European regionalism and its ability to contribute to a

global governance framework, the increased membership also brought more interests and

agendas that required accommodation.[296] Although steps toward integration were firmly

established throughout these decades, economic recession and high unemployment began to

influence nation-states to act with their own people's interest at heart and integrationists feared

efforts would be diminished. However, by the end of the 1980s, a European Union started to

transform from merely a conceptualized institution to a genuine possibility.

The Treaty of the European Union

The 1993 signing of the Treaty of Maastricht, or Treaty of the European Union (TEU),

finally established the organization. The treaty not only supported European integration by

formally creating the European Union, but it also encouraged cooperation in the new Common

Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and the Justice and Affairs Council (JHA), as well as the

expansion of the European Community (EC), formerly the EEC.[297] A product of decades of

work dedicated to developing European integration, the TEU ensured that several changes were

imposed on existing institutions, and new techniques were used to avoid potential failures.[298]

Under the TEU, the EC extended its focus beyond the economy and now had power in the fields

of education, culture, public health, consumer protection, trans-European networks, industry, and

development cooperation. The TEU also established citizenship for the EU along with a timeline

for the creation of an Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). In its initial inception, the EU was

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[296] Allen, Emily. "What Is the Treaty of Rome?"
[297] Ibid.
[298] McCormick, John. *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*.

structured on three main pillars. The first pillar included the European Communities (EC, ECSC, EAEC). The second included the CFSP and the third pillar involved the JHA. Through these pillars, the EU incorporated a mix of supranationalism, by which authority is placed higher than the state, and intergovernmentalism, by which nation-states cooperate with one another but do not lose national sovereignty.[299]

Structure and Operations

This overall structure would not change until 2002 when the ECSC ceased to exist due to the expiration of the Treaty of Paris, which established it. In 2009, another significant change took place with the ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon. Following the recent waves of increasing membership, the need for change became increasingly apparent to ensure that the EU upheld democratic values that "bring it closer to its citizens."[300] The Treaty of Lisbon abolished the three-pillar structure to "enhance the efficiency and democratic legitimacy of the Union and to improve the coherence of its action."[301] With this treaty, nearly all policy areas were brought together under the ordinary legislative procedure, increasing the power of the Parliament. The EU would now have a single legal personality. The Lisbon Treaty also created a new president for the European Council.

Currently, there are 28 member counties in the EU with 19 members using the common currency, the euro. There are three primary institutions involved in the legislative process of the EU. These include the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union, and the European Commission. The European Parliament directly represents the EU's citizens. Members are elected by these citizens and have legislative, supervisory, and budgetary

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[299] Cini, Michelle, and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán. *European Union Politics*.
[300] McCormick, John. *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*., 69.
[301] Schütze, Robert. *European Constitutional Law*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2016. Print., 44.

responsibilities. The EU's priorities and agenda are set by the European Council, consisting of

national and EU-level leaders. The European Council represents the "highest level of political

cooperation between EU countries," allowing representatives and heads of states to come

together and address complex and sensitive issues that "cannot be resolved at lower levels of

intergovernmental cooperation."[302] The European Council decides the direction of EU

policymaking and can ask the European Commission to make a proposal to address a problem or

pass the issue along to the Council of the European Union, a council consisting of government

ministers from each EU country. The Council of the EU works with the European Parliament as

the main decision-making body of the EU. The President of the European Council, elected by

the European Commission, represents the EU to the rest of the world. The European

Commission, the executive body of the EU, promotes the interests of the EU as a whole.

National governments appoint European Commission members who are responsible for

proposing and implementing EU laws, monitoring the treaties, and the day-to-day running of the

EU.[303] In addition to these principal bodies, there are over 20 other institutions that all contribute

to the function of the union as a whole. Particularly significant is the Court of Justice of the EU,

created to uphold European law, and the Court of Auditors, implemented to check the financing

of the EU's activities.[304] As a whole, the European Union uses these bodies to address a wide

range of issues among the European Union members, working to promote integration within the

region.

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[302] European Commission Communication Department. "EU Institutions and Other Bodies." *European Union*.
European Commission, 24 Oct. 2017. Web. 01 Nov. 2017.
[302] Ibid.

<u>Principle Goals: Achieving an Old Objective with a New Technique</u>

Working Toward Economic Interdependence

The goals behind the European Union were relatively simple: create an environment that prevents another world war, enhances economic wellbeing for all parties, and promotes global stability. These objectives were not new; the League of Nations worked toward the same vision. With previous failed attempts in mind, politicians recognized that contemporary techniques for realizing this goal must be innovative. The EU was created as an explicitly European response to achieving sustained peace. The approach taken in response to World War I illustrated the pitfalls of implementing harsh punishments as well as creating global institutions designed to ensure winning nation-states remained in power and denied recovery to the losing side. Hoping to avoid these past mistakes, politicians worked to form a means of encouraging cooperation without retribution. French statesmen Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman recognized that creating financial interdependencies can be a simple way to reduce rivalries. By focusing on economic goals, the nation-states would not only strive to encourage further prosperity but ideally become too interconnected economically to begin a conflict with one another. Monnet and Schuman initiated their work with this economic focus, with the ultimate goal of eventual political integration between European nation-states.[305]

Leading up until WWII, the 1920s were filled with high levels of interdependence, with international trade flourishing alongside functioning, steady transnational relations. When trade began to yield lesser gains, largely due to the world depression, the 1930s sparked a rebirth of protectionism, decreasing this interdependence just as transnational tensions peaked. The primary attributes of the EU were fueled by the concept of thriving economic transnational

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[305] Kesselman, Mark. *European Politics in Transition*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2009. Print.

exchanges maintaining peace. Prosperous trade has proven itself to be a powerful tool during the

inter-war period and the EU sought to use this tool. Even if only theorized, the possibility of a

"positive expected value for trade" can incentivize continued peace.[306] The expansion of the free

market and economic integration facilitated an environment supporting sustained peace, allowing

the development of "political integration by building democratic institutions at the

intergovernmental and transnational levels."[307] Creating stable exchange rates and free capital

movement worked well to facilitate a functional relationship between European nation-states.

The European Union focused on a regional approach, encouraging stability and collaboration

among European nation-states. The EU concentrated on repairing relationships rooted in

ingrained tension and fighting, heavily relying on economic ties to provide the path toward an

integrated community.

Creating a Multilateral Framework Through a Key Bilateral Agreement

The European Union "describes itself as a family of democratic European countries,

committed to working together for peace and prosperity."[308] In order to uphold these qualities,

previous issues between key European nation-states had to be addressed. The rivalry between

France and Germany was particularly harmful in the history of European conflicts. Germany

expressed a long-instilled abhorrence between the two nation-states through the term

Erbfeindschaft, meaning "hatred passed on from generation to generation."[309] To create lasting

peace, politicians acknowledged that balancing military power was not enough. The Elysée

Treaty of 1963 provided the foundation of cooperation between the two rivals, ensuring

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[306] Copeland, Dale C. "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations." *International Security* 20.4 (1996): 5-41. *JSTOR [JSTOR]*. Web. 7 Nov. 2017., 7.

[307] Ette, John Umo, "The Impact of Economic Integration within the European Union as a Factor in Conflict Transformation and Peace-Building" (2014). *Dissertations and Theses*. Paper 1893., i.

[308] BBC News. "Profile: European Union." *BBC News*. BBC News, 24 Sept. 2015. Web. 2 Nov. 2017.

[309] *Is the European Union Worth It or Should We End It*. *Youtube*. Youtube, 13 Apr. 2017. Web. 13 Nov. 2017.

collaboration in the areas of international relations, defense, and education. Konrad Adenauer

and Charles de Gaulle signed a revolutionary contract that would create a "closeness and

friendship that few peoples share," rooted in reconciliation, solidarity, and Europe.[310] The

Eylsée Treaty "institutionalized Franco-German cooperation through governmental summits,

which gradually expanded and were replaced in 2003 by joint cabinet meetings...enabling

coordination at the highest political level" and "concrete political decision-making in view of

establishing common positions during working sessions among ministers of specific

portfolios."[311] This treaty became the engine that drove the development of the European

Union.[312] The Franco-Germanic relationship created a dominant force supporting EU projects

such as the creation of the euro.[313] Paris and Berlin "remain the driving forces in matters of

European policymaking," in spite of a clashing history, working to achieve common goals such

as enhancing economic, industrial, and military growth across Europe.[314] Similar to the Entente

Cordiale, this bilateral agreement relied on the principle concepts of global governance, namely

focusing on creating political frameworks building on common goals and establishing norms

based on shared values, and expanded to include a multilateral framework once the European

Union was officially established.

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[310] Fabius, Laurent, and Guido Westerwelle. "50 Years after Elysée, Germany and France Still Stand Shoulder to Shoulder." *The Guardian*. The Guardian, 22 Jan. 2013. Web. 3 Nov. 2017.

[311] Ulrich Krotz, Joachim Schild, *Shaping Europe: France, Germany, and embedded bilateralism*. From the Elysée Treaty to Twenty-Century Politics, Oxford 2013., 2.

[312] Ibid.

[313] Perozini, Samina. "Elysee Treaty: A Model worth Emulating." *SouthAsia Global Affairs*. SA Global Affairs, Feb. 2013. Web. 03 Nov. 2017.

[314] Ibid.

<u>The EU Achieving its Goals</u>

Maintaining Stability and Preserving Peace

In 2012, the European Union was presented with the Nobel Peace Prize "for over six decades [having] contributed to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe."[315] The current interactions between two major historic rivals reflect not only a functional but a supportive relationship, illustrating how "through well-aimed efforts and by building up mutual confidence, historical enemies can become close partners."[316] The European Union provided the necessary platform for European nation-states to connect with one another and benefit from their collaboration. The EU offered extensive resources to its members, a benefit that is available within a global governance structure. These resources contributed to the protection and economic development of member nation-states, an achievement that can be directly attributed to its structure as a global governance institution.[317] Furthermore, by being a part of the EU, members are offered access to a wider global network. When Estonia became a member of the EU, its voice was amplified. NATO soon offered membership, and Estonia found itself contributing to a global organization that was responsible for complex security decisions. Without the "socialization" of the EU, Estonia would not have had this opportunity. Being a member of the EU "means living together—with all the frustrations, but also the intimacy and solidarity that this involves."[318] With the fall of the Berlin Wall, several Central and Eastern European countries became eligible for EU membership, and the East and West started to reconcile, commencing a new era in European history. Since then, "democracy has been

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[315] "The Nobel Peace Prize 2012". *Nobelprize.org.* Nobel Media AB 2014. Web. 8 Nov 2017.
[316] "The Nobel Peace Prize 2012 to the European Union (EU) – Press Release". *Nobelprize.org.* Nobel Media AB 2014. Web. 8 Nov 2017.
[317] Ndulo, Muna. *Security, Reconstruction and Reconciliation When the Wars End.* London: UCL, 2007, Print.
[318] Liik, Kadri. "The EU Gives a Small Country like Estonia a Voice." *The Guardian.* The Guardian, 15 June 2016. Web. 01 Dec. 2017.

strengthened, and many ethnically-based national conflicts have been settled."[319] Although the

EC was unable to adequately handle the violence that broke out during the disintegration of

Yugoslavia, the Balkans benefited from the path provided by the EU. With the admission of

Croatia, membership negotiations with Montenegro, and Serbia gaining candidate status, this

European region has experienced significant growth in the advancement of democracy and

human rights.[320] The Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the EU, even in the midst of economic

challenges, as the Norwegian Nobel Committee focused on what was deemed the "most

important result: the successful struggle for peace and reconciliation and for democracy and

human rights."[321] The efforts on the part of the EU to stabilize the region transformed Europe

from a region plagued by conflict and war to a continent of stability and peace.[322]

The EU has also played a significant role in working with nation-states outside of

Europe. The EU's security and defense policy aims to avert and manage conflicts through the

expansion of civilian and military capabilities.   In 2008, the EU stepped in to resolve the conflict

between Georgia and Russia. Partnering with U.S. diplomats, the EU worked the mediate the

war, launching a fact-finding mission and hosting peace talks between the two nation-states.

Though its swift response, the EU was able to achieve a ceasefire.[323] When presented with the

Ebola crisis, the EU committed over €1 billion to fight the epidemic in addition to providing

ambulances, field hospitals, and humanitarian experts.[324] The EU has demonstrated itself to be a

critical global leader, protecting peace and working to promote stability.

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[319] "The Nobel Peace Prize 2012 to the European Union (EU) – Press Release".
[320] Ibid.
[321] Ibid.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Amadei, Paola. "One of the European Union's Greatest Achievements Is the Creation of the Single European Market." *World Federation of Consuls*. World Federation of Consuls, 22 June 2015. Web. 13 Nov. 2017.
[324] Ibid.

Spreading Common Values and Supporting a Greater Community

The Maastricht treaty claimed that "the goal of European integration was to create 'an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe.'"[325] With each additional nation-state that has joined the union, the economic, political, and even social bond between European nation-states has grown, and a European identity has expanded to allow citizens to share a "sense of patriotism and common citizenship across a peaceful continent."[326] While fostering the social bond between EU members has faced various obstacles, the EU has succeeded in furthering a united agenda, with citizens from across nation-states acknowledging their European identity in conjunction with their separate nation-state identity. In particular, foreign correspondent and author T.R. Reid focuses on the European identity felt by "Generation E," the "young adults of Europe, a continent that has been essentially without borders since the time they finished school."[327] By allowing EU citizens access to open borders within the EU, citizens, particularly Generation E, are able to "consider the entire continent—not just one country or city—to be 'home.'"[328] The idea that college graduates could study in one EU nation-state and work in a different EU nation-state would have been a "distant dream" for the postwar generation of Europeans.[329] Now, inter-continental access is taken for granted. Generation E shares a common culture that transcends borders, supporting an "ever closer union in Europe."[330] While the Brexit referendum resulted in the vote for the UK to the EU, 61% of males and 80% of

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[325] McCormick, John. *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction.*, 98.
[326] Colliver, Chloe. "European Identity: A Crisis of Construction in the 21st Century?" *The Huffington Post.* The Huffington Post, n.d. Web. 13 Nov. 2017.
[327] Reid, T. R. *The United States of Europe: The New Superpower and the End of American Supremacy.* Waterville, Me.: Wheeler Pub., 2005. Print., 199.
[328] Ibid.
[329] Ibid.
[330] Ibid., 200.

females aged 18 to 24 voted in favor of remaining.[331] In fact, the age groups that voted as a majority for "leave" do not begin for both genders until age 50.[332] While many factors contribute to these statistics, the younger generation has repeatedly shown itself to support an integrated Europe, accessible through the EU.

In addition to the unity created through physical fluidity between borders, there is also a sense of connection and commonality stemming from the joint agreement to protect the principles that form the foundation of the EU. Nation-states wishing to join the EU must have a functioning democracy and market economy. With each new addition to the union, these values spread and helped to "transform many European countries into more democratic and affluent societies."[333] The European Union created a platform for the European community to gather behind, not only supporting a shared identity as European but also protecting values and expanding European societal expectations. These expectations range from developing and consolidating democracy and human rights, to preserving peace and strengthening international security, to promoting international cooperation.[334] Being a member-state of the EU is both a privilege and a responsibility. While each member has the opportunity to reap the benefits of open borders, a single market, stronger security, and a position within the global power network, the nation-state is also expected to uphold specific standards.

The EU set out to preserve a new European identity, one based on widespread calls for peace and stability. In defending and maintaining these principles, the EU represents this

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[331] Statista. "EU Referendum Vote Distribution by Age and Gender 2016 | UK Survey." *Statista: The Statistics Portal*. Statista, June 2016. Web. 08 Dec. 2017.
[332] Ibid.
[333] Archick, Kristin. *The European Union: Questions and Answers*. Rep. no. RS21372. N.p.: Congressional Research Service, 2017. Print., 6.
[334] European Commission Communication Department. "Foreign & Security Policy." *European Union*. European Commission, 01 Nov. 2017. Web. 13 Nov. 2017.

European identity while also leaving member-states "intact as sovereign agencies."[335] This structure advocates a more comprehensive approach to global politics, supporting a transnational cohesiveness and multidimensional process.[336] Leonard Orban, former Romanian Minister of European Affairs, emphasizes the EU's efforts to defend the diversity of its members. By recognizing and valuing characteristics such as the various languages of its member nation-states, a "kind of European citizenship" is possible, rooted in a common agenda.[337] The EU set out to sustain peace and promote an environment in which regionalism thrived, and individual nation-states benefited from such an arrangement. With the establishment of a regional identity and the expansion of an integrated union, "nationalism will increasingly recede."[338] With WWI and WWII having demonstrated the catastrophic consequences of excessive nationalism, establishing a means of creating unity outside of a single nation-state was crucial.

<div align="center">EU Failings and Disappointments</div>

The Eurozone Crisis

Since its enactment, the EU has grown to constitute the biggest single market in the world, with 28 member nation-states, 350 million people, and the second largest economy by GDP.[339] While the EU has reached new heights in the realm of global politics, it has also exposed several severe shortcomings that have restricted its level of success. During the 2016 campaigning for the UK referendum to leave the EU, Eurosceptics highlighted flaws within the EU, fueling the growing disillusionment with the EU. While many of these arguments were rooted in negative perceptions and misinformation, the Eurozone crisis undoubtedly serves as an

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[335] European Commission Communication Department. "Foreign & Security Policy."
[336] Collins, Bennett. "Does Regionalism Challenge Globalization or Build Upon It?" *E-International Relations Students*. E-International Relations Students, 29 July 2010. Web. 13 Nov. 2017.
[337] Debating Europe. "Is a Common European Identity Possible?" *Debating Europe*. Debating Europe, 19 Dec. 2011. Web. 08 Dec. 2017.
[338] The European Culture Area: A Systematic Geography by Alexander B. Murphy., 394.
[339] *Is the European Union Worth It or Should We End It*. *Youtube*. Youtube, 13 Apr. 2017. Web. 13 Nov. 2017.

example of a genuine deficiency within the EU. Ironically, what once started out as an

economics-based union, has struggled to provide strong financial security to its members. This

shortcoming has played a major role in hindering the success of the EU and is undoubtedly a

characteristic that will need to be altered to ensure a prosperous future.

In 2012, politicians and citizens alike realized the extent of the budgetary problems the

EU faced. Due to its widespread tax evasion and continued overspending, Greece's budget

deficit hit insurmountable levels. Faced with such an extreme fiscal challenge, Greece was

authorized 7.5 billion euros as a bailout from European authorities.[340] While this money aided

Greece to stabilize its finances, its economic problems continue to plague the nation-state with

unemployment around 25%. The bailout money is mainly directed at paying off Greece's

transnational loans, rather than circulating into the local economy.[341] In dealing with this crisis,

the European Commission, the European Central Bank, and the International Monetary Fund had

conflicting opinions on how to handle the situation. The austerity policies implemented failed to

fix the suffering economy.[342] Furthermore, Germany, the economic powerhouse within Europe,

staunchly stood against the concept of increased "sharing of economic burdens between creditor

and debtor countries."[343] Greece is not the only EU member with mounting debts. Currently,

there are five European nations whose debts are greater than their economic output.[344] Without a

clear path of reform, economists including Nobel Prize-winning Joseph Stiglitz argue that failing

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[340] The New York Times. "Explaining Greece's Debt Crisis." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 16 June 2016. Web. 13 Nov. 2017.

[341] Ibid.

[342] Lanchester, John. "The Failure of the Euro." *The New Yorker*. The New Yorker, 24 Oct. 2016. Web. 11 Nov. 2017.

[343] Ibid.

[344] Kirk, Ashley. "European Debt Crisis: It's Not Just Greece That's Drowning in Debt." *The Telegraph*. The Telegraph, 08 Feb. 2017. Web. 13 Nov. 2017.

economies are more likely and unaccommodating bailouts will not provide a long-term solution.[345]

By creating "a single currency without the institutions to sustain it, the E.U. wound up with low growth, high unemployment, and popular disaffection."[346] By creating a monetary union, Europe would theoretically be brought closer together and further increase political ties.[347] However, the Eurozone was created as a monetary union without a fiscal union, with a single currency but without a parallel system to raise tax. The European Central Bank (ECB) was created to control currency and set interest rates, but "no pan-European finance ministry to run the economy."[348] With Germany acting as the European economic powerhouse, interest rates set by the ECB were created in accordance with the German economy. By nation-states giving up a substantial portion of their economic-sovereignty, they risk considerable repercussions in the event of economic collapse. Nation-states such as Spain and Ireland, while on paper their economies appeared prosperous, were accumulating an expanding debt and with low interest rates, the boom was not slowed down. When nation-states around the globe suffered from the financial crisis of 2008, unemployment rates spiked, and economic productivity dropped. Austerity measures further deepened depressions and delayed economic recoveries.[349] While the United States has managed to rebound in recent years, the EU has continued to suffer, and many economists point to the euro and the structure of monetary regulation within the EU as the culprit.[350] Without the freedom afforded to nation-states with their own currency, the Eurozone is unable to set interests rates—such as cutting interest rates to boost demand—nor reducing the

[345] Lanchester, John. "The Failure of the Euro."
[346] Ibid.
[347] Ibid.
[348] Ibid.
[349] Krugman, Paul. "The Austerity Delusion." *The Guardian*. The Guardian, 29 Apr. 2015. Web. 21 Nov. 2017.
[350] Lanchester, John. "The Failure of the Euro."

value of the currency to stimulate exports.[351] Overall there has been a broad consensus that the

euro has been a disappointment. Not only have economies experienced poor recovery, "rather

than bringing EU member-states together and fostering a closer sense of unity and common

identity, the euro had divided countries and eroded confidence in the EU."[352]

The Democratic Deficit

In addition to the economic struggles experienced within the EU, a "democratic deficit"

has begun to take its toll on the popularity of the organization. Despite the EU having a

democratic structure, with all EU member states represented in the Council of Ministers and the

European Commission fully accountable to the European Parliaments, a lack of transparency and

accountability has alienated many voters.[353] With certain negotiations restricting public access

to information, critics have been quick to point out the hypocrisy of the organization and the

need for change. ClientEarth, a prominent environmental organization, sued the Council of the

European Union and the European Commission in 2010 over their "failure to uphold EU

transparency rules."[354] With the Commission proposing a restriction to the number of documents

made available to the public, ClientEarth fought for freedom of information and a commitment

to an open society. The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) brought

controversy to the EU with secretive meetings and documents withheld from the public. Lack of

engagement with negotiators has led many to argue the EU lacks democratic legitimacy.[355]

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[351] Lanchester, John. "The Failure of the Euro."
[352] Tupy, Marian. "The European Union: A Critical Assessment." *CATO Institute Economic Development Bulletin* 26 (2016): 1-8. Print., 3.
[353] Basboll, Anders. "How to Address the EU's Democratic Deficit." *The Economist*. The Economist, 23 Mar. 2017. Web. 13 Nov. 2017.
[354] Muzi, Nico. "European Union Sued for Lack of Transparency." *Transport & Environment*. Transport & Environment, 20 Sept. 2010. Web. 13 Nov. 2017.
[355] Malcolm, Jeremy, and Maira Sutton. "EU-US Trade Negotiations Continue Shutting out the Public-When Will They Learn?" *Electronic Frontier Foundation*. Electronic Frontier Foundation, 03 Oct. 2014. Web. 14 Nov. 2017.

Many voters do not know their Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) or even any EU politician. In addition, voter turnout has been decreasing, plummeting to 46% in the most recent election.[356] Leave campaigners in the 2016 Brexit vote argued that the EU functioned as a "dysfunctional bureaucracy that has no proper democratic oversight."[357] With only one branch democratically elected by citizens of member-states, the current organization of the EU is often perceived as not meeting democratic standards, a quality recognized and critiqued by global governance scholars.[358] However, this rhetoric stems from a perception that "the problem is significantly worse in the EU" that is not necessarily true.[359] Most national systems of government also harbor some form of democratic deficit.[360] Yet the EU is viewed by many Europeans as a "distant and mysterious" organization that does not fuel confidence in its members' citizens.[361] This detachment from public citizens must be rectified if the EU expects to receive continued support and curb negative perceptions. The Brexit vote highlighted some of this disconnect between citizens and the EU. If the EU achieved its true potential as a translation of global governance theory to reality, it should not falter under pressure brought on by the media and Eurosceptic politicians. Much of the campaign centered around racist values and nationalist agendas. The future of the EU rests on its ability to communicate the benefits the organization provides to its members as well as to the rest of the global community, combating harmful byproducts of troubled times such as racism and nationalism.

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[356] Weilant, Ragnar. "Leaving the EU Over Its Democratic Deficit? You've Got to Be Kidding..." *The Huffington Post*. The Huffington Post, 23 Apr. 2016. Web. 14 Nov. 2017.
[357] Johnson, Boris, and Michael Gove. "Getting the Facts Clear on the Economic Risks of Remaining in the EU." *The Telegraph*. The Telegraph, 05 June 2016. Web. 14 Nov. 2017.
[358] Zurn, Michael. "Global Governance and Legitimacy Problems." Government and Opposition 39.2 (2004): 260-87. Print.
[359] McCormick, John. *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*., 106.
[360] Ibid.
[361] Ibid., 106.

The Disconnect between the EU and its Citizens

The EU has adapted to a wide variety of challenges and acted as an influential global actor, representing EU members and their commonalities established within a unified agenda. However, the EU has also failed to reach its social potential within its own member nation-states by developing a disconnect between EU policymakers and EU citizens. While the European sense of identity has expanded with the EU seeking to act as a uniting force, citizens lack of connection with the organization has led to an absence of engagement and fueling of mistrust. Only 39% of surveyed respondents view the EU as "conjuring a positive image."[362] This is largely in part due to the democratic deficient. The 2014 European Parliament election turnout was the lowest ever, with only 43% of eligible voters engaging in the election.[363] With voter turnout low, the EU's credibility is weakened and susceptible to anti-EU agendas that are not always rooted in fact, as seen in the recent Brexit referendum. While many factors were present in the Brexit vote, the decision for the UK to leave the EU "reflects a deeper weakness in the EU: the failure of Europe's political class to create a narrative of a truly meaningful European identity and common destiny."[364]

MEPs are not connecting with their constituents. As the EU handles a complex political agenda, centered around details within the administrative, legal, and economic realm, the average EU citizen does not relate nor often know about this work. Oftentimes, EU citizens are only reminded of their status within the EU with the passing of regulations and standards for products.[365] This has led to an increasing dissatisfaction among EU citizens. The organization

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[362] Tseng, Huan-Kai, Colleen Driscoll, Mary Anne Mendoza, and Yann Schreiber. "Trusting the European Union; a Yale Debate with Recommendations." *OpenDemocracy*. OpenDemocracy, 31 May 2015. Web. 08 Dec. 2017.
[363] Kroet, Cynthia. "2014 European Parliament Election Turnout Was Lowest Ever, Revised Data Shows." *Politico*. Politico, 08 May 2014. Web. 8 Dec. 2017.
[364] Strenger, Carlo. "Brexit Reflects EU's Failure to Create a European Identity." *The Huffington Post*. The Huffington Post, 2016. Web. 8 Dec. 2017.
[365] Ibid.

protects key values of EU member nation-states. However, without an imminent threat to those

practices such as democracy, peace, and free trade, EU citizens are more focused on issues

concerning their daily life. The EU risks facing more opposition if it does not adapt to

contemporary needs and concerns, both on a global level as well as considering own citizens. In

2014, only one in 10 UK voters said they could name a member of the European Parliament in

their region with just 11% stating they would be confident naming one of their MEPs.[366] Two

short years later, the UK would be voting to leave the EU. In order to combat this challenge and

prove the EU to be a productive and even necessary organization, a bridge between EU citizens

and the organization must be constructed.

<p style="text-align:center"><u>The EU: A Tool to Combat Contemporary Transnational Challenges</u></p>

With the recent vote for departure of the UK from the EU, the EU's future has become

slightly uncertain. Complex and lengthy negotiations are now taking place, and the EU is left

with one less major European power. The shock of Brexit illuminated the divides within Britain

and highlighted cracks within the EU. Yet with the global rise in nationalist and militant identity

politics, structures that allow global governance theory to be implemented are all the more

necessary. Populist and nationalist agendas are at the forefront of many nation-states. European

and global politics stand at a crossroads. In facing such uncertain times, multinational and

regionalist institutions such as the EU have the power to withstand nationalist movements. The

EU has the potential to balance this shift as it fulfills its role in global governance politics. Its

support of regionalism, alongside its collaboration with other multinational organizations, fosters

the growing development of global governance, allowing "coherence, coordination, and

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[366] Coman, Julian, and Toby Helm. "Voters Can't Name Their MEPs as Poll Highlights Disengagement with EU." *The Guardian*. The Guardian, 10 May 2014. Web. 8 Dec. 2017.

collective decision-making at the global level."[367] With this structure of politics, a multilateral

framework is created based on areas of regional integration. Particularly before the surprise

outcome of the Brexit referendum, this "global partnership" was believed to enable a "more

effective, coherent, representative and accountable global governance regime, which should

ultimately translate into better national and regional governance, the realization of human rights

and sustainable development."[368] The EU is in a particularly privileged position as it is a

"supranational body representing sovereign nation-states but having the quality of an

international actor in its own right."[369] This framework allows the EU to promote change based

on soft power, rather than force. The EU has the ability to contribute to a much larger global

project, unifying nation-states across the globe and creating standards based on established

shared values. By following this application of global governance theory, the EU, alongside

other multinational organizations and in collaboration with individual nation-states, can avoid the

pitfalls of "worrying signs of disruption and uncertainty" and "power politics" and instead use

power to organize power.[370]

The EU is particularly significant as it has supported and fostered collaboration within a

region that has historically been plagued with rivalry and conflict. Its success at promoting

peace and convalescence is becoming undervalued. A "paradox of stability" has emerged as the

EU's role as a fundamental force in maintaining order has come to be taken for granted, with

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[367] OHCHR, OHRLLS, UNDESA et al. 2013.*Global governance and governance of the global commons in the global partnership for development beyond 2015: Thematic Think Piece*. UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda., 3.

[368] Ibid., 3.

[369] Faulkner, Robert. *Global Governance and Governance of the Global Commons in the Global Partnership for Development beyond 2015*. Tech. no. 1725-2237. Copenhagen: Publications Office of the European Union, 2011. Print., 17

[370] Barroso, José. "The European Union and Multilateral Global Governance." Conference at the European University Institute. Florence. 18 June 2010. Speech., 4.

over half a century of peace leaving many politicians, as well as citizens, complacent.[371] The

organization faces many politicians desiring its dismantling rather than continuing to support and

adapt this institution for future challenges. With this complacency growing, it is absolutely

critical to reform and to reinvigorate multilateral and regional organizations such as the EU.[372]

Timo Pesonen, Director-General for Communication in the European Commission, argues that in

a "globalized world with its myriad challenges, no EU country is now big enough on its own to

make its influence felt and assert our values. Only the EU as a whole can do that."[373] For

Europeans specifically, the EU ensures their voices are heard in global debates. With a declining

population, Europe will have to face a new reality for their future, one where their citizens'

percentage of the world population will have significantly decreased. While this will certainly

bring about its own challenges for the global governance framework to adapt to, Europe's

reliance on the EU will only intensify. In this way, the EU allows smaller nation-states to

continue to play a role in global politics.[374]

The EU has some serious challenges to confront. Its shortcomings are hindering its

success and increasing its negative perception. The growing movements of populist and

nationalist agendas will further challenge the organization. However, its past success,

particularly in regard to its original goals, proves that it has the ability to withstand such

challenges and continue to stabilize the region.

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[371] Kim, Moonhawk. "The Rise of Embedded Nationalism." *Global Policy* (2017): n. pag. *Global Policy*. Global Policy, 06 Feb. 2017. Web. 16 Nov. 2017.

[372] Woods, Ngaire, Alexander Betts, Jochen Prantl, and Devi Sridhar. "Transforming Global Governance for the 21st Century." *United Nations Development Programme* (2013): 1-19. Print.

[373] Directorate-General for Communication (European Commission), and Representation in Cyprus (European Commission). *60 Good Reasons for the EU*. Rep. Nicosia: EU Law and Publications, 2017. Print., 11.

[374] European Commission. *60 Good Reasons for the EU*.

Global Governance: A Vital Tool for 21st Century Politics

While scholars did not officially recognize global governance theory until the late 20th century, its principles have guided politics for over a century. Analyzing the past influences of global governance on international relations and events offers critical knowledge for addressing modern international challenges. By reviewing the historical unfolding of global governance as a means of approaching global affairs, several key points emerge. Applying global governance theory allows nation-states—to a certain extent— to stem conflict, to better adapt to a more globalized world, and to protect and promote common values. Revisiting these theory-based details may prove extremely useful for informing modern-day political decisions.

A Platform for Peace

Whether structured through a bilateral agreement such as the early Entente Cordiale or advancing to a multinational organization such as the League of Nations and the European Union, global governance has proven itself to be a useful means of addressing potential areas of conflict, whether political, economic, or social. The specific and fundamental goal of these products of global governance, namely to ensure peace and stability, provided a clear focus and helped ensure the institution or agreement of the time was a strategic approach to transnational diplomacy. Global governance scholars emphasize this potential value for global governance theory. By examining the implications resulting from the creation of the Entente Cordiale, the League of Nations, and the EU, this potential is highlighted as a reality. While these products of global governance have not succeeded in preserving unconditional peace, they have contributed toward achieving stability and avoiding violence where often previously inconceivable. Each instance of transforming theory into reality accomplished significant gains toward establishing the ultimate structures and mindsets supporting a lasting peace. With the World Wars

illustrating the catastrophic breakdown of diplomacy between nation-states, the agreements and organizations rooted in global governance principles illuminated the potential successes of an alternative approach to international relations. Global governance preaches collaboration and cooperation, two key strategies for preserving peace. The Entente Cordiale's role as a significant bilateral agreement set the stage for future multinational partnerships, while the League of Nations acted as a preliminary translation of this technique, and the EU's emphasis on regionalism allowed nation-states to lend their voices to a global community in a cohesive manner. However, the eventual failure of the Entente Cordiale and the League of Nations revealed weaknesses within the framework. Now, the EU stands at a crossroads. Its future success rests on politicians' dedication to the organization's original goals—based in global governance theory— including serving the citizens of Europe and adapting the existing organization to absorb contemporary threats, rather than abandoning it. Throughout the complex and tumultuous history of Europe in the 20th century, the values and ideas behind global governance theory have guided politicians. In today's challenging times, it is all the more imperative that this tool is used to its utmost capability.

<u>Adapting to Increasing Globalization</u>

In addition to providing security, global governance allows nation-states to better adapt to an increasingly globalized world. The role of the nation-state is changing, and in order to adjust to its political and social position, politicians must embrace a multinational approach to international affairs. Political leaders must work to overcome individual interests to support a technique that can benefit the international community as a whole. The framework for international affairs provided by global governance advocates for growth through cooperation and solidarity across political borders. The Entente Cordiale and the League of Nations offered

the first steps toward adjusting a more connected and interdependent global community. The

EU, while certainly problematic, has offered the world a glimpse of a more cohesive global

community, albeit from a Western-centric lens; it provides a useful technique to further

integration and supports a cooperative agenda while also pacifying the social affinity to tie one's

identity and culture to an individual nation-state. For such organizations to reach their potential,

an effective means of translating global governance theory into practice is necessary. Even as

multinational corporations, NGOs, and transnational organizations continue to increase their role

in international relations, the nation-state continues to hold a powerful position, particularly

within social consciousness.[375] Within the EU, the French illustrate an affinity to identify with

their own nation and continue to support nationalist principles.[376] Similarly, the Spanish identify

themselves primarily as Spanish, and secondarily as European.[377] In order to advance global

governance and limit the potential dangers of a growing nationalism movement, organizations

relying on global governance such as the EU must continue to develop and adapt.

<u>Preserving and Promoting Common Values</u>

These types of organizations have also aided the global community to overcome periods

of instability and transition by acting as a moral imperative and economic safety net. Global

governance theory depends on common values. These connections transcend borders and drive

political action supporting these interests. Scholars highlight the conceivable benefits of such a

quality by emphasizing its potential in the various realms of society from human rights, to

environmental protection to upholding democracy. Examining the Entente Cordiale, the League

of Nations, and the EU, this theoretical positive quality of global governance is revealed as

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[375] Menéndez-Alarcón, Antonio V. *The Cultural Realm of European Integration: Social Representations in France, Spain, and the United Kingdom*. Westport (Connecticut): Praeger, 2004. Print.
[376] Ibid.
[377] Ibid.

genuine. Whether focusing on mutual economic growth rather than engaging in past rivalry or working to ensure human rights are protected for all, these institutions of global governance have worked toward the betterment of the whole. With the recent call by many world leaders for the return of a more isolationist and nationalistic approach, this is an important time for global politics. While these trends in diplomacy have arisen throughout history, the reactions to such attitudes will determine future peace or conflicts. The EU's ability to reconcile individual nation-state's agendas with an overarching goal is an extremely useful tool during such divisive times. Its requirements for members ensures specific structures are preserved, such as a free-market economy and a stable democracy. Although the institutions and agreements rooted in global governance may not have addressed all of the arising contemporary issues, adapting the fundamentals of global governance theory to confront these contemporary trials may prove vital for the economic, social, and political success and stability of nation-states across the globe. By re-examining the theory that has provided the groundwork for such vital organizations such as the EU, politicians may avoid past downfalls in global affairs and achieve a more peaceful, cohesive, and cosmopolitan world for future generations.

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