The global governance project is not a plot to create a "**w**rld government." There is nothing hidden or conspiratorial about the global governance movement and its goals. The globalists bjectives are found, not in dusty memoranda of "sectle" Bilderberg or Trilateral Commission conferences, but on the websites of the United Nations, the European libm, the American Bar Association, Yale Law School, and the FordFoundation. They are available to anyone with access to a computer. Roughly these goals would involve the creation of more robust global and transnational institutions, rules, and norms, which would compromise the national sovereignty fonation-states.

A primary goal is the establishment of global legalism—thereation of the "global rule of law" superior to all national law. As the current legal advisor to the U.S. State Department former Dean of the Yale Law School, Harold Koh, wote: "The transnationalists believe that U.S. courts can and shouldse their interpretative powers to promote the deveµment of a global legal system...<sup>a</sup> Further, he states that American "courts must play a key ole in coordinating U.S. domestic constitutional rules with the rules of foreign and international law, not simply to promote American aims, but toadvance the broader development of a well-functioning international judicial system."<sup>3</sup> Legal scholar Edward Whelan notes that since American courts cannot change international and foreign law,but only interpret American law, Koh's reasoning would logically require changing American constitutional law to conform to global law. Hence, global law would be superiord the U.S. Constitution.

Two concepts are crucial to understanding the global goveance project: the theories of the disaggregated nationand the postmodern state

The disaggregated nation-stateTransnational theorists argue that with increasing globalization nation-states are "disaggregating." This means, for example, that distinct partsof the American government and society (judges, environmental officials, human rights activists) pursue their own partcular transnational interests often in conflict with the forces in their own nation and with national sovereignty itself. For example, former Obama State Department official Anne MarieSlaughter wrote that across nations "Judges are building a global commuty of law."<sup>4</sup> She argues, "The disaggregation of the state creates opportunities for domestic institutions, particularly courts, to make common cause with their supranational counterparts against their fellow branches of government<sup>5</sup> Indeed, this is what occurred in Britain in 1990, wherBritish judges (Law Lords) ruled against the elected British Hose of Commons and in favor of the transnational European Coruof

Thus, the U.S. leadership class is crucial. The dreaof transnationalists (Americans and non-Americans, progressives and pragmatists) is for America to lead the way. America embraces the global governance project as its own; voluntarilgagree to "pool" large parts of its sovereignty with others; and demostrates "leadership" and "engagement" by submitting to supranational global legal regimes. In effect, for the transnationalists, the American caterpillar is transformed into the global butterfly.

The challenge for the globalists is how to sell thisotthe American people. American transnationalists put forward the argument that expanding global governance is in U.S. interess and consistent with American values in the interdeendent world of the twenty-first century. What is needed, they say, is effective U.S. "leadership" to make it happen.

Their argument runs along the following lines: "America may be the predominant power today, but it will not always **b** so. China and other nations are on the rise and will equal osurpass the United States in the future. Therefore, is in U.S. interests to establish global rules while America is the strongest state. We should get China and others to "builto" a system of global authority today, so their elites essentially "iternalize" the concept of global governance and are practing it by the time they become more powerful.

In support of this general line of argument, Anne MarieSlaughter declared: "What goes around comes around, and a**she**r nations grow in power, size, and economic weight, their decisions will increasingly affect us. Principles that could constrain us today may well guarantee our freedom tomorrow.<sup>\*0</sup>

Former President Bill Clinton told Strobe Talbott (currently President of the Brookings Institution), "We're not going to be cock of the roost forever, you know." Clinton stated **s**mewhat ambiguously that "We must build a global social systemänd "a world for our grandchildren to live in where America [is] no longer the sole superpower, for a time when we ould have to share the stage.<sup>3/1</sup>

Anne Marie Slaughter advocates a "global decision-making pro**ss**" in which "all nations must have meaningful representation."<sup>12</sup> [Iran is explicitly included]. <sup>13</sup> She writes "If we [Americans] truly believe that all human beings have an equal right to institute governments to protect theirrights, then those governments must have the ability t**d**o just that at the global level." Slaughter insists that applying the principleof "meaningful representation" in global decision making isthe "right thing to do" and "also the smart thing to do—serving both our ideals and our interests.<sup>\$4</sup>

The argument that global governance promotes American intestes and values is deeply flawed on both realist and identify grounds. Historically, nations act opportunistically, changing when circumstances change, old agreements becomes of the united States have tomorrow that a more powerful China word not change its mind? It is naïve to attempt to establish stable and peaceful international order on the utopian permise that because the United States agreed to "share" sosrighty when it was the leading power, future world powers wilconsider such arrangements permanent.

As Charles De Gaulle famously put it "Treaties are like rese and young girls; they last while they last.PaceAnne Ma16(o)]TJ 2

If the forces of global governance are able to establishome form of global authority as they envision it, liberaldemocracy would be replaced by post-democracy. But, it is highly unkely that such a utopian vision would succeed on itown terms, particularly since there is little support for "sharing sovereignty" among rising Asian states (China, India) and among other nations such as Russia, Brazil and Turkey. On the other and, it is entirely possible that globalist ideology and anterial interests could obtain a critical mass of influence annog opinion makers and statesmen in the West (particulary the United States).

If this happens (the globalists achieve ideological hergoeny), the result would likely be not the triumph of global governance, but the suicide of liberal democracy, both in the reach of domestic self-government and in the arena of sedefense from undemocratic foes. Thus the global governance project nable to achieve success on its own terms would esselfly disable and disarm the democratic state, internally and externally The suicide process would proceed slowly, almost preceptibly, much as the democratic states of Europe gradually, over dedes, lost more and more sovereignty to the u(e)-8.382116(le)23.8