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The American Empire: The Quest for Global Domination

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the Degree of Master in Literature and Civilization**

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to:

My dear father:

Ali

My sweetheart mother:

Hayat

My dear husband:

Ahmed

The Light of my life:

My daughter Roudina (God bless her)

My sole brother :

Aymen

My lovely sisters:

Imen, Amira, Amina, Ibtissem and Touta.

My Angels:

Miral, Marwan, Sirin, Myassam, Monib and Mayar (God bless them all).

My best Friend:

Kamla Farhat

To all people I love...

Nesrine Mega

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to:

My dear father:

Mohamed Said

My sweetheart mother:

Zohra

The Light of my life:

Abir and Ahmed (God bless them)

My dear brothers :

Bachir, Lakhder and Mosbah

My lovely sisters:

Nadjet, Hayet, Souad, Nora, Soumia and Ouarda

My Angels:

Sirine, Youness and Rahil (God bless them all)

My best Friends:

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To all the people I love...

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Abstract

The fall of the Communist quarters in 1991 opened the door for a unipolar world led by the United States as the sole global dominant power. This new role made of the US a distinctive country compared to the rest of the other world countries in terms of global politics. The present paper attempts to study the major historical rationales and policies which contributed to the emergence of the U.S as a dominating superpower. Meanwhile, it aims to shed light on the different aspects of U.S hegemony overseas including military, political, economic and even cultural dimensions. In doing so, a descriptive analytical method has been adopted in order to trace the different historical events that contributed to building what is called today the US hyperpower. This will be backed by statistics, maps and diagrams in order to demonstrate the US hegemonic nature with proven evidence. The findings show that America is actually in a quest to maintain its position as superpower and “world leader” underpinned by its historical and ideological legacies that helped to shape the American domination over the international order and its institutions.

Keywords: US Empire, US Hegemony, Superpower and Hyperpower, International order, Unipolar World.

List of abbreviations:

EC	European Commission
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDR	Franklin D. Roosevelt
FY	Fiscal Year
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs Trade
IDA	International Development Association
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRBMs	Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missiles
UNTCOK	United Nation Temporary Commission On Korea.
MRBMs	Medium Range Ballistic Missiles
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
NED	National Endowment for Democracy.
OAS	Organization of American States.
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
UNO	United Nation Organization.
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
WTO	World Trade Organization.

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General Introduction

Powerful countries always have the desire to take control or a high degree of influence over other countries and over the international world system in general. The US appeared to the world as one of the powerful countries only after the WWII, when other powers such as France, Germany and Great Britain were weak because of the war; keeping the US and Russia as the only strongest powers in the international system. Consequently, the bipolar world entered in an era of a Cold War between the two superpowers where the conflict was between capitalism and communism, the US and its allies against the Soviet Union. But, in 1991, the Soviet Union collapsed and the US became the sole hegemonic power in the world. The US powerful position appeared to the world at the end of the WWII and more precisely after the Cold War. However, after the events of September 11, 2001, a debate has been taken about the US hegemony in terms of its military, economic, political and even its cultural powers.

Indeed, the extent of the American power and the development of its hegemony traced in the American specific historical context where the most and the major factor behind this power was the American different ideologies. Throughout history, American ideologies played an important role in transforming the US from a nation of thirteen colony into the first power in the World as these ideologies were the secret behind the US territorial expansions of 1800 which extended the American territories into the double and made it able to enter the world of powers.

Thinking about the US as the sole power in the world creates a kind of curiosity to know why the US from the rest of the world could take such special position and why no other nation could replace it. The desire to find answers to such questions led us to deal with this topic of research.

1. Research Problem

Since the end of the WWII and more particularly after the Cold War, the American emergence as the sole hegemonic power in the world has created a debate about the American hegemony whether the US is really the sole hegemonic power and if it is really so, in which sense can this hegemony be easily manifested.

2. Research Questions

The present study attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the different historical contexts which contributed to the rise of the American empire?
2. How does the American hegemony manifest itself in international world affairs?

3. Hypothesis

Our hypothesis is based on the assumption that if America makes its presence in the world due to its political, economic, military and cultural spheres, it is then the American historical events, actions and contexts that contributed to build such American hegemony.

4. Aims of the Study

The present study simply aims to reveal both the secret behind the American hegemony and to examine the manifestation of this hegemony in the international world affairs and in its different spheres politically, economically, militarily and even culturally.

5. Research Methodology

To answer the above-stated questions, we adopted the descriptive analytical research design, which relies on qualitative research as it is based on the collection of data through reading books, chapter, articles, governmental documents, etc. this research methodology is thought to be the best

suited for this type of research as it shows the dominance of the American hegemony through giving statistics, diagrams, maps which indicate the U.S. domination all over the world.

6. Structure of the Dissertation

This work is made up of two chapters; the first chapter is simply about the historical background of the American domination, where we define issues and focus on events which contributed to the emergence of America as an empire. The second chapter sheds the light on the different aspects and dimensions of the US hegemony politically, economically, militarily and culturally.

Chapter One:
The Rise of the American Empire.

Chapter One

The rise of the American empire

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Introduction

The roots of empire have been found within the Latin word “imperium” which means rule or command (Boques, 2010). In the past, the word Empire was most of the time related to an “emperor” where one state dominated another state or a series of states and all of them are under the rule of an emperor. At its heart, an empire is ruled by an “emperor” (Davidson, 2009). But during the 50 years, the quest for foreign markets and the race around the control over undeveloped countries brought the word “empire” into a new category which is no longer related to a king or an emperor only, but to the extension of commercial or economic interests. Adams Waston (1992) defined empire as “...direct administration of communities from an imperial centre” (p.16). Also, Doyle’s (1986) suggested that empire “... is a relationship, formal or informal, in which one controls the effective political sovereignty of another political society” (p.45). In the previous two definitions empire is still defined as the direct intervention in the affairs of one country or a series of countries by another powerful country. But, after the cold war and with the fall of the Soviet Union, this direct intervention has been changed by the United States to be a global hegemony.

Throughout history, an unlimited number of different causes and events helped to the rise of the United States as a global power and made America the first imperial power in the world. Not limited to, but this chapter will tackle only what has been considered as the most important factors helped in the emergence of the US as the strongest power in the world.

1. Ideological Backgrounds

“Ideology” is the set of beliefs that affect the general outlook toward the world. It holds a set of values and feeling. Malcolm Hamilton defines ideology as "a system of collectively held normative and reputedly factual ideas and beliefs and attitudes advocating and/or justifying a particular pattern of political and/or economic relationships, arrangements, and conduct" (“Ideology”,n.d.).

But, if “Ideology” is the way of thinking that shaped the general view on the world, the question can be asked what sorts of ideologies have been used by the US which enabled it to be the sole superpower and to reach its global hegemony?. In fact, the United States has infinite number of ideologies and beliefs that had been used throughout history where some of them are still used by the different American presidents until now to justify their intervention and hegemony over many parts of the world where all these ideologies are based on the principle of “synergizing” as a way to justify the American intervention in the other affairs.

1.1. Manifest Destiny

“The idea of territorial expansion was born when America was born” (Perkis, 1993, p.170). The term Manifest Destiny has been used for the first time in 1945 by the journalist John Louis O’Sullivan, when he wrote it in his popular paper, *Morning News* “our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us” (as cited in Inabinet, 2006, p.152). O’Sullivan took the idea of the Manifest during the time of immigration when many people from different parts of the world immigrated to America seeking for freedom and liberty and because of them America became the world’s melting pot and it was seen as a beacon of liberty (Pearson, 2008). However, during the 19th, American politics and intellectual leaders confused between the phenomenon of people who voluntary immigrated to America seeking for liberty and the liberty imposed by the US on people living

in their native lands. This confusion made the expansions that had been done by the US over many nations saw as something good as it had to make men free (Pearson, 2008).

Hence, Manifest Destiny has been used to explain that expansions were a mission granted to Americans by God over areas not clearly defined in order to civilize them or to provide stability for nations suffered from instability and tensions in their homelands like what happened with Cuba in 1895. After the defeat of the Spanish fleet in the American- Spanish war; as a result, the US gained Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and it annexed the Philippine. At that time, the Filipino natives rebelled and they asked for their independence from Spain and when the American Senator Albert Beveridge travelled to Philippine in 1889, he became well convinced by the annexation of the Philippine and in 1900, he uttered on the floor of senates:

Mr the president...We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race: trustee under God of the civilization of the World..., and thanksgiving to Almighty God that he has marked us as His chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the World..." (Carroll & Torricelli, 1999, p.5).

However, behind the belief of the Manifest Destiny and the alleged mission of the US, there were five assumptions that American made in order to justify their expansions to the different parts of the world. Ladenburg (1974 a) stated:

- 1-We have a special mission to spread American democracy and freedom over the entire continent.
- 2-America is closer to these relatively uninhabited lands than any other major country.
- 3-Americans made far more productive use of the land than the people who originally lived on it.
- 4-Americans need these lands to feed a population that doubled every twenty-five years.
- 5-Americans have an obligation to civilize and uplift the primitive people who were on these lands (p.40).

The ideology of the Manifest Destiny with the American policy of expansionism was able enough to transform the United States from a small nation of thirteen colonies into the empire number one that controls the whole world. “America has certainly transformed itself from a set of small colonies into a hegemonic power in world politics. We should inquire into the logic and dynamics of expansion in American growth” (Yoshikazu, 2008, p.130).

1.2 American Exceptionalism

The word exception means not including, something unique from the usual image, something different than what all the people used to do in common. American Exceptionalism has been first used in 1840 by the French intellectual Alexis de Tocqueville in his book *Democracy in America*. de Tocqueville stated that the position of America is very exceptional and there would be no other democratic nation that could replace it (as cited in Williams, 2015). Since the days of their declaration of independence liberty, freedom and men equality are the main American principles; consequently, the US became the best example of a liberal democratic country in the world (Go, 2011). As a result, American Exceptionalism supposed that the U.S. is a special, unique and essential character not because of its achievement or accomplishment but it is exceptional since it is based on the principle of human liberty that all man are born with equal rights (Tyrell, 1991). Therefore, it is the US alleged mission to spread democracy and freedom in the world. This responsibility in the world is always related with the ideology of superiority or at least being different than the other nations which suggest that the US in a way or another wants to dominate the international policies where the American Exceptionalism is only used as another way for the U.S territorial expansions over the world.

“American exceptionalism” (n.d.) stated that:

On the one hand, American intervention on the world stage has claimed a moral purpose of acting altruistically in defense of freedom and democracy. On the other hand, America has been accused of behaving as a "nation above nations" imposing its hegemony on the rest of the world, acting in its own interest, with no concern for others. (p.1)

Moreover, Madsen (1998) claimed that American Exceptionalism also turned back to the American distinctive history. It is very important to know that what makes the US unique is its “origin”, the fact that unlike the other nations who shared the same history, the same tradition and the same origins, the US inhabitants were immigrants who came from different parts of the world; countries and continents with nothing in common, but they could have the ability to live together (Cooper, 2003). That is why their exceptionalism forms an integral part of the American identity as when McCrisken (2003) stated that “the belief in America Exceptionalism forms a core element of American identity” (p.1). American Exceptionalism is closely related to the idea of the Manifest Destiny in the part that human being should have equal rights of liberty, freedom and prosperity and it’s the mission of the US to spread them in the world (“American exceptionalism”, n.d.). This alleged mission of the US made the American Exceptionalism always in a presence in the different American presidential speech from Washington (1769) Farewell Address to Barack Obama’s 2014 Inaugural as a way of justification for the US using of force (Pease, 2018) which in recent years creates a debate about whether the US really wants to build a civilized and stable world without problems or it’s only an excuse to serve its personal interests; “after the unipolar, hegemonic position of the United States that directly followed the Cold War as well as its recent problems in Iraq and Afghanistan, raises doubts about the leadership position of the United States in the world” (Tilborghs, 2005, p.1).

1.3. Monroe Doctrine (December 02, 1823)

The Monroe Doctrine is the President James Monroe annual message to the Congress on December 02, 1823. The message has contained fifty-one paragraphs that are recommendations and actions about domestic policy, it has only one paragraph about non-colonialism doctrine and another section contains a paragraph about non-interventionism and isolationism (Perkins, 1993). The doctrine used for many years during and after the Cold war with a very idealized language as a cover for US ennobling purposes related with the defense of its strategic and economic interests and usually contains a kind of threats for other nations if they think to interfere in what the United States regards as appropriate bounds (Gilderhus, 2006). President Monroe's message to the Congress contained a warning to the European powers not to interfere in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere as the United States always takes interests from its closest neighbours and the Western of Hemisphere should not be viewed by any other nation ("Monroe doctrine (1823)", n.d.).

At that time, Russia, France, Prussia and Austria attempted to help Spain to return its colonies that had been annexed by the US where Russia aimed to possess the lands that are now known as the West Coast (Ladenburg, 1974b). As a result, "the US announced that it was against any foreign power imposing its 'system' in the western hemisphere". (Ladenburg, 1974b, P.19)

However, the contradiction within the Monroe doctrine opened a debate among historians about whether the US really respected its policy of the non-interventionism by keeping the Europeans away from their markets and resources of Latin America. And if it is so, how it could be explained the US intervention in the affair of Cuba after the American-Spanish war which led to the US annexation of both Cuba and Hawaii in addition to many other Spanish territories that were very important for the US to be acquired for its commerce future as they are the stepping way across the sea (Atwood, 2010). Gilderhus (2006) stated that the Monroe Doctrine had a two-edged sword, its surface image was to help

nations in need whether to realize stability or to spread civilization but its inner image was very deeper as its primary goal was to serve The American interests. Hence the Monroe Doctrine simply took the role of American Exceptionalism's child. The idea that the U.S. has a unique ideology and a special mission to spread its power in the world ("Monroe doctrine", n.d.).

1.4. Roosevelt Corollary

In the 20th century, the US played the role of the defender for its neighbouring countries against any threat of other European powers. As when president Theodore Roosevelt announced that the US had the right to act as an international police force which meant that it could invade neighbouring countries and to set their houses. Roosevelt's excuse was that if the United States played as "the cop on the beat", there would be no reason for other nations such as Germany, France or England to interfere in the affairs of such neighbours (Ladenburg, 1974b). In 1902, when, Venezuela went bankrupt, Germany and Italy had made an attack against it. Thus, to prevent this European intervention in the Caribbean and to realize the financial stability, President Roosevelt passed his "corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine in a message to the Congress (Peters & Woolley, n.d.). Shortly afterwards the US interference, "the three European powers announced that they would resolve their problems with Venezuela through binding arbitration as Roosevelt had suggested" (Ladenburg, 1974b, p.19). In 1904, the Dominican Republic had faced the same problem as Venezuela as it was also bankrupt. The same year President Theodore Roosevelt announced that it was not only the Europeans powers were not welcomed, but the US had the right to intervene in the affairs of Latin American countries which were unstable and suffered from a great debt (Mitchener & Weidennier, 2003). According to the corollary, "the USA was justified in intervening in the internal affairs of Latin American nations if their politics or economies became unstable" (Mauk & Oakland, 1995, "From expansionism to imperialism, 1783-1914," para.7).

As when Roosevelt (1904) said:

If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power. (as cited in Peters & Woolley, n.d, “To the Senate and House of Representatives,” para. 104)

The US dealt with such unstable countries for the sake of expanding its power instead of giving them public goods, peace and financial stability. The corollary succeeded in reducing conflicts in Latin America and to make a good strategy for the payment of the sovereign debt. Moreover, it allowed the Roosevelt administration to play the role of the regional hegemon and to provide peace and financial stability in Central America and the Caribbean (Mitchener & Weidennier, 2003). This achievement made the Roosevelt corollary considered as a shifting point in the United States Foreign Policy as it was able to build a good political and economic relationship between the US and Latin America as well as between the US and Europe in the western hemisphere (Mitchener & Weidennier, 2003).

2. The US First Step as an Empire

American Imperialism has been often used as a term to refer to the American extending political, economic and cultural control over many parts of the world. In 1821, the United States used the principle of “the Monroe Doctrine”, which denied the European right to interfere in the colony of the western hemisphere. The US followed the philosophy of non-interventionism in order to protect its boundaries from the intervention of the European powers. However, it is the same

“Monroe Doctrine” that America used to express its desire for territorial expansions or its right to take control over territories from other nations.

2.1. Major Territorial expansions

During the 1800s, America extended its land into the double through purchasing, acquiring and annexing territories of Latin America and Asia. In 1819, the purchase of Louisiana (1803) paved the way for the US to annex Florida, and in 1845, Texas joined the American Union. After the Mexican war, the US could gain 529.000 square miles of Mexico (Villescas, 2000). And the non-interventionism was totally abandoned with the Spanish-American war where the US completed its expansion with the acquiring of the Spanish territories. In 1898, it could gain economic control over Cuba. It also acquired Puerto Rico, Guam Island and the Philippine. American trade grew rapidly in Asia and Latin America. Hawaii, Samoa and Wake were also annexed to offer America suitable bases for economic expansion eastward. These expansions of the 19th century helped America to be a global powerful country.

2.1.1 The Purchase of Louisiana (1803)

American navigation rights on the Mississippi River was guaranteed by the treaty of “San Lorenzo” on April 25, 1796, which based on that the US had the “right of deposit” for three days. This meant that the US could transport its goods going through the Mississippi River or store them on the riverboat if there was no transportation. On October 18, 1802, the Spanish court decided to terminate the right of deposit at New Orleans in Louisiana but the river remained open for the Americans to transport their goods and to do their commerce. As a result, America and Spanish officials who were surprised by the action, protested against the court decision and successfully returned the right of deposit in New Orleans on May 17, 1802. This action made America think seriously to annex New Orleans and other accesses to the Gulf of Mexico (Lawson, & Seidman, 2004).

Louisiana was originally a French territory that had been acquired by Spain in 1762. But since 1765, France tried to take it back. Only in 1800 when Spain accepted to give Louisiana back to France under the treaty of “San Ildefonso” (Arceneaux, Lawrence, & Magill, 2015). On October 15, 1802, France officially took control over Louisiana and the United States started to think seriously about the purchase of New Orleans. After several months of negotiation between the US and France, France finally accepted to sale the territory to the US (Lawson, & Seidman, 2004). At that time, France needed money in order to pay its different and huge wars. Consequently, on April 30, 1803 America gained Louisiana instead of \$15 million dollars and President Jefferson could successfully make his greatest contribution as he could double the size of the country (Kennedy, 2003). “The purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803 gave the United States control over the heartland of the continent” (Magdoff, 1979, p.33). However, Some historians considered that the purchase remained unclear whether France had really the right to sale Louisiana as it was against the principle of “San Ildefonso” which stated that Louisiana should not be alienated to any other country (Lawson, & Seidman, 2004).

2.1.1.1 The annexation of Florida (1819)

As the boundaries of Louisiana territory were unclear after its purchase to the United States, the US supposed to acquire from France the same territories that France recuperated from Spain in 1800. In 1810 and 1811 and after the Louisiana Purchase, the US claimed that Florida belonged to its territory (Perkins, 1993). The American presidents Tomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe were the most supporters of Florida’s annexation (Stevenson, 2004). Jefferson stated that “only through expansion America could defend its interests from the aggressive international colonial nations” (Stevenson, 2004, p.7). On October 27, 1810, President Madison announced that “West Florida had belonged to the United States since 1803 and it was high time to occupy it” (Lawson, & Seidman, 2004, p.89).

At that time, as Florida located between Spain and South America, slaves in Georgia run away to the Seminole, tribes of Native American in Florida. Moreover, “many Florida plantation owners were American citizens and many Georgia planters either owned land in Florida or sought to purchase property in the developing region” (Stevenson, 2004, p.6). Southern traders wanted to stop Native American domination over the regional cattle and horse markets, in December 1817, General Andrew Jackson sent to put an end to the Seminole Indians and to capture Spanish forts (Perkins, 1993). Later on, the US troops completed their occupation to the West of Florida when the Mississippi became a state in 1817, acquiring Alabama in 1819. And under the treaty of “Adamas-Onis” Spain agreed to sell the East of Florida to the US in 1819. (Lawson, & Seidman, 2004). The result was that the annexation of Florida gave a big chance to the United States when a new Capital was built in Tallahassee and new farms were established and many of the Seminoles Native American asked to move out Florida (Stevenson, 2004).

2.1.2. The annexation of Texas (1845)

Texas was originally a Mexican territory. But in 1836, a revolution happened between Mexico and its territory ‘Texas’. This revolution ended up with Texas independence. This independence gave Texas the name of “Republic of Texas”. However, Mexico could not recognize that the Republic of Texas was no longer a Mexican territory. When the US recognized the independence of Texas in March 1837, it demanded its annexation. The majority of the people in Texas welcomed the annexation as they wanted to be a part of the US (Lawson, & Seidman, 2004). The annexation of Texas had faced a constitutional rejection more than any other proposal as Texas was a slavery state and President Jackson was afraid of the North-South unbalance in Congress (Lawson, & Seidman, 2004). Texas’s minister officially asked the US for their annexation but in October they withdrew their request because of their fear of economic and slavery concerns in addition to their relations with Mexico. In 1844, Texas renewed its request for the annexation and on April of the same year, the United States and Texas signed

a treaty for annexation. On June 8, 1844, the treaty had been passed through the house of Senate to get a majority objection vote of 35 to 16. The reason for the rejection was from one side most of the North countries refused to add another slave state for the sake not to increase Southern power in Congress. And from the other side the fear of falling in a war against Mexico. The annexation had been moved again during President Tyler's mandate. In 1845, both houses sent a resolution to joint Texas by the majority of vote of 120 to 98 in the house of representative and 27 to 25 in the Senate. On December 29, 1845, President Tayler signed the approval and Texas officially joined the American Union (Lawson, & Seidman, 2004).

2.1.3. American Mexican War (1846-1848)

After the annexation of Texas in 1845, America turned to look toward California and New Mexico by peace, it offered \$ 25 million dollars to Mexico in order to sale them. But Mexico refused the US deal (Gavette, 2005). As a result, President James Polk sent a patrol cross "the Rio Grande" under the command of General Zachary Taylor. When the Mexican saw the American troops, Mexican horsemen attacked them in the disputed zone and the losses were about dozen of the American. Thus, President Polk declared war against Mexico (Perkins, 1993).

President Polk sent to the Congress "cup of forbearance has been exhausted, even before Mexico passed the boundary of the United States, invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American Soil" (President Polk, 1846). Two days later the Congress declared the war against Mexico with a vote of 173-14 in Congress and 42-2 in the Senate (Gavette, 2005). The war had lasted for twenty-six months with harsh violence from the part of the US (Brown, n.d.). Finally, the "treaty of Hidalgo" was able to end the war. "The Mexican American War" (n.d.) stated:

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo sealed the American victory in 1848. In return for \$15 million and the assumption of Mexican debts to Americans, Mexico gave up its hold over New Mexico and

California. The enormous territory included present-day California, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Colorado and Wyoming. Mexico also agreed to finally relinquish all of Texas, including the disputed area along the border. The U.S. Congress approved the treaty on March 10. (p.1)

As a result of the war, the US benefits were very important. Mexico lost half of its territory which is now from Texas to California and the United States became a continental power (Lawson & Seidman, 2004). Also, through the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the US could gain 529.000 square miles of Mexican territories (Villescas, 2000). The acquisition of California helped the US to increase its exports which helped to save its economy from falling on the problem of overproduction; the increase of the US exports clearly appeared in Great Britain's dependence on the American grain and cotton (Sullivan, 2012). The war also helped to show the US military advanced capacities, especially to the European powers. As Polk explained to Congress in mid-1848, "Our power and our resources have become known and are respected throughout the world, and we shall probably be saved from the necessity of engaging in another foreign war for a long series of years." (Sullivan, 2012, p.81).

2.1.4. The American-Spanish War (1898)

Before the American-Spanish War, the United States has followed the policy of isolationism. Both American Presidents Washington and Jefferson declared their warning against entangling alliances through the "Monroe Doctrine" and they asserted not to interfere in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. By the 19 century, with the problem of overproduction, depression and unemployment, it became a necessity for the American policy to be changed into expansionism and looking for other territories. The US started looking at the Spanish's possessions as its real hope for the new American empire to be established (Atwood, 2010). After the American-Spanish war, America changed its perspectives and foreign policy to be more open to expansionism especially after acquiring many of the

Spanish territories. The American-Spanish war considered as the first experience for the US overseas expansions (Inabinet, 2006). The senator Albert J. Beveridge (1862–1927) supported to embrace imperialism in his speech on the Senate floor in 1900 when he said, “The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world” (p.2).

American hegemony had clearly appeared to the world after the American-Spanish war, but it was actually started before the war. The second half of the 19th century, the biggest imperial success for the United States was in Hawaii where the American businessmen took control over lands by creating sugar plantation, warehouses and docks. They dominated the country economically (Pearson, 2008). In 1881, secretary of state “Blaine” asserted that production of sugar in Hawaii where depended on the markets of the United States and in 1888 another secretary “James Bayard” declared that the US has only “to wait quietly and patiently and let the island fill up with the American planters and industries until they should be wholly identified with the United States. It was simply a matter of waiting until the apple should fall” (as cited in Atwood, 2014, p.88).

By 1895, the American businessmen made good investments in Cuba which were between \$30 to \$50 million and the annual export-import trade reached \$100 million (Govea, 2012). Hence in 1897, the need for more markets to save the American economy from the dilemma of overproduction became something necessary. In addition, the American belief that conquest brought liberty and civilization to the barbarian nations. This made the American ignored President Washington warning concerning foreign entanglement. What the American needed at that time was an opportunity to jump to the imperial world as, before the war, America was in the margin of the world affairs (Govea, 2012 & Pearson, 2008).

In 1895, a guerrilla war was in Cuba, one year later another guerrilla had been emerged in Philippine (Pearson, 2008). At that time the Cuban were not satisfied by the Spanish rule as the

conditions were very harsh, diseases, lack of food and starvation killed huge numbers of the Cuban (Atwood, 2010). The economic hardship led the Cuban to the rebellion against the Spanish authority. The mystery of the Cuban inhabitants was the major theme in the American press, the Cuban issue had been recounted by the US press as a kind of propaganda to pave the way for the American inner desire to take control over these lands in order to control its economic there, to build a navy bases and to take control over Caribbean (Atwood, 2010) as the US economy was closely related to the Cuban one where the American agricultural companies had invested more than \$50 million dollars in Cuba (Pearson, 2008).

Unfortunately, on February 15, 1898, an American Maine sunk after it had accidentally exploded in Spain. At first, the United States demanded a compensation for its losses in addition to giving independence to Cuba in front of the damage of its Maine as it didn't want to enter in a war against Spain because the US plan was to take control over Cuba as Cuba was a strategic location for the US Navy bases and that would facilitate the control of the Caribbean (Atwood, 2010). Spain agreed on the compensation, but it refused to give independence to Cuba. (Govea, 2012). Consequently, on April 19, 1898, the US Congress declared war against Cuba and On April 22, 1898, they blockaded the region. As a result, Spain declared a war against the US on April 23, 1898 (Govea, 2012).

In 1890, before the war and under the principle of “the sea power is the principal formation to develop wealth and power through a foreign trade” (Pearson, 2008, p.117), America spent seven percent of its budget to form a powerful navy for its empire. As a result, the American Navy became very strong. After the declaration of the war, the American army was neither strong nor equipped enough to be engaged in big wars, but its Navy was well prepared to defeat the Spanish fleet in the Caribbean and the Pacific (Govea, 2012). Six days after the declaration of the war, the US navy was able to destroy the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, a small American army landed near Santiago, Cuba and they could successfully take control over the San Juan heights while President Roosevelt with the Rough Riders

could gain victory near Kettle Hill and the Spanish army besieged the island by the American super force (Pearson, 2008). On July 28, 1898, Spain showed its interests for a peace negotiation with the US and the war ended under “the peace treaty of Paris” which signed in December 1898. The treaty ratified on April 1899 as it gave the United States Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam and it enforced Spain to purchase Philippine to the US in front of \$ 20 million (Titherington, 1900). Furthermore, the US established an American dominance over the Caribbean with bases in Midway, Samoa, and the annexation of Hawaii in July 1898 (Atwood, 2010). These expansions made America a strong power across the Pacific to the gate of China, it became a world power with the new responsibility that was protecting its new territories. This new responsibility made America changed its foreign policy from isolationism to expansionism in order to protect its natural interests (Govea, 2012).

However, American-Spanish war started for humanistic sake where the US supposed to provide support to Cuba but it ended by making the US a global powerful country. Some critics turned the idea of the “Manifest Destiny” as the angel that paved the path for the US to enter the world of powers after being a weak nation of 13 colonies to be the controller from the Caribbean to the Western Pacific (Govea, 2012). In this context, Inabinet (2006) wrote:

Many historians believed that the American-Spanish war started for humanistic sake, its aim was to help Cubans fighting against their home ruler and to be free of the imperial Spanish Navy. Yet historians view changed to consider the American war efforts reflected their inner desire to show the world their enhanced naval capacities or to obtain commercial benefits in order to pave the way for its global Hegemony.(p.150)

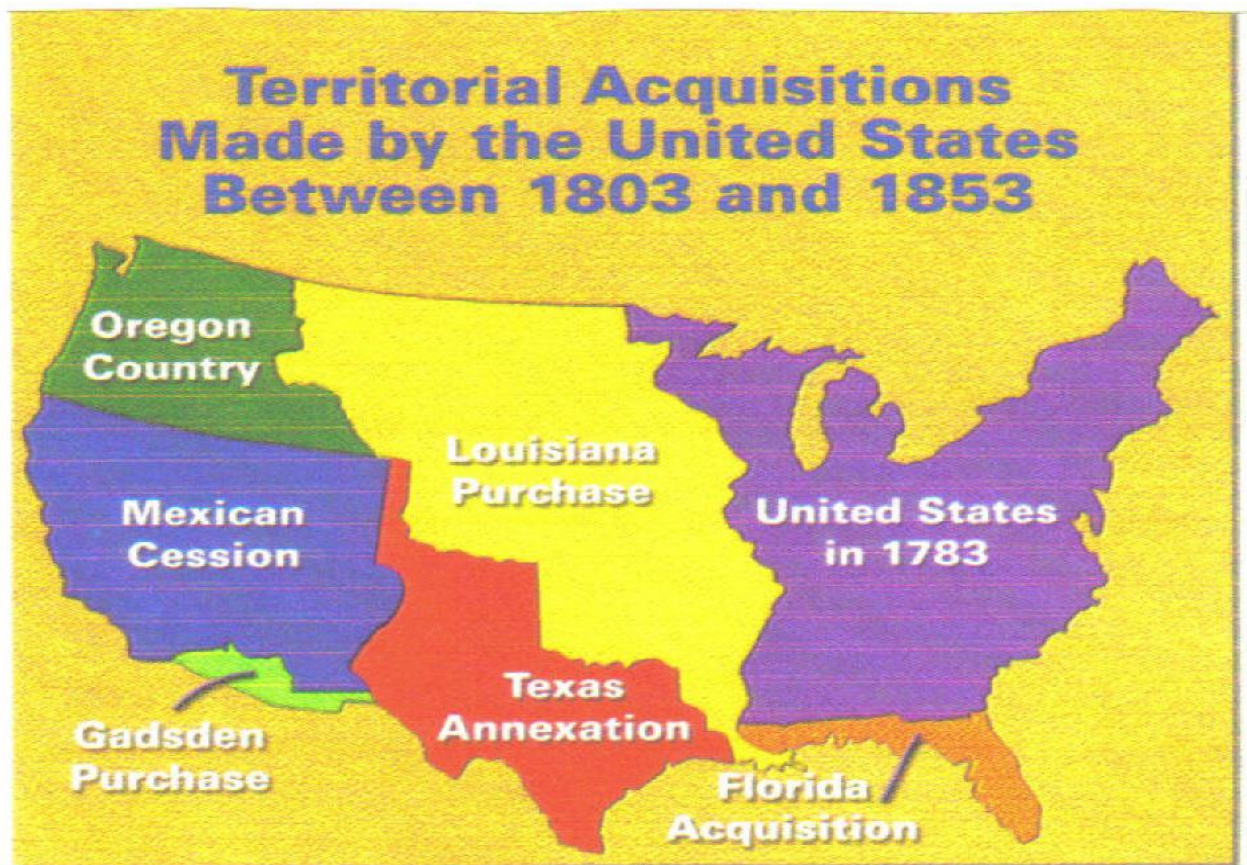


Figure 1.1: Map of the Territorial Acquisition Made by the U.S between 1803 and 1853.

Source: fl.net/staff/teachers/tah/documents/floridaflavor/lessons/B-9.pdf.

3. From Neutrality to Participation

Before the Two World Wars America was in a position of Neutrality as both wars were not American concerns and America would not enter itself in foreign issues. The United States intervened in both World Wars not as a matter of choice but because it had been enforced by external threats, Germany in the WWI and Japan in WWII. Hence, events before and during the two wars changed the American perception and the American position in the world, the US well convinced that it is not possible to isolate itself from the rest of the world and it decided to abandon the policy of isolationism to internationalism and interventionism (Taylor, 2009).

3.1. The US Entry into the First World War

Although “the Great War” had emerged in 1914 between the European powers: Germany, Great Britain, France and Russia, for nearly three years, the US maintained that the WWI was a European conflict did not concern America (Ciment, 2007). Consequently, it only joined this Great War on April 6th, 1917 to transform it into the World War I (Taylor, 2009). Before 1917, the US was following the policy of isolationism or what has been called by the Monroe Doctrine which means being away of the European affairs (Sahar, 2006). “In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy, so to do. Thus the message restated the isolation theme and identified it with the Monroe doctrine” (Perkins, 1993, p.165). The theme of isolationism had been insisted by the American president Woodrow Wilson when he declared that in the Great War the US was in a position of “absolute neutrality” as if the US took a part in the war it would be like a renunciation of its traditional policy of the Monroe doctrine (Ladenburg, 1974 b).

On May 7th, 1915, The British passenger’s ship, Lusitania, had been sunk by a German U-boat where about one hundred and eight American killed (Ciment, 2007). Also, in February, the US intercepted a message from the German foreign secretary, Alfred Zimmerman, to the government of Mexico where he invited Mexico to enter in an alliance with German against the United States (Iriye, 1993). Moreover, in the days between “12 to 21 March, eight American ships including the Algonquin, Vigilancia, City of Memphis, Illinois, and the Geraldton were sunk without warning by German submarines” (Taylor, 2009, p.63). These events made the US recognized that it was the time for America to enter the war with the alliance against German and on April 6th, 1917, America officially entered the war after consent had been taken from the US Congress (Iriye, 1993). In 1918, after one year from the US entry into the war, the WW I ended with the victory of the allies (History.com, 2017).

The secret behind the allies' victory was that during the three years of Neutrality, the United States developed a massive trade and arms with the allies, it took profits from bankers, arms merchants and it could gain an economic boom (Bracevish, 2002). Thus, the years before the war considers as an opportunity for the US to develop itself because "the US lent more than \$7.7 billion to the "allies" during the war. Compare this America's national income of roughly \$40 billion" (Iriye, 1993, p.44). Also during the war American economy made a big profit as at that time American trade had been adapted to supply the allies needs since it was the only nation which was able to ship supplies to them (Hart & Hart 2002). Generally, the WWI considered as the turning point in the American history because America simply transformed from a debtor to a creditor which made it the centre of the international finance and trade system (Yoshikazu, 2008).

3.2. The US Entry into World War II

In 1938, Germany started its policy of territorial expansions. On March 1938, Adolf Hitler annexed Austria into Germany and in September 1939, he invaded Poland; as a result, WW II began in Europe. On September 03, 1939, President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared that America was in the position of "Neutrality" from the European conflicts and on November 04, 1939 the American Congress passed the "Neutrality Act 1939". But later on American Neutrality had broken for the second time as on December 07, 1941 Japan attacked the US Naval forces in the Harbor of pearl for the sake of dominating the Asia-Pacific and the only solution was to attack the US pacific fleet. On December 8, 1941, the American Congress declared a war against Japan which enforced the US to enter the Second World War (Farmer, 2011). In June 1944, the Allies captured the port of Cherbourg and after a series of bitter battles, they took the key cities of Caen and ST-LO. As a result, the Germans began to retreat. In the late of July, the allies landed in the French Mediterranean Coast and in early September, they could Capture Key Port of Antwerp. On April 25, 1945, German met with the advanced Soviet forces and the Allied forces swept through the Southwest of Germany into Austria (Hart & Hart, 2002). The result was

that “Hitler committed suicide in Berlin on April 30, and Germany capitulated unconditionally on May 08, 1945 bringing close of the Second World War” (Hart & Hart, 2002, p.8).

At the end of the war, the United States was the greatest winner as its human and material losses were relatively low. It became the most powerful Capitalist nations as it could gain the largest economy in the world. In 1945, it produced more than half of the international total industry, it captured military bases in more than dozen countries and it had possessed the more naval warships and long ran bombers than the rest of the world (Pearson, 2008). Also, the important role of the US during the war which led to the allies’ victory paved the way for new expansions, to the emergence of the American Empire and for the American appearance to the world. In July 1947, the US Democratic president “Harry Truman” declared that “economic and financial policies to support a world economy rather than separate nationalistic economies.” (Pearson, 2008, p.138-139). Truman’s words meant that the US would govern the world trade and investments instead of covering its own economic.

3.3. The Creation of the United Nation Organization (UNO) after the Triumph of the Allies

Unlike President Wilson who rejected incorporation with the allies’ powers in the WWI, President FDR from the beginning of the WWII declared that the American troops would incorporate with Britain and France and he called the allies by the United Nation (Mauk & Oakland, 1995). Roosevelt perception about how the world would be organized and ordered after the Second World War was through his proposal of “the United Nation” and the expression of the four freedoms. These four freedoms which reflected the American dream have been tackled in the American Bill of rights, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of expression and freedom from want and fear. The UN organization had been established to make these dreams realities by giving it a number of features would make it stronger than the predecessor League of Nation. “The UN can take preventive action, ask members to contribute troops to an international ‘peacekeeping’ force and act against aggressors (whether or not they are

members) without approval from all its members” (Mauk & Oakland, 1995, “Isolationism and internationalism, 1914-45,” para.12).

In February 1945, a conference held in Yalta where the president Roosevelt, Stalin and the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill supported the UN. And they all agree on the idea that Germany post-war should not be a military power again (Mauk & Oakland, 1995).

4. The Cold War and the Bipolar world (1946-1972)

After the end of the Second World War, the world knew a new kind of wars. A war without using weapons under what it was called “the Cold war”. This Cold war lasted for decades where the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, competed about the leadership of the world but without using weapons (Radia, 2009). During the Cold war and in order to protect its emerging American empire, the most important strategy followed by the US was the strategy of “Containment” (Atwood, 2010). In 1947, President Truman made a speech in the Congress which later on known as “Truman doctrine” asking to follow the policy of “Containment” to prevent communist expansions anywhere in the world which became the American foreign policy during the Cold war (Mauk & Oakland, 1995). Consequently, the Cold war characterized by the communist subversion, the nuclear arms race between the two superpowers, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Korean and Vietnam wars where the US mission was to defend the free world from the Communist aggression (Bacevich, 2002).

4.1. The U.S.A and the Korean War (1950-1953)

During the Cold War era, America practised the policy of “containment”; its main goal was to contain the spread of Communism in the world. At that time the US depended on the military force to rollback communism, mainly in the Korean War. Therefore the Korean Civil war represented a misrepresentation for the policy of containment (Radia, 2009).

Korea was known as the “Hermit Kingdom” as it was a very small nation with a unique culture. It had no threats with its neighbours. But instead of that, it was a victim of conflicts between the two superpowers, the US and the Soviet Union. In the last years, American reports showed that the “Korean territory” turned into a veritable land because of the Korean War and it cannot return to its former era as until now it still divided (Atwood, 2010).

After World War II, Korea and other territories were under the control of Japan. President Roosevelt and his successor president Harry.S.Turman discussed the problem of Korea and they suggested that Korea was under the international trusteeship and it should be independent. The subject of Korea had been discussed between the US and the Soviet Union. On August 06, 1945, the US army air force dropped the first World’s atomic bomb upon the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Two days later, the Soviet Union declared war against Japan and on August 06, 1945, the second nuclear weapon was dropped in Nagasaki. As a result, Korea and the other territories belonging to Japan became a case of urgency. During the next two years, the US sought to make an agreement with the Soviet Union about establishing a government in Korea (Schnabel & Watson, 1998). From 4 to 11 February 1945, a conference held in Yalta between the two superpowers where they decided to divide Korea into 38th parallel; the North was occupied by the Soviet Union and the South had been given to the US (Atwood, 2010).

The US strategy toward the South of Korea was totally different than the strategy of the Soviet Union in the North of Korea. At that time, while the North communist was militarily advanced, America was interested in developing its economy rather than developing the military forces in the South of Korea (Chang-II, 2010). As a result, on June 25, 1950, the North communist troops with the support of the Soviet Union invaded the South non- communist with a high belief of gaining an easy victory because of the South lack of military capacities and abilities (Hodge, 2009). And in order to prevent the

spread of the native communist, the US intervened to aid the South of Korea through the UN troops as the UN forces mainly consisted of the US troops (Atwood, 2010).

After a hot fighting killing about at least 100,000 Korean, both sides recognized that the Korean problem was more complex than to be solved by military means. The Korean War was the first war where there is no loser. The war ended in 1953 but it did not bring peace, it only ceased fire (Chang-II, 2010). The Korean War played an important role in the relation between the communist and non-communist nations and it also contributed to change the US foreign policy. The communist prepared a plan to show that non-communist nations use aggressive designs to dominate the world. As a result, the US changed its policy by reducing its military establishment and launched an impressive expansion for its armed forces. At the same time, the US and its alliances joined the NATO in order to establish a military command for the alliance and to incorporate German forces in it. “The Korean War, which represented one of the American-Soviet conflicts, was a turning point in the American administration in which the policy of Harry Truman changed from the economic containment of the Russian expansions to the military containment of the Soviet Union” (Radia, 2009, p. 22).

4.2. The Ballistic Missiles and Nuclear Race

In August 1945 , the destruction of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the American atomic weapons led to the begin of an arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union.

4.2.1. Bay of Pigs Operation in Cuba (1961)

Cuba was led by Fulgencio Batista” who had in an amicable relationship with the US, Babista offered a lot of profits to the US where exporting free Sugar from Cuba to the US was among them. In 1959, a Cuban Nationalist “Fidel Castro” designed a guerilla led to the overthrow of Batista and he imposed exporting sugar crops from Cuba to the US which made him the first US enemy during the

Cold War (Swift, 2007). Castro's foes with the US made him a close partner to the Soviet Union and a real threat to the US hegemony in Western Hemisphere which could not be tolerated by the US (Swift, 2007). In 1961, to remove Castro, President Kennedy used about 1,400 anti-Castro Cubans, who had been exiled, to invade the island. Kennedy's plan was a little bit risky because he prepared the operation to be in Bay of Pigs which is considered as an unprotected location and at night, the result was the failure of the operation on April 17, 1962, and the Bay of Pigs' operation became the black point in Kennedy's political career (Fay, 2018).

4.2.2. The Discovery of the Missiles in Cuba (1962)

In 1962, the US placed Jupiter missiles in Turkey. As a result, the Soviet Union did the same thing by placing Intermediate-Range and Medium Range Ballistic Missiles (IRBMs and MRBMs) in Cuba as a response to the US secret activities to invade Cuba through the Bay of Pigs operation in 1961 (Brenner, p.1990). In October 1962, the US informed about the missiles being installed in Cuba which were able to destroy most of the American cities. Kennedy (1969) wrote:

On Tuesday morning, October 16, 1962, shortly after 9:00 o'clock. President Kennedy called and asked me to come to the White House. He said only that we were facing great trouble. Shortly afterwards, in his office, he told me that a U-2 had just finished a photographic mission and that the Intelligence Community had become convinced that Russia was placing missiles and atomic weapons in Cuba. (p.23)

Two days later, President Kennedy formed a special advisory group to offer various options to the crisis. This group called "the Executive Committee of the National Security Council" who divided into "Hawks" who favoured the immediate military attack and "doves" who preferred to avoid conflicts (Swift, 1990). The problem with the Military attack between two nuclear powers was that it may lead to the destruction of the world. Another proposal had been given was the naval blockade of Cuba that

considered as less warlike act and at least it may prevent new weapons from arriving in Cuba (Swift, 1990). On October 27, 1962 Kennedy insisted that the missiles must be removed to end the blockade on Cuba and he also promised not to invade Cuba when he said “the nominal outcome of the crisis was that the Soviet Union not to install strategic weapons in Cuba and the US not to invade Cuba” (Miller, 1966, p.3). Moreover, Kennedy promised to withdraw their missiles from Turkey which actually happened in April 1963 (Swift, 1990).

During this nuclear race, most of the critics focused on the 13 days of October 1962, from the time that President John F. Kennedy informed about the installation of the Cuban missiles until the day when the Soviet Chairman Nikita Khrushchev gave his order to remove those missiles from the Cuban island (Brenner, 1990). These thirteen days showed the wisdom and brilliance of President Kennedy in dealing with this issue without costing the US any losses and without entering a nuclear war with the Soviet Union (Fay, 2018).

4.2.3. The role of Press

One of the interesting techniques followed by the president Kennedy in dealing with the Cuban Missile Crisis was entering the press in his myth as when he stopped them from publishing information about the Cuban Missiles Crisis when President Kennedy called “James Reston”, a journalist from The New York Times and informed him if he revealed his Plan, Khrushchev would beat the US to the draw. Only on October, 28, 1962 when the press wrote about the crisis and it represented President Kennedy as a hero who could lead Khrushchev into submission without knowing the real deal between the US and the Soviet Union that the Soviet accepted to withdraw their missiles from Cuba as response to the US withdrew of its Jupiter missiles from Turkey in addition to Kennedy’s promise not to invade Cuba. Politics argued that secrecy is important in some political positions (Fay, 2018). .

The Cuban Missiles Crisis considered as the turning point in the American Foreign policy as it was the first time during the Cold War when the World faced the risk of nuclear confrontation and the threat of a Third World War. This fear of destroying the World led the US to deceive its Press under the umbrella of its national security (Fay, 2018).

4.3. The USA and the War of Vietnam (1965-1975)

During the cold war, Communist Vietminh led by Ho Chi Minh, a Vietnamese Nationalist, engaged in a bloody struggle against France. America considered that “Ho” and the Vietminh were only an instrument for the Soviet Union to gain global domination and the Korean War was the firm proof for the US that the Communist willing was to use military power in order to achieve their goals. As a result, in 1952, the United States paid about 80 percent of France ‘war as a support to save its personal interests where the main reason behind the US involvement in the war was the “domino theory” which based on the idea that the fall of Vietnam would cause the loss of Indochina and then the rest of Southeast Asia and the US got benefit from raw materials and strategic waterways (Herring, 1991). But, after two years, the war ended with the defeat of the French army at Dien Bien Phu by the Vietminh army. Consequently, at the conference of Geneva, the US asked to divide Vietnam at the 17th parallel into North Communist and South non- communist under its control (Atwood, 2010).

The same plan followed before in Korea repeated in Vietnam after its division, the US created a war between North Vietnam and South Vietnam when in 1965 President Johnson began bombing North Vietnam and he also sent marines to the South. Johnson designed a limited war as he knew using superpower may lead to the intervention of both China and the Soviet Union and he also supposed that North Vietnam could not stand for a long time against the US. But, the war ended as the US enforced to withdraw from Vietnam in 1975 after losing more than 58,000 lives in front of around 4 millions of Vietnamese died (Atwood, 2010).

Many reasons led America to lose the war. Critics argued that America did not use its power wisely. Also, the media and those who were against the war forced presidents John and Nixon to scale back the US. In addition to, at that time, there were an imbalance between the North and the South of Vietnam as the South of Vietnam was suffered from multitude conflicts, religious and political forces (Herring, 1991).

4.4. Establishments during the Cold War

The race over the atomic research and nuclear weapons between the two superpowers made the Security National Act 1947 faced the threat of the Cold War by taking control over all branches of the new military in the new departments of defence, creating the National Security Council (NSC) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (Mauk& Oakland, 1995).

Moreover, the fact that there was no unified world, all what was existed was two nuclear superpowers threatened each other with nuclear destruction, led America to form permanent military forces. In 1948, the Organization of American States (OAS) had been established and it followed by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1950. And by 1950, the CIA declared that the US mission in the World was to take responsibility in leading the free world which demanded the increase of the US military budget into quadrupled to be able to complete its mission of containing Communists successfully (Mauk& Oakland, 1995).

5. The Fall of the Iron Curtain and the Rise of the US-Led a Unipolar World

In 1989, the fall of the Iron Curtain made America gained its status as the sole superpower in the international system where the race between the two superpowers toward nuclear weapons had been stopped .

5.1. The Fall of the Iron Curtain and the End of the Cold War

The Iron Curtain was a phrase used by the British prime minister Winston Churchill in a speech to the public in 1946 where he warned them about the dangers of Communism. The Iron Curtain symbolically used to refer to an arbitrary concrete border surrounding the West of Berlin since 1991. At that time, the West of Berlin was under the control of the Soviet Union after the defeat of Germany in the WWII, the wall had been established by the Communist government to keep West of Berlin free from the East of Germany as they did not trust their people to leave once they had the Chance (Brager, 2004). At that time, the Wall was not something good as it divided Germany into two but it was something useful as in 1993, it could stop a nuclear war between the two superpowers as a result of the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 (Brager, 2004).

In 1989, the Soviet Union entered a war against Afghanistan. By February 15, 1989, the Union suffered from approximately 10.000 loses (Brager, 2004). Moreover, in November 1989, the Wall of Berlin fall down when Germans crowds from the West and the East met in both sides of the wall cheering to open the Gate and in the summer of the same year , the two Germanies reunified by a treaty signed by France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States. In 1992, The Soviet Union lost its power and it had been separated into separate federations of republics because of many internal ethnic conflicts and economic problems (Mauk & Oakland, 1995).

5.2. The Rise of the U.S as Unipolar Power after the Fall of the Iron Curtain

After the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, “America gained its status as the sole superpower in the international system” (Yoshikazu, 2008, p.127), the race toward nuclear weapons stopped between the two superpowers and optimistic attempts to build a good future for the US and the Europeans started. By 2004, ten of the independent Eastern European countries joined the European Union (EU) and two more by 2007. Many nations of East Block showed great support to the US foreign policy and several of them

asked to join the NATO. Other European Countries especially Poland reaffirmed their ties with the USA. And on the other hand, NATO took responsibility to stop terrorists who appeared after the Cold World such as Osama bin Laden and Taliban in Afghanistan (Mauk & Oakland, 1995).

Moreover, after the Cold War, the list of the countries had US military bases was not limited. Some bases were very important for the US Containment strategy around the Communist bloc. Others were established as an eye for the US to gain influence in the host country. Pearson (2008) stated that:

In 2001, twelve years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, there were still 22 countries with bases holding 500 or more soldiers, sailors, or airmen, including Greenland, Iceland, England, Germany, Italy, Bosnia, Serbia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Korea, and Australia . . . the US had 725 bases in thirty-eight countries with 251,098 military personnel. Since 9/11 many more bases have been added to this network because the Defense Department has built bases in former provinces of Soviet Central Asia, in Afghanistan, and, of course, a dozen enormous bases in Iraq. (p.140)

Also, the demise of the Soviet bloc could not put the US in a safer position when Saddam Hussein led war in Kuwait which later on transformed into a Gulf War. In 2003, the US invaded Iraq without even permission from the UN, the US justification was that the assumed presence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. By the invasion of Iraq, the US transformed the post-Cold War era into a Terrorist War (Brager, 2004; Mauk& Oakland, 1995& Yoshikazu, 2008). However, after the Iraq War, the US appeared to the world as the sole superpower and its position took various names superpower, hegemonic power or the hyperpower of the world.

Conclusion

The first chapter has dealt with the rise of the American Empire where the American ideologies considered as the secret behind the American power. America used its ideologies such as the Manifest Destiny, American Exceptionalism, the Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary to protect its

people from the European threats through following the policy of the non-interventionism and isolationism. The same ideologies were used by the US to justify its territorial expansions in the 1800s. And after the Spanish-American War (1898) , the US totally abandoned its policy of the non-interventionism in order to gain Puerto Rico, Guam Island and the Philippine. Through these expansions, the US extended its territories into the double to be able to enter the world of powers. But the US appeared to the world as a superpower only in the closing years of the Second World War to be able to transform the globe into a bipolar world with two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, which controlled the world political system. In 1989, the end of the Cold War brought with it the collapse of the USSR keeping the US as the single power in a unipolar world.

Chapter Two:

Aspects of The US Hegemony.

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Introduction

After the collapse of the “Evil Empire”, the US remained without any single rival in the world. Consequently, it has been called by different names the sole superpower, the hyperpower or the hegemonic nation. In 1992, and under the rule of President George Bush, the US foreign policy changed into what has been called “the Bush Doctrine”. Under the Bush doctrine, the US strategy went toward preventing any emerging power will challenge or threaten the American hegemony from reaching its global domination and at the same time, it attempted to spread its control over the different aspects of the world to reach its global hegemony. Hence, in this chapter we attempted to focus on the extent of the US hegemony in the three aspects politics, economy and militarily in addition to the US spread of its culture all over the world. To do so we first defined the concept of hegemony which is considered as the key of this chapter.

1. Understanding of Hegemony

“Hegemony” as a concept has been used for the first time by the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci. He translated the term from the Greek word “eghesthai” which means “to drive”, “to guide”, or “to be a leader”. Gramsci wrote “hegemony” for the first time in his article “The Southern Question” and in his prison notes in order to describe and explain the dominance and the oppression of the Proletarian, the dominant class, over the Subaltern, people who were classified at the margins of society (as cited in Eugenio & Cortes, 2015). In 1971, Gramsci argues that “hegemony is used to signify the control of one social class over others including both Coercion and consent” (Ningkang Wang, 2013, p.6). Coercion simply means violence; whereas, consent has been defined in 2007 by Stoddart as “the social values and norms of an inherently exploitative system” (as cited in Ningkan Wang, 2013, p.6).

Recently, “hegemony” comes to be very close in meaning to the world domination where a powerful country or a state dominates the other nations in the system especially in the international

relations (Mearsheimer 2001; Smith, 2010). Yoshikazu (2008) stated that “when a country becomes a hegemon, its hegemony enables it to influence production systems, and can also create the intellectual foundation for new forms of socioeconomic organization at home and abroad” (p.125). Also, Moof (1979) defines Gramscian hegemony as “the ability of one class to articulate the interest of the other social group to its own” (as cited in Ningkan Wang, 2013, p.6).

Hence, “hegemony” simply means the domination of one social group over the other to exploit its own interests; this exploitation can be politically, militarily, economically or culturally. Today, the United States of America is considered as the best example of a hegemonic country controlling the whole world in the different aspects, politically, militarily, economically and even culturally and this can clearly be seen through its control over the different international organization such as the UN, NATO and the WTO in addition to many others as when the American President George W. Bush declared in 2002:

Today, the United States enjoys a position of unparalleled military strength and great economic and political influence...The United States is committed to lasting institutions like the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the Organization of American States, and NATO as well as other long-standing alliances. (Rivilin, 2006, p.5)

2. The US Hegemony as Hard Power: Military Operations

2002 has been known as the era when the sole powerful state in the world decided to assert its hegemony either by using threats or military force (Chomsky, 2003). American President George Bush declared that “as progress is made toward peace settlement activity in the occupied territories must end” (Davis, 2005, p.11). In his sentence, Bush indirectly meant that the US territorial expansion would not be ended until peace reached an inadequate point which was a sign for using more aggression for the sake of the American own interests (Davis, 2005). Moreover, the former Prime Minister Tony Blair

(2006) uphold the idea of using military force when he said, “we are fighting a war, but not just against terrorism but about how the world should govern itself in the early 21st century” (Shah, 2008, p.60).

2.1.The US war Against Afghanistan.

As a result of the attacks of September 11, 2001, on October 7, 2001 the US prepared its military plan with the NATO allies to invade Afghanistan.

2.1.1. 9/11 Attacks and Afghanistan.

On September 11, 2001, four commercial airplanes attacked the US twin towers in New York where nearly 3,000 between Americans and foreigners had been killed in the attack. Only a few days after the attack, the American FBI could recognize that the attack had been planned by terrorists from Al Qaeda. The US knew well that Al Qaeda bases are in Afghanistan and Taliban government supported Osama Bin Laden since 1996. NATO leaders voted to help the US when they confirmed that the attack came from a foreign source. On September 12, the UN Security Council passed a resolution 1368 asserted that the US had been attacked by foreign terrorists. Thus, the US prepared its military plan with the NATO allies to invade Afghanistan on October 7, 2001 (Carlisle, 2010). The operation was well planned by largely military of the NATO with the aid of the US forces and other NATO members whom they could gain a quick victory by invading most of the Afghan territories including South and North of Afghanistan. Taliban regime that ruled Afghanistan at that time was also defeated with a few American losses. However, the war ended, but the US forces remained in Afghanistan for many years for the sake of eliminating terrorists in Afghanistan (Carlisle, 2010).

2.1.2. The Real Causes behind the American Invasion of Afghanistan

The US invasion of Afghanistan was only superficial as its main objective was the checking for China and Russia. When Taliban overthrew in 2002, the US quickly made an agreement with Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan to install American aircraft in their territories. China interpreted that as an

American new threat to the Central of Asia as when Chinese officials declared “the US troops are here in order to control the oil reserves in Central Asia ... the United States has bases in Japan, the Philippines, in South Korea and Taiwan, and nowhere – China is going to be encircled” (Atwood, 2010, p. 226). The US aim was to prevent China from becoming a superpower by limiting China’s access to oil through establishing oil and gas pipelines extending from Central Asia going through Afghanistan and Pakistan (Atwood, 2010).

Moreover, during the 1990s, after the fall of the Soviet Union, a new Russia had emerged which could assert itself in the world by showing its economic power through its gas and petroleum resources (Mauk& Oakland, 1995). As a result, the US changed the support of its oil and gas pipelines from Afghanistan to the Caspian Sea region going through Turkey. The Turkish Support for the American pipelines increased tensions between the US and Russia as Russia is the single European source of Natural gas and the second largest producer of crude oil. The Russian powerful position in the field of oil made the U.S retreated its promise that it had given to Russia before that it would not use the NATO forces to threaten the Russian national security (Atwood, 2010). These contradictions in the US decisions can be explained by the US desire to install more and more NATO forces in the different nations’ borders in order to offer US stability and realize the American hegemony.

2.2. The War against Iraq

Although, there was a shortage of evidences that support the US allegations against the Iraqi President of collaborating with Alqaeda in the 9/11 attacks against World Trade twin towers and the Pentagon building. Along similar lines, the USA held the Iraqi regime responsible for the violation of international ban on the proliferation of arms of mass destruction. The use of AMD by the Iraqi regime against US regional allies, constituted a major concern for the American Administration (Mauk & Oakland, 1995). As a response, in 2003, America air forces harshly bombing the Iraqi civilian and the attack was carried out in a manner inconsistent with the International Law. Statistics from Harvard

University showed that the bombing killed everything vital for human survival, electricity, water, agriculture, health care, etc. (Atwood, 2010), and in a period of fewer than three months, the American president declared their success in most of the military operations held in Iraq (Mauk & Oakland, 1995).

2.2.1. The Real Causes behind the American Invasion of Iraq

The events of September 11, 2001 was not the only reason behind the US invasion to Iraq. In fact, the American targets were bigger than a war against terrorists.

2.2.1.1. The Iraqi Petroleum

Indeed, the attacks of 9/11 was only a propaganda used by the US; the American invasion to Iraq was only a response to the Iraqi attack of Kuwait in 1991 because if Saddam Hussein succeeded in invading Kuwait, he would be in a very powerful position allowed him to challenge the international Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and he would probably control the price of the dollar, which is the basic price of oil trading. Consequently, Saddam would free the Great powers, America, China, Germany and Japan from their control over the Petroleum that America imposed its rules at the end of the Second World War (Atwood, 2010).

Moreover, Researchers found that the reserve of the U.S oil is likely to be consumed in 25 years as its demand increased to 33% in natural gas, to 50% in oil and the electricity to 45 %. The oil analysts “Daniel Yergin” declared that oil can be found in two sides either in the Russian Caspian Countries, especially Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan or in the Middle East including Iraq (as cited in Atwood, 2010). As since the end of the Second World War, the Gulf regions are the main energy producer, where Iraqi Oil is very accessible and at the same time cheap and with good quality (Davis, 2005). Hence, what was important for the US neither the attack of September 11 nor the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, but the most essential was taking control over the Iraqi Oil in order to realize its hegemony over the petroleum

industry."No Blood for Oil" is the most slogan always used at peace rallies is simply referred to the contradiction in the U.S harsh military attack and occupation of Iraq (Davis, 2005).

2.2.1.2. Taking Control over the Middle East

According to Davis (2005), America foreign policy after the WWII goes toward what has been called by "The New Norms" which means that America would destroy any source considered as a threat to the US under its theme of the self-defence. Iraq was the chosen instrument for the US new doctrine; it has been debated that if Iraq is not located in the Middle East, probably, it might not be the chosen place to test the American new norms strategy as what is important for the US was taking control over the Middle East and the starting point was Iraq (Davis, 2005).

2.2.1.3. The American New Norm of International Law

The American invasion of Iraq was only a message to the world that this would be the case of any weak country thinks to challenge the American hegemony or threatens its position in the new world and it was also a test for the American establishment of the "New Norm of International Law" and for the use of its military force. Simply, the "New Norm" is the American alleged rights to destroy any challenge before it becomes a real threat and it also represents the US new national security strategy which proposed the use of the military force in the world (Davis, 2005). The American attack on Iraq has no existence in the International law, but it was a preventive war which means that the US will rule the world using its military force. One of the American Liberal elder Statesman "Dean Acheson" stated in 1963 that, "no legal issue" arises when the US responds to challenge to its power position, and prestige" (as cited in Chomsky, 2003, "Enforcing Hegemony," para.8). The American "preventive war" stated that the target country should have a number of characteristics:

Chomsky (2003) wrote:

- 1- It must be virtually defenceless.
- 2- It must be important enough to be worth the trouble.
- 3- There must be a way to portray it as the ultimate evil and an imminent threat to our survival. (“New Norms of International Law,” para.2)

In the case of Iraq, the first and the second condition have already existed, the Iraqi forces are weaker than the US military one and the Iraqi oil was the main target behind the American invasion. So, the question is how about the third condition? The third condition was easily designed by the US after the media propaganda of 9/11 attacks, Saddam Hussein was seen as a brutal killer by most of the Americans and the world in general.

The US wars against Afghanistan and Iraq are only examples from many cases where the US used its military force to protect its own interest from one side and from another side making wars is only a way to launch its military forces in different parts of the world in order to control the globe militarily. The next map represents the US spread of its military bases internationally where the list of US military bases in the world is very long. In 2001, the US had approximately 725 bases in around 38 countries with 251,098 military personnel and after the events of September 11, 2001, the list became longer than before when the American Defense Department continued establishing its bases in of the former provinces of Soviet Union, Central Asia, in Afghanistan and huge number of bases in Iraq (Pearson, 2008).

US military presence overseas

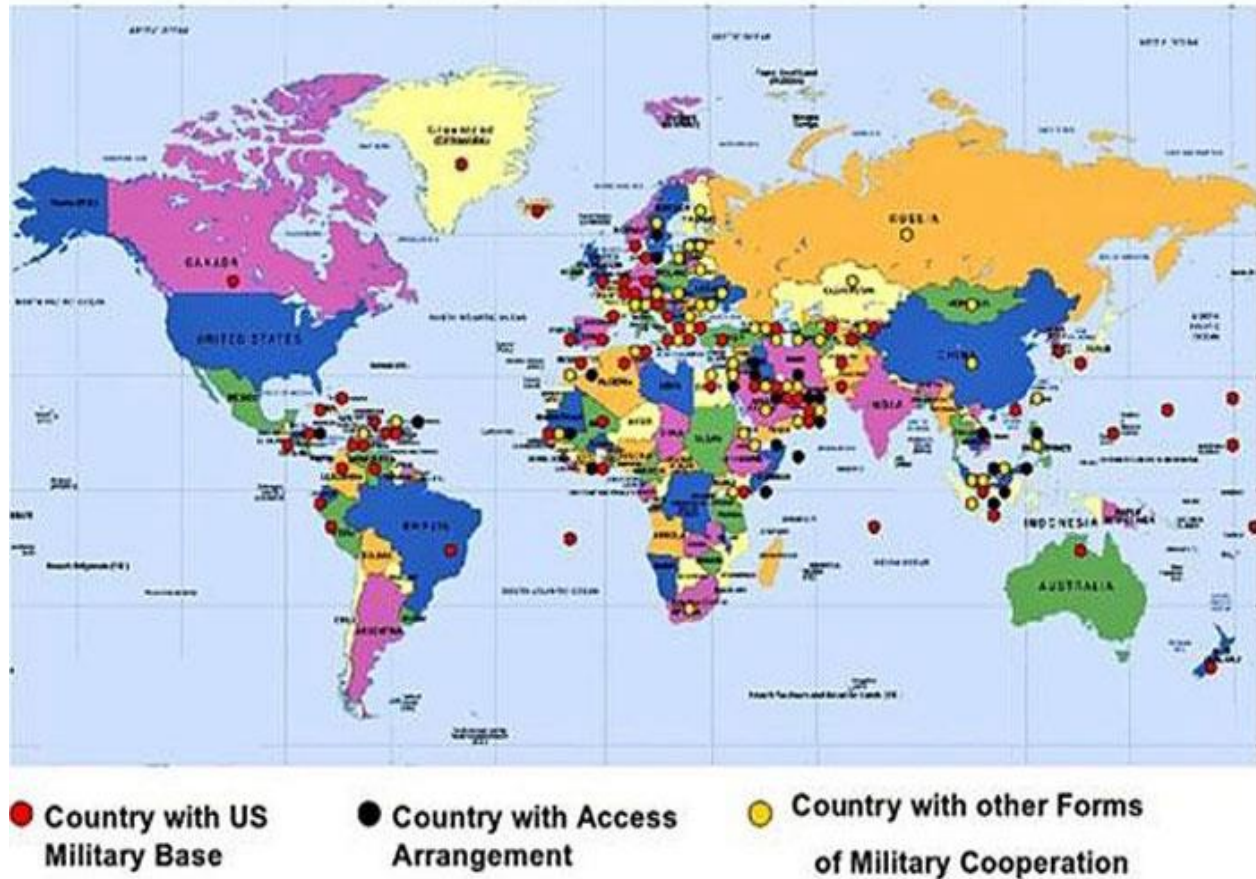


Figure 2.1. The Global Spread of the US Military and intelligence Bases

Source: https://www.bibliotecapleyades.net/sociopolitica/sociopol_globalmilitarism172.html

3. The US Hegemony over the International Political Institutions

After the Cold War, The new world order knew less stability and peace than the era of the Cold War, Civil Wars, different ethnic tensions and a large number of weapons as a result of the Cold War. These events created a need for International institutions to be established. Especially, the existence of the UNO gave hope for the spread of peace and stability all over the world. However, a debate has been held about the negative impact of the UNO toward the undeveloped countries when the UNO imposed international sanctions policies on those who considered as enemies to the US as in the case of Iraq, and at the same time, rarely when it invoked against the US allies and the best example when Israel invaded Lebanon, the UN made no reaction (Gribbs, 1997). This contradiction helps to raise the question about

the nature of the relationship between the United States and the different international political institutions.

3.1. The United Nation Organization (UNO)

In 1941, and for the sake of a better future, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill proposed the idea of establishing a new organization to replace the weak preceding League of Nation. In 1942, they gave the name of the United Nation to the new Organization and they also drafted a set of principles in the international foreign policy as a way for organizing the world after the Second World War. In 1943, the powerful leaders of the wartime alliance agreed on the proposed outline of the UN as its aims were to protect human rights, to realize equality between men and women and to apply the political freedom. But, the UN was an American priority and to affirm this, the US appointed its chief delegate in the position of the status of the Cabinet member in the United Nations (Hoveyda, 2006).

In 1950, the UN played an important role in the US foreign policy when the North of Korea invaded the South of Korea, the UN Security Council established a UN forces to protect the Seoul government in the South of Korea under the command of the United States (Hoveyda, 2006) and in 1992, the UN turned again to serve the US unilateral intervention in Somalia as when the US forces withdrew from Somalia on March 28, 1995, they had replaced by an international forces which kept the US in a position of domination because of the US relationship with the UN is much more personal (Gribbs, 1997). Furthermore, after March 2003, the UN support to the US foreign policy and its inability to face the US hegemony becomes very clear to the world when the UN supported the US invasion to Iraq and at the same time it could not refuse the US approval demand against Saddam Hussein which was against the UN main principle that is the protection of Human rights. Most of the UN members supported the US invasion to Iraq and their justification was given in a form of a reform proposal as it was declared by the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (Rivilin, 2006). Thus, the Gulf war considered as the most

setback against the international peace and security that the UN called for as the Persian Gulf War in 1991 has nothing to do with peace (Gribbs, 1997).

3.1.1. The main reason behind the US hegemony over the UNO

The UN support for the US does not come out of the blue, but there are several reasons made the UN works for the benefit of the US. Tilborghs (2015) wrote:

Without the presence of the world's greatest power, the UN would be an impotent body, lacking in legitimacy, financially insecure, and doomed to go down the same path as ... the League of Nations ...the UN needs America more than America needs the UN. (p. 23)

The United States is considered as the largest financial contributor of the United Nation Organization. In 2015, the United States provided about 28.5% for the UN peacekeeping troops which directly followed by Japan with a rate of 10.8%. In front of this, the US has a permanent seat in the UN Security Council which considers as the main body in the UNO (Tilborghs, 2015). Moreover, the UN suffered from a lack of military troops, most of its forces when it wanted to take a secure action against any issue in the world are the forces of its members where the US has the important word in these issues as the majority of the troops and weapons are its own. The US financial and military hegemony over the organization made the UN peacekeeping troops' operations depend on the support or at least the consent of the United States. As a result, the US position and attitude are very important in UN decisions (Tilborghs, 2015). And in order to protect its hegemonic position in the UNO, each time when there is a proposal to establish permanent independent military forces for the UNO, the proposal blocked by the US opposition (Gribbs, 1997).

3.2. The United Nation Security Council and the UNO peacekeeping troops

For the sake of protecting its own interests, the United States peruses to exploit a wide range of multilateral institutions. Starting from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to the United Nation Organization (UNO) which considers as the most powerful international Organization where the United Nation Security Council (UNSC) serves in it as the lawmaking body on the maintenance of the international peace and security (McDonald & Patrick, 2010). Since, the UNSC main responsibility is the protection of the international peace and security, a debate has been taken about the council credibility in doing its main target because this credibility lies beyond many issues the exclusive permanent membership, the right to veto, the US powerful military forces in addition to the Washington uses of the UN as a part of its policy to serve its own interests and targets (Weiss, 2003).

The United States always uses the UNSC as an instrument to gain its political support and legal authority concerning affairs aimed to advance the US objectives. When the council passes a resolution, most of the time, it finds an appreciation from the USA such as when the council passed the resolution authorizing the Gulf War against Iraq and another decision to undertake the main UN operation in Kosovo, both decisions were based on the US policy in the provinces. Moreover, sanctions against Libya for the downing of an American plane over Lockerbie showed for the first time the Security Council sanctioned a country for a criminal offence before the court. As a result, the council appeared biased, unrepresentative, and ineffective for most areas of the world. (Lyman, 2000).

In the 1990s, most of the council's approaches and resolutions involved in a broad range of internal conflicts. Events held by the council considered as real threats to the international peace including a wide range of humanistic catastrophes as when the council enforced "coalition of the willing" in Haiti in 1994, in Bosnia after 1995, in the Central Africa Republic in 1997 and in East Timor in 1999. Moreover, when the US sought to avoid its own direct involvement it enforced the council to use its own military forces such as when the US conducted its military action against Al Qaeda terrorist

network and Taliban regime in Afghanistan, it dealt with the NATO forces and the UNSC welcomed the attack through passing a resolution condemning the attacks against the US (Malone, 2003). Furthermore, The American veto considers the secret behind the council inability to pass a resolution against the US interests because it will exercise its veto right (shah, 2008). Consequently, The US was able to gain more than 600 resolutions since 1991 which led it to use its veto right only four times where three of them had been used for the benefit of Israel (Lyman, 2000).

Indeed, the UNSC supports for the US is not only limited in its military enforcement but it also takes many other forms, economic and diplomatic sanctions are the most preferable and useful tools for the US diplomacy and for the UN than using force. The US enforced its target through using economic sanctions passing through the council like what happened in Iraq and Haiti when Washington argues that Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq led to humanistic damage due to the misallocation of the available resources. Also, the economic sanctions have been enforced by the US to ban an air flight in Libya as a message for several terrorist aircraft bombing, diplomatic sanctions were also enforced by the US through the council against Sudden for their attempt to assassinate the Egyptian president “Hosni Mubarak” and in November 1999, other sanctions adopted by the US against Taliban regime in Afghanistan as a result of the attack hold by Osama Ben Laden (Malone, 2003). To conclude, the US domination and hegemony over the UNSC clearly appeared in the words of the American President George Bush in 2002 in the UN General assembly, “we created the United Nation Security Council, so that, unlike the League of Nations, our deliberations would be more than talk, our resolutions would be more than wishes” (Weiss, 2003, p.153).

3.3. The Organization of American States (OAS)

The Organization of American States (OAS) has been established in 1948 by the United States and twenty Latin American nations in order to resolve issues for mutual concern in the Americas and later on the Organization expanded to include all the 35 states of Western Hemisphere. The OAS main

objectives are democracy promotion, human rights, economic and social development and regional security operation (Meyer, 2014). In recent years, commitment to Democracy led the Organization to assist countries suffered from the crucial political operations such as Paraguay (2012), Venezuela (2002), Bolivia (2008), Nicaragua (2005), Honduras (2009), Ecuador (2005 and 2010) and since 1990s, it can also organize 85 electoral observation missions (Cooper & Legler, 2006).

Many saw the OAS as very important for advancing the US relations with other nations in the Western Hemisphere because, since the foundation of the OAS , the US uses it as a tool to serve its economic, political, and security interests in the Western Hemisphere. The US needs for the OAS obliged it to strengthen the organization and in order to be more effective, the US considers as the most contributor in it with \$ 67,7 million in 2013 that took the rate of 41% of the OAS total budget (Meyer, 2004). In 2001, the OAS was the first international organization officially condemned the attack of 9/11 and in January 2002, its member adds an inter-American convention against terrorism through which they committed to take an action against terrorists (Cooper & Legler, 2006).

As the US is the main contributor and the Hemisphere is the most powerful nation in the OAS, this made the OAS target purely reflects the US objectives and many of its activities are complementing the US efforts which led the OAS actions do not really reflect the organization's stated objectives; Consequently, conflicts between members emerged within the Congress about the utility of the OAS for advancing the US interests in the Western Hemisphere (Cooper & Legler, 2006).

4. The US Hegemony as soft power

Hard power is the traditional form of imposing hegemony. In the 21st century, soft power has been used by the US as its new foreign policy to spread its hegemony in other parts of the world as a post outcome of September 11. The concept of “soft power” first used by Joseph Nye (1990-1992) who defined it as the ability to attract or co-opt instead of coerce or using hard power where the soft power is

the cultural and political values and it is much more related to foreign policies applied by a country to reach its personal interests (as cited in Trunkos,2013) where this Soft power does not impose to the target country but the target country has affected by this power voluntarily. The main American strategies of using soft power are giving foreign aids and promoting democracy in many countries all over the world.

4.1. American Programs of foreign aids

Giving foreign aid to another country entered under the economic and political policy of the donor country since the WWII. This instrument has been used to engage other nations in its foreign policy where the foreign aid affected by the strategic characteristics of the recipient country that reflects the interests of the donor country (Tingley & Milner, 2010). Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, foreign aids became a part of the American foreign policy on the basis of its national security. In September 2002, President George Bush declared that it was the first time in history when the United States threatened by a fragile and weak nation and this threat went directly toward its “national security” (Brown & Patrick, 2006). As a result, in September 2005, Bush declared to the UN General Assembly, “we must help raise up the failing states and stagnant societies that provide fertile ground for terrorists” (Brown & Patrick, 2006, p3).

In the years between 2000 to 2005, the US foreign aids for Official Development Assistance (ODA) were between \$10 billion to \$27.5 billion. The increase of the US foreign aids started with President Clinton’s administration and accelerated with the President Bush’s administration (Patrick, 2006). In 2007, the United States considered as the most and largest contributor in the world, it offers approximately 24% of the total ODA. And in 2016, the US foreign assistance reached around \$49.49 billion which have been divided as followed: 48 % for economic assistance, 33% for military and security aids, 14% for humanistic activities and 05% as a support for the work of multilateral institutions (Lawson, 2018). As it shows in the next figure, the US types of foreign assistance are not stable but

changeable as they are governed by two main factors; the events of the world and the US priorities in each year.

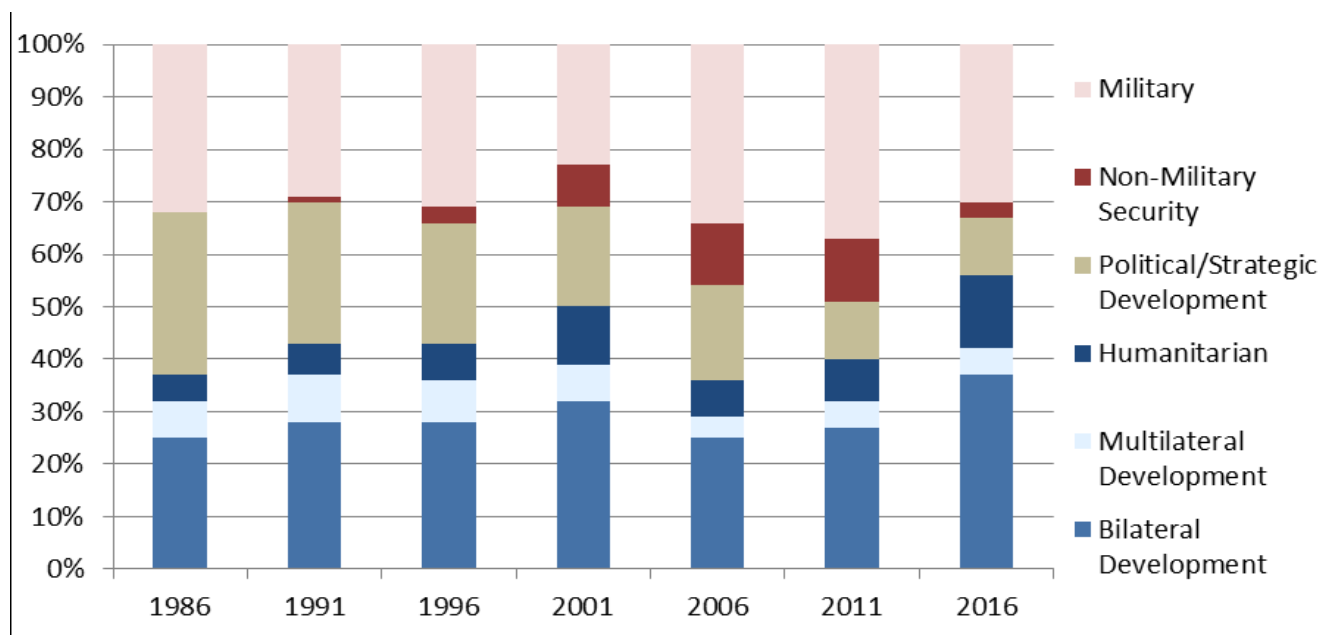


Figure 2. 2. Shifts in the total U.S. foreign assistance Program from 1986 into 2016.

Source: <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/R40213.html>

4.1.1. Forms of the US Foreign Assistance

American foreign assistance took many forms; it could be cash transfers, equipment and commodities, infrastructure, or technical assistance. However, in recent years, most of the US foreign assistance is given in the form of a grant (gift) rather than a loan in order not to accumulate debts for many developing countries. However, grant aids took different forms, it could be either a form of developmental aid projects based on partner to complete the project which is the most common type used by the US as it took %75 in 2016 or it could be in a form of contribution to international organization such as the UNO or in a form of cash transfer to the government. Cash transfer used by the US as an exception rather than a rule as it is given to countries show political support to the US affairs. Such as Jordon and Turkey in 2004 when they support the US “counterterrorism operation” (Lawson, 2018).

4.1.2. Purposes and priorities behind the US Foreign Aid

In 2016, the United States provided assistance to more than 144 countries all over the world. Iraq, Afghanistan, Israel, Egypt and Jordan were the major recipients of the US aid. Long-standing assistance went to Israel and Egypt, the strategic importance went for Afghanistan and Iraq and the strategic and humanitarian importance went for Jordan as a sort of aid for the crisis in its neighbour Syria. The major aid regions in 2016 were the near East %27, followed by Africa %25, then central Asia %14 (Lawson, 2018). The next table represented the top 15 recipients of the US foreign assistance from 1996 to 2016 that reflected the US priorities and interests at that time:

FY1996		FY2006		FY2016	
Israel	3,140	Iraq	9,675	Iraq	5,280
Egypt	2,198	Afghanistan	3,004	Afghanistan	5,060
Turkey	467	Israel	2,543	Israel	3,113
Russia	362	Egypt	1,653	Egypt	1,239
Bosnia	330	Russia	1,545	Jordan	1,214
Greece	262	Colombia	1,220	Kenya	1,143
Jordan	230	Sudan	933	Ethiopia	1,111
Ukraine	173	Pakistan	887	Syria	916
India	150	Jordan	423	Pakistan	777
Rwanda	139	Georgia	411	Uganda	741
South Africa	125	Kenya	344	Ghana	724
Peru	105	Indonesia	322	Nigeria	718
Micronesia	93	Armenia	318	South Sudan	708
Angola	92	Ethiopia	308	Tanzania	629
Haiti	88	Peru	294	South Africa	597

Table 2.1. Top Recipients of U.S. Foreign Assistance, FY1996, FY2006, and FY2016.

Source: Lawson, 2018, p.15.

The United States exaggerated in playing its hegemonic role in the world as its international foreign aid is not for humanistic sake but rather for its hegemonic desires. The US policy of foreign aid goes much more toward countries that serve the US strategic interests. The previous table shows the differences in the US aids among countries in three periods. During 2006-2016, most of the US foreign aids went toward the Middle East, especially to Iraq and Afghanistan after the propaganda of the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and after the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, the US aids to both countries entered in the US national security strategy and during 1996 most of the US aids went to the African countries in order to help them against HIV/AIDS epidemics. Also, south of Sudan had received aid as a new independent country with developmental needs. For both cases, in the African countries and the South of Sudan, the US gave help for humanistic strategy.

However, the commercial interests are the main reason behind the US foreign aids, the US sought to save its global hegemony by creating new customs for the US products or developing an economic environment where the US companies are able to do their affairs easily. Generally speaking, the United States does not give help to others for the sake of helping them, but its assistance based on either achieving its national security, building a positive economic environment for the American products through making a good relation with different nations or to show the American people that they are humanistic enough not as what has been said and thought about them (Lawson, 2018).

4.2. Promoting Democracy

After the WWII, democracy became a necessity in the US foreign policy when the world desires went much more toward the democratic aspiration after the defeat of the old colonial system. Brunel (2002) argues that democracy is only another strategy has been used by the US in order to extend its domination and imperialism in the world by using other ways than using violence and force. At that time, the American belief went toward peace and stability which are not universal and it's the US mission to spread them in the world (as cited in Boateng, 2015).

4.2.1. Definition of Democracy

Democracy comes from two Greek words, “demos” which means “people” and “craits” that means “rule”. In recent years, it becomes difficult to define “democracy” as the term becomes more abstract, and it can only be understood from the context of the speaker. Generally speaking, democracy is commonly used in the political context where it means freedom and effective participation of the people in elections under their constitution and respect for human rights (Epstein & Serafino, 2007).

4.2.2. Spreading Democracy

The USA is the first encouraged spreading democracy in the world. It claims that democracy is better used for the benefit of any country and its neighbours. In 1970, the US Congress passed legislation supporting democracy and human rights within the state department and it also passed significant programs for promoting democracy in the world; also more than \$2 billion annual have been given to help governments and security responsible for human rights violation (Weber, 2018).

In the 1980s, the quest for strengthening its hegemony made promoting democracy an essential part of the US foreign policy for the sake of protecting its interests through the stability that democracy created in the world (Boateng, 2005). To do so, various American presidents starting from President Roland Reagan, President George .W. Bush, President Clinton to President Obama encouraging the US promotion and exports of democracy with the aid of the International Organizations that are loyal to the US government in addition to other institutions including: political parties, civil society, trade unions and the media such as in Philippine, Panama and Haiti as a means of promoting the international stability in order to protect American interests and to uphold its primacy and hegemonic position in the world (Boateng, 2005). Weber (2018) wrote:

President Clinton (1996) stated that “democratic states are less likely to threaten our interests and more likely to cooperate with the United States to meet security threats and promote free trade and

sustainable development”. President George Bush (2006) declared, “because democracies are the most responsible members of the international system, promoting democracy is the most effective long-term measure to strengthening international stability, reducing regional conflicts, countering terrorism and terror-supporting extremism, and extending peace and prosperity”. President Barak Obama stated in 2010, “America’s commitment to democracy, human rights, and the rule of law are essential sources of our strength and influence in the world”. (p.5)

Consequently, The United States follows different ways of providing democratic assistance to many countries all over the world. Generally, it relies on soft power to spread its alleged democracy including sanctions, foreign assistance programs, educational and cultural assistance programs, public democracy and international broadcasting. But, if soft power does not work, it directly goes to using force and military intervention as in the case of Baghdad in 1983 and Panama in 1989. The recent military interventions were in Afghanistan and Iraq, the aim was to drive out the dictatorial regimes of Taliban in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein in Iraq in addition to other countries such as Somalia, Lebanon and Vietnam where the US used force under the name of what has been called by spreading of democracy (Epstein & Serafino, 2007)

Generally speaking, American democracy sought to promote its national security, especially the economic interests which uphold its hegemonic position through suggesting to the world that the US democracy sought to offer benefits to the world but in fact, it serves only what is a benefit for America. Furthermore, American democracy promotion sought to ensure its hegemonic continuity and the proof is its success in several countries such as Philippines, Chile and Panama (Boateng, 2015).

4.2.3. The US democratic activities

The US follows several activities to spread its democracy in the world. It includes, election support that has followed by the US in Afghanistan when the USAID upheld making training to the election

watchers and candidates for good participation in the election activities and it also organizes a lot of activities concerning election systems in the universities in order to raise awareness among university students about good governance and political participation . Also, In Jordan and in terms of judicial reform, the USAID installed computers work automatically with the ministry of education in order to organize a session for high school students about democracy, human rights and elections and it also supported promoting election reforms by establishing independent election commission for monitoring and improving elections. In Colombia, the USAID's office helped the Municipal government of Colombia to minimize tensions and to execute peace in the nation. Furthermore, in Ethiopia, the INED gave support to judicial security officials and religious and civic leaders to promote an understanding of human and democratic rights (Epstein & Lawson, 2019).

5. Globalization and the US hegemony over the International institutions

The contemporary economic globalization refers to the extending of the international economic interrelations turns back to the emergence of the new international economic order that has been gathered in a conference held in New England town of Bretton Woods under the leadership of the United States and Great Britain, in addition to the major powerful economic powers toward the end of the WWII. The conference ended with a set of rules concerning the international economy including a firm commitment of extending the international trade, building rules on the international economic activities. Moreover, the conference created a more stable money exchange system where the value of each country's currency was related to a fixed gold value of the US dollar. Woods conference also set the institution foundation for the establishment of three international economic organizations: the International Monetary Fund to manage the international monetary system, the International Bank for reconstruction and development which later on known by the World Bank which first has been designed to rebuild infrastructure in Western Europe following the WWII. And in the 1950s, its purpose expanded to fund various projects in developing countries around the world. In 1995, the World trade

organization has been established (WTO) which later on becomes the centre point for designing the economic globalization and its effects. These three organizations are responsible for making and enforcing rules of the global economy where the United States is the hegemonic power (Steger, 2003).

5.1. The US control over the IMF and the World Bank

The United States enjoyed a very special position in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank; it was responsible for deciding their structure, location and mandate. The US had just over the third of voting power in each organization. These institutions were created to support enforcement of the US aims and policies around the world (Wood, 2003). The article of the argument of both institutions stated that the post of the President in the World Bank should be given to the candidate most favourable by the USA and the job of Managing Director of the IMF goes to the candidate most favourable by Western European members where its deputy Managing Director should always be American. The US hegemony over the heads of both institutions makes its approval for most of their decisions a *facto* necessity (Wood, 2003).

5.1.1. The IMF

The IMF is an organization seeks to offer stability in the International Monetary System. It consists of 189 member countries including the USA. Its member countries work together to realize a number of things including foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade and promote employment and economic growth. It also aims to reduce poverty in the world. Generally, the IMF helps countries suffered from problems in “balance of payment” by giving them loans as a form of “rescue” because those countries which suffered from serious debt may lead to instability in the international trade. Hence, the IMF gives them the loan to turn it back with a very high rate of benefit (Maverick, 2019).

5.1.1.1. The US hegemony over the IMF

The US is the primary source of the IMF funding with a capital subscription of about 17.67%. Consequently, the United States was able to take a rate of 17.33% of votes in the IMF executive Board and the power to veto the major policy changes in the organization that requires 85% majority of votes (Woods, 2003).

Generally speaking, most of the IMF loans are based on the size of the country's debt, its economic position and its importance to the US and the other shareholders. As Thacker argues that "special treatments by IMF may well be due more to political factors than to the size of debt" (as cited in Woods, 2003, p.103). Thacker argument turned back to the years between 1985 to 1994, when the US played an important role in the IMF, the economic model was based on two hypotheses. The first is the political proximity hypothesis which stated that fund loans should be given to the friend of the US and the second hypothesis is the political movement where loans used as a reward to whom acted friendly toward the US and loans also withhold of those showed unfriendly behaviour to the US (Woods, 2003). To sum up, the IMF financial decisions have simply relied on the US interrelationship with the world countries.

5.1.2. The World Bank

The World Bank purpose is to help long-term economic development and to reduce poverty in developing countries. Following the WWII, the World Bank was established to provide loans for European's reconstructions, but later on, it turned to focus on developing countries. It gives support to countries in order to reform ineffective economic sectors and to execute specific objects like building health centres, schools, making clean water and electricity more widely. Generally, the head of the World Bank appointed from the United States as it is the largest contributor in the group (Maverick, 2019).

5.1.2.1. The US control over the World Bank

The financial structure of the World Bank is a little bit different from the IMF. As the Bank does not directly rely on the members' government contributions to fund its activities. Indeed, the members' contributions are less than 05% of the total Bank funds where the US gives about 16, 52% of votes on the Bank 's Broad and the veto over policy decisions requires 85% majority as in the case of the IMF. As its resource activities have been expanded, the Bank became under the direct influence of the US. In 1960, the International Development Association (IDA) has been established to give loans to poorer countries . IDA funds are taken from governments' member in the World Bank which opened a new channel for the Bank to be directly influenced by the wealthier countries' members especially the US that gave 20, 86% of the IDA with next largest contributor Japan 18.7%, the UK and France each 7.3% (Woods, 2003).

The US imposes its hegemony over the IDA by using threats. Each time, the US threatened to reduce or withhold its contribution of the IDA in order to demand changes not only in the level of IDA but also changes reach the World Bank as a whole. For instance, in 1970, to protect the IDA, the World Bank has been enforced by the US not to lend Vietnam and in 1993 under the pressure of the US Congress; the US linked the creation of an independent panel in the World Bank to the IDA. Furthermore, in order to strengthen its position in IDA; the US imposed a condition that all the members have to reduce their financial contributions if the US did. From one side, this would give equal divisions between members and at the same time, it raises the US threats over the IDA and over the World Bank in general which means that if the US reduces its contribution all the members will do the same. (Woods, 2003). Simply, reducing funds would cost IDA and the World Bank a lot of money which make them all the time worry about the US reducing its contribution.

It becomes obvious that the funding of the IMF and the World Bank made them under the influence of the US. Each time, the US Congress took the occasion to threaten either by reducing or withholding

its funding making both institutions show their willingness to the American executive agencies, treasury and state department to put down their precondition for the US contribution making it the crucial voice in their funding and the sole element to determine aspects of the policy, different decisions and structure of the IMF and the World Bank (Woods, 2003).

5.2. The World Trade Organization (WTO)

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the central global trade governance. It has been established in 1995 as it replaced the preceding GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs Trade, which had been founded in 1947. When the WTO replaced the GATT, it greatly expanded the multilateral discipline by bringing textiles and agriculture (Bhagwati, Krishna & Panagariya, 2014). Both the WTO and the GATT are the products of the US hegemonic position in the world. The United States in addition to the European Union are the dominant powers in the WTO because of their considerable owned materials and ideational resources with the advantage of their economic relations which they provide to the institution (Shaffer, 2005).

5.2.1. The US and the WTO setting of rules

Although all members in the WTO are supposed to have equal rights which is the right in one vote, the US and the EC are the two largest powers in the institution that enforced clout on the WTO than other members. Their power lies in shaping the WTO rules and principles; the reason is that the United States and the European Community have enormous markets than other countries. Hirschman (1945) stated that markets power hid behind the capacity to block commercial exchange where the economic force played a greater role than military one as threaten of making economic sanctions is more effective than its actual application (as cited in Shaffer, 2005).

The US and EC enforce their hegemony in the WTO through the “forum-shifting” which based on threatening by replacing the multilateral negotiations into bilateral or regional negotiations that menace

to deny benefits to some countries and offered them to others. As a result, the weaker countries enforced to accept the US and EC demands under bilateral arguments to gain access to the US and EC markets (Shaffer, 2005). The US and the EC use their material informational resources with their market power and the ability to forum-shift to enforce their interests in the application of the WTO rules. Hence, they designed rules can easily protect and support their domestic products in agriculture and textile sectors where the developed countries enforced to provide 01billion of the US dollar as an agricultural relief which negatively affects the exports of the developing countries and the trade in general. Also, the US applies a tariff rate of % 40 for goods from Bangladesh, primarily on textile products and only % 01 for imports from France. Moreover, the agreement of Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) in the WTO caused a wealth of around \$5.8 billion dollars has to be transferred from developing countries to the US (Shaffer, 2005).

The United States is able to pass its power through the WTO. The WTO rules seem neutral from the surface but in fact, they are not used equally between all the parties. The US is able to reach its goals in the WTO than the other countries can do. Its privileged position comes from the importance of its power and status within the international political hierarchy, the US played the role of “price maker” in regulating international trade and finance, whereas; the other nations took the position of “price taker” where the US domestic interests are the main cause behind its influence in the International Trade Policy (Gautan, 2003).

5.2.2. The North American Free Trade Agreement and the Free Trade Agreement

To show that hegemony does only mean supporting the global trade regimes, the US follows another dimension in the trade policy by showing tolerance and preference for regional trade system as well and the best example is Canada and the US Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) during the 1990s. Many saw NAFTA as a real threat to the multilateral regime, but the US claims was that NAFTA is only

used to affirm its commitment to the hegemonic role, bullying others and to support multilateral liberalism as NAFTA is only a play to counter regionalism in Europe (Moon, 2005).

While the members of WTO thinking about the future of the international trade, the US did not wait but it declared that it will move toward free trade with who can do. At first, the result was catastrophic as only four countries accepted to join the US in the Free Trade Agreement (FTA), Israel and Jordan in the bilateral agreement, Canada and Singapore entered into NAFTA by force. Six months of 2004, negotiations finished with the joining of 09 more countries, Australia, Morocco, Bahrain, the Dominican Republic and five nations of Central America free trade area. FTA new and next partners will form the largest American export market and the six largest economies in the world. At first, FTA negotiations began with Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Panama, Peru, Thailand and five nations of the South Africa Customs Union and negotiations about free trade continued to reach half of the globe. Indeed, the regional agreement created more liberation structure for the US and at the same time, it blocked competing for perspective especially in Europe keeping the US as the sole power governing the global trade rules (Moon, 2005).

5.3. Economic coercion through sanctions

In recent years, the US economic and financial sanctions become its preferable tool for imposing its power over other countries. The US enforces such sanctions in cases like the abuse of human rights, the spread of nuclear weapons in Iran, Russian aggression and deteriorating situation in Venezuela (Mortlock & O'toole, 2018). However, Haight (2002) stated that economic sanctions are only an instrument used by the US to achieve its policy objectives. Hence, most of the economic and financial sanctions imposed by the US are only tools for its political actions where the US adopted the economic sanctions instead of the military one in many parts of the world such as in Syria in 2011 after the Arab Spring and after several months the Arab league and Turkey followed by a series of imposed sanctions in addition to sanctions in Iraq, Iran, Cuba... and the list is so long.

5.3.1. Iran Economic Sanctions

In 1978, the US was the second largest explorer to Iran after Germany with a rate of 16%. But after 1979, the relation between the two countries went worse when a group of Iranian students detained 52 Americans for a period of 444 days. In 1980, a series of economic sanctions imposed by the US against Iran as a way to free the hostages. In 1992, the US started thinking that Iran development of nuclear weapons is regarded as a threat to the American security; consequently, the US began taking its measure to prevent Iran from producing nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles and weapons for mass destructions (Golliard, 2013).

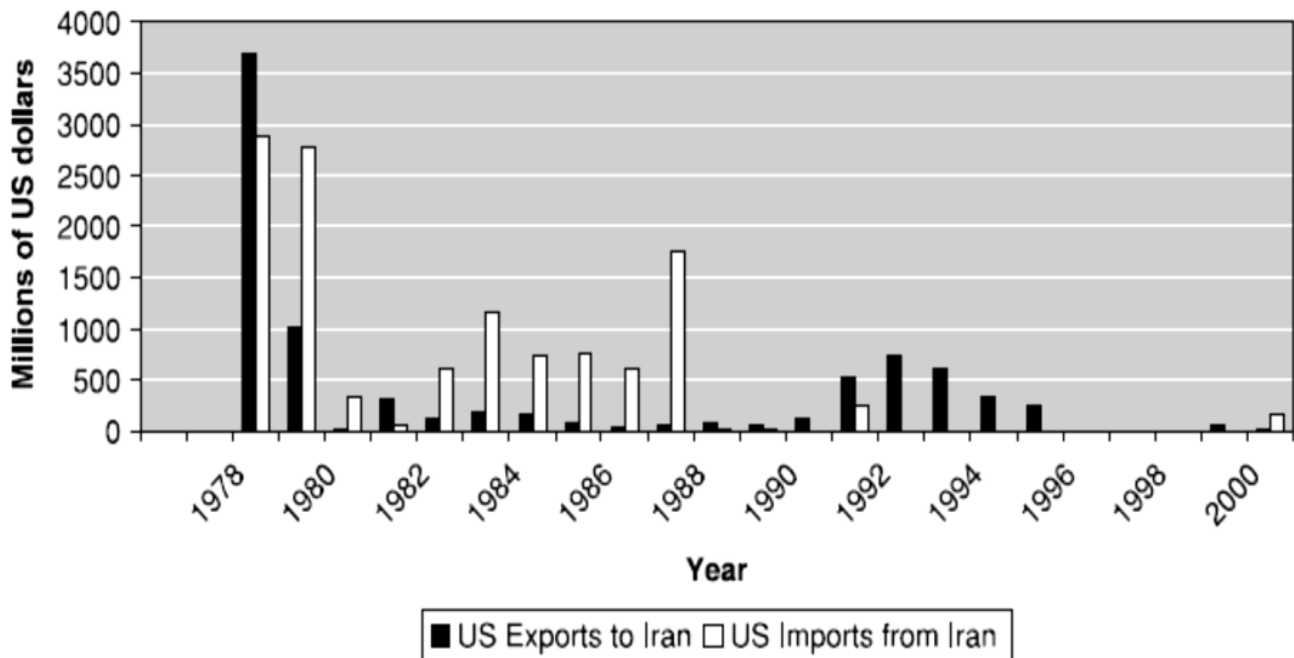


Figure 2. 3. The US exports and imports to Iran.

Source: Golliard, 2013, p.104

In 1995, President Clinton decided to cut trade and investments with Iran, including the purchase of oil and a full embargo has been done by the US against Iran. As it is shown in the above figure the US exports and imports with Iran decreased from 1995 to reach zero in 1996 and 1998. The US exports fall from the top to the bottom and the result was catastrophic for Iran as it was enforced to buy similar

products to the US one but with lower quality and higher price. This made Iran lost around \$ 82.25 million per year for not being able to export from the US which offered both the good quality with the suitable price.

Before the Iranian revolution, the US major exports from Iran were oil and Persian carpets and due to the full embargo imposed by the US, demands over them had been decreased which caused falls in the Iranian productions and increase the rate of unemployment in Iran. In 1996, the total exports of rags reached one-third of its pre-sanction years. Moreover, before the comprehensive sanction, in 1994 Iran exported 2.6 million barrels of oil per day where \$13 billion, which is around 600.000 barrel of oil per day were sold to the US. But, in 1995, no more oil was allowed to be imported from Iran (Golliard, 2013). The result of the US sanctions was very harsh for Iran as theoretically, economic sanctions are powerful due to the fact that they lead to the economic damage of the target country.

5.3.2. Cuba Economic Sanctions

Over history, Cuba was closely related to the US in both politically and economically, Cuba supplied the US with sugar and the US exported from Cuba things in a variety of sectors. In 1959, after the demise of the Batista regime by Fidel Castro, Cuba became very close to the Soviet Union. As a result, the US implemented economic sanction over Cuba which lasted for more than 04 decades. Before the band, the US was the largest exporter and investor in Cuba. In 1958, the US exports from Cuba reached 70%, but in 1969, they dropped to reach 4%. The US did all its efforts to isolate Cuba economically. In 1950, Cuba exports from the US were 60%, and in 1961, they dropped to be less than 05% and in 1962 a bilateral trade between Cuba and the US is nearly zero (Golliard, 2013).

Golliard (2013) stated that the main three factors affected by the Cuban inability to trade and invest in the US wealthy and largest markets are:

1-The growth rates decreased by 2 points or more due to the degradation in the Capital stock and the growth of the output had dropped because of the unemployment in all factors of productions.

2-Trade exchanged had been deteriorated because of the economic costs that obliged dealing with sources more distant.

3-The quality and benefits of the new imports are not satisfactory.

In Conclusion, the US could easily bring damage to the Cuban economy through its policy of embargo. However, there are many economic sanctions implemented by the US in order to change the behaviour of the target country, but the US embargo still the most severe type of the economic sanctions enforced by the US ever.

6. The US Cultural Hegemony

The US “hegemonic position” is not only limited to its political, economic and military powers, but it is even related to its cultural hegemony. Nowadays, the American products pervaded the world cultural markets starting from the multinational companies such as Coca- Cola to the mass media communication like the internet, music, TV, films (Hollywood movies) and even fashion (Pop style). Today, people from all over the world know a lot about the American culture and their way of life due to the spread of English language and the different means of communication which means that America succeeded to export its culture of “Americanization” in order to reach its global hegemonic position in all the domains. American cultural hegemony is so broad but all what have been presented here are only examples that help to manifest its cultural domination.

6.1. Language

Steger (2003) stated that “the power of the Anglo-American culture industry to make English the global lingua franca of the 21st century” (p.83) as by 1990, around 35 million native speakers speak in

English and more than 400 million use English as a second language. Today, around 80% of the internet posts are in English and almost half of the world's foreign students study in the Anglo-American institutions (Steger, 2003).

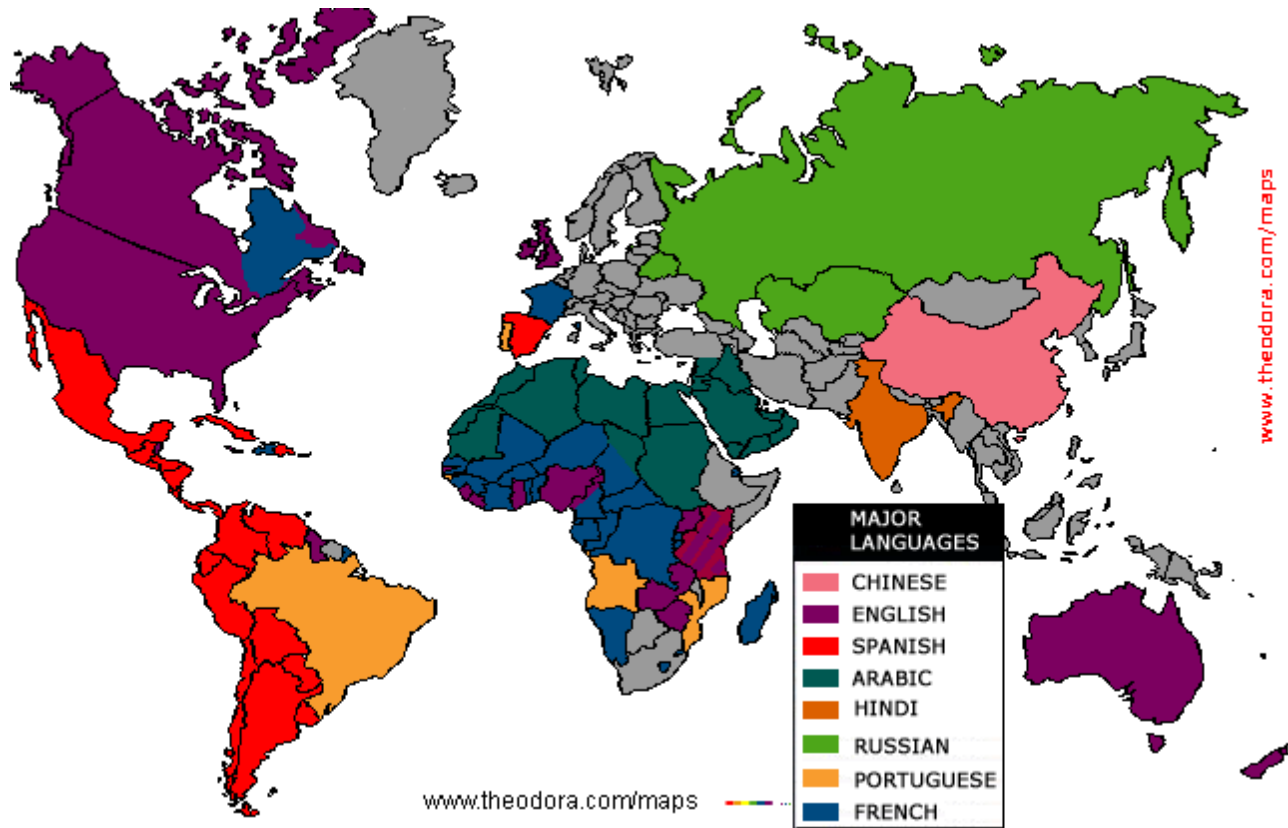


Figure 2.4. Map of the major languages spoken across the globe.

Source: http://www.allcountries.org/maps/world_language_maps.html

The above map shows English as the Second spoken language in the world after Chinese which indicates that the U.S wants to uphold its power of hegemony through making English language the first language in the world in order to facilitate the spread of their ideas and also it is a way to protect its culture.

6.2. Media

Despite the fact that media has been developed in a number of countries such as China, India and Brazil, the U.S is able to dominate the world of media due to the fact that the American ownership of multiple networks, satellites and telecommunication networks. In the 20th century, the U.S remains the first and largest explorer to entertainment and information programs of software and hard ware. In 2012, four out of five big entertainment companies took their bases in the U.S.

The U.S media took superiority over its competitor in entertainment and sports (Hollywood, MTV, Disney and ESPN), new current affairs (UN, Discover and Time) and in the social media such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Google (Thussu, 2014). Generally, the role of the media is widely relying on the power of communication and spreading messages. In recent years, world markets are dominated by entertainment, TV, films, and news. Today, most of the media markets analysts declared that media markets amounts are similar to oil production in the 20th century. Robert Boyer stated that:

American superpower is the ‘first global society’ in the history because it is the society that communicates more (65 per cent of global communications come from the United States), and it is the only one which succeeded to make of her lifestyle, her techniques, her cultural products, her ways ... universal. (as cited in Maatougi, 2014, pp. 20-21)

6.3. Television

US television’s domination clearly appeared through the US films industry. In 1987, the US films of Hollywood spread all over the world to be able to take 56% of the European films and film markets and in less than a decade they increase to reach 90%. American films are the sole films which reached every market in the world. In 1992, the proportion of film sales in the United States reached 70% of the world film markets, where the “Titanic” alone gets about \$.1.8 billion globally (Maatougi, 2014).

Conclusion

The central conclusion of this chapter is that the U.S remarkable hegemony can simply be tested through its power in controlling the different international aspects including military, economic, political and even cultural one which provide it with the opportunity to influence and develop the international affairs. The U.S hegemony also enables it to be the sole leader over the decisions of the main international institutions such as the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, NATO, the UN Security Council, etc. Taking control over such institutions helps the US to act free and to protect its international interests without being neither controlled nor limited and this can be clearly manifested through the different wars held by the US as most of them are considered against humanity such as its wars against Iraq and Afghanistan. Moreover, the US hegemony can easily be seen through the different financial and economic sanctions implemented by the US over many parts of the world like Cuba, Iraq, Russia, Iraq, etc., and the list is still so long. What is interesting is that the US hegemony took many forms, it sometimes relies on the use of its hard power and military forces but recently it turns to the use of its soft power such as spreading democracy, giving foreign aids and even to the spread of its cultural hegemony including media, language, TV, etc. Consequently, the result can be taken is that the US in every sense of the word is a hegemon.

General conclusion

The power and influence of the United States is now the main feature in defining the world affairs. Indeed, the US hegemonic power in so far enables it to impose its rule on the international system including decisions over the international institutions whether political or military such as the NATO, UNO, UNSC in addition to the economic institutions including the WTO, the International Monetary Fund and the International World Bank. The major part of the American power is undoubtedly based on its dominance in the economic and political leverage without ignoring its military and cultural aspects of hegemony too.

American hegemony takes many forms as it sometimes deals with military interventions and the best examples are the US wars against Iraq and Afghanistan, where America used its military force to save its own interests there, and in order to gain its hegemony over Iraqi oil and petroleum. To do so, the US made the propaganda of 11/9 in order to find a reason to invade Iraq and Afghanistan. However, with some nations, the military actions do not work which urged the US to opt other means such as using soft power, including economic sanctions like what it did with Cuba, Iran, Russia, etc. Economic and financial coercive measures seem, in many times, harsher than using the military force. The US possession of the largest markets in the world makes its embargo over exports and imports of any country more difficult than the use of its military threat. The US soft power also includes prompting democracy, giving foreign aids and spreading US culture all over the globe.

American hegemony is something very unique and it is not like any other dominance as it is not related to the number of productions or the number of military forces, but it is much more concerned with the spread of its military bases in many parts of the world, and to its control over the international system in all the domains. The uniqueness of American hegemony is also due to the fact that it is not only related to one aspect; its hegemony is politically, economically, military and even culturally and

this makes America the sole power in the world because there are other countries dominate the world only in one domain.

American ideologies are the main factor behind US emergence as the sole superpower in the world. The American belief of their exceptionalism due to their geographical position, their unique history and because they are the God's chosen people to spread freedom, religion, prosperity, rights and democracy in the world which are the first demands in its declaration of independence. Such ideologies give the US an alleged mission to control the world. Furthermore, the different historical contexts and events played an important role in the emergence of the American empire. America started as 13 weak colonies after its independence from Great Britain, but now it encompasses fifty powerful states. The American policy of expansions in the 1800s played the major factor in the establishment of the American imperialism as the geographical size is very important in determining the power of any country. Hence, it is impossible for America to be the first country in the world with only thirteen colonies. Also, before entering the two World Wars, the US followed the policy of isolationism which gave it a big opportunity to build itself in all the domains, especially, economically, while the other powers were concentrated with their interior affairs, the US was building itself. The result is that after the WWII, the US emerged as one of the most powerful countries in addition to the Soviet Union. However, by the end of the cold war and the fall of the Iron Curtain, the United States became the sole superpower in the world.

To conclude, the past of United States well contributes in the building of the American hegemonic present and the result is that the US has become the sole superpower controlling the world with an iron hand politically, economically, militarily and culturally.

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الملخص:

أدى سقوط الحزب الشيوعي في عام 1991 إلى فتح الباب أمام عالم أحادي القطب بقيادة الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية باعتبارها القوة العالمية المهيمنة الوحيدة المتبقية وذلك بعد انهيار الاتحاد السوفياتي. الدور الجديد الذي لعبته الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية في العالم جعل منها دولة مميزة مقارنة بباقي دول العالم الأخرى وذلك من حيث السياسة العالمية. ولذلك فإن هذا العمل يهدف إلى دراسة أهم الأسباب، الأحداث والسياسات التاريخية التي ساهمت في ظهور الولايات المتحدة كقوة عظمى مسيطرة على العالم بأكمله. وفي الوقت نفسه فإنه يهدف إلى تسليط الضوء على الجوانب المختلفة للهيمنة الأمريكية متمثلة في هيمنتها العسكرية، السياسية، الاقتصادية وحتى الثقافية. حيث تم اعتماد طريقة تحليلية وصفية بغرض تتبع الأحداث التاريخية المختلفة التي ساهمت في بناء ما يسمى اليوم بالقوى العظمى للولايات المتحدة وكذا تم عرض إحصائيات، خرائط و رسوم بيانية لإظهار طبيعة الهيمنة الأمريكية بأدلة مثبتة. حيث أظهرت النتائج المتحصل عليها حقيقة أن أمريكا تسعى فعلاً إلى الحفاظ على زعامتها العالمية وذلك بفضل إرثها التاريخي والأيديولوجي الذي ساعد في تشكيل الهيمنة الأمريكية على النظام الدولي عامة والمؤسسات الدولية خاصة. وبشكل عام، تم تقسيم العمل إلى فصلين، حيث تم التطرق في الفصل الأول إلى الخلفيات التاريخية، أهم الأحداث، الإجراءات والسياقات التي ساهمت بشكل ملحوظ في ظهور الولايات المتحدة كإمبراطورية والتي قدمت في الوقت نفسه إطار عمل للفصل الثاني الذي تناول مدى امتداد الهيمنة الأمريكية سياسياً، اقتصادياً، عسكرياً وثقافياً.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الهيمنة الأمريكية ، الإمبراطورية الأمريكية ، القوة العظمى و الزعامة ، النظام الدولي ،عالم أحادي القطب.