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The End of History or the End of American History?

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“If I have seen further, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants”

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My noble prince;

My dear brothers and sisters;

My cherished nephews;

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Abstract

This dissertation is intended to provide a clear picture on the rise and fall of American hegemony. The study also discusses how the U.S. remained powerful in the decades, since World War Two to be able to win the Cold War. This period became known as the American Century as the US imposed itself in the world stage as a sole superpower. With immense political, economic, and military abilities it managed to face and defeat great all contending powers mainly the Soviet Union. The unique might achieved at all levels and the successful governance enjoyed by Americans made scholars to speculate that human kind had reached the best possible political system and the greatest empire status in the American Experience. America reached as Fukuyama put it “the end of history”. This Unipolar period under American hegemony was not to last long before it was contended by a revitalized Russia and a steadily growing China in addition to the BRICS nations thus driving the world towards a newer multipolar order. The study concludes that American narrow mindedness and arrogance influenced significantly in accelerating the retreat of the U.S. power in world affairs. It also upholds that the U.S. gave up the global reach policy and is struggling to preserve a leading role in the newly imposed world system. The acceptance of the status quo can be perceived in creating a large space for powers like Russia to invade neighboring Ukraine and interfere in civil wars or China extend its military reach and sweep the global markets with its products.

ملخص

تهدف هذه المذكرة الى تقديم صورة واضحة عن تطور وتراجع القوى الأمريكية. عالجتنا من خلال مذكرتنا كيفية محافظة الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية على مركزها في العقود الماضية، منذ الحرب العالمية الثانية وكيف كانت قادرة على الفوز في الحرب الباردة، أصبحت هذه الفترة تعرف بالقرن أمريكي حيث فرضت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية نفسها عالميا كقوة عظمى وحيدة، بقدراتها السياسية، الاقتصادية، والعسكرية الهائلة، و تمكنت من مواجهة و هزيمة جميع القوى المتنافسة على وجه الخصوص الاتحاد السوفياتي. ان القوة الفريدة التي تحققت على جميع المستويات و الحكم الناجح الذي يتمتع به الأمريكيون جعل العلماء يتكهنون بان الجنس البشري قد وصل الى أفضل نظام سياسي ممكن و أعظم مكانة امبراطورية وفقا للتجربة الأمريكية، و وفقا لما جاء في كتاب فوكوياما " نهاية التاريخ" ان فترة القطب الواحد الساري تحت الهيمنة الأمريكية لن يستمر طويلا بل و مهدد بالتصادم بروسيا الجديدة و الصين النامية بالإضافة الى دول البريكس و بالتالي دفع العالم نحو نظام جديد متعدد الأقطاب. و قد ختمت الدراسة بأن ضيق الأفق الأمريكي و غطرسته أثر بشكل كبير في تسريع تراجع القوة الأمريكية في الشؤون العالمية، و كيف أن الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية تخلت عن سياساتها في مواكبة قضايا العالم و المحافظة على دورها القيادي في النظام العالمي المفروض حديثا، ان قبول الوضع الراهن قد خلق مساحة كبيرة لقوى مثل روسيا لغزو بعض الدول المجاورة مثل أوكرانيا، و التدخل في الحروب الأهلية، و جعل الصين قادرة على توسيع نفوذها العسكري، و اكتساح الأسواق العالمية بمنتجاتها.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

BRIC	Brazil, Russia, India and China
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DPRK	Democratic and Popular Republic of Korea
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICMB	Inter-Continental Missile Ballistic
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMS	International Monetary System
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
JUIP	Jamaat-e-Ulema-e-Islami-e-Pakistan
MAAG	Military Assistance Advisory Groups
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom
OIF	Operation Iraqi Freedom
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
ROC	Republic of China
ROK	Republic of Korea
SOE	State-Owned Enterprises

SOF	Special Operations Forces
SWIFT	Society for the worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication
Tn	Trillion
TNT	Trinitrotoluene
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USA/US	United States of America/United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WW	World War

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Introduction

This work aims at providing an analysis of the US journey in becoming an unparalleled superpower including its period of “the American Century”. The dissertation also discusses the impact of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the whole image of the USA and how its global war on terrorism turned to be a war against its own ideals. The dissertation also identifies the main aspects of the retreat of the American world leadership, portraying the international stage in the light of such decline.

Throughout history great civilizations enjoyed decades and centuries of prosperity then ended up vanishing after a decline. From the Babylonian empire to the Roman one, and from the Ottoman empire to the British one, all those great powers faced the same destiny and collapsed. In modern times, the United States of America sat on the international throne as the sole leading empire of the globe. After its independence the US was recognized as a regional hegemon in the western hemisphere. During this era the country has adopted an isolationist foreign policy preventing any interference in the internal affairs of the European-controlled American nations in the western hemisphere. In spite of its isolationist policy, the US sought to extend its economic hegemony and territorial control to countries like Hawaii and Cuba.

It is commonly agreed upon that US hegemony emerged since the Second World War, and reached its peak with the end of the Cold War. The US victory in the Cold War in addition to the collapse of the USSR marked the beginning of the American Century, where it became more powerful than ever before. During this era the US scientists developed powerful computers, made great leaps in nuclear technologies, and expanded space research. The American Century was also marked by the economic boom which made of the US the largest world economy. Americanization of the world was a notable feature as US culture and ideology became spread worldwide. With the end of the Soviet Union the US became the only nation capable of displaying its military might in different crises such as the Gulf War. The

twentieth century was an American one, it is the century during which America reached the peak at all levels. By so doing America is said to have attained the end of history which no previous nation did before nor will any other nation ever do in the future.

The American efforts to bring peace and stabilize nations did not prevent terrorists to threaten American security achieved over centuries of strategic planning and design. On September 11, 2001 a group of 19 terrorists associated to al Qaeda hijacked four planes conducting suicide attacks. Two of the hijacked planes targeted the World Trade Center in New York city, the other two planes were crashed one in the Pentagon and the second in Pennsylvania. These attacks killed about 3,000 people, striking fear into the American minds and hearts. They also shook the US security. As a response to those attacks the Bush Administration declared that they will never distinguish between the terrorists who conducted the attacks and those who do exist around the world, and that America will launch a global war on terror in order to prevent any kind of terrorist attacks. The first reaction was Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan in October 7 of the same year. The aims behind the US-led efforts in Afghanistan were driving Taliban from power, destroying al Qaeda and its training camps, capturing Bin Laden, and helping Afghanistan to build a democratic and safe nation.

The American global war on terror extended even to Iraq when Saddam Hussein was accused of having ties with al Qaeda terrorist group, and for possessing programs of weapons of mass destruction. In March 2003 the Bush Administration launched a military campaign in Iraq under the name of Operation Iraqi Freedom in order to topple the authoritarian Ba'athist regime and disarming it from WMD. In few weeks the coalition forces succeeded in subduing the country. They ended up capturing Saddam Hussein and his major Ba'athist associates. Following the fall of Baghdad a violent insurgency emerged to reduce the whole country to a total chaos. The security situation worsened as a civil war sparked between Sunnis and Shiites.

This situation shifted the American existence from a quick invasion to an occupation in order to stabilize Iraq and build a democratic nation. In order to do so the US launched a policy that aims at purifying the Iraqi government from Ba'thist members, however this policy resulted in a fragile governmental infrastructure. In its war against insurgency the American costs kept mounting exhausting their economy paralyzing the American efforts to end this war. On the one hand, the American war on Iraq was considered as a mistake especially after it turned into a quagmire that kept absorbing American money and lives, on the other hand, it became clear that the war was against American own values. Indeed, the violation of human rights, the torture practiced, and the failure of building a democratic nation leaving instead a failed one, reflect the huge blunders in Iraq.

The global war on terror with its resounding failures had an immense impact on American international influence leading to the retreat of its hegemony. While America was witnessing a decline, other nations started to appear on the international stage as major players. The retract of the US world leadership and the emergence of other major powers is considered as an introduction of a new world order with several poles or actors. While those emerging powers are trying to extend their influence, the United States is trying to sustain the status quo and preserve the continuity of the unipolar world system.

The major questions of this research are meant to unveil the contours of the emerging world order. They also aim to provide explanations of the relation between the US global war on terror and the retreat of the unipolar world system. The questions raised by this research are the following: was the twentieth century really an American century? How did American achievements reach so high levels to mark what became known as the end of the history? How did the global war on terror trigger the US international retreat? What are the main factors leading to the decline of the unipolar world order? How do the emerging actors create a threat to the US hegemony? Other questions include: Would the BRICs overtake the US as a

major power? How would the US reconstruct its international status? Would America be able to preserve its status quo or would it continue in retreating?

In an attempt to shed light on the importance of the current study, it is critical to refer to some of the chief academic research that has tackled some aspects of the research topic. Many works were published concerning the 9/11 attacks to portray American overreaction to those attacks and its relation with the appearance a new world order.

Hence, this research focusses on the American exaggerated response to the attacks. This provides enough space to analyse to what extent the USA was mistaken in its reaction to the 9/11 events, and the impact of such reaction on the retreat of the American-led world.

To analyse the problem of the American decline, this research is underpinned with several academic works that have dealt with the decline of the US hegemony. For example, in his essay *The End of the History* that was later developed into a book under the title *The End of The History And The Last Man*, Francis Fukuyama provides an argument claiming that the end of the Cold War was the end of all ideological struggles. He provides that history tracks the evolution of humanity from humble communities to liberal democracy achieved by the USA as he considers it the end of human development. By "the end of history" he means that America achieved the final and most complete human social evolution and an international ideology ending any future historical progression.

In his *The Rise and Decline of the American Empire: Revealing the Truth*, Mahmoud Demerigoes through the major events that led to the progress of British thirteen colonies to a major international power. A power that marked an unprecedented revolution at all levels whether it was technology, space exploration, or science, at the same it time was working on promoting its exceptional values such as democracy and liberty. On another hand it failed in keeping its promises in promoting social prosperities since it has contributed in the decline of

many communities in addition to international conflicts through its development of nuclear weapons and so on.

In his book *Afghanistan War* Rodney P. Carlisle provides a framework of the initiation of the American global war on terror tracing the main events starting from the rise of Taliban regime going through al Qaeda orchestrated 9/11 attacks. It also provides a background of the American existence and occupation in Afghanistan in terms of policies, operations and tactics. It also reveals the American struggling in rebuilding a democratic and safe nation in Afghanistan.

David Keen in his book *Endless War?: Hidden Functions of the "War on Terror"* explores whether the Iraq war was really meant to liberate Iraqis from the dictatorship practiced by their authoritarian regime, or a mean in order to extend the American hegemony in the Middle East. He provides a critical analysis of the hidden agenda behind the Iraq invasion and how it is a part of a bigger political and economic planning.

The current research's significance lies in the attempt to shed light on the history of the United States of America before, and the after the 9/11 and its overreaction. It also attempts to provide a clear explanation of the impact of this overreaction on the international status quo leading to the emergence of a new world system.

An arrangement of methods is needed to address the questions raised in this study. A historical research approach is selected for conducting this research. The historical approach is used to report the events that happened in the past, it is employed in this research in order to report the US historical background. Whereas the descriptive research approach is used to describe the US violations practices during its war against terrorism. Summing up, the historical and descriptive research methods are employed to establish evidences in order to reach conclusions concerning the understanding of past and present events in addition to predicting future events.

Adding value to this work a comparative approach is also employed in order to compare the American international status as a global hegemon and as a falling empire. This method is used mainly to clarify and gain a better understanding of the underlying procedures and variables involved in the American question in its attempt to preserve the current world order. This research is conducted under the norms of the MLA style. In order to credit the previous and original works, ideas, and structure that underpinning the current research MLA Handbook 8th edition was used as the main source.

In order to achieve the significance of the present research, a combination of three chapters were needed. The first chapter under the title “The American Century: Loved America” provides an historical background of the US evolution from a colony to become an international hegemon.

The second Chapter entitled “9/11 and the Sharp Downturn in American Tenets: Feared America” this chapter provides a framework of the impact of the September attacks on the retreat of the American influence. It also reveals the hidden motives behind the declaration of a global war against terrorism. Additionally, it provides the main factors behind the American failed war on terror that led to the collapse of the unipolar world order.

The last chapter “The Ongoing Rollback Trend: Ignored America” it describes the international context of the American continuous retreat and the hard efforts of the emerging powers to establish a fair multipolar world order that insures the fair distribution of power among its multi actors. This chapter deals also with the American selfishness in its attempt to preserve the current international status in which it appears as the sole global hegemon.

Chapter One

The American Century: Loved America

The entry of the United States into World War Two caused vast changes in virtually every aspect of American life. The American society became more moneyed in the postwar years than most Americans could ever imagine before and during the war. Due to the economic base left after the war, the post-war era had viewed a sort of a large transformation in the world order, where the United States started shining as an ascendant power especially after the war had broken down the European global dominance. On the one hand, this actually had dragged the European countries into an economic depression; on the other hand, it had been a period of unprecedented economic prosperity for the United States, America had notably become the leader after administering in high positions in the global economic and political institutions, and led the world toward a liberal international order based on solid commercial and strategic foundations.

1.1. American Ascendancy since WWII

Americans created their nation by seceding from an empire. They do not like to think that they might themselves have come to possess an empire, live under an empire, or exercise empire (Maier 24). The United States emerged as one of the several competitive encompassing great powers and remained as such up to 1945, was one of two thereafter until 1989-1991, and has been the “ world’s only superpower” since that time (26).

U.S. leaders in the decades after World War II shared this nationalist vision and moved confidently to exploit their country’s economic preeminence and cultural clout. They set about creating an international regime-organizations and agreements-congruent with U.S. values. They resuscitated the old centers of the international economy devastated by depression and war and provided the structure to integrate their production and markets (Hunt 153).

1.1.1. Assuming a Leading World Role

The late summer of 1945 was a time up to stop bearing arms, eventually the war had come to an end, although it was the country call, but unfortunately many army soldiers were the biggest aggrieved because they returned home with missing arm or leg, these sacrifices made the doors wide open to the United States to enter a new era politically and economically. A daily letter from Trier, Germany declared distinctively that “the American discipline is excellent, but the thirst for souvenirs appears to be growing” so that the USA is still looking for achieving victory and dominance, this war had significantly a deep impact on both domestic and global life of the Americans and the postwar USA is no more the prewar one (American Heritage).

It is given that the US had emerged from World War Two as the most affluent and the most powerful military country. It was encouraged by its people who preferred a policy of neutrality, peaceful with all nations, run by the most qualified people who were strongly willed to put an end to wishful thinking and achieve the American hyper power dream. The government has taken a step in enlarging gradually its foreign policy and making a balance between the US national security, (the military responses) and the American democratic and domestic policies (American Heritage).

This war is also considered as an attractive combination of giant scale, morale clarity, American unity and total American victory (Sherry 449). In February 1946, U.S. diplomat George F. Kennan sent an 8,000 word telegram (the Long Telegram) from the U.S. embassy in Moscow to the State Department in Washington, D.C in which, he warned policymakers of the Soviets’ tendency toward secretiveness, paranoia, and insecurity (Arnold and Wiener 23).

He also cautioned that the Soviets were driven by communist ideology that viewed capitalism as an enemy and that called for world domination. He concluded that the current Soviet leadership could neither be trusted nor reasoned with. He urged a hard-line foreign

policy toward the Soviet Union to counter Soviet aggression. Kennan's telegram had an immediate and substantial impact on U.S. policymakers. They began to talk about a containment policy that would resist Soviet military advances and prevent the spread of communism (23). Therefore, the thirty-third president of the United States Harry S. Truman initiated a policy that became known as the "Truman Doctrine".

The Truman Doctrine was an American foreign policy created to counter Soviet Union geopolitical spread during the Cold War (IBP08). Speaking to a joint session of congress on March 12, 1947, President Truman asked for \$400 million in military and economic assistance for Greece and Turkey and established the Truman Doctrine, which would guide the U.S. diplomacy for the next forty years. Truman declared, "The policy of the United States to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure" ("US National Archives" 194). The policy won the support of Republicans who controlled Congress and involved sending \$400 million in American money, but no military forces, to the region. The effect was to end the communist threat, and in 1952, both Greece and Turkey joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance, to guarantee their protection (IBP09).

On January 20, 1949, Harry S. Truman was standing at a podium on the steps of the east front of the Capital about to deliver an inaugural address to the American people. The Marshall Plan "had brought new hope to mankind," he said; "we must keep our full weight behind" (Behrman229). The Marshall Plan avoided the tone of the strident anti-communism. The telling phrase was in Marshall's commencement address at Harvard in 1947, when the Secretary of State declared that, "our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos". The program was addressed to Europe as a whole, and in principle it was perfectly capable of accommodating the Soviet Union (Hadley03). But, as Daniel Yergin put it in his Cold War study, *Shattered Peace*, "the

Russians saw the [Marshall Plan] as a declaration of war by the U.S for control of Europe” (Walter and Evan 416).

Throughout all the big bargaining over Germany during WWII Stalin had retained a potent weapon; his ability to block access routes to Berlin, one hundred ten miles deep in the German zone under Soviet control. In April 1948, complaining that the West was moving toward a divided Germany, the Soviets declared that no train should move in or out of Berlin without Soviet inspections and permission (Beschloss 279). By the following spring, the Berlin Blockade had failed. Seeing little chance for a united, unthreatening Germany soon, the British and Americans prepared for a western alliance -NATO- and a West German state that would shield Western Europe against the Soviet Union and anchor the West Germans in democracy (280).

The USA took it upon herself to stop the expansion of the Soviet Union communism. Therefore, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) also known as (the Washington Treaty) of 1949 established an alliance among its signatory states in Europe and North America. By itself, this treaty fits traditional conceptions of alliance formation as the result of agreement among sovereign states (Johnston11).

Truman submitted a proclamation in which he declared that, whereas the increasing menace of the forces of communist aggression requires that the national defense of the United States is strengthened:

Now, therefore, I, Harry S. Truman president of the United States of America, do proclaim the existence of a national emergency, which requires that the military, naval, air, and civilian defenses of this country be strengthened as speedily as possible to the end that may be able to repel any and all threats against our national security and to fulfill our responsibilities in the efforts being made through the United Nations and otherwise to bring about lasting peace.(Peters and Woodley)

1.1.2 The International Monetary System

The International Monetary System (IMS) is broadly defined as the set of conventions, rules, procedures and institutions that govern the conduct of financial relations between nations (Pilbeam, 277). Much of the story of the postwar international monetary order is about the central role of the US dollar which still remains the major international currency although this position maybe challenged by the Euro from the turn of the new millennium (278).The IMS enforced deflationary policies on debtor nation (high interest rates and balanced budgets), reducing their domestic purchasing power and causing their imports to fall and their exports to rise (Paterson 58).

1.1.3 Stage of Security Capitalism

In 1953, President Eisenhower reversed national policies and allowed businesses more freedom to make their own decisions. Private corporations and capitalists underwent fundamental changes in their policies of blindly following the path of maximum profits. They recognized that a public with adequate income was a good market for all kinds of products and services. This fostered a concern for the welfare of the U.S. citizens. Instead of government leading the way for economic security, private industries and corporations became a force that brought about economic security for ordinary Americans (Kozmetsky and Yue42).

Likewise, the mutual funds which is a procedure where a company brings together money from many people and invests it in stocks, bonds or other assets. The combined holdings of stocks, bonds or other assets the fund owns are known as its portfolio. Each investor in the fund owns shares, which represent a part of these holdings (U.S Securities and Exchange Commission).The high value of the dollar increased the wealth and power of the United States, because Americans could buy increasingly more foreign goods and industries with the same number of dollars (Paterson, 59).

1.2. The Cold War

The Cold War can be defined in different ways, and each formulation has differing implications. In its broadest sense the term denotes the ideological conflict between Western capitalism and Soviet Marxism-Leninism, which began in 1917 and involved competition for world dominance between two opposing economic and political systems. This meaning has been analyzed by Fred Halliday. In its narrowest sense Cold War has been used to denote the period of acute tension between the U.S.S.R. and the West between 1947 and 1953, which involved extreme ideological hostility, a major arms build-up with both sides developing nuclear weapons, acute fear of external attack and internal subversion, and so serious negotiations between the antagonists(Rae, 20).

The Cold War in this latter sense involved four interrelated features. First, the two superpowers controlled two opposing military and political blocs, and directly or indirectly their confrontation dominated world politics. Second, the struggle between the two blocs depended on both military power and economic power; the military power was the most visible, but the economic power was ultimately more decisive. Third, both blocs proclaimed the superiority of their political values and types of society and tried to propagate these beliefs among people on the other side. Fourth, the United States and the U.S.S.R. were engaged in a struggle for influence or control in the Third World, and military, economic, and ideological forms of power were all invoked. Whereas Europe was firmly divided into two camps, the position in the Third World was more fluid and spheres of influence less clear, which led both sides to engage in continuing rivalry even during periods of detente. The competition between the United States and the Soviet Union was complicated by the role of China, which engaged in its own ideological struggle with both superpowers in the 1960s and effectively switched to the Western side in the 1970s(20-21).

1.2.1 The North Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Pact

The North Atlantic Treaty organization has always been considered as the most prosperous and vital military alliance that the world has ever known, it was established in 1949, and deemed as a strong fort for the West Union under the pretext of extending its territory and from its doctrine, communism and nuclear power in the Cold War period (Ogunnoiki and Ekpo58).

The excessive aspirant shown by the Japanese, Nazi Germany and Italy were all gone after the remarkable success achieved by the USA, UK and the USSR in the Second World War in 1945, later on appeared a sort of an ideological conflict and political tension between the Western bloc led by the USA and the Eastern bloc led by the USSR (59).

The United States represented by Dean Acheson the Secretary of State, agreed on the entangling alliance with twelve nations from Europe (Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway and Portugal). The Treaty was signed in Washington D.C, and according to the NATO's first Secretary General Lord Hastings Ismay the Washington Treaty was created "to keep the Soviet Union out, the Americans in, and the Germans down"(59).

May 14, 1955 viewed the foundation of the Warsaw pact or what was known as the treaty of friendship, a kind a mutual defense organization consists of the Soviet Union and seven other soviet satellite states in central and Eastern Europe during the Cold War (Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania). It fundamentally aimed at spreading communism and taking control politically over Central and Eastern Europe, where its geographical cohesion facilitate the transfer of forces and weapons, nevertheless the pact was disentangled in 1991 following the falling apart of the USSR (60).

Before NATO could deploy a credible defense against the Soviet Union, most of its member nations required assistance in building up their own military strength. Of the member

nations, only the United States was in a position to supply military material and economic assistance to the rest (Carter, 157). The joint Chiefs established military missions representing the Army, the Navy, and the Air force to advise the various governments receiving U.S military aid, and prepared to deploy them early in 1950. It was the duty of those missions, called Military Assistance Advisory Groups (MAAG), to assist host governments in preparing requests for military aid and in forwarding them with appropriate recommendations to the United States. They would also help to develop and to implement training plans for the introduction of new equipment (157).

American efforts to support and equip NATO allies benefited, in part from the stockpiles of World War Two vehicles and equipment that the U.S armed forces still retained under their control. Late in 1951, the Department of the army proposed a large-scale endeavor known as the “World War Two vehicle Replacement Program”, designed to refurbish older vehicles in the hands of American forces and prepare them for shipment to allied nations after they were replaced with more modern equipment (158).

1.2.2 The Arms Race

During the Cold War the United States and the Soviet Union got occupied with arms race. The two of them burned through a great many dollars attempting to develop gigantic reserves of atomic weapons. Close to the furthest end of the cold war the Soviet Union was spending around 27% of its all-out gross public item on the military, this was devastating to their economy and assisted with stopping the Cold War (Ducksters Education Site).

On August 29, 1949 the Soviet Union effectively tried its first nuclear bomb. The world stunned and didn't think the Soviet Union was this far along in their atomic turn of events. The arms race had started in 1952 when the United States exploded their first hydrogen bomb. This was a considerably more impressive adaptation of the atomic bomb. The Soviets followed up by detonating their first hydrogen bomb in 1953 (D E S).

As the two sides kept on growing new and all the more impressive weapons, the dread of what might occur if war broke out spread all over the world. Militaries started to chip away at protections, such as, huge radars clusters to tell if a rocket had been propelled. They likewise worked on rockets that could drop down Inter Continental Missile Ballistic ICMBs (D E S).

1.2.3 Nuclear Weapons

The Eisenhower administration was the first to exploit fully U.S. nuclear weapons in defense policy. By the mid-1950s, new fusion weapons (hydrogen bombs) were being incorporated throughout the U.S. military, new intercontinental bombers were being fielded, and medium-range systems capable of reaching the Soviet Union were being forward-deployed to U.S. allies. These new fusion weapons could produce large explosive blasts equivalent to many megatons of TNT, orders of magnitude greater than the fission weapons (atomic bombs) used against the Japanese, or could be engineered in lightweight designs for air-to-air missiles, artillery projectiles, or even man-portable packages. Eisenhower, a fiscal conservative who believed that the Cold War could ruin the United States financially, saw nuclear weapons—which cost about 10 percent of the U.S. defense budget during the Cold War—as an inexpensive way to deter the Soviet Union (Karsten, 597).

The Soviet Union also integrated nuclear weapons into its military plans. The Soviets produced medium-range bombers and missiles to hold U.S. allies hostage, taking great pains to exaggerate their nuclear capabilities. American fears of Soviet progress in nuclear weapons and delivery systems led to perception in U.S. intelligence circles of a “bomber gap,” following the May 1, 1955, flyover above Red Square of the first all-jet Soviet bomber, as well as a “missile gap,” prompted in part by the Soviet launch of the first artificial satellite, Sputnik in 1957. Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev was quick to exploit these fears by

bragging about Soviet weapons production and by making none-too-veiled nuclear threats of his own, especially during the 1956 Suez Crisis (Karsten, 597).

As Kennedy entered the White House in 1961, U.S. nuclear forces and strategy began to take on a form they would maintain until the end of the Cold War. A triad of long-range bombers, land-based, intercontinental ballistic missiles, and submarine-launched ballistic missiles carried by nuclear-powered submarines began to be deployed. Khrushchev's bluster and bluff backfired—the U.S. defense buildup sparked by Soviet nuclear capabilities actually gave the United States a distinct advantage in the nuclear competition with the Soviets by the 1960s. In fact, Khrushchev's decision to place nuclear-armed missiles in Cuba during the fall of 1962 was partly an effort to offset U.S. nuclear superiority. The deployment provoked the Cuban Missile Crisis, the most serious nuclear confrontation of the Cold War. Although the public fear of nuclear war waxed and waned throughout the Cold War, the crisis was especially harrowing. Hundreds of thousands of people spontaneously evacuated U.S. cities as the specter of nuclear holocaust loomed in the minds of people everywhere (Karsten, 598).

1.3. Hot Crises between the U.S. and the Soviet Union during the Cold War

The confrontation between the two camps led the two superpowers to come to loggerheads with each other on many occasions. These hot crises nearly turned to real engagements in a war between the two nuclear powers. Restraint from one or both sides ultimately helped avoid catastrophic consequences of escalation between the two powers.

1.3.1 The Berlin Wall

The Curious situation in Berlin was the result of the agreement reached by the wartime allies on the occupation of Germany. The capital was, like the rest of the country, divided into four sectors pending a long-term settlement. The American, British, and French sectors had coalesced into West Germany and West Berlin. Because of their rights as occupying powers, the allies retained privileges in all Berlin. The West was wedded to the principle of an

undivided Berlin with open access, as it was to the principle of an undivided Germany. The West feared the reunification of Berlin under communism (Freedman, 58).

The wall that was built to separate the eastern and the western halves of Berlin was the result of a prolonged crisis. After a brief thaw in the mid-1950s, symbolized by the so-called the spirit of Geneva, the Soviet-American relationship had soured (Hanhimaki, 2). The wall between East Berlin and West Berlin was 26³/₄ miles (43 kilometers) long. Another barrier ringed West Berlin, cutting it off from the East German countryside that surrounded it. For almost 30 years, these walls kept East Germans from visiting the West. However, in 1989, the Soviet Union began to loosen its control over East Germany and other Communist nations of Eastern Europe. With the Cold War reaching its end, the Berlin Wall finally came down, and Germany was soon united again. The small bits of the Wall that still stand today remind the world of the long struggle for freedom so many Europeans endured (Burgan, 17).

1.3.2 The Korean War

The Korean Conflict was an important Cold War milestone. The United States extended its defense umbrella not only to Korea, but Taiwan, Japan, and Indochina. Although a formal U.S.-ROC (Republic of China) alliance was not signed until December 1954, Washington decided to defend Taiwan in 1950. With the U.S. -Japan peace treaty and defense pact of September 1951, Japan became an American military protectorate. It was in the context of Korea that Washington defined holding Indochina to be “essential to the security of the free world,” and by late 1952 was paying much of France’s bill for the war (Harper, 106).

The United States became involved with the Korean War for two major reasons. The Soviet Union successfully detonated a nuclear bomb in 1949, and in the same year Mao Zedong led the Communists to power in the revolution in China (National Archive, 2012). Since the Democratic and Popular Republic of Korea (DPRK), with the Soviet support, was invaded by the ROK, the US immediately saw this as another example of communism’s

expansion President Truman even believed this was a plan by the Chinese to infiltrate the entire Korean peninsula. In light of these events, the US continued to provide the Republic of Korea military support under the guise of the United Nations in order to prevent the spread of communism. As for now and going forward, the United States will have to determine what is necessary for its own national security if it continues to support the Republic of Korea. Along with the strategic position of the ROK, (surrounded by China, the Russian Federation, and Taiwan), and the current conflicts they might entail, the US national security Strategy needs to be revisited in order to create policies for the Future (Smith, 3-4).

Harry Truman ordered the US army and navy to help democratic Korea (South Korea) fighting the Communist invasion by North Korea on June 27, 1950. This meant US intervention in the Korean War in order to fight and stop the spread of Communism. The United States believed that the Soviet Union was behind these attacks. Therefore, US along with UN sent forces under the instruction of the general MacArthur (History Staff).US determined to help South Korea against the North and USSR to stop the penetration of Communism and Communist regimes in the east of Asia, this policy known as “Containment” (History Staff).

Historically, the Korean War was a significant turning point in the Cold War. This conflict in a small peninsula in East Asia affected the entire international system and the balance of power between the two superpowers. Through the conflict, the West demonstrated its resolve to thwart Communist aggression. The USA and its allies strengthened the NATO and took steps to defend their interests throughout the world. The conflict convinced the American leadership of the need to engage in a massive rearmament, setting the tone for the arms races that marked the remainder of the Cold War (Malkasian, 6).

1.3.3 The Cuban Missile Crisis

Before the late 1950s Cuba was an unlikely setting for a major superpower confrontation. Ever since the Spanish-American War of the late nineteenth century, this small island had effectively been a protectorate of the United States. The repeated interventions of U.S. marines (1898-1902, 1906-9, 1912, 1917-22) and the domination of American business and trade interests (in the 1920s American companies owned 60 percent of Cuba sugar plantations and imported 95 percent of Cuba sugar) over the island's economy had ensured this strangle-hold for decades. But they had also added to the extreme economic and social divisions within Cuba and promoted widespread anti-Americanism (Hanhimaki, 5).

The idea of Communism in the nation of Cuba hit a little too close to home for both the American people and their government. Additionally, Batista, despite being a ruthless dictator, had been an American ally. American companies had interests in Cuba, from cattle ranches and sugar plantations, to mines and utilities. Unlike Batista, Fidel Castro was unhappy with the American dominance in Cuba and, since taking over as a leader, had been working to decrease American influence on the island by nationalizing the sugar and mining industries. By the 1961, the United States had ended diplomatic relations with Cuba and had begun to explore ways to overthrow Castro and push back against Communism (Bryan, 7).

The new Kennedy administration responded by approving the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion of April 1961 (Hanhimaki, 6). Although the Fidelistas successfully defeated the invasion force, the Bay of Pigs experience and growing concerns about continuing American attempts to remove Castro from power and made the Cuban leader receptive to further offers of Soviet military support. The result was one of the most dangerous crises of the Cold War era, when, a year after the Bay of Pigs, Khrushchev offered to deploy Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba. Castro accepted, and by the summer of 1962 Soviet ships started delivering the necessary materials, including missiles, to their new ally (Hanhimaki, 6).

The crisis erupted after American U-2 spyplanes flying over Cuba spotted the ballistic missile sites under construction in mid-October 1962(Hanhimaki, 7).

Robert Kennedy, the attorney general and the president's Brother, struck a deal with Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin, Whereby Soviet missiles would be removed from Cuba in return for a subsequent, unpublicized removal of missiles from Turkey (8).

The outcome of the Cuban missile crisis confirmed that, as a result of the development of nuclear weapons, the two superpowers had come to a turning point in their bilateral relationship. War against each other was simply not an option; avoiding situations that might provoke a war with catastrophic consequences_ nuclear annihilation_ was a necessity (8).

1.4. The End of the Cold War

The end of the Cold War has to refer primarily to the inherent weaknesses of the Soviet system. These weaknesses derived initially from the economic and political organization of the Soviet Union itself, the limitations of a centrally controlled economy, and the repressive nature of its style of one-party rule. Ironically, the Soviet Union's two main claims to great-power status, its military might and its control over the East European bloc, were also the sources of its greatest weaknesses. Military investment placed a cumulatively intolerable burden on the Soviet economy, while Eastern Europe which also began to be a drain on the Soviet Union by the 1970s (Rae, 22-23).

The end of the Cold War is carrying the American back to history. The 1945 to late 1980s era now appears as an American Augustan Age when the problem of the old republic and the threats abroad were disciplined by consensus at home and overwhelming power overseas (Hogan, 19).

The financial resources superiority of the United States had granted its victory in the cold war. It had placed the U.S. in the forefront of race arms, on the other hand it made the Soviet Union bleed from the increase of its financial expenses and proxy wars. Many had

commended Reagan's defensive tactics in achieving this success, which was a knockout to bring down the Soviet Union Empire (Clark).

1.4.1. The Mono-polar Period

After the collapse of the Soviet Union there appeared unipolarity which is a rare and valuable commodity in international affairs. It refers not simply to a situation in which a leading country has marginally more power than its competitors, but to one in which the leader has a clear and overwhelming superiority (Brands, 14).

The United States possessed attributes that would enable a meteoric geopolitical rise. It boasted uniquely favorable geography that offered cheap security and abundant chances for territorial enlargement, and a natural resource base that provided the foundation of awesome economic power, it was equally blessed with an energetic and fecund population, a national ideology that both impelled and rationalized American assertiveness and a political system that generally performed well enough to let the country make most of its other advantages (14).

1.4.2. Worldwide Expansion of American Influence and Culture

Starting in the early 1940s, the United States faced lethal threats to its security, first in the World War Two and then from the Soviet Union under Stalin and his successors. Half a century later, with the end of the Cold War, American policymakers sought a new rationale for the century's international role (Lieber 12). It is also controversial wisdom that the US corporate domination of the movie industry, television production and transmission and franchising in areas as diverse as advertising, fast food outlets and music is creating a world that is increasingly homogenized on the basis of American popular culture (O'Connor and Griffiths, 26).

Whether or not this is the case, it is true that large numbers of the political, economic and cultural elites of many countries have been and are being educated in North American

universities, or the universities of its English-speaking allies such as the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. There, they are exposed to intellectual traditions, subjects and textbooks, particularly in economics, law and political sciences, which reflect the soft power associated with the spread of American culture and its values (26).

The end of the Cold War and the emergence of new technologies like the Internet, cellular phones, and small-dish satellite television systems allowed American popular culture access to an ever-bigger global market. This spread has served both to enhance the profits of U.S. corporations and to highlight and argue cultural tensions that exist between the United States and the nations and communities into which American popular culture has expanded. After all, most people around the world will never visit the United States or meet an American in person. They will never have a Peace Corps volunteer work in their town, village, or city. They may work in factories that produce goods intended for the American market, but their managers will probably be local, and the rules that govern the factory will be those imposed by the native government, not the United States (Crothers 2).

American popular culture's role in international affairs has become even more important in the years following the Soviet Union's collapse. New patterns of trade, security, information, investment ideas, and even the exchange of entertainment have emerged. These changes, collectively labeled "globalization," appeared; to be likely to create what president George H. W. Bush called "new world order," grounded on universal principles of democracy and global free trade. If, for example, a region had a comparative advantage in growing rice but lacked the educational system to have a large high-tech industry, it would export rice and import computers from a region that had a lot of software engineers but, perhaps, had limited land for rice growing (Crothers 5).

1.5. The End of the History or the Apogee of American System

The collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe: the end of history, as Francis Fukuyama says - or, rather, the end of modernity? For Fukuyama, the end of history means in effect the completion of modernity. Competitive capitalism allied to liberal democracy is the culmination of historical development, a social order that reconciles economic efficiency with a mass democratic representation. By the downfall of the Soviet Union and the emergence of a victorious America with strong democratic institution and government. This was supported by a liberal capitalist economy, that then appeared unchallengeable. For Fukuyama America did reach the end of history or achieved the best governance and the highest economic performance humans can achieve. Indeed Americans were leading and outdoing everyone in every field.

1.5.1 American Political Might

After the Cold War was over, advancing worldwide expansion of democracy appeared to be ready to replace the Soviet Union containment, as a core guideline of U.S. international strategy. The endeavors of the United States to spread its own concept of democracy were advancing gradually, and shaped in the fact that individuals carry on living comfortably under democratic governments. Compared with habitants of no democracies, residents of democracies has more individual freedom, enjoy more political calmness, with an ability to confront governmental violence, and with much lower risk from starvation (Sean M).

This active commitment in the democratic expansion offered an extensive rundown of advantages to the U.S. national security. Democracies has distinctively served as a back up to the U.S. interests, in which they were more open to team up with the United States on solving security issues, such as arms control and non-proliferation. Democracies were less inclined to mess up the United States comfort by shaking the worldwide security through wars or inner clashes (Sondergaard540).

During the 1990s, the United States pursued a grand strategy of “enlargement and engagement” under President Bill Clinton. The idea was to consolidate global alliance, enlarging the zone of countries favorable to U.S. interests, engage states that could challenge the United States, and deter states which lay outside the norms of international system. Where possible, the United States would also engage in peace and humanitarian operations.

The United States found itself in awkward position as it sought to promote a normative agenda of democratic values and free markets. However, its interests also compelled it to stay out of major humanitarian crises. The major strategic challenge was to foster positive relationships with potential adversaries such as Russia and China. On the other hand, the United States also would want to ensure that no other state could become so strong that it could challenge America’s primacy (Kay, 88).

1.5.2 Economic Power

The economy had grown continuously since 1991. By November 1999, unemployment was 4.1% and consumer prices were 2.4%. During the 1990’s the national debt increased by 75% and Gross Domestic Product GDP rose by 69% (Demeri 117). The acceleration of productivity growth played a major role in reviving the U.S. economy, the average growth estimated at 2.5% compared to 1.5% in the early part of the decade. This has created an opening for investment in new technologies such as computers and software, in addition to making use of the available labor force. Furthermore, there was other factor, which took part in this developmental process. The fast consuming growth rate that derived from improvement in the recruitment services with an increase in wages. This had subsequently led to a decrease in the unemployment rate. Also there is a great praise of the consumer in providing a strong sustainable growth and reducing inflation (Weller).

1.5.3 American Military Supremacy

The American military's forty year success in containing the communist growth, in hot and cold wars, was by virtue of the endeavors done by two ages of American Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, and Marines, who had made sure of isolating the free world from the communist alliance (U.S. Army Center For Military History and U.S. Army Europe).

With the disintegration of the opponent bloc, the United States has diminished its powers and its yearly defense budget by around 30 percent since 1990. However, it has kept on zeroing in on the traditional missions of regular protection and has kept on planning for quick response to any sudden assault. Regardless of the decreases, the capacity of managing this kind of missions has generously expanded, and improved more of its forces. The reason of U.S. military superiority is a fundamental investment process that no other country has been able to follow. The United States has applied progressed database for information and logistics. Its forces can get to use weapons with bigger amount, with more noteworthy speed, with more exactness, and over longer distances than any of its expected adversaries. Indeed, no other military foundation has acquired a similar capacity (Steinbruner).

Being unchallenged in its internal security because of large military gaps separating America from her other major challenging nations, the US turned to stabilizing the world. During the 1990s, the United States military adroitly adjusted to the post-Cold War's changing key conditions, the military carried out a progression of military tasks in other wars that call for self-control instead of intensity, diplomacy instead of battling. The measures of the mission success were the absence of violence and no injuries. The U.S. forces were really occupied with helping nations in retrieving the system, and improving life in war torn regions. Significantly, these kinds of missions gave great chance to little units' commanders to practice little units' administration in scattered conditions, and sharpen their judgment in a multi ethnic setting (Gray).

Chapter Two

9/11 and the Sharp Downturn in American Tenets: America Feared

America is a country whose civilized history doesn't exceed 300 years and was able to impose its hegemony over the world. During the post WWII era the United States enjoyed an age of prosperity at the economic, social, or political level. This development and prosperity were threatened during the period of the Cold War, by the Soviet Union which appeared as a fierce competitor in the course of controlling the world. This competition led to the emergence of a new bipolar world order. The tension between the two blocs lasted for 46 years, and ended with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. This event contributed in the appearance of the United States as a unique and universal power. Following the end of the Cold War, the United States enjoyed a decade of boom in which it reached the top of the world.

This decade was known as the American Century that was characterized by an extreme security, high social and political stability, and became the international leader in the economic and technological levels. Nevertheless, this golden age came to its end with September 11th, 2001 which obliged the United States to relinquish the values it pressed the other nations to adhere to. In order to protect its national security, the United States devised a series of protective measures considered by the international opinion as an overreaction against the attacks leading to the destruction of the American international image. One of the serious measures obtained by the American government was wars on terror in different Islamic countries including Afghanistan and Iraq.

From the surface side, it is hard to distinguish between religious extremism and terrorism. According to Berman and Iannaccone religious extremists are those who view violence as a tool to serve God and believe that any person who has a different view from theirs is an enemy to that religion and he must be killed (2). However terrorism is any violent

action based on the tenets of spreading fear in a given community in order to achieve a given goal. When we combine religious extremism with terrorism we end up with a very important kind of terrorism which is religious terrorism. In the view of Hoffmen, “for the religious terrorist, violence first and foremost is a sacramental act or a divine duty executed in direct response to some theological demand or imperative” (272).

One of the most famous religious terrorist attacks is the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centre in 2001, where almost 3,000 died. To protect its citizens the American government decided to fight terrorism around the world under a so called slogan “War on Terror” On September 20, 2001 in a speech to the Congress, President George W. Bush declared his war on terrorism in which he clearly states:

We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime. (Fealy and Thayer 211)

Bush’s speech was not addressed to the Americans alone, but it targeted a worldwide audience calling them to join in the fight against terrorism and religious extremism.

This war was not exclusively against Al-Qaida, it rather aimed to defeat terrorists and stop them wherever, whenever, and whenever they were. The war on terror in its beginning was declared against the Taliban in Afghanistan and the regime of Saddam Husain in Iraq which were both invaded by the Americans. Amy Zalman and Jonathan Clarke claim that the costs of this war reached \$900 billion at the end of 2008. According to Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs 157,000 of the Afghan citizens were killed since 2001, and 182,000 Iraqis were killed from 2003 and 2008.

2.1 Invasion of Afghanistan

As a quick response to the 9/11 attacks, the United States invaded Afghanistan on October 7, 2001. Even though none of the hijackers was of Afghan nationality, America launched the war against Afghanistan as it was the base of Al-Qaeda. The Bush Administration declared this invasion aiming at destroying the Taliban regime that was harbouring terrorists, and capture or kill Osama Bin Laden who was identified as the planner and responsible for the attacks. The American intention to destroy the Taliban was justified by the apology that the Taliban refused to hand Bin Laden and keeping protecting and providing him a haven. The US sent approximately 500 warriors of CIA and SOF to conduct military operations in cooperation with Northern Alliance and “friendly Pashtuns” (Collins 48).

2.1.1 Taliban Masters of the Land in Afghanistan

After the withdrawal of the Soviets and more precisely during the administration of Burhanuddin Rabbani of Afghanistan, the old trade road, between Kandahar and Pakistan, was seized by local armed groups who obliged truck drivers to pay taxes and bribes. During this chaos Afghanistan was broken up into groups of provinces led by various Mujahedeen war lords, in which a small region in South and East Kabul was ruled by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. Herat was a military base for Ismail Khan’s army. And six northern provinces were held by Rashid Dostum. A civil war was initiated between those armed groups in an attempt to dominate opposition seeking to throw the Rabbani regime and control Afghanistan. Pashtuns in the South and East were not satisfied with the anarchical situation. The generation of the Pashtun teenagers who were sent to Pakistan during the Soviet occupation as refugees attended the Madrassas, Islamic schools returned during the 1990s, and established a new regime called the Taliban (Carlisle 47-48).

Taliban derives from the Arabic word “Talib” which means a student, Taliban is the plural form of students. Mullah Mohammed Omar, emerged as the leader of the Taliban

regime, many people in Kandahar tended to turn to Omar to solve local problems because he was seen as a notable religious person. This image was built around him because his students rescued a girl from being raped. In 1994 Mullah Omar labelled those Mujahedeen as the Taliban movement, by convincing young Muslims to join its camps from different parts of Asia and Africa (D'Souza 21). This Taliban movement was created in order to fight corruption and enforce the Islamic Sharia in Afghanistan, and was a quickly growing movement which controlled 90% of the country in almost four years.

Kandahar and Herat were important locations for business and commercial caravans due to their borders with Pakistan. They therefore were the first provinces to be captured by Afghan armed groups. Then they moved to seize SpeenBuldak establishing checkpoints along its borders with Pakistan, asking all the merchants and travellers to pay taxes. The first objective of Taliban was to fight this corruption (Nojumi 117)

In September 1994, Kandahar was the base of Taliban's administration and armies. They started enlarging their control to include other provinces such as Helmand and Zabul. Then in collaboration with the Pakistanis, the Taliban started establishing trade routes to Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan after controlling southern Afghanistan and the Pakistani borders (Wright et al. 19). The source of Taliban forces came from those who attended religious schools established by Mujahedeen in the rural areas in Afghanistan or Jamaat-e-Ulema-e-Islami-e-Pakistan (JUIP) and those Pakistan activist students who were sent to attend religious schools in Afghanistan. The religious students lived in mosques and were refugees in neighbouring countries mainly Pakistan (126-127). The legitimacy of Taliban as a government was acknowledged only by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates, providing them with financial support and weapons.

2.1.2 Afghanistan a New Haven for Bin Laden and Al Qaeda

After the 9/11 attacks President George Bush blamed Taliban for offering a safe shelter for Bin Laden and his terrorist group Al-Qaeda. After the failure of shaky negotiations in extraditing Bin Laden, because the US administration was determined in seeking revenge from Al-Qaeda, the American government ordered its military on October 7, 2001 to start bombing Afghanistan.

Osama Bin Laden became widely known as an extremist terrorist, the founder and the leader of Al-Qaeda, and the planner for the 9/11 terrorist attacks against the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon. Christopher R. Carey claims that Osama was the 17th child among his 50 siblings, he was born in the capital of Saudi Arabia, Riyadh in 1957 and after the death of his father, he grew with an inspiration by Medieval Muslims (34). Unlike his elder brothers Osama preferred a Saudi college career in which he attended King Abdul Aziz University where he developed his religious extremism (40).

In the same year when Osama bin Laden left school, he went to Pakistan in order to join the Mujahedeen movement fighting against the Soviet occupation. By 1998, Ben Ladin was not satisfied with his secondary role and became thirsty for more leadership, so he, in collaboration with his companions in Al Jihad created AL Qaeda. "The mentioned al-Qaeda is basically an organized Islamic faction, its goal is to lift the word of God, to make His religion victorious" (Lawrence, 133). In order to fulfil his religious extremist-based desires Ben Ladin created Al Qaeda planning for deadly terrorist attacks. During the 1990s he moved Al-Qaeda's administration to Sudan, however in 1996 he found himself obliged to go back again to Afghanistan due to some international pressure. In the period between 1996 and 2001 Taliban provided haven for Ben Laden and enabled AL-Qaeda to grow strong enough to launch a war against the United States through a series of attacks (Stenersen 6). The first

attacks were against the American Embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Tanzania; which killed more than 200. These were a prelude to the greatest terrorist attacks of 9/11.

2.1.3 Operation Enduring Freedom

Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) refers to the war declared by the Bush administration in collaboration with the UK against Afghanistan in October 7, 2001 as a response to the 9/11 attacks. This operation was justified in front of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) by both the US and the UK as a self-defence action. The US military operations in Afghanistan were approved by Congress in which the votes in the House were 420 votes to 1, while in the senate the vote was 98 to 0. In a letter by Negroponte the American permanent representative to the United Nation submitted to the President of UNSC, he clearly states:

In accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United nations, I wish, on behalf of my Government, to report that the United States of America, together with other states, has initiated actions in the exercise of its inherent right of individual and collective self-defence following the armed attacks that were carried out against the United States on 11 September 2001. (Corn et al.11)

The United Nations also showed an indirect approval to the use of military force in the Afghan territories (Carlisle, 79).

OEF was the first military step against Afghanistan in order to destroy illegal armed groups including the Taliban regime and other groups that helped Al-Qaeda in executing the attacks. According to Katzman, at the beginning the invasions were based mainly on air-strikes on the locations of Taliban and Al-Qaeda. These strikes have targeted Kabul, Jalalabad, and Kandahar. The aim behind this operation was the cooperation of the US with United Islamic Front for Salvation of Afghanistan or the Northern Alliance and some local anti-Taliban Pashtun militia who were seeking to topple the Taliban domination and destroy

their government of Afghanistan. They aimed at capturing or killing Osama bin Laden and other participants in the 9/11 attack thereby preventing harbouring terrorists and any other attacks by Al-Qaeda. In late October 2001, “about 1,300 Marines were deployed to pressure the Taliban at Kandahar, but there were few US-Taliban pitched battles”(“September 11 attacks and OEF”CRS-7).

In the period between March 2002 and July, 2006 southern and eastern Afghan territories were the stage for most of 9 military operations conducted by the United States in Afghanistan attempting to drop Taliban and Al-Qaeda. According to Adrian R. Lewis The US air-forces provided support for the Northern Alliance in the their first ground attack against the Mazar-e – Sharif city capturing and killing many of Taliban and Al-Qaed’s members, while the remaining one gave up the city on November 10, 2001. Then, they moved toward Kabul and captured it with no fighting on November 13. The Taliban left Kandahar the second most important city on December 10, 2001 after the surrender of about 5,000 of Taliban (399).

On March 2, 2002 a military mission was initiated under the heading Operation Anaconda; a military cooperation of Special Forces from seven nations including Australia, Canada; Norway, Denmark, Germany, New Zealand, and the United States. The Anaconda Operation took place in the mountainous terrain of Arma Mountains and e Shahi-Kot Valley southeast of Zurmat city. During this operation, weighty numbers of Taliban were killed and escaping survivors of Taliban forces headed to Tora Bora in the Pakistani borders, where Osama Ben Ladin is assumed to be hiding in. Operation Anaconda is considered as the first time in which the US forces directly met Al-Qaeda jihadists. This operation led to the fall of the Taliban regime and its government in Afghanistan.

2.2 Invasion of Iraq

Following the military operations conducted in Afghanistan, the United States was marching to war against Iraq in 2003. The aims of the Bush administration behind the declaration of war against Iraq were to topple Saddam's authoritarian regime, disarming Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction, and preventing any attempt of harbouring terrorists with those weapons as Saddam Hussein was accused of having ties with Al-Qaeda terrorist group.

2.2.1 The Rise of Saddam Hussein

Saddam Hussein was born on April 28, 1937 in Tikrit. He grew up in a great poverty and orphanhood. Saddam was raised by his maternal uncle Kairallah after the death of his father, and the marriage of his mother. The former was the first to shape Saddam's political ideology which was confirmed during his secondary school to be of a nationalist orientation (Post 280).

Following the July 14, 1958 a coup d'état by Abdel-Karim Qasim he became the prime minister of the founded Iraq republic, and turned against his Ba'athist Party. On October 7, 1959 five members of the Ba'ath party including Saddam Hussein took the mission forced Saddam to escape to Syria, then to Egypt where he studied law. He returned back to Iraq only after the toppling of Qasim's regime (281).

On July 30, 1968 a coup d'état took place enabling Ahmed Hassan al-Baker to be the president of Iraq. Hussein supported and joined al-Baker faction and attempted to tighten his relations with the leader in order to get what he thought that he deserves a. He was appointed as a vice president and head of security in Baker's regime. Due to his hard work, organization, and enthusiasm Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr sought to extend Saddam's political profile, in which he was promoted from a head of security to the heading of Arab relations committee and workers syndicate (Malhotra 617). Due to his deteriorated health conditions al-Baker announced his resignation in 1979, and declaring Saddam Hussein to be the official president of Iraq.

2.2.2 Weapons of Mass Destruction

Ananda Majumdar defines Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) as “a conventional, nuclear, chemical, biological, satellite, cyber, virus, lasers, radiological [weapon] that can demolish cities, areas, and human beings causing a universal destruction”(9). The Bush administration assumed that Iraq was developing a program of WMD between 1970s and 1991 which were used against Iraqi citizens of Kurdish origin, neighbouring Iran, in addition to being used in burning Kuwaiti oil fields.

Despite all these claims, there was an absence of evidence on the actual existence of such program. Katzman provides that following the end of the Gulf War, Resolution 686 was passed by the UNSC to cease-fire on March 2, 1991. On April 3, 1991 the UNSC declared another resolution (Resolution 687) which required Iraq to put an end to its WMD program (“Iraq: Former Regime”¹). For that end, air strikes by American and British air forces targeted all alleged locations of the Iraqi WMD and destroyed them. Cirincion et al. stated that in 1997 after six years of investigations and inspections, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) aborted any claims about the existence of WMD in Iraq after their destruction at the end of the Gulf war (329).

The success of the American war on Afghanistan motivated the Bush administration to identify Iraq as a danger that may threaten the United States and its interests. Saddam’s dictatorship and the possibility of using Weapons of Mass destruction or harbouring terrorist allies with those chemical, biological, or nuclear arms were the two main reasons Bush used to justify his invasion on Iraq.

2.2.3 Operation Iraqi Freedom

Saddam Hussein was considered as a threat to the US when Bush administration claimed that he participated in the 9/11 attacks by harbouring terrorists with WMDs. Iraq was considered a part of “Axis of Evil” in addition to Iran and North Korea by possessing

Weapons of Mass destruction. George W. Bush took the responsibility of protecting the national security of his country he therefore, sought to remove Saddam Hussein and replace him with a more friendly and democratic regime. Saddam was ready to confront any threat from the neighbouring countries. He was also able to resist any enemy, that could be used by the United States to overthrow his regime. To impose American hegemony on the rich Middle East, a Global War on Terror was the best scenario.

On March 19, 2003 a military invasion under the code name “Operation Iraqi Freedom” was initiated after six months of intensified diplomatic activities. In October 2002 the American president George W. Bush was allowed by Congress to use force against Iraq after the abortive diplomatic negotiations. Military action was initiated in spite of a large opposition from the international community and in the absence of a clear UN authorization. For Americans, the main objectives of Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) were to topple Saddam’s regime, to destroy his WMDs and any intention to possess them again, and to stop the Iraqi support to terrorist groups with those weapons. The Bush administration argued that the broad purpose behind OIF was to help in building a free and a more democratic Iraqi nation (Dale CRS -1).

The operation began with a coalition of thirty-seven countries’ ground troops along side with the American army, and twenty other countries supporting the U.S indirectly. This coalition was labelled as “Coalition of willing”. Based on United Nation Security Council 1441 Resolution which requires giving Iraq a last chance for its disarmament, president Bush declared in the NATO summit on 8 November, 2002 the necessity of disarming Saddam Hussein (Carney 5). The Bush administration did their best to launch the war against Iraq without a clear authorization from the United Nations . Although, in December 2002, Saddam accepted the UN inspections of his WMD, it was needless because it was too late for the UN to do so.

In February 2003, Colin Luther Powell, the United States Secretary of State, used his status and good reputation alongside with the president administration to convince the Americans that Saddam Hussein was a dictator who possessed WMDs. These weapons would allow Saddam to control the Middle East and even threaten the west as well, Powell argued. The Bush administration also tried to prove that he had a hand in the 9/11 attacks.

Saddam and his family were given twenty-four hours to leave Iraq, however, their rejection to the given suggestion led to the 19th March 2003 Air war, then to 20th coalition of the US ground forces and the UK marines to destroy the Iraqi armed forces. President Bush declared the end of the major military combat in Iraq in May 2003, by the occupation of Iraq with Retired General Jay Garner as a civilian governor (Lewis 415). In a matter of weeks the United States was able to topple the Ba'athist regime through OIF. But the US-led coalition forces' engagement in Iraq remained through 2011.

2.2.4 Regime Change in Iraq: the Removal of Saddam Hussein

One of the main American long-term goals in Iraq was regime change and the toppling of the Ba'athist one. The path towards this goal was introduced during the Clinton Administration and realized by Bush. Saddam Hussein was known as "Madman of the Middle East" and a narcissist leader; however, there were no evidence that may prove his madness. This psychological image about Saddam was built since his first act as a president in which he ordered to execute 21 Senior Officials. Likewise, in 1982 in a cabinet meeting, the minister of health was arrested because of his suggestion for Saddam to resign temporarily, when the minister's wife asked the president to release her husband to return back home, Saddam agreed and in the next day he sent her husband corpse (Post and Baram 10).

In addition to the use of WMD against the Kurds, his brutal behavior was enough to consider him as a dictator who should be toppled. The engagement of Saddam in wars against Iran and Kuwait, was an attempt to spread his hegemony over the Persian Gulf. Saddam's

policy where the state was the sole owner and producer of oil menaced the American interests in the Middle East. In order to spread and control oil production in those lands the United States sought to provide support to the Iraqi people in order to topple their dictator.

In his speech to the United States Chamber of Commerce, Bush clearly states: “ Iraqi democracy will succeed—and that success will send forth the news, from Damascus to Teheran—that freedom can be the future of every nation. The establishment of a free Iraq at the heart of the Middle East will be a watershed event in the global democratic revolution” (Y. Ismael and S. Ismael 21). Bush’s saying demonstrated his clear intention to erase the Iraqi Ba’thist regime and establish a US-allied one.

During a meeting with his cabinet, few hours before the expiration of Saddam’s deadline, George W. Bush was handed an Intelligence report which indicated that Saddam, his two sons, and some key assistants were hiding in southern Baghdad in a bunker. A day before, Saddam rejected the American ultimatum when he appeared in television with a full military dress reassuring his people about their capacity to resist their enemy. Bush found it a good opportunity to erase the Ba’athist regime. At 8 P.M in Washington the precise moment of the expiration of Saddam’s deadline to leave Iraq Bush ordered to attack the villa compound. Half an hour later air-raid sirens were announced in Baghdad. At 3:38 A.M in Baghdad two F-117 bombers left the American base in Kuwait each with two high weighed EGBU-27 bunker-buster bombs, the four bombs target the villa compound which was badly damaged, after this direct assassination attempt many claim that Saddam was killed, others said that one of his sons was killed and Saddam was highly injured (Coughlin 339).

Despite this deadly attack Saddam succeeded in escaping Baghdad due to his well fortified bunkers and their network leading under Tigris River. It was a matter of three weeks during which the Coalition forces succeeded in securing the Capital City. Following a nine-month ran to hunt the Iraqi overthrown president. On December 13, 2003 Operation Red

Dawn took place targeting the village of Ad-Dawr in Takrit that belongs to one of Saddam's personal body guards Qais Al-Nameq. Where the US forces found Saddam and captured him(Kelly 235).

2.2.5 Entanglement in the Wars and the Repudiation of Lofty Principles

Since its independence from the British Crown, the United States of America became an exceptional nation with numerous lofty principles such as the rule of law, freedom of speech, promoting human rights, and democracy. When it comes to the last two principles, as a democratic nation the US has always been challenging dictatorship, and calling for the democratization of non-democratic nations. Also since 1945 it maintained considerable efforts in promoting international human rights. However, due to its sense of superiority and greed, it resisted the commitment to those human rights that it was attempting to convince other nations to believe and adhere to (Ignatieff 1). Additionally, it failed at demonstrating democracy in many cases. The most suitable evidence to the American non-commitment to its values was its overreaction to the 9/11 attacks. In its way to fight terrorism and build democratic nations in Afghanistan and Iraq it failed to democratize them leaving Iraq destroyed. The US was also charged for torture and violation of human rights in which Ignatieff states that "Since the attack of September 11, it has been accused of violating the Conventions as well as the Torture Convention in its handling of prisoners at Guanta'namo, Abu Ghraib, and other detention facilities" (2).

The American war against Iraq was the longest and most costly one since the Vietnam war. Prior to the invasion, the cost estimated by Michell E. Daniels Jr. the Bush administration's budget director to finance the war in Iraq, was \$50 to \$60 billion. Whereas it was estimated by Lindsey -Bush's former chief economic advisor- to cost between \$100 and \$200 billion (Burmiller 2). The actual cost of the Iraq war from 2003 to 2011 was \$1.6 trilliion. This high budget was a result of the unexpected long lasting war which took about

nine years. At the humanitarian level the US lost more than 4.400 dead soldiers and 32.000 injured (Flibert 67). Despite the fact that the polls -about whether the Iraq war is mistake or not- shows that from October 2005 to August 2019 American voters considered and still considering this war as a mistake that threatens their security, the US insisted on continuing it. The Iraq war was a quagmire that kept dragging the US, in which the launching of civil war and the spread of insurgency obliged the US to shift from a quick invasion in 2003 to a counterinsurgency war that ended in 2011 kept mounting the American costs (Banister 4).

According to Stiglitz and Bilmes the financial costs of Iraq war have been estimated to be “more than double the cost of the Korean war. And ... these costs are projected to be almost ten times the cost of the first Gulf war, almost the third more the than the cost of the Vietnam war, and twice that of World War I. For them, in terms of financial costs only World War II costed more than Iraq war (6). Iraq war is considered as the longest and deadliest one since Vietnam war, and the most costly since the Second World War.

At another level, following the success of the US military campaign in Iraq within few weeks in toppling the Ba’athist regime, the United States shifted its rationale to nation building and democracy promoting. “ After taking the country by force in 2003” the Bush Administration launched the Deba’athification policy which aimed at purifying Iraq from Ba’athist members even those who were necessary for stabilizing the country. By applying this policy the Iraq military was dissolved, the governmental leadership had been radically changed, and the Iraqi bureaucracy had been totally broken-down (Flibbert 67).

The Deba’athification turned the nation building into deconstruction, and the promised democracy into chaos as it resulted in insurgency, civil war, and the rise ethnic polarization shaking the nation’s infrastructure (67). The American war and subsequent occupation of Iraq destroyed the state at three levels; the administrative capacity, national security, and violence and state legitimacy (82). At the administrative level, in their way to topple Saddam’s regime

the US forces destroyed “a wide range of public facilities and infrastructure including roads, bridges ... etc.” They also attacked most state ministries and the remaining ones were looted by Iraqis themselves. The adopted policy devastated the Iraqi administrative authority and replaced the Ba’thist members by other inexperienced and street level administrations crippling the state administrative capacity, and laming Iraqi future efforts to restore power (83).

At the level of state security, the Coalition Provisional Authority’s order No. 2 of May 2nd, 2003 sent hundreds of thousands of Coalition forces back home, and smashed different state elements such as Ministry of defence, Ministry of state for military affairs ...etc. The order led to the elimination of state coercive apparatus without replacing it with a mechanism to provide security. Accordingly, a civil war was launched and the US forces are no more able to maintain peace (85-86). The decline of the Ba’athist authority led to the increase of ethnic and sectarian tensions. As a result of the absence of state institutions, political power, and democratic system a political violence was raised due to the uncontrolled ethnic diversities (89). Those tensions led also to a race for authority which weakened the state by losing its legitimacy.

The miss-planning of Bush Administration turned the promised democracy into a fiasco. Disbanding the Iraqi army, proscribing Ba’athists from public life and antagonizing Sunnis are considered as the US most critical mistakes that rose insurgency and violence in Iraq. The social fragmentation of the Iraqi society was the main struggle in front of democracy and stability. A written constitution was needed in order to “bring accord” among different Iraqi ethnic divisions. However, the American influence on the constitution’s writing process raised Iraqi doubts about the legitimacy of the proposed constitution. On another hand, the formed Iraqi government despite of its outlining of “a decentralized federal system that could support the division of Iraq into regions of comparative independence” it was so

weak to solve its tensions. This weakness led to the separation of people from the state, thus opposition, insurgency and political violence were expected results (Dekhakhna and Toulgui 9-10).

Concerning the non-commitment to and the violation of human rights, despite its heavy military power and richness, the United States was not able to protect its citizens from those attacks. This powerlessness developed an American collective malignant attitude towards Al-Qaeda terrorists and their supporters that is why it launched what it termed the Global War on Terror. Torture is one of the permissible war methods when it is justified by information retrieval for preventing similar attacks. But the American torture used during its war against terrorists was exceptional. Taking Abu Gharib prison in Baghdad as an example; due to the shortage in American resourcing there as a lack of interpreters, and interrogators in comparison with the percentage of imprisoned hundreds and thousands of innocents were tortured horribly. The same story was in Afghanistan (Keen 148). The most important aim behind designing such prisons was inflicting maximum shame on those victims. Another kind of torture is detaining people without due process of law as it was happening in the Guantánamo facility.

2.3 The Retreat of American World Leadership in a New World Order

Long wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in addition to the 2008 economic crises have exhausted the American economy. Also the violations of human rights and torture during the war on terror have destroyed the US exceptional image. At the economic level the mounted costs of the war on terror the exceeded \$6 trillion and the increased debts have paralyzed the American ability to lead a direct intervention as it was the case with Libya and Syria. The violations of human rights practices by the US forces in Abu-Gharib and Guantanamo raised an international sympathy towards those victims in addition to many doubts about the US

ideals. The retreat of the US economy and the decline of its exceptional international image was a chance to other minor nations to appear on the global stage of superpowers.

2.3.1 Emergence of a Multi-polar World Order

Years before the decline of the US global hegemony Krauthammer was prophesizing the emergence of other challenging powers “No doubt, multipolarity will come in time. In perhaps another generation or so there will be great powers coequal with the United States, and the world will, in structure, resemble the pre-World War I era” (24). The American Overreaction to the September attacks was worse than the attacks themselves. The aggressive rhetoric, the torture in Abu Gharib, in addition to the illegal detention in Guantanamo and many other post-2001 American activities led to the destruction of the US world influence. With this retreat in the American world leadership emerged a new international search for “another kind of leadership, based on shared values, shared interests and shared governance” (Renard 43).

Three months after the 9/11 attacks China joined the World Trade Organization on December 11 to be the third largest trading nation. The accelerated economic growth of China participated in the change of international introducing a new multipolar world order in which it is one of its poles. Another important event in 2001 was the coming of BRIC acronym coined by Jim O’Neill for Brazil, Russia, India and China which “reshaped the geopolitical self-perception of these emerging giants”. In 2007 economic recession hit the US and the EU. On the other hand, the BRIC witnessed an increase concerning China and India, and a quick recovery for Brazil and Russia (43). This US economic downward trend and the emergence of the BRIC as major powers participated in shaking the previously unchallenged US leadership by introducing a de facto multipolar order.

The first emergence of the multipolar world order was in 1648 with the Westphalia treaty and ended by the end of World War I. The second appearance of this global system was

as a result to the decline of the unipolar moment. Lesage et al. view multipolarity as a system under which more than two poles possess higher military, economic, political, and ideological powers than those of small states. For Huntington it is a “several major powers of comparable strength... cooperate and compete with each other in shifting patterns” (qtd.

InDee5).Therefore, a multipolar world is a situation in which power is divided between a number of states that achieved excellence in different domains on the international level.

The most important thing in the emerging world order is that power assessment is based on economic performance. According to Young, the twenty-first century powers are being assessed in terms of their global shares of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), their international markets competition, and participation in the world trade rather than being assessed in terms of a heavy military as it was during the unipolar moment (qtd. in Dee 6). Economic strength, technological advancement, and international political influence are considered to be the most important criteria in assessing powerful actors in the multipolar system.

2.3.2 The Revisionist States: China, Russia and the Others

The national satisfaction or dissatisfaction about the existing world order is the most important variable for understanding conflict. If a state is satisfied and strives “to preserve things as they are” then it is of status-quo goals. However, if a state seeks “to change the way things are in international politics” then it is a revisionist state (Davidson 1). In terms of security and power, a status-quo state seeks to maximize security, whereas the revisionist one is a “nation whose foreign policy aims at acquiring more power than it actually has, through a reversal of existing power relations...” (Morgenthau 51). Accordingly, revisionists seek to change the international distribution of power in order to maximize theirs. By applying the revisionist theory on the emerging BRIC powers will it match their goals? In simpler terms can we consider them as revisionist states?

Russia has repeatedly expressed and voiced its dissatisfaction about the unipolar world order and its intention to change it. In 2007 at the Munich security conference Putin clearly stated: “I consider that the unipolar model is not only unacceptable but also impossible in today’s world ... The model itself is flawed” (Kremlin). Russia has a clear and direct intention to shake up the unipolar measures. In order to re-establish its hegemony in the Eurasian region it challenged the “sanctity of international borders” by the annexation of Crimea and engaged in war with Georgia in addition to its political intervention in neighbor states upon which it imposed strong economic pressure. Russia showed considerable efforts in enlarging its military bases network (Payne and Foster 19). It aimed at creating division inside the Euro-Atlantic community as well. There are some suspicions about Russian intervention in the 2016 US presidential elections and the 2017 French presidential elections. By financing Marine Le Pen with \$9 million, it provided support to far-right parties all over Europe. Finally, it also supported authoritarian regimes across the world such as Syria and Iran which stand against democracy and unipolarity (136). These facts leave no doubt about the clear revisionist orientation and goals of Russia.

The 2015 Russian intervention in the Syrian civil war was a direct challenge to the US and her allies. It was challenging the US-led coalition policies concerning the Syrian war, the latter regarded Al-Assad removal from power as the first step to solve the conflict. Whereas, Russia believed that the survival of the current regime will provide a peaceful political transition and limit the spread of Jihadist groups in the region (Kainikara 64). While Russia was supporting Bashar Al-Assad in order to control the regime transition, the US was providing support and training to Syrian Free fighters to overthrow al-Assad. Actually, Russia was not only challenging the USA, but also trying to impose its will and protect its interests in the country. It is backing al-Assad in order to protect its only naval base in the Mediterranean which is very significant of demonstrating the Russian power. Russia is looking for a long-

term goal which is becoming the most significant actor in the Middle East, in order to achieve this goal it has to play a decisive role in determining the Syrian future (65).

The economic growth of China to a great power was considered as a threat by many Americans who were afraid from its attempt to challenge the US, and change the world order. “China has neither the intention nor the ability to overturn the existing order” (Ying). This declaration by the -Chinese reform vice foreign minister- Fu Ying shows that even with Chinese accelerated growth America will remain the world leader due its global military overstretch and cultural influence which is harder to be reached by China. The Chinese dominance in the pacific region and its assertive policy caused a neighboring malignant attitude either by the US-allies or other nations who were “aligned with the US in security and politics” (Zhao 17).

The US military and strategic engagement in the pacific was not welcomed by China, even if the latter was benefiting from the security achieved due to the US existence in its home region. China’s interests will be better served when it cooperates with the US and the neighbor states to “maintain the rule-based regional order”. If East Asia were independent then Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan would have developed their nuclear weapons, and one would not be able to imagine the Chinese regional security under such situation. Finally, the internal challenges such as the continuous gap between rich and poor, environmental destruction, and demographical challenges make China a fragile rising power. In short, a weak America means a recessive China which has no revisionist goals (18).

Since its independence India was seeking international recognition. Muhammad Umar climes that India is a revisionist state because it started to spread its control over smaller states such as Bangladesh and Nepal. It has developed its soft power and military abilities as well and its nuclear weapons enable herto bomb Washington DC. Despite these arguments, the Western media do not portray India as revisionist state or as a threat. The reason why the

United States is not taking India as a serious challenger is that it considers the Indian military as strong enough to defeat the Chinese threat.

The fading unipolar world order was the chance that Brazil exploited to appear among the international major powers. Brazil became the “7th largest in the world in terms of GDP.” Seeking for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council, it integrated and led the UN mission for peace keeping in Haiti 2004 and participated in other operations for reinforcing stabilization and peace (Trinkunas 12). In spite of its economic growth Brazil is not considered as a military power since it is neither a nuclear power nor a high military financing state – it spends only 1.5 percent of its GDP on its defense which is a low percentage-(13). Brazil is considered as a soft power and a peace loving state in which it has never engaged in war in Latin America since the 1965-70 war against Paraguay (Malamud 8). Thus the major aims of the Brazil foreign policy are international recognition and getting a permanent seat in the UNSC. As a peace loving state Brazil adopted a non-interventionist foreign policy (Gardini 15). According to Gardini there is a consensus that Brazil’s external projection is of a Status Quo nature (15). In this respect, Malamud clearly states that “Brazil is not a revisionist power that intends to upset the system but rather a reformist one that wishes to enter it” (20).

While Russia is showing a real revisionist attitude, China, India and Brazil are exerting an economic challenge which in the case of China is becoming a major threat to the leading role of the US. Russia unlike other countries is considered as a military threat since it does not hide its appetite for external interventions and promotion of its prestige abroad. The Russian involvement in Syria is considered as a threat in which it menaces the American interests in the Middle East. While the scope of the overall BRIC countries challenge is at most regional the Chinese challenge concerns US interests in the Pacific and beyond. At the economic level, Chinese threat is unquestionably universal. The Chinese strategy being to

keep building a strong economy and avoid or rather delay an inevitable confrontation with the US. Time plays infavour of the Chinese whose strength is relentlessly growing.

Chapter Three

The Ongoing Rollback Trend: Ignored America

A large majority had concurred that the twentieth century was an “American Century”, in which the United States has been for a quite long time the wellspring of an enormous segment of the worldwide financial creation, in addition to setting up an immense universal security arrangement, it also has been at the focal point of the worldwide parity power. However, now they came to an argument that the American sun is no longer shining. Since it had viewed a sort of struggle to maintain its primacy, due to the spectacular rise of new powers. This caused a fierce competition politically and economically. America’s relative power is retreating, and the world is witnessing an enormous scope of fundamental changes; especially when the USA relinquished some of its leadership in the international trade area.

3.1 The Decline in American World Influence

In 2020 the United States had elected a president who promised notable changes. Trump’s promises included a wall on the southern border, the dismantlement of long-standing trade deals with both competitors and partners, strong relationship with Vladimir Putin, and a prohibition on Muslims entering into the United States. Some of his declarations were postponed when took office (Cohen).

A visible process of decline was triggered by the war on Iraq, when American prestige was seriously shaken. The Bush administration stood incapable in front of the violence that spread in Iraq and the occupation turned into a total fiasco thus displaying great deficiencies of a hegemon. However, it is President Trump who, during his years in officethat , had noticeably damaged the U.S. international standing .Heshattered US allies’ trust into pieces and put the world’s security and stability into jeopardy by his irrational acts which had accelerated the decline of the U.S. leadership(Behm).

Another important factor that led to the corrosion in American prominence was the rise of China and the revitalization of Russia seeking a role at the international level and causing a tectonic switch in the international system. Unfortunately, the strong desire of the United States to realize its ambition blinded it from paying attention to contain the Chinese and the Russian development (Fareed).

Furthermore, president Trump appears to be unequipped for controlling himself from offending foreign rulers. His motto “America first” beholds back to the isolationist policy of the 1940s. In addition to that, it became crystal clear for foreign leaders to realize the way he can’t articulate a perspective that goes beyond an adolescent’s boast. Moreover, he spreads out his feelings of anxiety, hatred and instability on Twitter for all to see (Cohen).

During his campaign, Trump had carried a powerful will to coexist with the Kremlin, and even mind Western sanctions against Russia. However, today US-Russia attachment is sharper than any time, not only there is no possibility to stop western sanctions, but these have since been reinforced. Moreover, it is presently about equipping the Ukrainian military with weapons, a plan opposed before by Obama. On a larger scale, the continuous outrage over Kremlin interference in the US political race, and the Trump camp’s binds with Russian security organizations, have made Russia among the most poisonous of issues in Washington (Bobo).

The Trump administration’s unreasonable decisions on raising tariffs on the Chinese products worth \$ 200 billion had proven that China is walking into achieving a global economic power shift. China reacted on this trade bullyism practices by raising tariffs on the American goods estimated \$ 60 billion, because this was the only way to force a bully to back down, also stop underestimating the Chinese presence in the international economic arena. Unfortunately, this intimidation strategy would hurt the world economy (BBC News).

Also, a bigger part of this downhill, was due to the acute budget issues that faced the U.S. federal government. Mick Mulvaney, who's officially in charge with budget and management matters in the Trump administration, asserted that: the "challenge of great stakes refers to the fact that \$20 trillion national debt is a crisis, not just for the Nation, but for every citizen and that each American's share of this debt is more than \$60,000 and growing" (Regilme, 8).

The Trump administration proclamation of withdrawing the American troops from key spots close to the Syria-Turkey borders and allowing the Turkish government to direct military activities against the Kurdish partners who were in a position of vanquishing the ISIS caliphate is a sign of retreat. This resolution doesn't only indicate an ethical disloyalty of people who battled and bled in a fight against the world's most powerful jihadist armed forces, but it also indicates a real abandoning that is probably going to cost American lives for a considerable period of time. In a series of tweets President Trump tried to legitimize his choice by pronouncing that he had been chosen to remove America from "crazy, unlimited wars," however Trump's drop out doesn't end the war, it gives their foes a truly rest time to recover, in addition it could prompt a complete loss of allied hold over a huge number of ISIS prisoners held by the Kurds (French).

For the international strategy, the administration under trump has rejected and harmed the worldwide common freedoms structure, in which the U.S. has left or threatened to leave international foundations and activities that would give a chance to share the weight of battling global difficulties, it has taken steps to pull back from UN Human Rights Council. In addition, Trump has been blamed with fierceness for complementing strongmen, many of whom have been welcomed in the White House with kindness and little judgment, he had even congratulated the Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, a military despot who has administered a horrendous crackdown on government pundits (Human Rights Watch).

The United States remained practically alone in the United Nations Security Council on issues concerning Iran. The U.S. has pulled back from the 2015 atomic accord with Iran which lifted economic sanctions in exchange of its acceptance to reduce its atomic program. Yet, recently, the U.S. claimed that it was not a drop out from the treaty, and want Europeans to re-force sanctions on Iran. Likewise, America had endured another misfortune in the United Nations Security by launching a high pressure to extend the arms ban in Iran indefinitely to gain the vote of the Dominican Republic alone. Russia and China casted a ballot against the U.S. desire, while the rest of the eleventh members of the Council refrained the vote (Sanjay).

President Trump's weird and hasty choice to live the Paris Climate Agreement will live in disgrace. This is a fall back from America's role as a world pioneer; one that discards irrefutable scientific evidence and the exhortation of in excess 1,000 business pioneers who asked him to stick up for a clean energy economy. This will injure the United States much more than it harms the remainder of the world. Furthermore, Trump was the only leader who has expressed his adherence to the fossil fuel energy expansion project that science proved is the root of the problem; he had ignored its dangers on the climate change, which means more deaths due to heat waves, severe weather, and diseases (Krupp).

The United States is gradually losing its key hold on vital indicators that will revive its position, such as patent creation, scientific innovations, and so many other things. This had truly made predictions of future global development, which is recently occurring since, the tallest structure on the planet is currently in Dubai, the greatest manufacturing in the world is in China, the biggest petroleum processing is in India, the biggest financial resources to estate investment is in Abu Dhabi, and the biggest Ferris wheel on the planet is in Singapore (N P R).

3.2 China's Economic Threat

China economic reforms in 1978 lifted the rank of the country from poor to developing, then after about four decades to a major power. According to World Bank, since 1978 China's "GDP growth averaged almost 10 percent a year, and more than 850 million people have been lifted out of poverty." Today, China emerged as the second largest international economy.

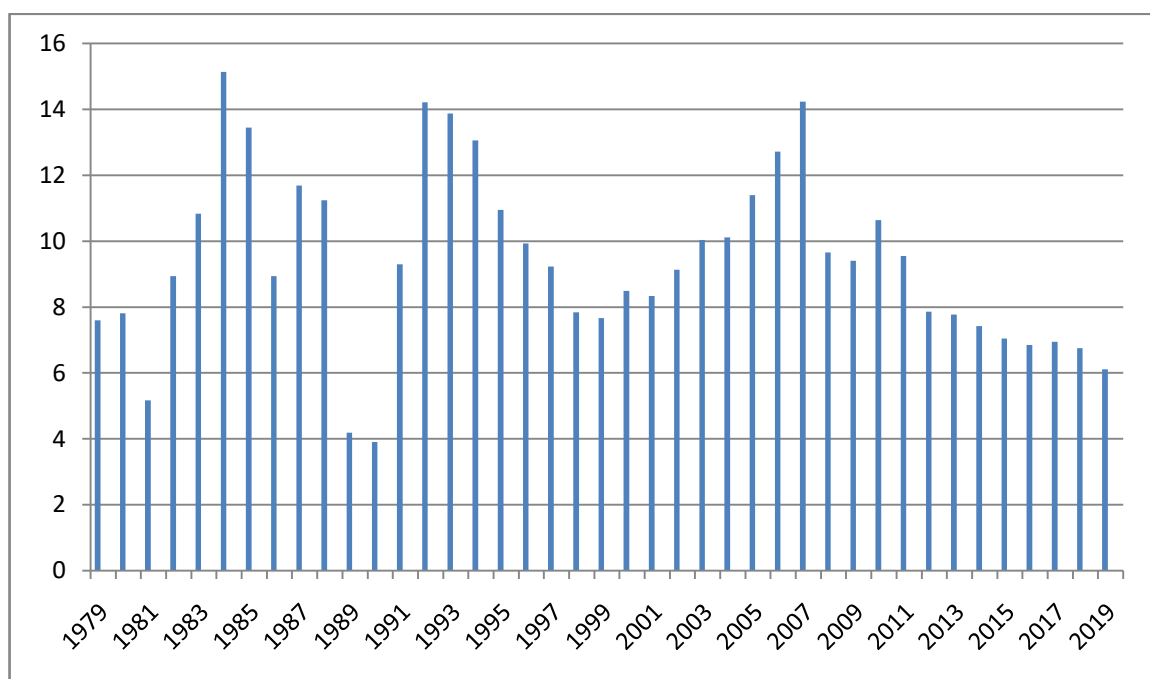


Fig.1. China's Annual Real GDP Growth: 1979-2019. *The World Bank,*

2019.data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?end=2018&locations=CN&name_desc=false&start=1979&view=chart.

According to Figure 1 in the post-reforms era China was achieving a faster economic rise as it has never done before 1978. 9.5% is the percentage averaged by the Chinese annual real GDP between 1979 and 2018. Thus, China succeeded in doubling its economic size every eight years. Due to the Tiananmen massacre, 1989 China faced an economic slowdown in which its GDP fell from 11.3% to 4.2% then 3.9 in 1990 when some states imposed trade sanctions. In 1991, with the reduction and removal of those sanctions china restarted its

economic reforms raising the GDP to 9.2%. It also faced another slowdown during the international economic crisis when 20 million jobless migrants returned to China. This event led to an annual fall of the GDP to 6.8%. When “The Chinese government responded by implementing a \$586 billion economic stimulus package, aimed largely at funding infrastructure and loosening monetary policies to increase bank lending.” The adopted policies got China out of the quagmire the international fall in demanding Chinese products” (Morrison 5). China was able to average 9.7% in its real GDP, however in the next nine years growth of the GDP declined to reach 6.1% in 2019.

3.2.1 Main Factors Behind China’s Economic Rise

The miraculous economic growth of China has been discussed in terms of two main factors that went hand in hand with large-scale capital investment, and the accelerated growth of productivity. Since the economic 1978 reforms China kept scoring a high amount of savings, in which the domestic ones have occupied 32% of the real GDP. Those savings were increasing as the central government was using the incomes of State-Owned Companies in domestic investments. The decentralization of economic productivity as a part of the Chinese economic reforms led to the increase of savings at two levels; familial and corporate levels. Consequently, “China’s gross savings as a percentage of GDP is the highest among major economies. The large level of domestic savings has enabled China to support a high level of investment”. In a point of fact, China became an international net lender as its level of gross domestic savings is extraordinarily higher than its level of local investments(7).

Economic productivity profits were also attributed as a major factor leading to the Chinese economic boom. When government-controlled sectors such as agriculture and trade were readministered to be more productive they led to the flourishing of Chinese productivity. The decentralization of the economy led to the emergence of non-state enterprises that are more productive and market-oriented than the State-owned enterprises (SOE). The separation

of provincial authorities from the central government was a chance to establish local enterprises without the intervention of higher authorities. Additionally, as China encouraged foreign direct investment (FDI) the latter boosted the national efficiency through newer and more advanced technologies and operations (7).

3.3 Russia's World Security Role

After the collapse of the USSR, Russia experienced instability for about 10 years. When Putin came to power in 1999, he led the country into stability. Putin has largely destroyed the influence of the EU and the US on the former Soviet countries. The desperation of the US against Russia in Ukraine and Georgia has led the Western bloc to follow an aggressive policy. Due to the economic development of the country, Russia has become a playmaker in the international arena again (Yilmaz39).

Russia is one of the world's significant nations, with an extremely old history and rich social conventions. Regardless of confused worldwide circumstances and troubles of a local sort, Russia dispassionately keeps on assuming a significant role in worldwide cycles by goodness of its incredible monetary, science-mechanical and military potential and its remarkable key area on the Eurasian landmass (MFA Russia).

Russia's worldwide interest encompasses the geopolitical enlargement all over the world, and includes intent to make reciprocal relationships with states geographically distant from it, to pursue the different global community issues, taking into account the Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, make sure of reducing weapons of mass destruction, and settling and preventing regional conflicts, in addition to fighting international wrongdoings from terrorism to drug trade (Manilov).

Despite the fact that the mid-2000s Russia's commitment to universal peacekeeping endeavors has fundamentally deteriorated, while today, Russia is the eleventh biggest

supporter to the UN expeditions budget, following up the United States, Japan, the UK, Germany, France, Italy, China, Canada, Spain, and south Korea (Ministry of Defense).

The Russian Federation as a lasting member of the UN Security Council is liable for keeping harmony and security all over the world. The Russian Armed Forces alongside different individuals from this universal network have frequently partaken in avoidance or disposal of internecine and interethnic clashes in: south Ossetia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Angola, Chad, Sudan and so many other territories. In these nations Russian servicemen have just demonstrated themselves to be experienced and exceptionally qualified peacekeepers equipped for achieving the allocated errands (Ministry of Defense). Russia possessed an uncommon status stage under the administration of President Vladimir Putin. Moscow had consistently showed that it has the ability to destabilize the global system (World Politics Review).

3.3.1 Russia's Intervention in Syria

Moscow's generally fruitful safeguard of the Bashar al-Assad system in Syria, and its later discretion encompassing Turkey's endeavors to set up a "safe zone" on the Syrian side of their common fringe, has prompted some Russian commentators to praise their country's leadership, and refer to it as a security supplier in foreign relations. From an international point of view, Moscow forestalled Syria's breakdown and kept its partner President al-Assad in power. Russia has achieved this at a moderately ease in lives and cash while keeping up a genuinely meaning of its mission destination, a triumph like this would animate pride inside the international strategy and public security (Saunders).

Russia has built up itself as a significant part in the Middle East, and the Russian-Syrian ties are much more powerful than most had suspected before the war. The important thing is that Moscow's profits in the region will have a favorable effect on its maritime

operations in the Mediterranean and have already yielded numerous exercises learned for Moscow's ground and aviation forces (Stein).

3.3.2 Russia's Intervention in Ukraine

The Ukraine crisis has been classified as a power conflict between groups inside Ukraine. One of the groups need to line up with the European Union and the other with Russia, as one of the establishing states of the Soviet Union. In March of 2014, the current emergency emitted when the Russian Special Forces occupied Ukraine's Crimean landmass, Russia asserted it was nothing but safeguard to its port access to the Black sea. 2014-2018 has viewed a military clash between Ukrainian and Russian soldiers, since Russia started supporting local rebels under the pretext of protecting Russian speaking population in Ukraine, this has took life of more than 10,000 people. On November 25, 2018, Russia's border forces had attacked three Ukrainian vessels in the Crimean port of Azov, and postured a cargo ship to shut down the port, proclaiming that Ukraine had violated Russian waters (Amadeo).

After the public vote settled on in Russia to call off the presidential terms, with intent to expand president Putin's tenure till 2036, hardly any Ukrainian see any improvement towards stability and harmony, as long as the current Russian ruler stays in power (Temnycky). Because despite all the events that the world is encountering now, Russian-drove powers in eastern Ukraine keep bombarding both the Ukrainian military and local locations, while blocking admittance to OSCE screens and helpful associations (Zerkal).

After the full annexation of the Crimea, on one hand, the Russian authorities have lately expressed that they plan to deliver up to one million passports in eastern Ukraine by the coming end of 2020. This will change the involved zone into "passport protectorate", in order to create excuses for endless Russian interference in the future. On the other hand, president Putin has over and over questioned Ukraine's authentic right to the Donbas and repeated his

conviction that Ukrainians and Russians are “one people” who have been treacherously and misleadingly isolated by outside powers (Temnycky).

3.4 America’s Struggle for the Preservation of the Status Quo

The retreat of the American world influence and the threat of an emerging multipolar world system provide a further threat to the US international status. The biggest threat that occupies Americans’ minds is China and its economic growth that promoted the Chinese international status to the peak. As Layne clearly states “Since the onset of the Great Recession, China has successively taken the top position in the world in exports (passing Germany); in trade (passing the United States); and in manufacturing (claiming a title the United States had held for a century)” (95).

It is clear that the war on terror, the Great Recession 2007-2008, and China’s rapid economic boom have confirmed a US decline. In order to protect itself from any further decline and preserve its status quo the US sole strategy is slowing China’s rise through launching a trade war against her.

During his 2016 electoral campaign Trump built his argument on rethinking about the US-Chinese trade deals. He accused China of being the reason behind the US loss of industrial jobs and intellectual property and of being responsible of “the greatest theft in the history of the world”. He promised that he would no longer allow China from exploiting the USA through a better deal that would raise the US companies and workers’ competitive abilities. He also promised to reform the Sino-American trade relations. The US president launched his trade war though which he imposed pressure on China to make the necessary changes to prevent any Chinese unfair trade practices such as forced technological transfer, theft of intellectual property...etc. Trump argued that “unilateral tariffs would shrink the U.S. trade deficit with China and cause companies to bring manufacturing jobs back to the United States.” In the period between July 2018, and August 2018 the Trump administration imposed

tariffs on more than \$550 billion of Chinese products. As a result, China was obliged to reduce its traffic for other trade partners (Hass and Denmark).

In another attempt to slow the Chinese economic rise the US announced a series of sanctions on China and Chinese products. The First example of such sanctions is the US ban of the Chinese high-tech Huawei. On May 19, 2019 the US president Trump signed executive order that aims to blacklist Huawei 5G in US markets which “means that the US suppliers, partners and buyers of Huawei products and technologies need to take permission from the US Trade Department in order to conduct business with Huawei.” Also google banned Huawei from using applications associated with google such Gmail (Hosain 22). Trump has justified his executive order by accusing Huawei of spying on the Americans’ personal information. The “nation’s security concern” was not the real reason behind banning Huawei technologies. While Apple’s products are facing a relative fall in the international markets, Huawei raised to be the second most selling mobile units after Samsung. Since China invested more than the US in the 5G technology, the US banning is a strategy to curb the Chinese economic threat.

The US blacklisting strategy goes beyond Huawei to include Chinese applications. President Trump also repeated instance to give executive orders that will effectively prohibit two significant Chinese applications from the U.S. market. The commands include Americans prevention from doing any dealings with the parent companies of TikTok and WeChat, which means U.S. companies and people couldn’t publicize using them or even offer them for download through application stores. This decision wouldn’t be easy neither for companies nor for the American users, moreover it will affect badly the U.S.-China relations, and lead to an extensive clash over the future of the Web. The executive orders contend TikTok and WeChat ought to be blocked from the U.S. market because of public security concerns,

however both apps didn't seek for an access to classified data or spying, they instead eager around information security and data protection (Gertz).

TikTok is a social media application that offers short video clips made by the user, well known especially among adolescents, with an expected 100 million users in the U.S. also a lot more around the world. WeChat is a super application which incorporates mobile payment, texting, and social media, while it is not well known in the U.S. as TikTok; it is widely utilized by the Chinese expatriates to communicate with loved ones in China. Both TikTok and WeChat gather broad information on their users. The centre American concern is the misuse of the Chinese government of this information in secret activities of extortion or spying. U.S. authorities likewise are concerned that the applications control political discourse and could be utilized to spread falsehood. In the background, U.S. severe instructions against TikTok and WeChat go back to restricting US tech companies' business in China, and the continuous innovation pressure among the United States and China (Gertz).

There are two primary paths the administration could use to restrict the activities of foreign companies in the U.S. to address public security concerns; the first one is through the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS), which is an interagency committee with power to check, block, and where necessary force divestment of foreign acquisition of American companies. The U.S. preferred the second path and took advantage of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEAP) which is designed to permit presidents to react to public security concerns, IEEAP awards the White House full power to intervene in monetary business sectors, as long as they are attached to an officially announced crisis. Acting through IEEAP in lieu of CEIUS permits the White House to target both WeChat and TikTok, and to demand divestment as well as impede any future exchanges with Americans (Gertz).

The U.S. set a deadline to complete the application asset transfer, the owners are now obliged to either sold on its US operations to Microsoft - since it was first to express desire to own it-, or to any other US firm or face an altogether prevention. The complete of this deal would in one hand prohibit any progressing business connections between the TikTok U.S. Possessed by Microsoft and TikTok parental company ByteDance operating in other nations, in the other hand this may drive TikTok to totally drop out of the U.S. market, and the Trump administration may confront political implications from 100 million disillusioned users of the application in the U.S. likewise it may prompt a potential decoupling of the U.S. Chinese economies, and raise the possibility of a fragmented and torn worldwide web, we appear to be directed toward a world where the web applications accessible to residents depending on where they live and the international duties of their nation of origin governments (Gertz).

3.4.1. Trump's "America First" as a Cry of Desperation

The American historian Melvyn P. Leffler relates "America First" with "insularity, isolationism, unilateralism, nativism, anti-Semitism, and appeasement policies that President Franklin D. Roosevelt struggled to overcome in 1940 and 1941" (33). While Preston defines it in its simplest meanings, he considers "America First" as prioritizing the American interests before those of other countries. The term refers to the US foreign policy during the 1940s, however, "America First" was revived in 2016 as a slogan of Trump's electoral campaign. In a speech to the UN in 2017 Trump clearly stated "As president of the United States, I will always put America first, just like you, as the leaders of your countries, will always, and should always, put your countries first." promising to put America's interests first. He believes that it is necessary for the US to be protected from unfair trade practices, and protectionism is needed to achieve prosperity and power.

Trump started applying America Frist policy in his third day in office when he withdrew from pending Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). Later, he announced a plan where he

was calling Canada and Mexico to renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). He also launched a series of penalties on China including tariffs on \$50 billion of imports. “The tariffs are intended (at least rhetorically) to limit the benefits available to Chinese products and companies that benefit from China’s technology industrial policies, such as requiring American companies investing in China to share intellectual property” (Carbaugh 144).

He thought that the American reputation and its international status would be redeemed only when it restores its military dominance, to do so the country must increase financial spending on defence in order to overcome Obama’s era damages (Löffmann 119). Trump had also ordered to pull US troops out of Germany claiming that it is taking advantage of the US in which he clearly states “We spend a lot of money on Germany, they take advantage of us on trade and they take advantage on the military, so we're reducing the force” He also argues that Germany is not paying the NATO objective of 2% of its GDP on defense. Trump said about US troops in Germany “They're there to protect Europe, they're there to protect Germany, and Germany is supposed to pay for it” thus the US will no more be responsible for protecting it (Browne and Cohen).

In 2017 the Trump administration was preparing executive orders that aim at reducing the US contribution in international organization in which the first draft of those orders was entitled “Auditing and Reducing U.S. Funding of International Organizations” (Fisher). From the surface the America First foreign policy is intended to prioritize and protect the interests of American people. However, in the reality it is considered as a cry of desperation that echoes throughout the world. Through America First Trump is trying to make America Great Again and restore its leading role again, or at least to preserve its status quo and prevent any further retreat.

3.4.2. The Crafting of a De Facto Multi-polar System

The emergence and the re-emergence of small relative powers such as the BRICs as major power in the international scene was a sign of a changing world order. While Brazil and India are not trying to change the Status quo China and Russia, in addition to Europe are showing their dissatisfaction with the current US-led world system. However, the making of a real Multi-polar world order appears through many signs such as the Sino-Russia cooperation on order to overtake the US hegemony. The European dissatisfaction with the Trump policies and the intention for the change is also a sign for the European intention to rebel against the unipolar world order.

The mutual motivations and the shared vision of China and Russia of a multipolar world order developed cooperation between the two countries to build a two-decade momentum. Both countries hope to end the unipolar moment and establish another multipolar one where they have a greater influence and a higher status (Bolt 2). The Chinese-Russian relations date back to 1950s and were normalized in 1989, however the decline of the USSR had effected those relations. On September 3rd, 1994 both Nikolaevich Yeltsin president of Russia and Jiang Zemin president of China signed a joint statement that confirmed the Sino-Russian partnership (Ishii 78). This partnership between the two global giants can easily shape a new international order and “This is the main reason to maintain and develop Sino-Russian relations further” (Sharyshev 113).

The best strategy adopted by Russia and China to counter the US hegemony was through building a financial alliance. The partners are cooperating to decrease their dependence on the greenback, and achieve de-dollarization in their economic deals as a long term goal. According to Simes “In the first quarter of 2020, the dollar's share of trade between Russia and China fell below 50% for the first time on record, according to recent data from Russia's Central Bank and Federal Customs Service” . The percentage of dollar use in

payments between China and Russia was 46%, while the euro climbed to 30% as a highest record, while the Rouble and the Renminbi made up an all-time high of 24% (Simes).



Fig.2. “China and Russia Ditch Dollar in Move toward 'Financial Alliance” *Nikkei Asian Review*, 2020. asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-relations/China-and-Russia-ditch-dollar-in-move-toward-financial-alliance.

According to the above figure, the dollar use in the bilateral trade between Russia and China was almost 90% in 2015. With the adoption of the de-dollarization policy, the dollar share was slowing down to reach 51% in 2019, and then dropped to 46% in 2020.

The economic partnership and the policy of de-dollarization had an immense impact on the USA since it starts to lose its position in the international markets and on the global international economic order as a whole. “In a multipolar world, a multipolar currency is needed” (Mammadov). This economic alliance to diminish the power of the greenback was alongside with military partnership as the Russian president Putin declared in 2019 about his promises to enable China develop a ballistic missile detection program, and increase the Chinese defence capacities.

3.4.3. American World Leading Role Almost Coming to a Halt

President Donald Trump's term had viewed a sort of gradual pull out from the interference in global issues. He had consistently demonstrated his aversion for acceding multilateral active ties, such as, environmental change, trade, Iran's atomic program, and so many other commitments. As the U.S. loses impact, different nations were hard working to seize this opportunity. The EU countries as well started walking away independently from the U.S. shadow looking for their own interests and benefits. Therefore, the European countries strategy consisted of joining forces like China, Japan, and South Korea. China has obviously shown its willingness to fill the economic void left by the U.S. in the international business transactions which have been put into jeopardy due to the U.S. new trade policies and taxation plans which violate its commitments with the World Trade Organization. Europe welcomed the decision with open arms and expressed its desire in linking with new business partners in Asia. Although the United States is an old friend, and military ally, Europe placed its priorities above friendship, especially when the U.S. started acting irrationally. Despite the warnings, Europe did not give up on china's importance as a good customer, worthwhile and trustworthy business partner (Leonard).

Furthermore, the EU countries were working on building up their independence systems by means to extend collaboration among them to reinforce their military abilities, multiple practical moves have been taken to do so in Lisbon treaty which held activating a Permanent Structured Cooperation on defense. As well as realize a European defense fund to back exploration, and advancement programs that cover European needs (Brustlein).

Germany's foreign minister Heiko Maas has repeatedly expressed Europe's interests in releasing itself from the U.S. financial dependence, and that Europeans must turn into a pillar of the worldwide order. The European commission has put this into practice by working on evolving a system equivalent to SWIFT, which will permit Iran to interact with European

budgetary systems, European clearing systems, and with the nominations supported and designed by the European Investment Bank on a Euro basis. Although the U.S. threatens Europe from handling transaction with Iran, Europe seemed eager on sustaining as much business as possible with Iran. Europe is looking for its own good since it is the top destination for Iranian oil, and needs to preserve the atomic deal, and keep purchasing Iranian rough (Deutsche Welle).

Moscow's effective involvement in the Middle East has fortified Russia's reputation for being a nation fit for taking care of even the most tangled issues. Unlike the U.S. interference which brought nothing but destabilization in the region. Geographically, historically, economically, and culturally, Russia has been, is, and will stay an integral part of Europe. All this urged the EU to retrieve the late broken ties with Russia. Moscow and Brussels continue to be significant trade and financial partners and biggest neighbors, able of bearing a common duty regarding harmony, thriving, and security (Azimov).

Conclusion

The present dissertation examined and discussed “end of history” and the end of the American history. In three main chapters it addressed the ascendancy and the fall of the United States of America since World War Two. The work explored many channels through which the entry of this war might have influenced significantly in making way for American dominance politically, economically, and culturally.

The U.S. post world war period viewed an adoption of political and economic strategies that helped it in assuming power and promoting Western European countries to unite in an alliance. The U.S. also worked hard on containing the Soviet Union’s expansion policies and left them in lurch without back up. The research also addressed President Truman clear position against the Soviet politics, which led to rising tension between the Soviet Union and U.S. released into what is known as the Cold War.

The dissertation examined as well the conflicting viewpoints of the U.S. and the USSR which led to a divided Germany and a divided Europe to form two blocs. Despite the fact that the war was known as “Cold”, with no direct fighting between the quarreling parties, there were a few proxy wars and clashes such as the Berlin wall crisis, the Korean War, and the Cuban missile crisis. The constant pressure had gradually put an end to the cold war, since successive interaction burdened and weakened the Soviet Union.

After all these challenges, the United States emerged from the Cold War as the World’s sole superpower. American policy makers sought to preserve this hegemonic position through spreading Americanization, sponsoring globalization, boosting democracy, heading humanitarian interventions, insulating and punishing the corrupt and vicious states. These initiatives were all designed to sustain America’s status both locally and globally.

The dissertation also discussed the US war on terror which started after the 9/11 shocking attacks, with allegations tracing al Qaeda intelligence and ability to achieve such

terrorist attacks. This terrorist move was orchestrated by al Qaeda leader Osama Ben Laden through hijacking successfully four American airplanes. The latter targeted the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. The attacks resulted in major casualties of fatalities and injuries, severe economic loss, in addition to social disturbance among Americans.

The Bush administration reacted to these attacks by ranking them as a threat to international peace and security, also decided on implementing a wide range combat strategy to stop terrorists all over the world. The American counterterrorism expedition included large scale military assistance in major war areas like Iraq and Afghanistan, which supported and harbored terrorist groups. Although these efforts had led to thwarting many conspiracies, and the elimination of terrorist leaders and personnel, it significantly increased the U.S. military spending, and claimed the lives of many American soldiers.

While America was busy spreading military power throughout the world and increasing its debts, other countries were working hard to lift up their economy like China or to re-appear as a major power such as Russia. The US failure in its war on terror and the human right violations that went along with it led to an international consensus that American Global War on Terror was a fiasco.

The Iraq quagmire had exhausted the US economy showing US inability to lead a direct intervention, thus losing its legitimacy as a supreme power. This American retreat was an opportunity for Brazil, Russia, India, and China to appear as major economic powers and as military ones especially Russia which started to demonstrate its military might on different occasions as in its intervention in Syria. Not all these powers were seeking to balance the US and to change the global order excepting Russia which has openly displayed a revisionist attitude.

This dissertation also delivered the fundamental efforts maintained by the United States in order to prolong its hegemony. In addition, it states how the U.S. is no longer assuming the role of a preeminent leader. As the US Donald Trump, the 45th president of America wants to reform the damages caused to his country during both Bush and Obama terms. The main goals set by Trump is to serve “America First” and “Make America Great Again”.

Trump argued that he will serve the American interests before those of other countries even with allies. In order to focus on the internal interests of the American people he ordered to withdraw the US troops from Germany and other areas. He also ordered to reduce the US funding in international organizations such as the UN, and instead he ordered to invest more in defense.

While Trump is doing his best to preserve the current world order, China and Russia had different plans. China’s economic growth has increased the nation’s confidence in its ability to change the world system. In order to change the world system China’s started to apply its strategies such as the BRI, AIIB, and “Made in China 25” in which it increases its influence in Eurasia by increasing trade deals using Renminbi, the Chinese currency, in attempt to make it a global reserve currency. , It also planned to make high quality products through which it reforms the “Made in China” low and cheap quality.

On the other hand Russia is trying to recover its international prestige and build an image of a world security player. It has displayed its military power through its intervention in Syria as a peace keeper where it has supported Bashar Al-Assad against the Syrian opposition. Its main aim there was to stabilize the country and resolve civil conflicts. The Ukraine crisis is another stage where Russia has succeeded in protecting its internal security and boosting its resolve on security matters.

To counter American hegemony through a common action, China and Russia established a monetary alliance to reduce using the American Dollar in their bilateral trade exchanges within an attempt to break the US economic Backbone. In a desperate attempt to preserve its status quo, and prevent or at least delay the emergence of a multipolar world system, the US sought to blacklist some Chinese high-tech companies and applications in its markets with the intention of slow down the Chinese economic boom.

The study concludes that despite the deadly efforts to prolong its international hegemony, the US international role as a sole and prominent actor is almost coming to a halt. The research work paves the way for further study in this field to shed light on the questions of how long is America going to be able to resist being toppled down. This is truly interesting because and in spite of the arguments advanced in this work about American vulnerable status, America has military and high-tech assets to make her atop the emerging challengers for decades ahead.

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