

USA and the World: Hegemonic Dominance or Liberal Global Order?

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Abstract:

The United States of America emerged as a superpower after the Second World War with a proclaimed liberal ideology and a will to global dominance. For this purpose, USA employed not only military might to control and assert influence on its allies but also soft power and subtle means of culture at its disposal. Hence the US by means of military, culture and economy emerged as a hegemonic power at the end of the cold war. The paper aims to take an overview of the US military presence across the continents. The United States is leader of military coalition of powerful states. The USA have approximately 750 military bases with instalments in 80 nations and its major ally the United Kingdom has 145. Its present-day contenders Russia and China are way behind the USA and other states of NATO as Russia has 36 and China has so far one military base in Djibouti at Horn of Africa. These military bases serve the economic purpose as well and provides safe, protected passage to trade ships carrying goods across

the globe; as free trade is an important component of a world order conceived with liberal ideology. Though critics of the global liberal order perceive it as the economic dominance of developed states and trade as a means of exploitation, with a mask of liberty, freedom, individualism and free marketing. Besides US military and economic power in the guise of Liberalism, another contributing factor of US hegemony is culture. US through cultural lebensraum and soft power of its consumer products and Hollywood movies create consent across the globe and presents it as a just power not only trading but also protecting humanity from a multitude of threats. By taking an overview of US military, economic and cultural lebensraum, the paper aims to answer how US military preponderance across continents and states along with economic and cultural powers gives it a hegemonic status in the world. Employing content analysis on secondary data one of the major findings of the paper is that despite claims of waning US and rising China, the claim is a far cry not rooted in reality and United States actions are derived by hegemonic interest and are cloaked in the guise of liberalism.

Key words: (Hegemony, Liberalism, Soft Power, Military Bases, Lebensraum, USA)

Introductions:

Hegemony is the dominance of a single powerful state in the global system. Hegemony is predominance of a state over others through military, economic and political means (Adamson 2014). Hegemony can be maintained through a variety of means such as military, economic, political and cultural. The concept of hegemony is given by Antonio Gramsci who argued that ruling classes maintain their power not only by force but also by the use of cultural institutions and symbolism. The important aspect of hegemony is its ability to maintain the status quo in favour of powerful groups.

USA is the acclaimed ideology of the United States that is exercising influence in world politics since WWI. Liberal ideas believe in a capitalist economy based on private ownership of means of production and the for-profit creation of goods and services. Liberalism is a political and economic philosophy that also believes in internationalism and globalization. It emphasizes equal rights of individuals regardless of their social status and also in the democratization of states. (Chandler 2023). The USA employs the guise of liberalism, actually undermining liberal values or using them to maintain its predominant position in world affairs. US military escalation stretching over many countries make her a country with strong hard and soft power.

With the help of liberal ideology USA attained a moral edge over its rival ideological state USSR and the war ended in favour of the USA. According to Fukuyama, the end of history and the last man the USA has won the last dialectical battle and liberalism will onwards be the order of the day. With the triumph of liberal democracy, he argues that humanity has reached the final stage of political evolution. But liberal order cannot be maintained without military might. The USA maintains a strong military presence in the form of military bases across the world not only to promote the values but also to meet the emerging Russia- Chinese threats and also to control world Oceanic routes to control global trade and monopoly on vital resources needed to keep the capitalist system working.

Military expansionism in a liberal guise was the strategy adopted by the USA since 1945, to counter communism. Harry S. Truman the 33rd president of America, delivered a speech to US Congress, which became "Truman Doctrine" (Truman, 1965). It explains that the United States of America would assist the democratic nations which are under threat from internal and external authoritarian forces and the assistance would be political, military and economic². Due to Second World War, Europe remained ravaged and was susceptible to

exploitation by communist threat. The secretary of state George C. Marshall, call for a comprehensive program to rebuild Europe³. The plan known as Marshall Plan included economic assistance to European states to reconstruct their industrial potential and military might to meet the threats posed to democracy by communist/socialist ideologies. The current world politics denotes that China is replicating US strategy in its foreign policy to counter and compete with the USA and gain economic influence and lebensraum. The USA also feel the threat by China as an opposite ideological country with strong soft power and China is also competing here. Joe Biden the president of the USA during a meeting with lawmakers, denoting China argued that if we don't get moving, they're going to eat our lunch, we just have to set up.

Though China, the USA and Russia all are in a race with each other it needs time to compete with the USA and somewhere replicate strategies adopted by the USA earlier. As for the strategies of China we see that her technological development amazed everyone and after hundreds of years their plan for the revival of the silk route is on its way and CPEC is one of the minor parts of this Belt Road Initiative. (The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC): Infrastructure, Social Savings, Spillovers, and Economic Growth in Pakistan n.d.) China is also competing with the USA for influence and power in international organizations. As per ideological competition, China's leaders argue that their model, which combines authoritarianism with state lead economic development is more effective than Western model (Fulda 2020). The United States have a strong stable political system with check and balance and it is in contrast to China's political system. Democratic values, technological progress, research, infrastructure and investment in education help the United States to remain a strong and influential global power for years to come along with the strategies of political economic, cultural and military expansionism USA maintained its predominant position in the world. Scholarly literature focus on US power integrals that

sustain its hegemony not only by the military but also by economic and cultural means.

Literature review:

Benn Steil in his book *The Marshall plan: Dawn of the cold war* explains all the events and policies of the cold war, and in his discussion, he blamed the USSR responsible for the cold war due to the Berlin blockade as a response, there was a need of creation of NATO and Marshall Plan to remake Europe. All these efforts were just to achieve their goal and to promote liberalism, and industrialization just for the sake to stand for America first (Steil 2018).

The American nation always proves that they always work for the development of America. We can examine it in the book, a concise history of US foreign policy by Joyce P. Kaufman in which Kaufman has explained different phases of US foreign policy and their way to expanding their power with isolation policy. When America became stronger, then it decided to intervene in international politics and take control of the world. The US wants hegemony in the world by wearing a mask of liberalism and using every strategy to play with the psychology of the human mind to achieve it in different other nations (Kaufman 2006).

Donald Trump the former president of the USA during their election campaign used the word “America First”. In the news magazine *Time*, in their speech of Trump about the five defects of foreign policy he said there are five weaknesses in the United States' foreign policy i.e., Resources of the USA are over-extended, we are rebuilding other countries and weakening our own. Secondly, our allies are not paying their fair share. They look at the US as weak and forgiving and they feel no obligation to honour their agreement with us. The countries were defending must pay for the cost of this defence and if not, the US must be prepared to let these countries defend themselves. Thirdly our friend countries are beginning

to think they can't depend on us. Fourthly our rivals no longer respect us. Finally, the USA has no longer a clean foreign policy. (Beckwith 2015) Trump's decision to leave out from WHO during the corona period cleared the world about the dependency on the USA and also exist from Paris organization of the environment. But later Joe Biden thinks that these policies have made American alone in the world so he re-joins these organizations.

In the article *Shades of American hegemony*, Randolph Persuade argues that benevolent hegemony is more complex than primitive hegemony. The motivation of benevolent hegemony is to do well in the world. The American Nation is prepared in an order that it is expected to defend and be prepared to die for the values and interests of the USA. Hegemony starts at home with cultural technology employed in Patriotism. Benevolent hegemony sees fit between the orientation of the US government and that of the American people. These are united by a common interpretation and acceptance of the place of America and Americans. In world history, one narration of historical destiny is that America is the last best hope for mankind and that "there is a kind of white man's burden attached to this notion of American global Civic participation". America also relies on threats. It also uses military forces to achieve its goals and also supports some dictators for their own interest. Full spectrum dominance is the overreaching vision of US military preparations. Global expansion of capitalism is in the fundamental interest of the US and its foreign policy is essentially structured to fulfil this objective. Free trade and a multi-trading system are in benefit of US. Global expansion of capitalism is tied to US security. (Persaud 263 (2004)).

Nikunj Savaliya in his article *Reason behind the widespread adoption of Western clothing* (Savaliya 2022) explains that there is a concept of modern and traditional. The western dressing is considered to be more modern than Eastern. Eastern

countries have local fashion, which is about thousands of years old. Western civilization is newly born than Eastern Civilization. In many countries, Western clothing is used for everyday wear while local clothing is preserved for special events like religious holidays weddings etc. Euro-American dresses derive from military uniforms that is many jackets. Some recent developments are famous in the world for wearing that is jeans, T-shirts, skirts and hoodies. The people who ruled in the colonial era were from the West, so the lower class considered themselves superior to the rest when they practised Western culture. Western culture is also highly promoted through media, young generations of all countries are incorporating Western culture into their culture by being inspired by media and by wearing Western culture they feel more modern, rich and beautiful.

Samuel p Huntington in his book *The West is Unique, Not Universal* said that the distinguishing characteristics of Western civilization are due to the classical legacy in Western culture and many include Greek philosophy, rationalism, Roman law etc. There was a well-developed sense of community among Western Christian people that make them feel distinct from Turk, moors, Byzantine and others. They conquer the world for God, as well as for gold. Western Civilization contributed to the emergence of a sense of individualism and the tradition of individual rights and liberties. The time has come for the West to abandon the illusion of universality to promote its Civilization in the world. The future of the West depends upon the unity of the West. Western Unity depends more on events in the United States than those in Europe. (Huntington 1996).

Francis Fukuyama in his book *The End of History and the Last Man* argues that the collapse of communism and triumph of liberalism in 2nd world war is a sign of the triumph of liberalism as the world's dominant ideology (Fukuyama 1992).

Joseph Nye's in his book *Bound to Lead*, the changing nature of American power said that USA's ability to attract and

persuade others through its culture and policies is a key source of its power in the world (Nye 2005).

The literature discussed above indicates that the United States of America is using each and every tool which we ignored as unimportant to increase its power. The United States continue to promote its culture and ideological value through a variety of means, diplomacy, exchange program and supporting cultural emits and organization. The USA is promoting its soft power in a positive and influential way. American companies such as Apple, Google and Amazon have a strong global presence. Even the food items in fact the lunch box of our children is now given to them by filling Western food items i.e., fried chicken, fries and pizza etc. So, there is a need to investigate how their culture is penetrating our homes, school and country.

Literature Gap:

The literature discussed above represents the liberal moral values promoted by the USA and in the opinion of researchers also acts as a liberal guise highlighting only moral, political and economic aspects of US power ignoring the 3rd and prime dimension of US hegemony i.e., military significant to construct US dominance in economic and cultural arenas. The literature itself manifests the soft power of US power highlighting various dimensions of US lebensraum and creating an impression of awe for US power on the global stage. Hence, there is a need for further research on the question of US hegemony. The literature earlier discussed focuses on either one of the aspects and doesn't employ a holistic approach.

There is a gap of key questions that HOW, WHERE and WHY US power penetrated. The coming hegemon has to surpass the US not only in the military but also have a vision of an alternative to the liberal order exercised by the USA with the help of its allies and system of International multilateral institutions. Further, the contender to US hegemony must have

enough soft power at its disposal to match the soft power symbols like McDonald's, Coca-Cola and Hollywood cinema.

Research question:

- Where US Military bases are located across the globe?
- Why USA established military bases around the world? Either to promote free trade or to counter and deter its hegemonic rivals.
- How effective are the means of Aid and Financial assistance for the global liberal order based on the hegemonic dominance of the USA?
- How and why, the USA is working on cultural lebensraum and how does cultural expansionism effects US soft power and economy?

Methodology:

The qualitative research method is used for this research paper. The data analysis involves thematic analysis, based on key concepts like hegemony and lebensraum in cultural economic and political spheres of world politics. The qualitative methodology involves collecting data through secondary sources and understanding the data in light of concepts to provide insight into the USA's global dominance and its impact on different countries. A number of concepts are used to relate to the situation and to answer research questions i.e., Dependence theory, Hegemony stability theory, Liberalism, lebensraum, soft power etc.

Supposition of Study:

A cluster of cultural, economic, and psychological means are needed along with the hard power to make a state hegemonic and the USA has worked in all these dimensions. Any contender of hegemony has to surpass the USA not only in military might but also create a psychological impact of both awe and fear on the world stage.

Objectives

The objectives of the research are

- To examine the factors by which the United States has exercised its global power and influence under the guise of liberalism.
- To critically analyse the relationship of the USA with Russia and China to confront authoritarian ideologies.
- To analyse the impact of cultural dominance, economic and political development on other nations.
- To critically evaluate the US foreign policy and its role in shaping the world order.

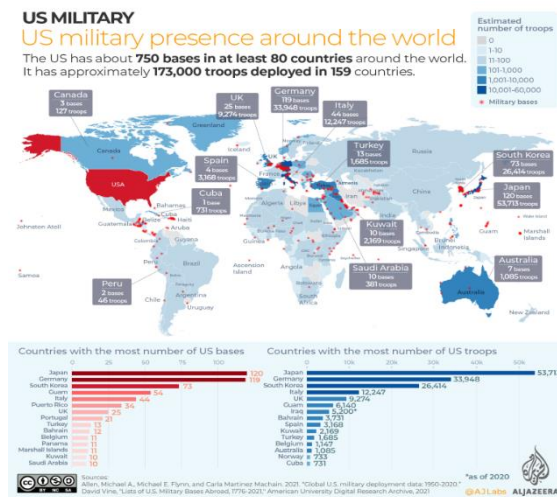


Figure 1 US Military Bases Across the World (Haddad 2021)

Scheme of Discussion

Discussion and arguments in the coming segments are as following.

- An Overview of US Military Dominance Across Continents

- Economy As a Means to Gain Consent for US Hegemony
- Creating Consent through Cultural Means

An Overview of US Military Dominance Across Continents

The USA is exercising domination all over the world since 1945. It has 750 military bases across 80 countries and in all continents of the world. The United States of America's presence in other countries is because of protecting its national security interest and supporting its allies. These bases serve as strategic locations from which the United States of America can quickly respond to threats. The threat perceived in the Cold War days was communism/socialism. In the post-Cold War Era threat of terrorism was considered a vital threat to the liberal way of life, and to be responded to immediately. Practically these military instalments present in almost all vital zones served as a deterrent to potential adversaries. (Haddad 2021)

Asia

Japan and Korea are the prime locations where US military bases are located.⁴ The reason provided to explain our presence there is to promote peace in countries, counter communism and deter adversary action. In Japan and South Korea USA has almost 120 bases. The USA has been in Japan since 1945 and in South Korea since the Korean War. Both Japan and South Korea are liberal states and in the Korean War USA fought for South Korea to counter communism and to counter threats coming from North Korea. The USA use South Korean seas for trade as well. The bases in South Korea and Japan are for the purpose of defence of prominent economic allies but some bases are primarily to counter the hegemonic contender. According to Rupert Wingfield-Hayes, The United States with four additional military bases in the Philippines has completed the arc around China to monitor the Chinese activities in the South China Sea around Taiwan. Though the hegemonic contender China perceives US escalation in the region as a threat to regional peace and stability, yet USA is

seeking more accessible places for light and flexible operations, as the US wants to play in China's backyard. (Wingfield-Hayes 2023)



Figure 2 US Military Bases in East Asia. <http://www.overseasbases.net/>

Central Asia

The USA has two bases in central Asia i.e., in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan for its post-war operations in Afghanistan. A regional group led by Russia and China has pressured the USA to remove its force from central Asia. The reason behind these forces is natural resources and the USA the region's oil and gas reserves are motivating economic bounties for US military spending in the region. The second most important reason to stay in central Asia is to prevent any neo-imperial revival in Russia, with the aim of curbing the influence of Moscow in this region.

Middle East:

USA have naval bases in Bahrain and Kuwait and military bases in UAE, Oman, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. These all

countries are rich in oil and natural gas. It holds 60% of world oil resources. USA has ground, naval and air forces for their protection but directly indirectly secure its own interest as US not only controls world oil supplies through its oil business but also protects oil supplies to Europe through trans-Jordan oil pipelines.

US military presence in Middle East dates back to Second World War. Interesting aspect of US presence in Middle East is that it has bases in friendly Arab states as well as in Israel. Though this strategic presence has caused controversy, yet USA acclaims that its presence in the region is the cause of stability and peace in world most volatile region.



Figure 3 US Bases in Middle East
(<https://www.americansecurityproject.org/national-security-strategy/u-s-bases-in-the-middle-east/>)

Africa:

United States Africa Command Force situated outside Djibouti Airport. It is claimed that the US military is there to evacuate US citizens working in humanitarian missions in conflict zones of Africa like Sudan. United States present its humanitarian commitments to the world as the prime objective of US military presence in Africa. But critics are of the opinion that the United States is there to check China's economic expansion in resource-rich Africa. is region. But here the USA fulfils its

capitalist interest which helps her to sustain economic hegemony through military means. (Bando 2021).



Figure 4 Resource Map of Africa <https://www.worldbulletin.net/world/mapping-africas-natural-resources-h191272.html>

US military presence in Africa means that the United States want to exploit African resources and by its military might it deters the contenders like China to gain access to Africa. The phenomenon can be explained by the Marxist Dependency theory which claims of plunder of resources by keeping the underdeveloped world dependent and maintaining resource flow from a peripheral African state to the core. USA extract resource from Africa and then sale to them in the form of finished products and explain it is necessary for free trade, a liberal component considered to be a vital element of world peace in an interdependent world. (Staff 2022)

Europe:

The USA has military bases located in half of Europe prior to the disintegration of the USSR. With the expansion of NATO now it has bases in the United Kingdom, Turkey, Italy, Belgium, Spain, and Germany. The US acts as a globally responsive policeman in a mature anarchic order. For this

purpose, IMCOM-Europe integrates and delivers support to enable the US army to respond globally under the auspices of NATO and the UN. These bases are used directly for military development and to counter Russia and China. The bases in Turkey are used by the USA for military deployment to counter terrorist threats and to create liberal democratic governments in Iraq and Afghanistan. US bases in Turkey are crucial for USA overseas missions in the Middle East and Central Asia. The Incirlik air base of Turkey since the 1950s has been serving vital US interests and is equipped with nuclear bombs along with conventional weapons. (World 2019) These bases help in protecting southern Europe from the Soviet Union. The present Ukraine-Russia war is one such example where Putin Russia responded to US expansion in the Russian backyard.

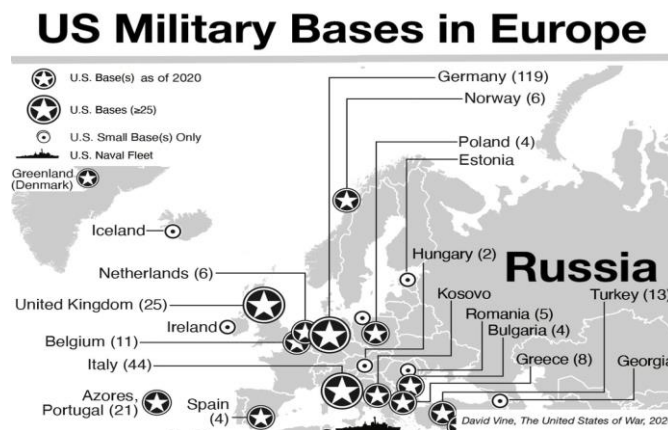


Figure 5 US Military Bases in Europe. [Http://www.overseasbases.net/](http://www.overseasbases.net/)

Objectives of Military Expansionism

If we examine the world map as shown above, we noticed that by making militarises the USA control not only the countries but also their trade routes and sea route and both directly and indirectly related to US interests. The USA also makes military Bases in countries to counter the communism and authoritarianism of China and Russia. One of its examples is Turkey. The USA deployed nuclear bombs there just to threaten Russia and used this base for a number of times.

The USA also used Pakistan's land to invade Afghanistan against Russia. By each and every means the USA is trying to secure its position and increase its consumers. But the important point which should be noticed here is that the USA could not make a base on any sovereign territory without that state's permission. In some developed countries also, protests are on the way to force the USA to leave their territory i.e., in England. Underdeveloped countries like Pakistan by giving a pathway to the USA also gain a number of benefits and by their assistance also. It should not be wrong if I say almost all development in the initial period is due to USA assistance i.e., Water dams, industries, five years, plan etc. It is called the golden period of Pakistan but due to economic aid officials were helpless and took decisions according to the wish of the USA. (Raman 2004) Auli and Murphy note that "Charity can become an act of affirming the belief that one is of the elect, the burden placed on the recipient of charity is not only one of their gratitude. It is also one of recognizing the despised donor as in reality something quite different as one of the chosen" (Persaud 263 (2004))

Zia Uddin Sarddar believes that "for the USA its own ideas and history are the only yardstick for what is reasonable, normal or proper, which means that America constructs what it knows about other cultures in binary opposition of like and not like. (Ziauddin Sardar & Mary Wyne Davies 2002)

By this means, American comes to think that they know everything from the natural character and meaning of life to other people. But what has been amassed is a partial judgment based on self-interested, self-serving analysis that can produce only double standards. The US is keen on promoting liberal democracy other parts of the world. It also supports anti-democratic forces when its own interest is at stake. The support for Saddam Hussain and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is one of its examples.

Economy As a Means to Gain Consent for US Hegemony

The perspective of the USA on the economy is a liberal perspective. The motto of liberalism is Liberty, Equality and Freedom (Chandler 2023). As it is an acclaimed Pax attributing to a situation wherein one nation may somehow become strong enough to dominate all others and, in the course of such domination, establish an empire founded on justice and wisdom. But benevolent despotism is indeed rare and continuity is never guaranteed. The USA as a liberal pax enjoys a preponderant position in world political and economic affairs. The USA invade other nations to capture these a root and to promote trade for its own interests wearing a mask of helping other nations and protecting their national interest and saving these states from their enemies and rivals. (Michael Beckley and Hal Bands 2022)

A number of philosophers even Karl Marx appreciates capitalism and capitalist states as transforming agent and serving the purpose of history as the end product of Communism. It seems that both the Left and Right sides of European philosophical and ideological tradition agreed on the End of History. Adam Smith and John Locke contributed the same work but their fields of work are different but highly interconnected i.e., Adam Smith's contributions are in Economic liberalism and John Locke's in political liberalism.

Adam Smith gave the idea of laissez-faire on the basis of human nature. The acclaimed theorem of prosperity and economic rights is rooted in the nature of humankind to accomplish the level of self-actualization. As everyone wants to be rich; to be respected; to live a luxurious life; and to satisfy all needs the perfect environment is liberalism. Adam Smith explains in his book i.e., "No society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part of the members is poor and miserable" (Smith 1759). In the economic affairs of the society and individual government should minimize her role. USA follows liberalism and guarantees human rights of its

citizens domestically and as a liberal hegemon internationally. So that during cold war USA had a moral edge on its contenders and now the USA leading the world because of both of her soft and hard power exercises a liberal world order through a network of multilateral international organization, i.e. The UN system. (Department 2001)

To exercise economic lebensraum and counter the threats of communism led by the USSR in the post-WWII years, the first adaptations were made in liberal ideology. The principle of non-intervention in the economic sphere was compromised and the Keynesian ideal of a Heterodox Interventionist liberal state was introduced. British economist John Maynard Keynes made a revolution in economic thinking by synthesising the state intervention in the economic sphere to monitor the free market and ensure full employment. He said that the driving force of the economy is the most spending by business government and households. The free market has no self-balancing mechanism, and it led to recession. The novel concept of welfare capitalism was introduced to counter the threats of communism in industrialised democratic states of Europe like the United Kingdom. Aid via Marshal Plan helped the economies of the western block to regain their industrial potential and stand firm beside the USA to counter the Socialist state and ideas. (HIRSCHMAN NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1988, Vol. 31, No. 6)

Free trade across countries is presented as a moral principle throughout the ages of US history. President George W. Bush commented that the concept of free trade arose as a moral principle even before it became a pillar of economics if you can make something that others value you should be able to sell it to them. If another makes something that you value you should be able to buy it. This is real freedom, the freedom for a person, or a nation, to make a living. Some third-world leaders really take President George W. Bush's word at face value and consider free trade as the best policy option. But the USA

passed through a tiring journey before attaining the status of great power. To strengthen the economy of a state USA first used an isolation policy and never intervene in any of the international problems but when the economy and military power strengthened America ruled over the world. (Chandler 2023)

USA and China both have a similar economic history of protectionism and isolation before entering on world political stage as dominant actors. China is emerging as an Economic power and gaining influence through aid and multilateral economic institutions like Asian Infrastructure Bank. China also working on a revival of the silk route, by which China will arrange its trade by land routes and eventually get access to sea routes. (Sutter 2012)

Creating Consent through Means of Culture

American cultural hegemony refers to the widespread dominance of the culture of the United States of America across the globe, which is spread by political power, military and economic means. This prevalence is the result of the country's superpower status. Consent for US superiority is created through consumer culture dominated by Western food and dresses as well as the English language. Western culture is now becoming a worldwide culture (Christian Welzel and Ronald Inglehart 2005). The dress style, shoes, hair colours, foods, events, sports, political culture and architecture are fully embedded in the liberal values. People living in Global South underdeveloped countries have a fear of inferiority and they think that the culture of the West is superior to theirs. So, to be superior they have to adopt the superpower cultural values. If we examine the societies like Pakistan, we notice that both girls and boys have coloured blonde to their hair. Why not they are OK with their natural hair colour? It is all due to the psychological acceptance of some colours as superior to others as they are associated with the white race. Speak English in a good accent is considered to be a sign of intellectual currency.

If you're not good in English then you are inferior to others. If you are not wearing a pant coat with a tie and matching socks with a tie colour you are not mannered. The society will not accept you. Psychologically global south has accepted cultural domination. They make sell as a producer and we all are their consumer. Food like pizza, burgers, macaroni, potato chips, meatloaf, ice creams, hot dogs, soft drinks etc. Being part of global consumer culture are not without economic values and act as agents of free trade capitalism. (Namkung 2012)

The phenomenon can be explained by two concepts

- Coca colonization thesis
- Modernization.

Coca colonization thesis claims that Eurocentric more specifically United State of America culture is on way to become universal culture covering the entire world. The heart of culture is language, tradition and custom (Poiger Vol. 23, No. 1 (Winter 1999)).

The modernization thesis argument is different and more serious than the Coca-Cola negation. Modernization involves industrialisation, urbanisation education, health, social mobilization, increased level of literacy, and wealth. Modernization explains a revolutionary process of shifting from a primitive to a civilized society (Billet 1993) The attitude knowledge of people is different from primitive societies to modern societies. Two societies exist i.e., modern and traditional. The modern world is more homogenous but never merges into homogeneity. The Western countries claim that the non-Western countries do not have their own culture. They are illiterate and ignorant, but by making them colonies a culture is gifted to them. West claims that they taught Asians to how to eat? how to sit? How to communicate? And which new thoughts they should.

Even Karl Marx adheres to the claims that India had no culture, and it was full of illiterate people. Europeans are the only ones who taught them. (Said 1979) The person who wore a pant coat with a tie at that time was considered to be the superior one and called Kala Saab at that time. Since then, the West entered Indian society and was adopted as a symbol of civilization in the subcontinent. (Nandy 2009) Because the world has now become a global village, and everywhere is accessible by mobile phones, Western culture is now penetrated even to the periphery of the periphery. The clothes of America and European countries and their pop music are becoming very popular among the young generation of all countries to define themselves as modern (Rothstein 2001). The space for local cultures has been squeezed.

Many countries have done a lot to preserve and promote their culture. Steps have been taken by the African continent. Local cultures have to lose further space when China, the other contender of hegemony will penetrate with its language and consumer goods; and a clash of dominant cultures will take place in markets and societies of underdeveloped states. China is also working on promoting its culture globally. China is doing so through the establishment of Confucius Institutes which are cultural and language centres that are funded by the government of China and are working in different parts of the world. China also invests in art galleries, museums, and music and is also exporting its culture by exporting its products, films, TV shows and music to other countries and young generations are following more to them. China is also working on promoting the Chinese language by teaching it to other countries' students. (Dunt 2020)

Conclusion:

The United States of America got independence from Britain in 1776. Fifty US states together made a constitution and became the United States of America. From the year 1776 to till date the USA is in a struggle to improve its economy, and military

and worked to attain a dominant position first in the American continent, and onwards in Europe and World. The USA since the beginning adhered to liberal ideology and preserved its economic gains by promoting free trade at a national scale. Eventually, it turned into a hegemonic state that now wants to increment its gain in military and economic spheres by advocating the liberal ideal of free trade globally and protecting trade arrangements through a set of international institutions and military might stretch across the globe.

US military bases across the globe ensure the free transportation of goods through sea routes. Military and Economic might go hand in hand with economic liberalism and economic expansionism protecting an arrangement that is denoted by Socialist critics as a dependency, development of underdevelopment and exploitation of the periphery. Liberalism creates an image of economic interdependence for peace that is in practice the liberal guise of dependency. Liberalism believes in an independent world economy which means that underdeveloped countries have to enter into economic structures and follow the rules given by liberal pax USA. Hence these countries are denied the opportunity to explore their own economic potential in isolation; a chance that was available to USA and China in the past. Further if a country challenges and detest the liberal order, it can feel the warmth of US military presence in the neighbourhood ready to counter any threat to liberal values.

Consumer culture is becoming a universally accepted norm. Hegemony in the cultural sphere is exercised through soft symbols of American power like McDonald, Coke and Hollywood movies. No one employs military might or coercive force on individuals to buy products made elsewhere. Hegemony as Gramsci indicated is the acceptance of the cultural values of the elite. The cultural sphere world over indicates the acceptance of the superiority of Eurocentric values. In the coming scenario of cultural contestation between

the dominant USA and contending China the space for local cultures, languages and goods will be further squeezed.

As argued China is also following in the footsteps of the USA to attain the status of hegemonic power. China is building alternative trade routes under Belt and Road Initiative to connect Asia with Europe and via a string of pearls, i.e., Ports, to the Americas and Africa. It has preserved its economic gains in isolation and now aims to increment these gains by claiming a major share in the world market. It is also building economic expansionism by giving development and infrastructure aid to underdeveloped countries. At present China is pursuing many strategies to establish its soft power like the promotion of its culture and language. The ultimate objective of China is not different from the USA and that is Hegemonic dominance but with Chinese traits.

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