

Nogayeva A.  
**The Rise of Powers: the United States Or «City On A Hill»**

There have been efforts to define the role of the United States in International Relations as an American discipline in an international environment where the USA arose as the sole superpower. In this context, it can be said the Realist/Neorealist school, which is one of the established theoretical schools in international relations, is undergoing a change. In fact, some representatives of the Realist school, who are head over heels due to the USA's «privileged» and «superior position», have been criticised for acting in accordance with views that are close to «hegemony» and «neoliberal views» and ceasing to be Realists. The central role of states by which an ordinary state becomes a «great power», which is one of the most frequently criticised concepts of the Realist approach, the developments that lead to this process and the factors such as the economic and military potentials of great powers are among the sub-topics that will be covered extensively in this study. The state to be able to defend its national interests, it needs to be powerful. In this context, the purpose of this paper is listing of the important historical events to shed light on the status of the US as «great power» by citing the events that contributed to his rise.

**Key words:** USA, exceptionalism, foreign policy, power, strategy.

Ногаева А.  
**Күштердің дамуы: АҚШ немесе «Төбедегі қала»**

АҚШ жаһанның тетігін ұстаушы күшке айналғаннан кейін оның бұл рөлін халықаралық дәрежеде айғақтайтын жаңа теориялар пайда болды. Осы кезден бастап атақты Реалист/ Неореалист мектеп те өзгеріске ұшырай бастайды. Тіпті АҚШ-тың жеке-дара үстіндігіне байланысты «гегемония», «неолибералды» көзқарастарға жақын сөйлегені және реалист көзқарастан ауытқығаны үшін сынға ұшырап жатты. Реалист көзқарастың ең көп сыналған ұстанымдарының бірі мемлекеттердің орталықтандырылған рөлі, қатардағы бір мемлекеттің суперкүшке айналуы, осы үдеріске септігін тигізетін факторлар, сол секілді үлкен күштердің қылаптысуына жағдай жасайтын экономикалық және әскери потенциалдар қозғалады. Бір мемлекеттің ұлттық мүддесі қорғалуы үшін бұл елдің өзі қайратты және күш-қуаты мықты болуы қажет. Мұндай тұжырымдаманы басшылыққа ала отырып, мақсатымыз маңызды тарихи оқиғаларға қысқа шолу жасап, АҚШ-тың «алып күш» дәрежесіне жету үшін жасаған қадамдарын көрсету болып табылады.

**Түйін сөздер:** АҚШ, ерекшелігі, сыртқы саясат, күш, стратегия.

Ногаева А.  
**Взлет держав: США или «Город на холме»**

В международной среде, где США возникли как единственная сверхдержава в Международных Отношениях, воспринимаемых в качестве американской дисциплины, были предприняты усилия для определения роли Соединенных Штатов. В этом контексте можно сказать, что школа реализма /неореализма, которая является одним из укоренившихся теоретических школ, переживает свою эволюцию. В самом деле, некоторые представители школы реализма, у которых голова шла кругом из-за «исключительности» и «привилегированного положения» США, были подвергнуты критике за мысли, близкие к неолиберальным взглядам и «гегемонии». Центральная роль государства, с помощью которого обычное его состояние превращается в «великую державу», события, которые приводят к этому процессу, и такие факторы, как экономический и военный потенциал великих держав среди пунктов, которые будут освещены в этом исследовании. Государство должно быть сильным, чтобы быть в состоянии отстаивать свои национальные интересы. В этом контексте цель данной статьи – обратить внимание на важные исторические события, дабы пролить свет на возвышение США, ссылаясь на события, которые привели к их расцвету.

**Ключевые слова:** США, исключительность, внешняя политика, власть, стратегия.

**THE RISE OF POWERS:  
THE UNITED STATES OR  
«CITY ON A HILL»**

The United States of America or the «city on a hill» is a country of differences in many respects. (This phrase was first used by John Winthrop in 1630, and later became popular when historian Sacvan Bercovitch argued that the USA was a model of country that was based on a common imagination. ) [1] Whereas China and Russia are geographically land states, the USA seems like an island state. When we compare it with the great powers, the USA has a history of only two hundred years. According to French author Fransız Maxime Lefebvre, another distinctive quality of the USA is that although it invented neither freedom, or democracy, nor parliament or human rights, it has imposed the values of liberal democracy all across the world with a messianic and almost religious vision [1; 7 б.].

However, despite its short history and distance from the traditional centers of power, the USA has become the only country that has an extensive network and perception of security since the collapse of the USSR. Besides this, the USA has made significant progress in other fields as to leave its rivals behind. According to Lefebvre, the USA, which became the world's first economic power nearly a hundred years after the British colonies gained their independence, is equipped with a foreign policy characterised by two dominant features: «isolationism and protection of interests provided by power» [1; 11 б.]. According to another view, the USA owes its success to the «imagination» of its people. So, Former American Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, pointed out that the USA's success was based on a powerful imagination that depended on the unique concept of American Realism [3]. Determining foreign policy on the basis of the various principles ranging from isolationism to pragmatism, American administrators have not given up the Founding Fathers idea of exceptionalism: However, factors such as favourable world conjuncture, industrial development, qualified workforce that it obtains from abroad, and the policies that it has pursued have played a role in the USA's acquiring its present exceptional status.

At the end of the 20th century, the USA became the driving force of the world economy. Here economic (27 % growth between 1990 and 2007, GNP 13.5 trillion dollars in 2007, which constituted 27 % of the world GNP), military (it has 400 military bases across the world), political-diplomatic and ideological (there are 15 thousand NGOs globally that voice American interests), information –

communication (90 % of the websites are American, 40 % of the computers are in the USA, 100 of the global channels are American, 200 of the largest libraries are in America, 85 % of the cinema sector is American) [4; 26 б.] and education (475.200 foreign students come to the USA for education annually) [5] factors are effective.

As Professor Thomas A. Bailey observed, the USA has emerged as a world power since it declared its independence in 1776. In other words, the «American Age» has been in the making since the nation was established. Even before the «American Age», the colonies were in a position to compete with the great European powers of the time in terms of its population, land area, economic power, wealth of natural resources, and especially ambition [6; 1 б.]. Then, having made a policy change, the USA distanced itself from European affairs and began to pursue isolationist policies. However, as it became the world's largest power as a result of its development in political, economic and military fields thanks to the active role it played in Latin America and Asia, it gradually abandoned its isolationist policies and began to pursue an «interventionist» policy in the regional and international developments. In the early 20th century, the USA intervened in Mexico, the Caribbeans and Latin American countries. Moreover, the American policies towards Central American countries, which are strategically very important, aimed at establishing military, economic and political hegemony in the region [7; 48- 49 б.]. As a matter of fact, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 allowed the USA to establish a strategic supremacy in military, economic, and political fields.

#### *Dynamics of Economic Power*

Economic power, which Carr defines as the second tool of national policy, is used to gain power and influence abroad. This power assumes two basic forms: capital export and control over foreign markets. Capital export has become a well-known practice of powerful states [8; 114 б.]. Sectors such as chemicals, automotive and production of white goods are highly advanced thanks to the increased speed of work and mass production. Subsequent to the Second World War, the USA emerged as a great power that has a say on international platforms.

As founders of international financial institutions such as IMF and the World Bank, the USA continues to supervise these organisations. These institutions, which are tools of the international system that was established after World War II, offer loans to countries and thus enable countries to have an economic structure that will adapt to the capitalist international economy. Though the USA is conf-

routed by rapidly growing economies such as China and India, the business world order is predominantly under American control and «all of the modern management methods like taylorism, fordism, the role of advisory organisations and supervision have come from the other side of the Atlantic» [2; 94-96 б.].

Besides economic and technical development, the USA was also the greatest «brain collector». Today, too, the USA is among the leading countries that attract a well-educated, qualified, and competent workforce. In a report prepared by Confederation of Turkish Employers' Unions [9], the contribution of qualified immigrants to the American economy was calculated to be about 150 thousand dollars per capita annually. Indeed, the «qualified staff» factor has added to the USA's power. Here, brain drain, which played the most prominent role in the development of Germany and Japan after World War II, can be remembered.

The economic power of the USA is so complicated as to imply that the USA should not behave independently of the EU, Japan, China and others. Since the power distribution may change in economic matters, the USA should not use the concept of «unipolar world» thoughtlessly. The reason for this is that the «common trade policy» pursued by the EU, and establishment of the World Trade Organisation whose international agreements were secured under a legally binding system, emerged as factors that limited the economic power of the USA [2; 95 б.]. However, the military power that the USA possesses is the fundamental reason for the use of concepts such as «the only super power», «unipolarity», «hegemony» and even «American Empire» [10; 14 б.].

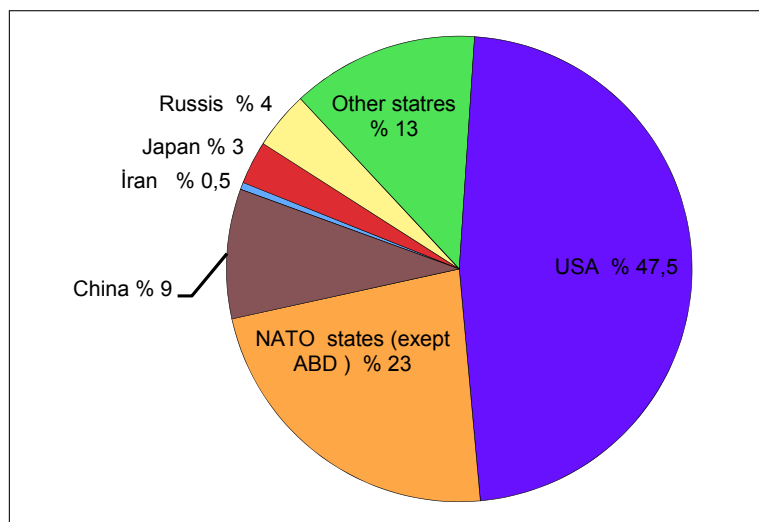
#### *The Military Potential of the USA*

One of the most important factors that led to Pax Americana in parallel to an increase in the economic power of the USA, which became a Great Power thanks to the aforementioned reasons, is the military supremacy of the USA.

It was reported in the 2006 annual report of Stockholm International Peace Research Institute SIPRI, which is one of the independent research centers in Europe, that military spendings in the world reached 1 trillion 204 billion dollars, and almost half of this figure (46 %), that is 528.7 billion dollars, belonged to the USA alone. Costly operations in Afghanistan and Iraq constituted most of these spendings. (The USA is followed by Britain with 59 billion, France with 53 billion, China with 49.5, Japan with 43 billion, Germany with 37 billion, Russia with 34.7 billion, Italy with 29.9 billion, and Saudi Arabia with 29 billion dollars) [11.]. The

USA and Russia were the biggest arms dealers in the 2002–2006 period. The countries that bought the largest quantities of arms in this period were China and India. The increase in the money allocated to arms purchases was not so high in the Cold War era as it is now. While the increase was 2 per cent annually in the late 1980s, today the annual increase is about 6 per cent. As was stated in the report, the amount of global spending in 2006 increased by 37

per cent in comparison to 10 years before. In other words, countries that increase their economic power also increase their military potential in the name of ensuring their security. On the other hand, according to the 2007 data of International Strategic Research Institute, the total military spendings in the world was 1.36 trillion dollars, and almost half of them, i.e. 644 billion dollars, belonged to the USA [12; 99 6.].



**Figure 1** – The share of defense expenditures in military budgets in the world  
Sources: SIPRI, U.S. Department of Defense, 2007

As we stated before, the supremacy of the USA seems to be beyond debate thanks to modern weapons and technology. Nevertheless, China and Russia, which began military reforms, are implementing serious modernization efforts in their armies. Even in today's atmosphere of financial crisis, Russia states that it will not reduce its military spendings.

The policy of the USA administration aimed at increasing this massive military potential has gained considerable support from the public. The clearest expression of the society's support or criticism has been the tradition of writing letters to the presidents of the time [13]. The softening of the USA's tough policies during the Clinton administration have been met with criticism [14]. The armed forces of the USA do not only provide security for the country; the continuation of the supremacy of the American armed forces serves an important function in sustaining the privileged and superior position of the USA.

Countries are trying to take lessons from the USA's practices and follow positive examples. For example, Russia is trying to impose its own

currency on the countries close to it with which it has intensive trade. Thus, it is trying to reduce the power of the dollar by increasing the use of ruble ( Since an abrupt devaluation of the dollar and the collapse of the system which depends of the power of American economy may lead all countries to decline, this process may be implemented gradually ). China, on the other hand, resorted to «copying» the USA's idea of «brain collector». According to news reported in the newspaper China Daily [15], Chinese employers will take advantage of the crisis and provide employment for managers who were laid off in the USA Thus, two goals will be achieved in one go. First, the need for experienced staff will be met and second it will be demonstrated that Chinese economy stands on firm ground. In other words, big states are endeavoring to become big powers and have begun to lay the groundwork leading to this.

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