



University of Sfax
TUNISIA

Republic of Tunisia

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

University of Sfax

Faculty of Arts and Humanities



**A Declining Hegemony amidst *Pax Americana* Disillusionment:
Trumpism as a Case in Point**

Candidate: Khalida Madoui

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the doctor of philosophy
degree in civilization

Supervisor: Prof. Lanouar Ben Hafsa

Academic Year: 2021-2022

To El Zeituna El Shariffa

To My Dearests:

My family;

My Strength;

My pride.

Acknowledgement

My academic Journey began in El Zeituna and as destiny would have it, the Holy Grail I found therein too. Professor Ben Hafsa was that Holy Grail as he honored me with his supervision. I have taken much of his chalice of knowledge and with much wisdom and serenity, care and deep understanding, I have just realized that the most precious thing a supervisor grants his student is trust. Prof Ben Hafsa, I am deeply grateful for such an unconditional care, guidance and advise as it made my work successful. I hope I would honor your efforts just as you deserve.

Prof Ben Baya is the guardian angel of Carthage City. Indeed, Tunisia is lucky to have him and I have been lucky to be there! Prof Ben Baya gave me a noble hand, believed that 'I can', and with much encouragement, knowledge, and wisdom of him, I regained self- confidence. I should have been born under a lucky star to come in a world of art Prof Ben Baya makes out of an eloquence that is just magnificent and magic. Prof Ben Baya, I am deeply grateful for all you did for me, and you need to know that your art beautifies all that surrounds it and I have been lucky to be there!

Prof Damak, the intellectual generosity, the candle of beautiful Sfax that enlightened my research at an early stage when I needed much advice and guidance. Prof Damak gave me an unconditional help and it is thanks to his thoroughly clarifications to my queries that I started my research on steady grounds. Prof Damak, I am so grateful for your precious academic assistance, and you need to know how significant were your recommendations.

Prof Guirat, Head of the Doctoral School, eased administrative procedures remarkably for me and that meant a lot for a foreign student. Prof Guirat, Thank you so much for your precious assistance. I would surely not be fair in choosing the right words for the great person and teacher you are. I would just say : 'You tainted my career with the best ever success...keep enlightening Sfax as you always did...'

The academic frame of work at Sfax Faculty was that affluent thanks to a staff that is just genial. I am warmly thankful to Prof Chkir, Dean of Sfax Faculty, for all efforts and aid she is giving students. Prof Bouramech honored me with his support but mainly by working amidst the cultural studies' team at Sfax. So Many Thanks. Prof Salemi gave much care and nice meetings along all our webinars. Thanks for having kept us tuned though afar. Prof Triki, Dr Mellouli, Dr Charfi, Prof Harzallah, Prof Ben Salah, so many thanks for an earlier advice, lecturing and guidance. Meriem Kallal, Najet Ben Kahla, Mouna Guebes, Mrs Soundess and Mr Hamdane, how caring you were as I never felt in trouble when you managed all administrative issues while I was so far away in Algeria. So thankful.

Rose of Sidi Bouzid, the sweetest ever, Ohem, Shall I thank you too! The flavor of your friendship is worthy writing, How much we shared good things, how much we had great exchanges, and how much we believed in each other. Your soft amity I would keep deep inside me. Your aid was that precious, I surely would not remember how many times you managed inconvenient conditions for me in beloved Tunisia but I know that I was lucky as we met. Art and culture gathered us and we would keep surely good friends just as the 'Inspiration' and an the 'eternal' flowers.

Abstract

Recurring narratives and counter-narratives on the United States with regard to declinism are at the core of sundry International Relations' scholars' and policy makers' writings that highlight basically the notion of hegemony and tackle the extent to what its decline is factual. This research attempts to cognize the American mind that- in spite of uniqueness in dreams and reality- is witnessing a fading in its unipolarity in a world that is becoming ostensibly multipolar, if not apolar. The *Pax Americana*, the American peace project, is challenged nowadays by the neo-conservative sway; coercive means accordingly make peace as the ontological security is at stake. National Security narratives go, henceforth, hand in hand, with the rise of the notion of *neo-Pax Americana*. This thesis examines how Americans are eager to keep hegemon in spite of an apparent waning hegemonic status. Through case study analyses of President Trump's conduct and rhetoric, this work is to attest alongside scholars' arguments and academicians' criticism that the US policies worldwide are tainted with a "moral decline" as transcending human rights and international law. Indeed, historical and political writings have predicted the United States hegemonic decline as a cycle all earlier empires had gone through. The thesis shows too the co-constitutive relationship between the American belief system and the US foreign policy agenda. Introducing notions as exceptionalism and ontological security helps understand why Americans rebuff their hegemonic and unipolar decline if any, and carry more hegemonic paths mirroring double standard morals. The case study of Trump and Trumpism have brought proofs that the decline of the American hegemony is actual and causal aspects are more than military or economic; they are moral. The outcome shows the US is losing the hegemon status albeit surviving as a "Hegemon No Matter What".

List of Abbreviations

- (**ADHD**) Depression, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity disorder
- (**APA**) Association of American Psychologists
- (**APEC**) Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum
- (**BPD**) Borderline, Personality, Disorder
- (**ARAMCO**) Arabian American Company
- (**BREC**) Brazil, Russia, India, and China
- (**BRICS**) Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
- (**CCP**) Chinese Communist Party's
- (**CDA**) Critical Discourse Analysis
- (**CIA**) Central Intelligence Agency
- (**CR**) Critical Realism
- (**CT**) Critical Theory
- (**CVE**) Common Vulnerabilities and Exposures
- (**DDE**) Doctrine of Double Effect
- (**DHA**)The Discursive Historical Analysis
- (**DNA**) Discursive Narrative Analysis
- (**DSM**) Diagnostic and Statistical Manual
- (**EBRD**) The European of Reconstruction and Development
- (**EDPFR**) Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic, Peaceful and Friendly Relations
- (**EEC**) European Economic Corporation
- (**EI**) Emotional Intelligence
- (**ENP**) European Union's Neighborhood Policy
- (**EU**) The European Union
- (**FBI**)The Federal Bureau of Investigation
- (**FDR**) Franklin Delano Roosevelt
- (**FPA**) Fitness Plus Preferential Attachment
- (**FON**) Freedom of Navigation
- (**G7**) Group of 7

(GB) Great Britain

(GDP) Gross domestic product

(GITMO) US prison at Naval Station Guantanamo Bay

(GNEP) Global Nuclear Energy Partnership

(GNP) Gross national product

(GOP) Grand Old Party (Republican Party)

(HST) Hegemonic Stability Theory

(IBRD) Bank for Reconstruction and Development

(ICBM) Intercontinental Ballistic Missile

(ICC) International Criminal Court

(ICJ) International Court of Justice

(ICPA) International Compliance Professionals associations

(IE) International Ethics

(IEA) International Energy Agency

(IMF) International Monetary Fund

(INA) Immigration and Nationality Act

(INF) Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty

(INSTEX) Instrument in Support of Trade Exchanges

(IPA) The Interpretative Policy Analysis

(IQ) Intelligence Quotient

(IR) International Relations

(IRGC) The Iranian Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps

(ISIS / ISIL) Islamic State of Iraq and Syria / Levant

(JCPOA) Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action signed

(LCT) Long Cycle Theory

(LN) League of Nations

(MCF) Military-Civil Fusion

(MENA) Middle East and North Africa region

(MNC) Multinational Corporation

(MNF–I) Multi-National Force-Iraq
(NAFTA) North American Free Trade Agreement
(NAGS) North American Great Space
(NAM) The Non-Aligned Movement
(NATO) North Atlantic Treaty Organization
(NDAA) National Defense Authorization Act
(NPR) National Public Radio
(NS) The National Security
(NSR) the New Silk Road
(NSS) National Security Strategy
(NWO) New World Order
(OBOR) One Belt one Road
(OBORI) One Belt One Road Initiative
(OECD) Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
(OPEC) The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
(PBUH) Peace Be Upon Him
(PDA) Political Discourse Analysis
(PDVSA) Petroleum of Venezuela
(PNAC) The Project for the New American Century
(PNAC) The Project for the New American Century
(PPP) Purchasing Price Parity adjustment
(PR) Political Rhetoric
(PTT) Power Transition Theory
(R2P) The Responsibility to Protect
(RPA) Rhetorical Political Analysis
(RSR) Rhetoric of Social Resistance
(KSA/ SA) Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
(SC) Security Council
(SEA) Search Engine Advertising

(SIT) Social Identity Theory

(SMR) Social Movement Rhetoric

(SREs) Significant Reduction Exceptions

(STHD) Systemic Theories of Hegemonic Deficits

(START) Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty

(SU/ USSR) The Soviet Union/ The Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics

(SWIFT) La Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication

(TPP) Trans-Pacific Partnership

(UAE) The United Arab Emirates

(UAS) Unmanned Aircraft Systems

(UK) United Kingdom

(UN) United Nations

(UNCLOS) United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea

(UNCLS) United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea

(UNDP) Development Program

(UNFCCC)The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change

(UNGA) United Nations General Assembly

(UNICEF) UN Children’s Fund

(UNRWA) United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees

(UPU) Universal Postal Union

(US) The United States

(USCIS) The United States Citizenship and Immigration Services

(USSR) Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

(VCDR) Convention on Diplomatic Relations

(WASP) White Anglo Saxon Protestant

(WHO) World Health Organization

(WMD) Weapons of Mass Destruction

(WMFP)World Market For Protection

(WTO) World Trade Organization

(WWI/II) World War One/Two

List of Maps

Map 1. Cuban Missile Crisis

Map 2. Annexation of Territories by the SU

Map 3. Warsaw Pact vs. NATO

Map 4. Middle East Oil and Gas fields

Map 5. Uprising and Wars of Liberation of the Palestinian Land

Map 6. Sykes Picot Agreement

Map 7. American Global Supremacy

Map 8. The Euroasian Chessboard

Map 9. One Belt One Road Initiative

Map 10. NATO Expansion Membership

Map 11. String of Pearls

List of Figures

Fig 1. Cuban Missile Crisis

Fig 2. Warsaw Pact

Fig 3. Cooperation and Regimes

Fig 4. a. Presidential Messages and Narratives

b. Speech Factors over Time

c. Speech Factors over Time in Presidential Speeches

Fig 5. The Emotional Brain

Fig 6. Dimensions of American Attractiveness

Fig 7. a. Continents' Areas

b. Continents' Populations

c. Continents' GDP

Fig 8. Trump a Narcissist President

Fig 9. The Best Accomplishments Ever

Fig 10. A Fascist-like Democrat

Fig 11. Banning Immigration

Fig 12. Trumpism and Non-interventionism

Fig 13. *Pax Americana* under Trump Doctrine

Fig 14. Countries Sitting on the Largest Oil Reserves

Fig 15. American Economics in Numbers

Fig 16. Russian Economics in Numbers

Fig 17. The United States' Debts

Fig 18. Chinese Economics in Numbers

Fig 19. The Pandemic Death Numbers

Fig 20. What Is a Moral Foreign Policy Leader? A 3D Checklist

Fig 21. Refugee Numbers

Fig 22. Illustrations on Trump's Tweets

Fig 23. The United States in Yemen Battlefields

Fig 24. Infant Mortality Rate in Yemen

Fig 25. Outcomes of the Syrian War

Fig 26. Number of Refugees and Asylum Seekers Originating from the Palestinian Territories from 2005 to 2015(in 1,000s)

Fig 27. Oil at Stake

Fig 28. The Impact of Sanctions on Russian Oligarchs

Fig 29. Sanctions on Russia after its Invasion on Ukraine

Fig 30. Make Russia Great Again

List of Appendixes

App 1. The Wilsonian Fourteen Points

App 2. The NATO Charter

App 3. Balfour Promise

App 4. The National Security Strategy (2002)

App 5. The Project for the New American Century (PNAC)

App 6. The Monroe Doctrine

App 7. The Speech of Obama over the Strike on Syria

App 8. The Eurasian Project

App 9. George Kennan's Long Telegram

App 10. Remarks by President Trump to the 73rd Session of the UNGA

App 11. Remarks by President Trump to the 74th Session of the UNGA

App 12. Remarks by President Trump to the 75th Session of the UNGA

App 13. Speech of "America First" 2016

App 14. Remarks by President Trump to the 72nd Session of the UNGA

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	i
Acknowledgement.....	iii
Abstract	iv
List of Abbreviations.....	v
List of Maps	x
List of Figures.....	xi
List of Appendixes.....	xiii
Table of Contents.....	xiv
Introduction	1
1. Scope of Study.....	2
1.1. Background.....	2
1.2. Literature Review: Synthesis.....	3
1.3. Key Words	12
2. Statement of the Problem	15
3. Research Questions	16
4. Aims of Research	20
5. Research Data	20
5.1. Primary Sources	20
5.2. Secondary Sources.....	21
6. Methodology and Investigation	22
6.1. Approaches	22
6.1.1. Constructivism	22
6.1.2. Post-Structuralism	24
6.1.3. Interpretivism	25
6.1.4. Political Psychology	26
6.2. Methods of Analysis	27
6.2.1. Qualitative Data Analysis and Case Study	27
6.2.2. Political Discourse Analysis	30
6.2.3. The Rhetorical Political Analysis	32
6.2.4. The Discursive Historical Analysis (DHA) in Critical Discourse Analysis.....	34
6.2.5. The Interpretative Policy Analyses	36
6.2.6. Discursive Narrative Analyses	37
6.2.7. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)	38
7. Style	38
8. Summaries	39

Chapter One**Hegemony, World Order and International Relations**.....42

1. Hegemony, Definition and Scrutiny43
2. International Relations and Hegemony52
 - 2.1. Realism, Neo-realism and Hegemony in IR51
 - 2.2. Gramsci and Neo-Gramscian Approaches to Hegemony67
 - 2.3. Liberalism, Neo liberalism and Hegemonic World Order82
 - 2.4. Constructivism, World Order and Hegemony in IR92
 - 2.5. Perspectives and Hegemonic Order97
3. The American World Hegemony and *Pax Americana*101
 - 3.1. *Pax Americana* Dynamics and Course101
 - 3.2. The Hegemon’s Hawks: The Neoconservatives and the *New Pax Americana*.....108
4. Power in the Foucauldian Revolution120
 - 4.1. The Birth of Biopolitics121
 - 4.2. Power and the Objectification of the Subject125
 - 4.3. Political Power: Beyond Coercive Dogmas131

Chapter Two**The American Hegemonic Identity and the Belief Network**.....138

1. The Freudian Circle, Psychoanalysis and Political Realm.....139
 - 1.1. Freudian Psychoanalysis139
 - 1.2. Subjectivity and Man in Politics145
 - 1.3 Forwards New Psycho-Political Horizons149
2. Political Culture, International Relations and Post- Cold War Realities156
 - 2.1. Lucian Pye and the Revival of Faded Political Culture..... 156
 - 2.2. Political Personality and Collective Identity159
 - 2.3. The Politician’s Identity in a Socio-Cultural Milieu164
3. The American Hegemonic Identity170
 - 3.1. American Exceptionalism170
 - 3.2. Ontological Security189
 - 3.3. Narratives and American National Security199
4. A Post-Modern Political Psychology215
 - 4.1. Political Conduct between Reason and Emotions216
 - 4.2. The Belief System, Ethics and the Other222

Chapter Three**Architects of American Hegemony amidst New World Realities**..... 231

1. A World Constructed by Rhetoricians..... 232
 - 1.1. Agency in the Ideology of Onuf232
 - 1.2. Constructing Ties in War and Peace236
 - 1.3. Rhetoric, Discourse and Context in Constructing Virtues and Ethics.....239

1.4. Language: A Tool in Communication; A Weapon in Politics.....	244
1.5. Wendt on Identity and Ruling.....	247
2. The American Hegemonic Legitimate Prism: Between Rhetoric and Manipulation	251
2.1. Rhetoric: The Art of Persuasion	251
2.2. Manipulation, the Other Face of the Rhetoric Coin.....	257
3. All Shades of Hegemony for Legitimacy and Headship.....	267
3.1. Unipolarity versus Multipolarity	267
3.2. Hard Power versus Soft Power	274
3.3. Fukuyama’s Globalization Thesis versus Huntington’s Clash Anti-thesis	282
3.4. American Hegemony versus Eurasian Geopolitical Growth	295
3.5. Counter Narratives versus Narratives and Realities	305
4. Declinism and the Falling Civilization	310
4.1. The Decline of the US Hegemony: Between Narratives and Counter-narratives.....	311
4.2. The Fall of a Hegemon and a Civilization.....	327
Chapter Four	
Trumpism and the ‘Hegemon No Matter What’ Theory.....	347
1. The American Hegemonic Identity.....	348
1.1. The American Narcissism: An Identity or a Psyche.....	348
1.2. Trumpism, Pragmatism and a Populist-like Hegemon Leader	372
1.3. Trumpism Facing up Elitism and Decline	413
1.4. The Birth of a Hegemonic Political Culture: From Myth to Reality	432
2. The <i>Pax Americana</i> Letdown and the Decline of an Empire	452
2.1. A Hegemony in Decline, Rivalry and Warfare Horizons.....	452
2.2. A Doctrine à la Trump: ‘America First’	488
3. Double Standard Morality and Unethicality in Trumpism	513
3.1. An Amoral <i>Pax Americana</i>	513
3.2. A Hegemon and Horizons of a Tumbling Empire: Did the US Fall Morally?	558
Conclusion	593
References.....	604
Appendixes	660