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**Beyond Neoliberalism:
American Empire as the Post Neo-liberal World**

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Now it is no longer a question of months, but only a question of weeks. Those who are going to start the war are no longer trying to justify the war. That is a novelty. No serious speech any more about the threat by terror or the danger of mass destruction arms. Wars always have their causes and they have their justifications. The US government does not even trouble any more to justify the war. It leaves it at simply announcing the war. That is a novelty.

This is a dramatic and catastrophic break with what had been achieved with containing or enclosing the war.

It no longer makes any sense to deal with justifications. Let us talk about the real reasons and goals of the war and of what will be the result of this war.

This war is an attempt to enforce a new world order policy by means of martial force. The present government of the United States of America assumes that after 1989 a new global inequality came into being. Our world is divided in many ways: rich/poor; North/South; Western/non-Western. But more and more, the division that counts is the one separating US-America from everyone else.

The foremost goal of the American world order policy as conceptualized and implemented by a hegemonic group in the political elite is to maintain and expand this inequality (in particular with a view to the disparity of power) between America and the rest of the world, and to assert the worldwide establishment of the social, political and cultural model dominated and shaped by the United States of America. If this strategy achieves permanence with regard to political power then the USA will position herself against the rest of the world. This is not about making the world safe for democracy and liberty. It is about making the world safe for this new global inequality. The „unipolar moment“ following 1989 is to pass into a „unipolar era“. In order to reach this goal, it is no longer necessary – as before 1989 – to contain and remove a competitor from power on a long-term basis. It is instead a question to avoid the emergence of a military, economical and political competitor all over the world – by all means and with all means. In an interview on the Public Broadcasting Network the National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice, put it bluntly: »But if it comes to allowing another adversary to reach military parity with the US in the way that

the Soviet Union did, no, the US does not intend to allow that to happen.”
The consequence of this intention is threefold.

1. *The military supremacy of the USA is to achieve such an overwhelming quality that it cannot be challenged.* The United States of America beyond any challenge, that is the idea. This idea is a dream of every military establishment. Now it became a practical attempt and political strategy. Whoever has the intention to gain „full-spectrum dominance“ cannot be interested in clear differentiations between war and peace. Whoever empowers himself to take action against everybody and everything cannot take borders into regard. Where there is „no longer an outside“ in a world marked by this new bipolarity the differentiation between interior and exterior, foreign policy becomes null and void. War will finally be delimited – unlimited. This is the logic of a concept and the first steps, the US has realized in armaments and military policy.
2. *To prevent the very emergence of a global rival an intervention at the preliminary stage becomes necessary. This is the idea of prevention.* Preventive warfare – so that one cannot be challenged any more – preventive warfare – so that one can secure the new global inequality between the USA and the rest of the world. Prevention – understood in that sense – has no longer anything to do with self-defense against a military threat by terror or by means of mass destruction. That is secondary. It is, on the contrary, a question of asserting a singular right of preventive intervention, in the entire world, to actively and early prevent a competitive situation so typical for part of the century past. *So the United States is becoming an openly revisionist power.* The idea is not only a regime change in certain evil states. *The idea is to change the international system.*
3. The strategy of preventive war (pre-emption) is closely bound up with the new vitality of the »hegemonic international law nihilism« that is exhibited by the present U.S. Administration. It is rooted in the idea that only the USA will be entitled to *global sovereignty* in the future world order. The notion of global sovereignty means that the USA will lay down international rules (e.g. on alliances and the formation of blocs) while exempting itself from other rules, determine what constitutes a crisis (»state of emergency«) and distinguish between friend and foe and make the resulting decision on the use of force. This is the third pillar of the new grand strategy, which is exemplified above all else by the concept of an exclusive right to preventive military intervention all over the world. *There is a new claim to global sovereignty.*

These are the three main consequences and core ideas of the new world order policy. The process of developing and implementing this idea has been propelled by a group of neo-conservative intellectuals and military policymakers that began to acquire a higher profile in the 1980s under Reagan, secured a minority position in the military executive in the first Bush ad-

ministration and then finally achieved a hegemonic majority position in the second Bush Administration and subsequently in the Republican Party with the help of, and in an alliance with, the Catholic religious right, the radical market ideologues and the traditional, social conservative, mainstream right («compassionate conservatism»). This group dominated the foreign policy debate in the USA in 2002. It outlined the key military policy aspects of the new grand strategy, incorporated them in an optimistic view of the state of the US economy and established itself in the course of 2002 as the avant-garde of the new cross-party movement for war. The powerful political core of this group is composed of an alliance of Reaganite military men and neo-conservatives. They include Paul Wolfowitz, Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Douglas Feith, John R. Bolton, William Kristol and, above all, Richard Perle.

“We don’t seek an Empire“, declared Bush a couple of months ago. But after Nineleven it became clear, that the „American Empire“ does not exist only as „Will and Idea“. It is a policy, and the power is with this policy. Essentially, the use of the term “American Empire” is an attempt to give expression to the concept that America is no longer merely an exceptional super-, hyper- or hegemonic power. What is needed is a »gorilla of geopolitical designations« - a hyperhegemony or an empire, in other words. The shift in terminology from »dominance« to »hegemony« to »empire« is significant, above all, because it highlights the classical concept of direct political control by an imperial center. The emphasis is on hegemony through coercion as opposed to hegemony through leadership. It is a question of *indefinite dominance*. The rhetoric, concept, strategy and policy of the empire camp are not new. The difference is that they are now in power. They have a special idea of the post neo-liberal world. According to them, this will be an American Empire.

Every war can be prevented, before he has started. But this war has started already if you take into account the regular bombing raids by British and US-American forces in Iraq. The peace movement is strong and is winning strength each day in countries all over the world. But the chances to prevent a full-scale war is miniscule. If we cannot prevent the beginning of a full-scale attack, our most important task in the next months is to end the war. This is more important than everything else. Otherwise we have to face the second deep break in the history of the international order after 1989: the build-up of an American Empire.