

## **THE OBSOLESCENCE OF CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM AND GLOBAL HEGEMONY AS CONCEPTS AND THEIR USE IN XXI CENTURY'S SOCIALIST COUNTRIES FOREIGN POLICY<sup>1</sup>**

### **Abstract:**

In the present article, I propose to expose in an abstract manner, but through concrete facts either, how the concepts of Capitalist Imperialism and Global Hegemony have lost their own value actually in a world which is already set up definitively as a State-nations' game table, a world in which those acquire an identity of "authority" exclusively inside their borders and a dual rent-debt subject identity, and a world in which a global and heterogeneous culture exists, further that it presents the limitations which have prevented the existence of an universal government applied by an unique world great power, a global hegemon. Besides with this, it is either exposed in this article that the socialist countries of the XXI century have continued their foreign policy based on the attack to an Empire which does not have to exist already, and not based on the realities that the subject who live inside them suffers.

**Key words:** Capitalism, Imperialism, Global Hegemony, Foreign Policy, Socialist Countries, XXI Century.

Along history politics and international relations, there have emerged some concepts and institutions which have been representing as patterns of behavior in international system. One of these concepts, even constituted as an institution in some ambits, is that of Empire, which have emerged as "a series of national and supranational organisms united under a single logic of rule" (Hardt and Negri, 2001). Justly, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, in their book *Empire*, make a reference to this concept focusing in the present world where effects of globalization act as a catalyst of weakened national states' imperial unification.

---

<sup>1</sup> Written in San Cristobal in February 19, 2013 by **Miguel Ángel Márquez Andrade**, B.A. in International Studies from UCV, Associate Member in Venezuelan Council of International Relations (COVRI) and Permanent Member in Centro Studio Strategici Carlo De Cristoforis (CESTUDEC) Scientific Committee.

However, it is compulsory to remind that Empire's concept exposed before does not describes only the world's current situation under the effects of globalization, but rather describes every imperial regime registered in history after Westphalian system's constitution, where it was possible to observe European catholic national states and Roman Church united under Christianity's logic, or XVIII century's powers and their respective trade companies united under maritime trade's logic with their colonies. However, in something what Hardt and Negri (2001) were wrong was in affirming that the concept of Empire was different from that of Imperialism, under the following terms:

The declining sovereignty of nation-states and their increasing instability to regulate economic and cultural exchanges is in fact one of the primary symptoms of the coming of Empire. The sovereignty of the nation-state was the cornerstone of the imperialisms that European powers constructed throughout the modern era. By "Empire," however, we understand something altogether different from "imperialism." The boundaries defined by the modern system of nation-states were fundamental to European colonialism and economic expansion: the territorial boundaries of the nation delimited the center of power from which rule was exerted over external foreign territories through a system of channels and barriers that alternately facilitated and obstructed the flows of production and circulation. Imperialism was really an extension of the sovereignty of the European nation-states beyond their own boundaries. Eventually nearly all the world's territories could be parceled out and the entire world map could be coded in European colors: red for British territory, blue for French, green for Portuguese, and so forth. Wherever modern sovereignty took root, it constructed a Leviathan that overarched its social domain and imposed hierarchical territories boundaries, both to police the purity of its own identity and to exclude all that was other (p. xii).

Even if nation-states of international system have suffered a decadence in their own sovereignty, respecting globalization's effects on economy and culture mainly, it is not right that imperialism just arises from the extension of nation-states' sovereignty and authority on other territories and, consequently, that national sovereignty's decadence have been the only or, at least, the major cause of origin of the Empire, but rather, it is the concept of Empire what causes imperialism, and it is the decline of the Empire as a concept and a theory which finally makes imperialisms banishing during the XX century.

Hence, “Imperialism is over” (Hardt and Negri, 2001), not by nation-state sovereignty’s declining, but in function, as exposed below, of world system definitive formation through total conformation of previous colonial territories as new nation-states which enjoys their own sovereignty, and in function, moreover, of other elements which surrounds Empire’s concept as origin of imperialism. This article justly drives to fix some mistakes, just like that exposed by Hardt and Negri, related with Empire and Imperialism.

### **Empire and elements of Imperialism, their situation nowadays:**

In the last three centuries, history has been marked by Imperialism, a concept which has accompanied the field of international relations, either by its constitution and its “modus agendi.” This concept has had historical connotations which came from ancient civilizations, in particular from the Romans, which, through obedience to *ius* (law) as a dogma, forged the term “*imperium*” (empire) as “the right given by the people to superior magistrates, for exercising the supreme judicial, executive and military powers” (Ossorio, 1974), that is, as defined Jose María Uría, the **power of the authority to legislate and exercise sovereignty inside a determinate jurisdictional space**, inside the Status-Civitas (city-state), driven to people who inhabit such space and to legal status they maintain during their life inside it.

For many centuries, the concept of “*imperium*” covered not only the coercive and coactive legal element, but also included other two elements, being the second one that of **authority sovereign exercise’s foreign expansionism**, which has led “*imperium*” acquiring a more integral conceptual identity because, redundantly, it does not only extend its mandate and laws to a determinate territory and population, but also extends them other governing authority’s political, economical and social institutions.

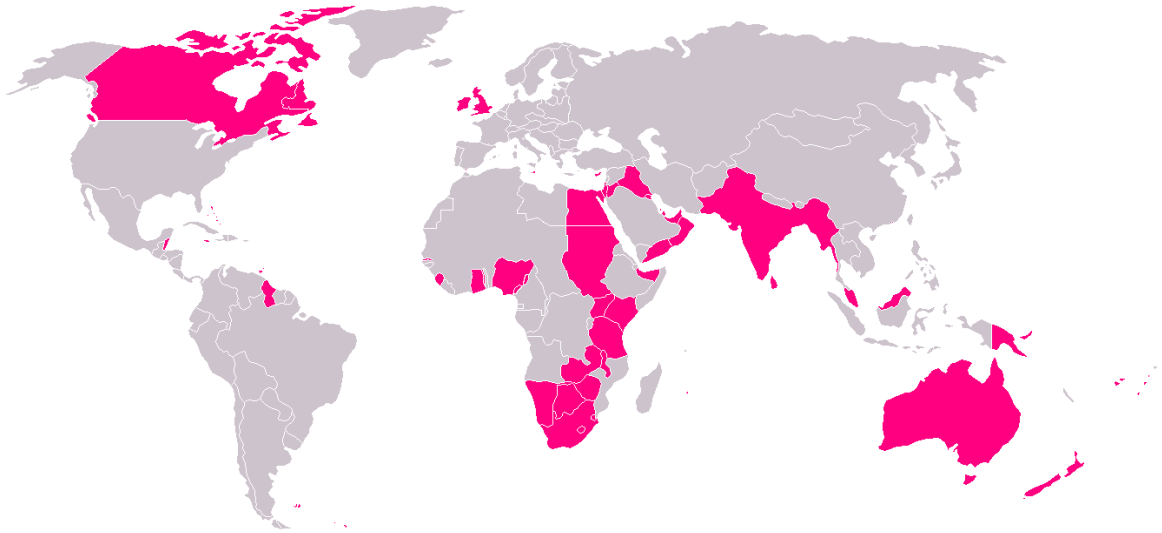


Fig. 1 – British Empire at its maximal territorial expansion, achieved in 1921; it covered almost all the continents in the globe, being itself the example for that process called Imperialism. Source: <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/3c/BritishEmpire1921.png>.

Such “*imperium*” institutions, extended and maintained over a long time, replace the original institutions of the population subjugated to imperial authority’s power, even if they keep some elements of their own original identity. The third element is, as a consequence of the foregoing, the **homogenization of subject’s identity** through the institutions previously mentioned, meaning as subject the inhabitants of the territory subjugated by “*imperium*,” giving Empire’s concept its basic existential elements.

Then, Lenin adds a fourth element with economical character to “*imperium*,” the **colonialist rentierism**, which implies the extension of sovereign exercise of imperial authority through “the intensification of the [territorial, political and economical] struggle for the partitioning of the world” (Lenin, 1917 [1999]), as well as pointing Imperialism like a particular, superior phase of monopolist capitalism. Now, the modern conception of Imperialism stops with Lenin, but such concept has lost its own identity, due to the fact that its fundamental elements have been dissolved over time and through historical conjunctures happened in the past and the present centuries.

Lenin located in rentierism the fundamental essence of Imperialism, originating usurer-state's concept, nominating rentier-state so, and the conception of a world "divided into a handful of usurer states and a vast majority of debtor states" (Lenin, 1917 [1999]). However, Lenin was wrong with the fact that he mentioned Imperialism as the prelude of socialist revolution, because, in one hand, the Soviet Union emerged not from a capitalist, monopolist and rentier system, but it emerged from a Tsarist Russia practically framed in a mainly feudal economical and social system, as happened with China, North Korea and Vietnam, and by the other hand, a lot of countries configured as debtor states are also constituted, at the same time, like rentier states, if focusing in Lenin's thesis framed inside *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

Justly, this element, rentierism, that what have dissolved between those countries which conforms the international system, due to the fact that it is possible to observe some of them constituting themselves as debtor states, but they are creditors for other countries at the same time, so they acquire a feature of identity and function's duality. The United States of America, for example, a country which is considered by some people as the new Empire which possesses "open, expanding frontiers, where power would be effectively distributed in networks" (Hardt and Negri, 2001), currently and "certainly is the world's biggest debtor" (Krugman and Obstfeld, 2003), although historically it has funded other countries so that they develop a solid economic machinery.

In addition to **"rentier-debtor" dual identity** acquired by all the states between the middle of XX century and the beginning of XXI century, states themselves, or at least those which are commonly nominated "powers," have presented a series of historical independency-featured conjunctures inside the colonies they controlled in several regions of the world over the XX century, forming the historical phenomenon called Decolonization. Such phenomenon has been configuring current international system's order, because global and regional powers loose the sovereign exercise of their imperial authority in favor of those territories that have got independency or, as Hong Kong's case, came back to its original state. That suggests, according with "imperium" concept already described, that Lenin's Imperialism concept loses one constitutive element that characterize it, colonialist-rentier relation between powers (rentier states) and satellites (debtor states).

Moreover, in this century it is possible to observe that international system is no longer featured by presenting a series of central “*auctoritae*” (authorities) which exercise their sovereign power over other territories outside their direct dominions, which means, their national territories, but only exercise power within their own boundaries, while those territories previously constituted as satellites have acquired, by the other hand, “*auctoritas*” status and capabilities, always exercised inside their national boundaries; this situation **suppresses, in other words, authority’s territorial expansionism** as fundamental element of “*imperium*.” It is necessary to clarify in this case, however, that there are some powers which sovereign exercise of authority still extends over satellites territories, but recently such satellites have been incorporated definitely to invading powers’ national territories or, always watching Hong Kong and Panama Canal cases, have been restated to their homelands.

Alongside this, it is necessary making a punctual emphasis about homogenization of subject’s identity, featuring element of “*imperium*” which also has become obsolete due mainly to the fact that communications between populations from different regions on Earth have been increased and mixed in way that, observing cultural identity in each state, is very hard, but still not impossible, to define the characteristic elements of national identity thereof; such phenomenon happens, if analyzed under Psychoanalysis’ focus, because human being “seeks to find satisfaction for his instincts” (Freud, 1949), not just at an individualized level, but also at collective, social level, through interaction with other people, which creates a suggested identity through unmet needs over time. Regarding this point, Freud (1949) exposed the following lines, which are necessary for further analysis with current reality:

Group Psychology is therefore concerned with the individual man as a member of a race, of a nation, of a caste, of a profession, of an institution, or as a component part of a crowd of people who have been organized into a group at some particular time for some definite purpose. When once natural continuity has been severed in this way, it is easy to regard the phenomena that appear under these special conditions as being expressions of a special instinct that is not further reducible, the social instinct (‘herd instinct’, ‘group mind’), which does not come to light in any other situations. But we may perhaps venture to object that it seems difficult to attribute to the factor of number a significance so great as to make it capable by

itself of arousing in our mental life a new instinct that is otherwise not brought into play. Our expectation is therefore directed towards two other possibilities: that the social instinct may not be a primitive one and insusceptible of dissection, and that it may be possible to discover the beginnings of its development in a narrower circle, such as that of the family (p. 3).

Freud's exposition about this point suggest that, although human herd behavior is instinctive, it is an instinct which may be broken or replaced, and this leads to the explanation of why, currently, subject feels the need of rebuilding their own identity based on the dissatisfaction of their needs, wishes and instincts; the subject of this era is no longer seeking for belonging to his/her homeland, or, at least, not in the way in which subject's will to tie to his/her homeland in the Era of Nationalism could be conceived, being that period coinciding, justly, with the so called Imperial Age, and, consequently, subject replaces his/her national identity, a phenomenon which still is appreciated nowadays, not just in nation-states which were colonies previously, but even in states which have been constituted as powers.

Such identity's substitution may be as well as a "*sustitutio de legis*" (legal substitution), in which subject changes his/her nationality, give his/her own nationality away for acquiring a new and more desired one, or as a "*sustitutio de facto*" (factual substitution), in which the subject, without changing his/her nationality legally, assumes a self-feeling of belonging identity to the wished territory, to wished nationality.

But even nowadays it is possible to see a very particular tendency in different groups which conforms current world society, being it the emerging of urban subcultures, a social feature of today's postmodern society, which do not replace subject's identity with another existing one, but practically they suppress it and create a new identity, adapted to every subject's personal tastes inside these subcultures, in function of those needs and desires that their homelands failed to satisfy. This, linked with the boom of telecommunications, has forested a cultural mix in the world, where positive and negative values of every state's national identity not just mix together with those of the other states, but also integrate those new values (or maybe old, but retaken today) that are product of emerging urban subcultures.

It implies that the international system configures not just under a set of defined cultural identities which lead to the clash of civilization studied by Huntington, but it is also configured as **system conformed by a global-range culture, divided in different main blocks, but always very heterogeneous**, not fixed on subject through exercising the homogenizing power of institutions created by “*auctoritae*,” but fixed by even more abundant and costly needs and desires, and even less satisfied, that subject has self-created during the last sixty years. However, Hardt and Negri (2001) argue the following idea about featuring cultural aspect of Empire:

We should understand the society of control, in contrast, as that society (which develops at the far edge of modernity and opens toward the postmodern) in which mechanisms of command become even more “democratic,” ever more immanent to the social field, distributed throughout the brains and bodies of citizens. The behaviors of social integration and exclusion proper to rule are thus increasingly interiorized within the subjects themselves. Power is now exercised through machines that directly organize the brains (in communication systems, information networks, etc.) and bodies (in welfare systems, monitored activities, etc.) toward a state of autonomous alienation from the sense of life and the desire for creativity. The society of control might thus be characterized by an intensification and generalization of the normalizing apparatuses of disciplinary that internally animate our common and daily practices, but in contrast to discipline, this control extends well outside the structured sites of social institutions through flexible and fluctuating networks (p. 23).

And together with this idea, Hardt and Negri (2001) add the following lines:

Second, Foucault’s work allows us to recognize the *biopolitical* nature of the new paradigm of power. Biopower is a form of power that regulates social life from its interior, following it, interpreting it, absorbing it, and rearticulating it. Power can achieve an effective command over the entire life of the population only when it becomes an integral, vital function that every individual embraces and reactivates of his or her accord. As Foucault says, “Life has now become... an object of power.” The highest function of this power is to invest life through and through, and its primary task is to administer life. Biopower thus refers to a situation in which what is directly at stake in power is the production and reproduction of life itself (pp. 23-24).



This includes, inside subject's identity cultural homogenization, a subjugation applied through power as exposed by Hardt and Negri in *Empire*, but it is inappropriate for such element to define it as “the underlying design of the new constitution of world order” (Hardt and Negri, 2001), because population is constituted as one of nation-states' elements of power, implying control on this element of power by their own sovereign authority's organs and institutions.

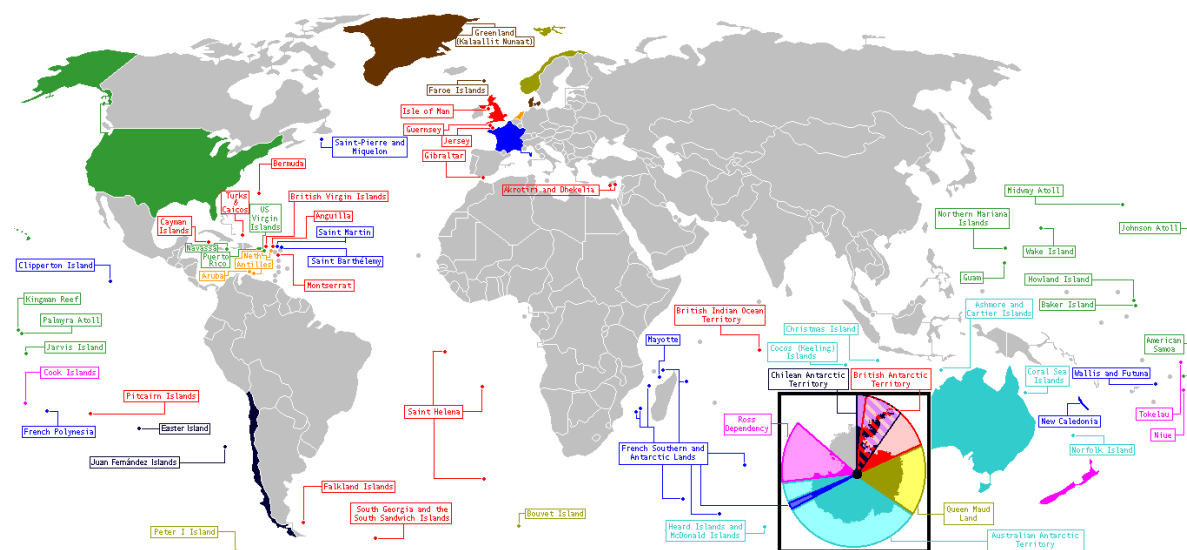


Fig. 2 – Post-imperial legacy is visible in the few overseas territories which still exist in current international system. Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Overseas\\_territories](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Overseas_territories).

Finally, suppression of foregoing elements is in addition to the fact that “*imperium*” which powers exercised over their satellites are replaced by **anarchy as world’s organizing principle**, originated by absence of a supranational “*auctoritas*” which exercises control over the system and the states which conform it. At this specific point, Hardt and Negri (2001) expose as a negative sign of Imperial Authority’s paradigm, and therefore as a sign for “*imperium*” and “imperialism” concepts’ dissolution, the following idea:

The new paradigm is defined by the definitive decline of the sovereign nation-states, by the deregulation of international markets, by the end of antagonistic conflict between among states subjects, and so forth. If the new paradigm were to consist simply in this, then its consequences would be truly anarchic (p. 13).

This can be resumed in that “*imperium*” dissolution is due to the decline of sovereign nation-states, but it is worth noting here that nation-states declining is not due to their own inability to regulate economic and cultural movements, as mentioned previously, but it is precisely due to powers ex-colonies’ constitution as new nation-states which acquire the same functional range of powers inside international system, thus replacing empire-colony hierarchical relationship for anarchy as international system’s organizer principle; in this regard, Waltz (2001) explains in *Man, the State and War* that:

According to the third image, there is a constant possibility of war in a world in which there are two or more states each seeking to promote a set of interests and having no agency above them upon which they can rely for protection (p. 227).

With this, Waltz announced that there is not any supranational organism which could ensure security of nation-states from other’s aggression, which, in contradiction with what Hardt and Negri exposed, not only made conflicts between nation-states unfinished, but also such conflicts will always continue while there are any conflict of interests between states, themselves’ functional distribution inside international system is inexistent and there is not a supranational organism which effectively regulates state’s behavior, leading international relations and global system’s management to being based on anarchy as their organizing principle.

Following the steps of Neorealist theory, it is possible to observe, as a second rule, that international system’s structures are defined “by the specification of functions of different units” (Waltz, 1979), but in the case of anarchic structures, in which the current international system’s structure is located, “the criterion of systems change derived from the second part of the definition drops out since the system is composed of like units”

(Waltz, 1979), thus confirming **the imposing of an international system's anarchic structure**, either through European ex-colonies constitution as nation-states, through equality of functions that they comply together with powers inside international system itself. With this functional and historical deconstruction of "*imperium*" concept, it is possible to observe clearly how its own concept has become obsolete in nowadays world, as there are no more but meager traces, like crumbs, of any institution qualifying as "imperial" or "imperialist."

### **Global Hegemony's concept obsolescence:**

Along with Imperialism's concept dissolution, either in the general meaning of the expression and in its Leninist version (capitalist imperialism), it is also possible to observe the loss of validity in another concept which had its flourishing during the XX century, Global Hegemony. Many have located in XX century, and they are still doing it in the present days, the United States of America as world's hegemonic superpower, without taking into account that the less thing that country has is a world hegemony's feature, due mainly to the fact that there are other powers which have their own well-defined political, economical and cultural system, which have their presence and weight in world balance of power. Hardt and Negri (2001) talk about "just war" concept as an aspect of Global Hegemony, even calling it "worldly city," in the following terms:

Far from merely repeating ancient or medieval notions, however, today's concept presents some truly fundamental innovations. Just war is no longer in any sense an activity of defense or resistance, as it was, for example, in the Christian tradition from Saint Augustine to the scholastics of the Counter-Reformation, as a necessity of the "worldly city" to guarantee its own survival. It has become rather an activity that is justified in itself. Two distinct elements are combined in this concept of just war: first, the legitimacy of the military apparatus insofar as it is ethically

grounded, and second, the effectiveness of military action to achieve the desired order and peace. The synthesis of these two elements may indeed be a key factor determining the foundation and the new tradition of Empire. Today the enemy, just like the war itself, comes to be at once banalized (reduced to an object of routine police repression) and absolutized (as the Enemy, an absolute threat to the ethical order). The Gulf War gave us perhaps the first fully articulated example of this new epistemology of the concept. The resurrection of the concept of just war may be only a symptom of the emergency of Empire, but what a suggestive and powerful one! (p. 13).

That means, to Hardt and Negri, that Empire, constituted as a Global Hegemony, is based, among other things, on “just war” against an absolutized Enemy as a threat regarding its concerns (an attack to ethical order) and, at the same time, banalized in its dimensions (an object of routine police repression), and everything just to achieve the “necessity of the “worldly city” to guarantee its own survival” (Hardt and Negri, 2001).

These last words from Hardt and Negri seem to be taken from one of theories which are included in last debates of International Relations’ science, namely, Mearsheimer’s Offensive Realism theory, and it is justly curious having found this coincidence of words, because Mearsheimer justly exposes his own idea about real situation of international system and, at the same time, gives his own vision, but even more realistic than Hardt and Negri’s and other authors ideas, of what implies the real notion of Global Hegemony’s concept. But before introducing Global Hegemony concept’s offensive-realist vision given by Mearsheimer, it is time for continuing exposing the authors who put the United States as The Empire, as The Global Hegemony. In the book *America at the Crossroad*, Fukuyama (2006) makes a mention about it:

Many neoconservatives argued during the late 1990s that the United States should use its military predominance to assert “benevolent hegemony” over strategically important parts of the world. By invading Iraq, the Bush administration saw itself not as acting out of narrow self-interest but as providing a global public good. The administration’s belief in its own good motives explains much of its failure to anticipate the highly negative international reaction to the war (p. 95).

With this, Fukuyama makes us understanding that neoconservatives, during Bush administration's period, wrongly tried to offer an image of security for populations of those countries invaded by American armed forces in the XXI century, Afghanistan and Iraq, adopting consolidation of "benevolent hegemony" as its own foreign policy, which ultimately resulted in their national discontent, and even more international, towards its own aggressive foreign policy in effect since 2002.

Justly, this aggressive foreign policy, started in 2002 with *National Security Strategy of the United States* (NSS), had its origin in September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, happened one year early, which ultimately gave a sample of nation-state institution weakness in front of the threat of subversive groups, making *fourth generation warfare* concept arising. In regard with this last fact, *State-Building* exposes the following lines: "Sovereignty and nation-state, Westphalia's system cornerstones, have been eroded in fact and attacked by principle because, frequently, what happens inside states – that means, in their internal governance – greatly influences other members of international system" (Fukuyama, 2004).

With this, Fukuyama correctly exposes the reason why nation-state, as an actor in international system, has been reduced and worn, but it does not mean, as explained in previous lines, that Westphalian nation-states system has been replaced by a new global imperial system, as Hardt and Negri affirm, but rather it has strengthened by the emergence of new states in terms of separatism against powers or "*auctoritae*" that dominated them.

Still, there was a perception that Bush Administration neoconservative foreign policy was based on "a doctrine of anticipation or, more exactly, preventive war that, in fact, will place the United States in a position of governing potential hostile populations from those countries which threaten it with terrorism" (Fukuyama, 2004), being this a perception which led many to believe, even Fukuyama himself, that the United States was following a police imperial expansion and, therefore, this country would be constituted as "The New Empire" (Fukuyama, 2004); it is surprising that, in a world where nation-states have survived, although they have been worn by the various conjunctures and new peace and war paradigms, Global Hegemony's concept is still kept as part of different countries' foreign policy agenda, with no matter that they fight against it as an attempt of domination, or they promote it as a source of world peace.

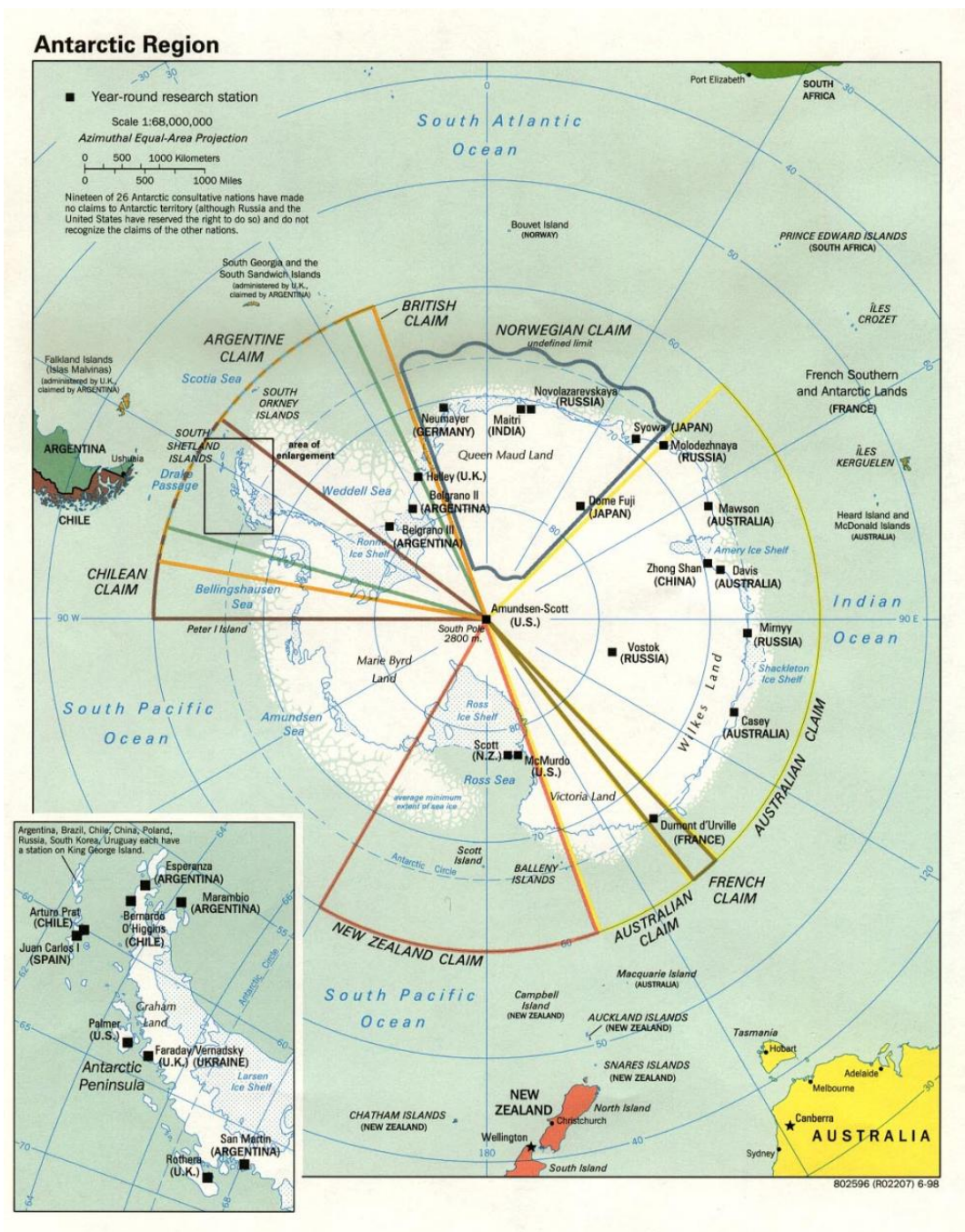


Fig. 3 – Post-imperialist legacy is currently visible in the claims territorial that some countries seek over Antarctic continent, in a hypothetical attempt of exploiting its natural resources. Source: [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/islands\\_oceans\\_poles/antarctic\\_region\\_pol98.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/islands_oceans_poles/antarctic_region_pol98.jpg).

Whoever mentioned Hegemony's limitations is, as exposed previously, John Mearsheimer, in his book *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* written in 2001 and which made an introduction to Offensive Realism theory inside the science of International Relations. As well as in vulgar language people tend to give a relation to both concepts discussed here, Capitalist Imperialism and Global Hegemony, or even they tend to confuse both concepts together, it is a common mistake for most of this century's socialist states rulers saying in their speech, as foreign policy, that greatest enemies of their states and their "defensive" foreign policies are Imperialist from capitalist world, actually represented by the United States of America, and its global hegemony's exercise.

The mistake is in this case, as well as dissolution of Imperialism as powers foreign policy upon their satellites, in the fact that "it is virtually impossible for any state to achieve global hegemony" (Mearsheimer, 2001), due mainly to the fact that "the principal impediment to world domination is the difficult of projecting power across the world's oceans onto the territory of a rival great power" (Mearsheimer, 2001). This means that Global Hegemony cannot, and it will not, be achieved until there is a single world power in the international system that, in this case, may be considered as a system's "*hegemon*."

Mearsheimer's words derived from the current situation of international system observed in XXI century, focused into anarchy as world's organizing principle, being this a consideration that Offensive Realism theory heirs from Neorealist theory for considering interaction between international system's actors, as well as they were world powers or old satellite-states, based not in sovereign exercise of "*imperium*" but in systemic functions equality and unequal military capabilities distribution of every international actor. In this way, Global Hegemony's concept obsolescence is evident, not just as an antagonistic reason for XXI century's socialist countries foreign policy, but also as a "global welfare product" offered by Bush Administration's foreign policy during the current century.

**Capitalist Imperialism and Global Hegemony as XXI century's socialist countries aggressive foreign policy reasons:**

As exposed previously, Capitalist Imperialism and Global Hegemony concepts have come obsolete nowadays, not because their use had been abandoned in those fields of knowledge which study them, but because current international system's nature is configured differently to the moment both concepts emerged; Imperialism, at least, begun its validity because of "*imperium*" contributed from Greeks, Romans and other ancient civilizations, and refined along Western great powers' history, while Global Hegemony, adopted more recently by the public mind for attributing that hierarchical label to the United States of America since Eastern Block's fall, have never been materialized and, therefore, it just represented a mere idea of global governance that has never been, and never will be, grounded at such that scale.

By resuming in simpler words, the United States became the strongest entity since that time just because Soviet Union's fall left a hole in balance of power that could not be filled by other countries in the 1990s. But this situation has changed in this century, showing Russia's resurrection together with the emergence of India and China as XXI century's "raising powers," three powers which own growth is a source of fear for the maintenance of a global system where the United States alleges maintaining unipolarity. Mearsheimer's Offensive Realism confirms Americans fear that situation either.

However, allegations from socialist states in current international system continue basing on the contrast of their foreign policies with Capitalist Imperialism and its professedly global exercise of its hegemony, although these concepts are obsolete in the world we live in today; as mentioned previously, XXI century's socialist states have personified the United States as Capitalist Imperialism's icon, holding that image for practically a century, while this country, under Bush Administration, has wrongly self-promoted as international system "benevolent hegemony," without measuring the consequences of increasing reasons for socialist countries posing an aggressive foreign policy, even not directly armed, against it and against any related state or overseas territory.



The question to this case may be, after exposing the observed situation in the world in present day, how can, in example, current socialist states governors that the United States tries to exercise its own “*imperium*” sovereignty over such countries, if they also pursue that aim toward their respective claiming or disputed territories? At this point it is visible, seeing Venezuela’s case, a state which economical structure is hold as a capitalist rentier system, as well as its current government pursues socialist ideology, to a state that may well representing for Guyana, and it happens so in Guyanese reality, an imperial invader which pretensions pursue the annexing of the half the territory it alleges as its, or it is also observable a North Korea which has territorial pretensions over South Korea, seeking total annexing of that territory as happened in Vietnam almost a half a century ago, but also seeking for nuclear weapons development, which undefined possession is a worrying matter for Japan, constituted as its second target because their historical rivalry.

We can even look to Bolivia, a socialist-self-declared country which foreign policy is based on attacking imperialism and colonialism, alleging their continuous validity in history, as concepts which “come from the premise that there a world to discover, a world to conquer, a world to dominate” (Morales, 2008), as well as trying to show it as the benefactor aborigine country which fights empires that do not exist today, without dedicating to solve its own internal problems and to develop itself as a nation-state capable of attending its inhabitant subject needs, as well as trying to show itself as the country governed by an aborigine Morales who, for Carlyle’s Hero Worship theory, wants to constitute himself as “an everlasting hope for the management of the world” (Carlyle, quoted in Cassirer, 1946), a polar star which guides indigenou people to salvation against imperialism and colonialism what, even today, continue dominating them under a dependent rentier-debtor relationship, as what Lenin exposed in early XX century.

The fact that these countries lead their foreign policy by attacking “imperial considered” powers, mainly U.S., constitutes a contradictory behavior and a deviation in attending their internal problems. Another question that may emerge here is, why is North Korea, in example, still keeping Capitalist Imperialism and Global Hegemony concepts as its main speech sources against Western Hemisphere (including Latin American socialist

countries), if one of its foreign policy's aims is extending its own “*imperium*” to South Korea and Japan, continuing Leninist power-satellite relationship scheme?

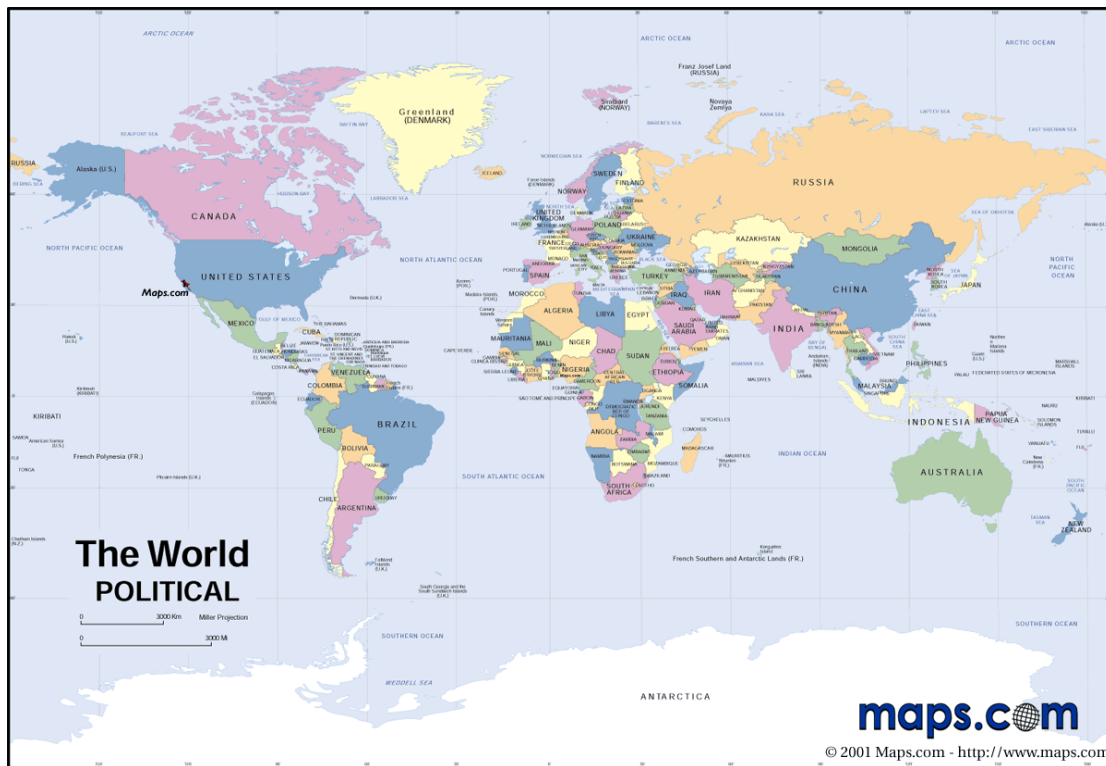


Fig. 4 – Westphalian international system, conformed by nation-states as system's actors. Source: <http://www.maps.com>.

The answer, Mearsheimer would argue, is found in the fact that these nations are looking for constituting as powers which seek “for opportunities to gain power over their rivals, with hegemony as their final goal” (Mearsheimer, 2001), indicating finally that, instead of keeping basing their “defensive” foreign policies on their attacks to obsolete and discontinued concepts of Capitalist Imperialism and Global Hegemony, XXI century's socialist states should make an updated and sincere foreign policy to real threats that starting showing in the last years, such as fourth generation warfare, maritime piracy, the current social and economic problems and other challenges that affect their populations, understanding human being as a subject with needs and desires.

These socialist countries require a change in their way of making their foreign policy as well, because their inhabitant subject's needs are very sharp and require a prior attention, in addition to needing redirecting the attention on the source of their own problems, not to an inexistent imperial and hegemonic relationship, but to their own internal sources, such as corruption, crime, hyperinflation, inputs shortage and other socio-economic problems. In other word, these countries have to finish fighting their ghosts, and then they have to start fixing their real problems, internally and externally, so they will help their populations be stronger every day, and so they will become stronger themselves.

In conclusion it is possible to affirm that the world of empires and imperialisms is over since the moment Westphalian nation-states system took its actual stage in the last sixty years, although these have been eroded as institutions and concepts over time, and even if there still are those overseas territories, illustrated in figures 2 and 3, which have been inherited by nation-states which played their role as world powers in Imperialism's period. Such post-imperial legacy is not only suffered by those current nation-states which were previously world powers, but also by those states which previously were colonial territories, and all of them have been victims of their own wear as political, social and economical institutions, and as actors which shape international system.

At the same time, the most important component of current nation-states, population identified as the subject, finally has felt how their needs has been increasingly increased, while the countries which rug them possess even less resources for satisfying them, and this is observed not just in a material term, in the sense of economical term in which socialist countries' speeches and foreign policy are based in the current century, but it is observed mostly in subject's life term, in their survival's guarantee as human beings. Both entities, nation-state and human being, have created fears that even go beyond tangible reality, because survival as a need and a desire represents the biggest value to reach for both, so they look for self-help in response to the lack of compliance of functions which such entities possess for guarantee each other functioning and vice versa. A last advise to do, in this case, is that there is always a high possibility of living Imperialisms periods again.

## **Bibliography:**

CASSIRER, Ernst (1946). *The Myth of the State*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

FREUD, Sigmund (1949). *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*. The Hogarth Press, London.

FUKUYAMA, Francis (2004). *La Construcción del Estado*. Ediciones B, Barcelona.

FUKUYAMA, Francis (2006). *América at the Crossroads. Democracy, power and the Neoconservative legacy*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

HARDT, Michael; NEGRI, Antonio (2001). *Empire*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

KRUGMAN, Paul R.; OBSTFELD, Maurice (2003). *International Economics. Theory and Policy*. Adison-Wesley, Boston.

LENIN, Vladimir I (1999). *Imperialism. The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Resistance Books, Sydney.

MEARSHEIMER, John J (2001). *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. W. W. Norton and Company, New York, 2001.

MORALES, Evo (2008). *Los 10 Mandamientos para salvar el planeta, la humanidad y la vida*. Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Cultos de la República de Bolivia, La Paz. Extracted from <http://www.rree.gob.bo/webmre/prensa//d230.pdf> in May 12<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

OSSORIO, Manuel (1974). *Diccionario de Ciencias Jurídicas, Políticas y Sociales*. Editorial Heliasta, Buenos Aires.

TANAKA, Akihiko (2007). “Pocas perspectivas de una Corea del Norte desnuclearizada”, in *Cuadernos de Japón, Volumen XX, numero 1*. Japan Echo Inc. & Inter Edit., Barcelona.

URÍA, José M. (2001). “Derecho honorario o pretorio”, in *Derecho Romano I*. Universidad Católica del Táchira, San Cristóbal.

WALTZ, Kenneth (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. Addison-Wesley, Reading.

WALTZ, Kenneth (2001). *Man, State and War: A theoretical analysis*. Columbia University Press, New York.