



# **Power Experts in the United States of America:**

The Role of Power Experts in the American Foreign  
Policy Decision-Making Process  
(A Study of Kissinger and Brzezinski)

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**Volume 1**

# Power Experts in the United States of America

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First Edition 2023



European Institute for Dialogue and Development

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I.S.B.N.EGRD122017E0040

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Publisher  
EUROPÄISCHE GEMEINSCHAFT DER RELIGIONEN -IM DIALOG E.V

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# **Volume 1**

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# Dedication



*To any man of state or expert of power who believes in relative satisfaction that is the result of mutual sacrifice and waiver. Only humanitarian traits grant him ultimate bliss. To such individuals, I present my humble work.*



*Nassar Al-Rubaiee*



## Introduction

The process of foreign policy-making represents the essence and nature of any state. It defines its stance toward the bonds that connect every country with others, whether friendly, cooperative, competitive, or hostile. The process of policy-making demands highly efficient decision-makers. Their decisions that create the nature of their country's foreign policy with others must be based on professionalism and experience.

These decision-makers, men of state, and power experts do not commune in the void area. They are constantly under various political effects that impact their ideas, especially in the United States of America. The variety of results in the United States is political. Therefore, it is a complicated process bound to this country's global role. It also undergoes the impact of information assessment in communication, especially in the epoch of the third global wave of the information revolution.

The reason I chose this Topic goes back to different goals, mainly specifying the meaning of "power experts" and the range of this concept. Moreover, I tend to classify the political elites in the United States according to their position, experience, and responsibility. Bound together, these three aspects grant those in power the qualification to formulate their country's foreign policy within the space of their authority.

This classification that depends on individuals' responsibilities, authority, and experience specifies the meaning

of “power experts.” This process is achieved through their power to contribute to the decision-making process. Therefore, they represent a very narrow circle that adopts the responsibility of foreign policy making. This shows the complexity of foreign policy and its application. In other words, it is the power of effectiveness and practicing political influence.

The importance of this book comes from the fact that any political movement is a form of tendency and tool. The foreign policy of any country springs from national interests connected to national security. In this regard, strategic thinking is a combination of aim and means. Accordingly, power experts are the creators of this combination. Theoretical studies in international relations did not highlight the role of power experts in executing those decisions. Those studies failed to propose a specific meaning to this concept.

On the other hand, this book refers to essential incidents. It brings into light some of the most heated debates regarding the role of power experts and their impact on the mode of thinking of the United States of America president. The author of this book believes that Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski are among the most important players that contributed for a long to the creation of the United States’ foreign policy.

Any expert in foreign policy studies must distinguish between these three terms: politician, diplomat, and power expert. The last title refers to the individual who creates the political decision, whereas a politician only

chooses between available options. As for the diplomat, he only executes the desired conclusion. Finally, concerning the power expert, he represents certain responsibilities bound to a specific culture and ideology. However, in this book, we recognize that in the United States, due to the variety of responsibilities of the power experts and their differences of standpoints, and due to the privacy of the source of their policy-making process, the problem arises in a multi-layered structure. Therefore, the prime concern of this study is the following question: can the contradiction in the opinions of the power experts, their qualifications, and their proximity to the president of the United States impact the policy-making process in this country?

**This problem can be presented in more detailed questions:**

1- What is the meaning of power experts? What is the category into which they fit?

2- What is the nature of the mutual influence between the governmental and non-governmental institutions and the power experts?

3- What is the result of the ongoing conflict among power experts on the president of the United States in his policy-making process?

4- What is the influence of Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski, as power experts, in the foreign policy-making of the United States?

Despite all, the process of foreign policy-making

remains a complicated mission. However, the president is the one who assigns power experts, including the minister of the Foreign Ministry and National Security Adviser. However, the communication between these two is not streamlined.

**Accordingly, this book depends on two hypotheses:**

**First:** despite all the contradictions in the thoughts and tendencies of the power experts regarding the nature of their role in the process of the foreign policy-making of the United States, the president guarantees dynamic balance to all those forces that are contradictory in their opinion, differ in their position, and the different nature of their roles, that unites the decision-making and collective implementation.

**Second:** The power experts' role in the foreign policy-making of the United States depends on their self-potentials and the nature of their relationships with the president. We may easily observe the distinct roles of Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski in foreign policy making and their impact in dealing with different issues and challenges.

Thus, the author seeks to prove these two hypotheses in the five chapters of this book.

To verify the validity of the two hypotheses that cover different Topics and historical stages, this book depends on five main methods: the historical method concerning historical stages and the analytical method on the role of the power experts and governmental and

non-governmental institutions. This second method can be defined as defining and evaluating the details that form the entire structure. In other words, the analysis of the particulars includes the Topic of this study. It paves the way to achieving novel and rich ideas. The third is the method of foreign policy making. It studies the state through its decision-makers, especially Kissinger and Brzezinski's roles in the foreign policy-making process of the United States. The comparative method is also adopted to compare the mindsets of the power experts. Concerning the systematic method, it aims at studying the structure of the institutions of the United States both from the inside and outside.

To answer the question of the study and verify the validity of the hypotheses, this book has been classified into five chapters, in addition to the introduction and conclusion.

The first chapter discusses the theoretical part of the study in three Topics. The first Topic deals with the concept of "power experts." The second section sheds light on the United States' foreign policy. Finally, the third Topic encounters the process of policy-making in the United States of America.

The second chapter studies the role of institutions in American policy-making in three Topics. The first Topic deals with five demands: first, the presidential institution; second, the National Security Council; third, the US State Department; fourth, the Ministry of Defense (Pentagon); and fifth, the CIA. The second Topic studies

the legislative institution, the Congress (The House of Representatives and the Senate). Finally, in the third Topic, we will encounter the influential institutions in the two authorities: executive and legislative, which are dealt with in five parts: first, it deals with the council of foreign relationships; second, it deals with Think Tanks; third, it studies the military industry; fourth, it deals with political parties; and fifth, it explores the nature of the Jewish lobby.

The third chapter, titled **“A Study of the Power Experts,”** is divided into three Topics: the first makes a general perusal of the power experts. The second Topic, titled **“A Study of the Power Experts during the Cold War,”** is divided into two parts: first, the age of the power experts during the presidency of John Kennedy, and second, the role of the power experts during the presidency of Ronald Reagan. Finally, the third Topic, which is titled **“A Study of the Power Experts after the Cold War,”** is divided into two parts: first, it deals with the role of the power experts during the presidency of George W. Bush, and second, their role during the presidency of Barack Obama.

The fourth chapter, titled **“The Role of Henry Kissinger in the Process of American Foreign Policy Making,”** is divided into three sections: first, it deals with the biography of Kissinger; second, it deals with the role of Kissinger in limited war strategy; third, it studies Kissinger and interdependence policy; fourth, it studies Kissinger about the domino theory. Concerning the second section, it deals with Kissinger and his role in the process of American foreign policy-making, which is also divided into four parts:

first, Kissinger and openness to China; second, Kissinger and reconciliation policy with the Soviet Union; third, Kissinger and his negotiations to end the war; fourth, Kissinger and his role in founding the Egyptian-Israeli peace. Finally, the third section is divided into three parts, which deal with the intellectual heritage of Kissinger: first, Kissinger as a policy expert; second, Kissinger as a power expert in its broad meaning; third, Kissinger as a power expert in its narrow sense.

Finally, the role of Brzezinski in the process of American foreign policy-making is encountered in the fifth chapter. The three sections of this chapter are as follows: the first section deals with the biography of Brzezinski in four parts. First, it deals with the biography of Brzezinski; second, Brzezinski about the theory of hitting down the wall; third, Brzezinski concerning the Crisis arc theory; and fourth, Brzezinski and the Tripartite Commission. The second section, titled “Brzezinski and the process of the American foreign policy-making, is divided into four parts:

first, Brzezinski and the relationship of the United States with China; second, Brzezinski and the relationship of the United States with the Soviet Union; third, Brzezinski and Iran; fourth, Brzezinski and Afghanistan. The third section deals with the intellectual heritage of Brzezinski, represented mainly in his authored books. This section is divided into three parts: first, Brzezinski and his political and strategic dimensions; second, Brzezinski’s intellectual heritage during the cold war as a power expert in the broad sense; third, Brzezinski’s intellectual heritage after the Cold War as a power expert in the narrow sense.



# **Chapter One: The Theoretical Framework**



## **Topic One:**

### **The Concept of Power Experts**

Any researcher studying international relations cannot reach satisfactory conclusions without trying to learn the historical framework. Societies find their existence in time rather than space. Specialists always insist that any government consists of gathering certain people. Its national image is created through shared historical awareness. This awareness is unique to any nation. It is achieved through extraordinary experiences and historical struggles. Some believe that history is the memory of any country.

The American nation is unique due to its historical formation. It was founded upon the ideas and thoughts of people who gathered together from different countries, carrying the idea of economic competition with them. They were also rebellious against the opposing pressures of the norms of their original homelands. In other words, they tended to emancipate themselves from the stress of their traditional models. This method was adopted as a result of the union of different cultures. Naturally, when different cultures, ideas, and tendencies meet, they produce a sound mental framework.

The Founding Fathers adopted the principles and ideas of great philosophers and thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, John Locke, and Montesquieu. The views of these great thinkers were present in the works of politicians, jurists, thinkers, and in a group of documents

known as the Unionist (Federal), which later became the foundations upon which the American Constitution was written. They were proposed in Philadelphia in 1787.

The American Constitution was greatly inspired by the ideas of Locke and Montesquieu, which dominated the minds of American immigrants. They sought to found their government upon social contracts. This government limited its authority within what Locke described as the particular circle of civil power. They were used to a broad range of practical freedom and individualism. Therefore, under such circumstances, they sought a natural, rational, and divine government. After the domination of the Mercantile tendency over the economy after the victory over the French, they found certain limits in their business. They found themselves confronting a government limiting their natural and traditional freedom. At this point, some national conflicts started to intervene in their life. The consequence of these limitations was a massive economic loss due to the conservatives' policy. Thus, the patriots of the age of revolution depended on the principles and ideas of Locke that were necessary to justify the confrontation of opposing forces against the English government. When Jefferson started composing the Declaration of Independence, he announced that he did not depend on a specific book or periodical when writing the declaration of independence because his mission was not to produce new ideas and principles. He declared that he presented general ideas

with blatant expressions to be confirmed. He sought to align it with the American mentality. He depended on the dominant ideological mainstream of his time, which was present in the everyday speech of people, letters, published articles, or primary sources like the books of Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney, and others. Therefore, this declaration was a call to the right of revolution that Locke had already proposed.

These ideas and roles were reflected in the practices of the political elites in the policy-making processes. Political elites are the political leaders who hold the political power at hand. Moreover, they do not necessarily have to be the best in society. Therefore, anyone in power and their relatives were considered political elites. This circle also included powers outside the official government, like political parties, Think Tanks, and lobbies that can impact policy-making. In other words, there are political elites inside and outside the government. The first is governmental political elites, and the second is non-governmental political elites.

American history witnessed various types of elites, some local and others regional; some were labeled according to their wealth, political power, and professional, religious, and educational experience. Some were considered elites according to their belonging to specific ethnic and racial classes. At the time, some groups sought economic power to gain political and national authority. However, Al Gore, the vice president of Bill Clinton, believes that the idea of self-government became possible

after the debut of publications. Knowledge became available to the public, leading to the rise of the authority of the mind. When ideas became open for discussion, the reason replaced wealth as the primary power source. The views of the political elites are powerful means: masses can be mobilized through pictures. Political leaders can use ideas and slogans to mobilize and disorient people for their interests. Advisors can use their personal experience to challenge the authorities. The story of past thinkers and experts is a story of ambition. Therefore, it is not a surprise that the relationship between the expert and leader is based upon the superiority of power. In this regard, Henry Kissinger, the former US Secretary of State and former National Security Council Adviser, referred to this issue as a power expert in its broad sense. He believed all foreign policies mentioned in history books are formulated due to experts' opposition. Above all, the expert's responsibility is to activate the norm, whereas the leader's responsibility is to overcome the model and move beyond its limits. The US State Department demands a decisive leadership that depends on global philosophies. Any vortex in this regard weakens the power of the ministry to present the best possible services. When the administration fails to see the essence of the complexities of the government shows its limited view. Accordingly, its call for entire reformation results in nothing useful. Under the leadership of influential leaders like Dean Acheson, foreign services will greatly benefit everyone. Historically, various groups of foreign policy experts in the United States were formed.

They were experts in the issues of war and peace. For example, the International Endowment for Carnegie Peace was founded to “support means of international peace” and to end the Second World War by settling things peacefully using studying the reasons behind the war and the best preventive tools to avoid it. To realize its goal, the institution cooperated with many public and professional figures in foreign affairs, mainly the former minister of the US State Department and the Senate, Elihu Root, who became the first president of the institution, in addition to John W. Forster, the former minister of the US State Department, as a member of the executive committee.

The American Foreign Policy is distinguished by its effectiveness in the international political system. Therefore, American foreign policy decision-makers have the power and authority to construct the nature of the future. Besides, the related institutions have many creative minds qualified to solve the ongoing issues in the United States. This institutionalization grants the power for the government to improve its political authority through the high number of official employees and their decisions concerning different international and regional affairs.

The dependence on universities and experts in specialist institutions is a means for politicians to avoid the bureaucracy of solution-finding regarding ongoing problems. However, the issue of politicians detached from specialist institutions is that because they are limited to a timeline, they mostly lean toward their whims and lose the initiative to view the ongoing problems comprehensively.

Well-known academics and experts are fast employed by different political committees. For example, out of 22 executive positions in the administration of the second presidency of Bill Clinton, one-third of the positions were occupied by academics and university professors. The former CIA director Stanfield Turner during the presidency of Jimmy Carter referred to the importance of this tendency. He believed the CIA must depend on non-political academics to assess data, mainly anthropologists, sociologists, etc. What matters most here is the assessment and usage of data rather than their collection.

Thus, the United States foreign policy is distinguished by the unique feature of the decision made after open discussions among everyone. They use everything they can, including money, persuasive means, and other tools of influence. They are members of Think Tanks, professionals in international affairs, and former advisors in the White House, the US State Department, and the Ministry of Defense, in addition to economic and political lobbies. This conflict of ideas is legally allowed in light of the United States Constitution. Edward Gordan, a professor of political sciences, described this condition as that it undergoes the supervision of the Constitution. This feature made foreign policy making a plural activity rather than a specialty of the executive authority. It is not, in fact, a call for participation but competition and conflict over dominating foreign policy. Finally, they came to agree upon distributing the roles between all participants.

The transition of power in the American presidency

represents the best form of foreign policy-making. The candidates resort to the consultation of many professionals to specify their political stance concerning many internal and global affairs. The specialists' ideas represent the policy through which the candidates form their future relations with the world. These consultations also clarify the priorities of the United States. For example, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs and the former National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger used to prepare the speeches of Nelson Rockefeller concerning foreign policy, which included specific ideas that were absent in his other lessons. Initially, it was of no concern to the public, but it soon became a site of interest for the ideas it presented. Therefore, it was natural that Kissinger became a political adviser to Nelson Rockefeller. He was also assigned to prepare the latter's foreign policy during his 1968 campaign. He also accompanied Rockefeller to the assembly of the Republicans in Miami in the same year to win the position of the candidacy of the Republicans against Richard Nixon. When Rockefeller felt he was losing the game, he presented the ideas of Kissinger to the assembly and said: "Whoever wins the nomination, he will win Henry too." Nixon admired the foreign policy of Rockefeller, which Kissinger had already proposed. Later, Kissinger was chosen as the National Security Adviser.

The will of any country in its international relations is represented in its foreign policy, mainly in the United States. This policy is primarily proposed by the decision-makers, leaders, politicians, political and power experts,

and governmental and non-governmental institutions, basing their views on profitability. The will of any country is its ideas that are represented in its policy. In this regard, discussing Spinoza, Will Durant declared that determination and mind are the same things; determination is an idea that resides in the conscious for a long and is rendered into work. He adds that any idea will finally work unless specific forces oppose it.

The qualifications of any country are the power that modifies decision-makers' tendencies. They also deprive them of rationality in the political arena. In any government's foreign policy, there is no ultimate will; instead, it is a relative one that undergoes the force of specific tools.

**The author, in his study of the political elites of the United States, states that a group of elites create ideas, others create and choose pictures, and others execute them. Therefore, it is necessary to classify the types of American political elites so that we comprehend the concept of 'power experts' following two criteria:**

- **First: governmental and non-governmental experts.**
- **Second: the size of the delegation of responsibility and its powers in various governmental positions.**

Before presenting the classification of American political elites, it is necessary to clarify that the term 'power experts' in this book is complicated. It is a two-edged concept as well. It is a complex picture because it cannot be minimized. On the one hand, this concept depends

entirely on the institutional perspective of the United States. On the other hand, it depends on the interactive perspective of governmental and non-governmental institutions. In other words, the concept of 'power experts in the United States depends on two interrelated levels: the general level, represented in the institutional structure, representing the entire American political system. The private group is described in the method of ruling political elites (politicians) regardless of the variety of forms of their authority. 'Power experts' is also a double-edged concept because it refers to the ideas of statesmen and governmental institutions as a changeable factor. In other words, it is the institutional responsibility granted to politicians. This institutionalization is related to the American political system. These institutions represent the authority of the state. Thus, as political elites formulated due to the delegation of power granted by the political system, power experts enjoy all the control possible in making decisions. In short, to describe the concept of 'power experts in the United States, we may say: **it is the strength of ideas adopted and experiences that statesmen employ; they are used to express the functions of the state and realize its interests and goals.**

According to Sadeq Al-Aswad, the political system usually specifies the range of authority, its qualifications, and its centers. It also clarifies the constitutional principles and the mode of political work. However, individuals and committees (sometimes named the power proxies) typically use other means besides decision-making authority.

In this regard, we see Talcott Parsons link authority with structure. He defines authority as the ability to practice certain functions for the good of the social system. He adds that authority is the ability of the social element for a group organization to guarantee the execution of its commitments when they are legally acknowledged because they express community goals; they are punishing when withheld from being practiced, regardless of the committee that executes the punishment.

Here, we must remember that technocrat committees do not define the goals and strategic interests because it is a process carried out at the highest levels. Nevertheless, it later becomes part of the social contract on which society depends. Moreover, the role of the technocrats is further empowered through educational institutions which teach such tendencies. In other words, the technocrats learn in particular educational institutions with high professionalism.

Therefore, maintaining the ruling elite's interests and political ideology contributes in one way or another to the general tendency of their decision-making process. Thus, what the elites name as supreme interests of the state may be their private interests, or what they describe as reasonable may only be helpful to the decision-makers. In this regard, there is always ongoing tension between the chosen team of the president, like advisers and ministers, and the permanent employees in the government. The first group is employed to take direct orders from the

president; they may disagree with his policies. Due to their long experiences, some experts oppose the superiors' policy and reject the bureaucratic leadership methods.

The following table (1) shows the classification of elite policy experts:

**The American Political Elite Experts**

(As a general framework, the American political paradigm is distinguished in the factor that it needs optional transmittance lenses in its inputs and outputs matching the needs of statesmen’s tendencies).

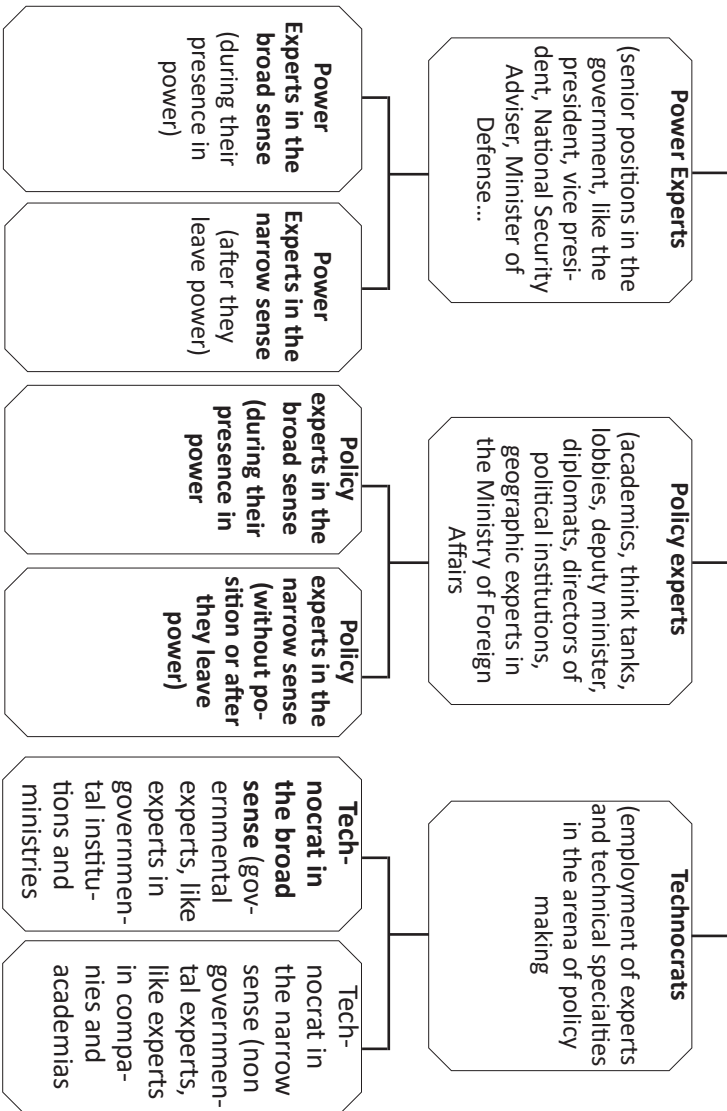


Table (1): Experts in the American political elite (according to the author’s classification)

As clarified in the above table, power experts in general and narrow senses are not different concerning their qualifications. The difference lies in the type of official position they occupy. For example, Kissinger is a power expert in the broad sense because he occupied the position of National Security Adviser during the presidency of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. In other words, he is a man of state who contributes to policy-making. He functions within the circle of his governmental responsibilities. However, he is also a power expert in the narrow sense because he still practices his specialty even after he leaves his official position. According to the above classification, Kissinger is also a policy expert even before becoming the National Security Adviser of President Nixon and President Kennedy. In other words, he is a man of foreseeing who presents alternatives to political trends. He became a policy expert in the broad sense when appointed as an adviser of the former American president John F. Kennedy, through whom he found his way to the White House. He was appointed an adviser to three general committees (Committee on National Security, Committee on Disarmament, and the RAND Corporation).

As a power expert in the broad sense, Kissinger changed the comprehension of the position of policy experts in the narrow sense after he achieved some experience due to his work in the government as a National Security Adviser and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Once, he claimed that before his title as an adviser to Kennedy, he thought, like

many academics, that the decision-making process was a purely intellectual endeavor: the only thing one needs is to walk to the office of the President and convince him to adopt a specific idea. However, he later discovered that this perspective is immature, unsafe, and an obstructed vision; long debates that depend on realistic experiences are only one dimension of the decision-making process besides the dependency on rational and political calculations<sup>(1)</sup>.

The same applies to Zbigniew Brzezinski. He was a National Security Adviser to Jimmy Carter. He was already a policy expert before occupying his official position in 1977. He was also a power expert in the broad sense during his official work as an Adviser to Carter and remained a power expert after he left his position.

As for Joseph Nye, he occupied different official positions, including Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs for Security, Science and Technology Issues and Head of the National Security Team on Nuclear Disarmament Issues between 1977 to 1979, Chairman of the National Intelligence Council between 1993 to 1994, and the position of Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Issues between 1994 and 1995. Accordingly, he is a policy expert in the broad sense while occupying official positions. In other words, he was a decision-maker within the circle of governmental power. Now, he does not settle any specific situation, that of the President of the American Council on Foreign Relations, making him a

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1- James A. Smith, *The Idea Brokers*, p. 421.

power expert in the narrow sense. He is a decision-maker outside the governmental circle as an academic or part of the think tank system.

Any expert of power is also a policy expert. But, in contrast, it is unnecessary that any policy expert is a power expert because the latter's function is to create ideas, and the role of the power expert, especially in the broad sense, is to create and choose the right thoughts.

We may note that there is no monopoly of power in foreign policy-making. Though limited individuals are qualified to adopt this mission, there are extensive discussions over political issues in governmental and non-governmental think tanks. For example, the idea of a 'nuclear deterrent' that the United States adopted in the late 1950s was extracted from Kissinger's book *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*. At the time, he was a professor at Harvard. Moreover, the policy of peace proposed by Carter, in which he sought to reconcile president Sadat and Menachem Begin, was inspired by a study conducted in Brookings Institution in 1975, titled 'Toward Peace in the Middle East'<sup>(1)</sup>.

In this regard, political and strategic experts in Think Tanks, whether governmental or non-governmental, are considered power experts in the narrow sense. He is not an expert in technical issues; instead, he studies and analyzes the relevant issues to find the best possible solution to ongoing conflicts. The expert must be a

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1- Atef Al-Gamri, *The Wandering American in the Middle East*, p. 106.

political analyst. He deals with things objectively to reach a proper political decision.

In a study, Chomsky proposes comparing academic technocrats with different political perspectives and academics with moral attitudes. The first group is the elites, who help the political system to function correctly. They also pose annoying questions. They take the role of opposition depending on their pragmatic background. Concerning academics with moral attitudes, what they propose is mainly based on moral grounds rather than political ones. This is the tendency of the opposition in the first place. This group of politicians is composed according to three factors<sup>(1)</sup>. Chomsky describes these politicians as a challenge to the democratic government. They form a real danger, equal to the ancient aristocratic movements, Fascism and Communism<sup>(2)</sup>.

Ahmad Noaimi proposes a description of the power experts in a narrow sense. He believes that the authorities employ a power expert to present his experience and advice, assumingly that he does not belong to the governing part ideologically; otherwise, he fails to serve his goals objectively. He is also granted access to all the sources of information. He cannot work without diagnosing the problem. However, he has no right to expose that information; otherwise, he would expose himself to punishment. Therefore, the power expert works

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1-See Chapter Five, Section One, Part Four, 'Brzezinski and the Trilateral Commission'.

2- Noam Chomky, Human Rights and American Foreign Policy, translated by Omar Al-Ayoobi, Al-Arabia Research Center, Beirut, 1984, p 17-18.

within stringent rules. They are prepared and qualified to foresee future incidents and present the best solutions to ongoing problems<sup>(1)</sup>.

Both political and power experts start their endeavors from their ideological standpoint and the historical context that gave rise to their identity. Accordingly, there are heated debates and opposition among thinkers and politicians from the same international relation school. Because of this, it is essential to study this arena according to a precise classification of experts and their roles. We should also note that rendering ideas demand power and authority. After all, the final function of change resides in the endeavors of power experts in the broad sense. They represent the quilting point who take the responsibility of reformation. They represent the authority of reformation.

Despite the required objectivity in international politics, conscious experts make decisions with a clear idea of different related fields. This vast experience results from their work in various positions for long periods of leadership<sup>(2)</sup>. In this regard, the potential incidents are realized only because these experts have already conceptualized their meaning and brought them into reality<sup>(3)</sup>.

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1- Dr. Ahmad Noaimi, *The Process of Foreign Policy Making: A Study of the United States of America*, Zahran for Publications, Amman, 2012, p. 51.

2- 'Henry Kissinger: The American Foreign Policy' in *The Concept of American Foreign Policy*, edited by Dr. Husain Sharif, Kitab Al-Sa'a Publications, Cairo, 1973, p. 31.

3- Anne Marie Slaughter, *New World Order*, translated by: Ahmed Mahmood, The National Center for Translation, Cairo, 2011, p. 13.

Any disorder that dominates the international political arena is either the result of an imbalance of internal power of statesmen (power experts in the broad sense) or instability in the structure of international order. In other words, any statesman undergoes the forces of personal obstructions or global disorder. This imbalance leads to a dynamic and dialectic chaos that dominates international politics. The statesman seeks to relocate the previous balance. He does not move in a vacuum area but among conflicting and controversial ideas of another statesman or power expert. Therefore, the foreign policy dynamics have been a changeable and complex factor<sup>(1)</sup>, mirrored in various strict and flexible powers. It is important to note that change and reformation of the political system reside in policymakers' comprehension of practical and aspired realities. In other words, understanding the difference between the natural world and the standard abstract concept is a process.

Therefore, experience presents a more variable future. Accordingly, specific experts are more experienced and knowledgeable than the presidents and their deputies, legislators, jurists, and members of different ministries. Here, we may name only a few: Mc George as an adviser to Kennedy, Kissinger to Nixon, and Brzezinski to Carter. In this regard, we must remember that personal relationships directly influence political decision-making<sup>(2)</sup>.

As a power expert and National Security Adviser to

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1- See Appendix

2- James A. Smith, *The Idea Brokers*, p. 41.

Nixon, in an interview with Muhammed Hasanain Haikal after the October war of 1973, Kissinger announced that opportunities were not available to people. Still, people make use of them and seek to capture them. He mentioned that what he was doing were his wish and desire. As he expressed, he dreamed of transforming his ideas into reality and practice. He added that political concepts do not appear from a vacuum but from the study of history because, after all, those who do not study history will repeat its mistakes<sup>(1)</sup>. In the same interview, Kissinger told Haikal: "Is it surprising to you if I tell you I have been imagining doing what I do my whole life? Mere ideas were not occupying my mind, but the way I could practice them was taking much of my thinking process. This, indeed, needs power. Therefore, for a long, I have been looking for it. Yet, I don't know when this tendency started. Each of us experiences three theoretical and psychological stages: first, one prepares himself for a specific role, then he has something to say when he has the chance, and finally, the challenge is choosing the path and method by which he can practice his role"<sup>(2)</sup>.

As a policy expert, Kissinger had already written on the concept of power expert in his Ph. D. dissertation in 1954. He also authored *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812-22*, which was published in 1957 and later translated into Arabic

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1- Muhammed Hasanain Haikal, *The Solution and War*, Al-Matboot for Publications, Beirut, ed. 9, 2013, p. 99.

2- Ibid, p. 99.

titled *The Hard Path of Peace*, in which Kissinger explains that it is irrelevant to any political decision to be made under the pressure of momentary enthusiasm because the mission of politicians must be preserving the world rather than controlling it. How can these words be accepted by a fanatic or a prophet? A statesman seeks to overcome the challenges that come into his path. As for a prophet, he thinks he is immortal. Time, for him, is limitless. This tendency is catastrophic because such individuals live in illusion. For a statesman, a prophet is a threat because he becomes an obstacle when seeking justice in this chaotic world. A statesman represents a revolution against reality. He aims to find a matching path that reconciles opposing tendencies<sup>(1)</sup>.

In his book, Kissinger proposes that a statesman can pinpoint when he can compromise. He believes that a successful statesman acts in a way in which he will not be obliged to make compromises. He extensively studies this idea in his book *The American Foreign Policy*. He believes that a politician can mobilize reality and is responsible for any urgent move in the political arena. Therefore, he seeks to avoid failure at any cost. He avoids specific experiences because he cannot take responsibility for potential losses. Experience shows that the executors of foreign policy cannot be trusted.

On the other hand, a prophet only cares about what is correct and just rather than what is possible. He believes in complete solutions and gives more importance to

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1- Kissinger, *The Difficult Peace Path*, p. 234.

the goal rather than the message. He believes in Man's ability to achieve perfection. His method transgress the boundaries of time; it is not bound to any specific context. He does not believe in gradation because he thinks this graduality must include certain compromises. He is also ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of goals. After all, his vision is built upon truth. He is even more radical than a politician due to his faith in human nature. He represents an epoch of glory and enthusiasm in which revolutions can take place. Yet, catastrophes are also possible to happen<sup>(1)</sup>.

Kissinger, as a power expert in the broad sense, wrote about the function of a statesman in his 1982 autobiography, which covers the period of his service as an adviser to Gerald Ford. He discusses the life of a politician and the way he creates his method in the international political arena. History is limitless compared to human life, and a human perspective is even narrower. Historical necessities often obstruct traditional wisdom, especially in times of significant trauma. An honest politician cannot accomplish his mission without recognizing his standpoint and the goals toward which he is moving. However, his space is limited to achieve this mission. If he limits himself to the movement of the political current, he will float beyond his choice; if he transgresses the will of his people, he will destroy his ship. If politics is the art of possibilities, he must use all the possible space. Great politicians always have big goals toward which they

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1- Henry Kissinger, American Foreign Policy, p. 46.

move. They are also qualified to evaluate the current human and natural resources objectively. Material leaders only work on removing obstacles and challenges, whereas politicians create opportunities; material leaders consume resources and seek reconciliation, whereas politicians inspire and mentor. In the foreign policy, Nixon succeeded in facing destiny and understanding the global contexts' foundations and currents<sup>(1)</sup>.

In the broad sense, a statesman or power expert does not move in a vacuum area so he can fill it with his wishes. After all, he faces many challenges. Countries concerning these challenges are not easily convinced or reconciled. They must be negotiated with and find the best possible way of cooperation. Therefore, a politician can't decide according to his wishes and tendencies. He must understand reality and divert his concepts and convictions toward practical ideas. He also acknowledges that security demands differ according to geographical conditions, diplomatic methods, international relations, and private and public needs. Diplomacy depends on conviction rather than coercion. It functions within a specific circle: it either undergoes the pressure of legal requirements or international relations and pressure, which is very difficult to realize<sup>(2)</sup>.

As an example of the method of analyzing the available inputs by power experts in the narrow sense, Brent Scowcroft, as a National Security Adviser to Gerald

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1- Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, vol. 5, p. 2013.

2- *Ibid*, p. 392.

Ford, George Herbert, and Bush, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, as an advisor to Jimmy Carter, this question was posed to them both: Is it wise to execute our plan to install a missile defense system in the Czech Republic and Poland, a suggestion proposed by the Bush administration which led infuriation of Russia. Is this plan successful, or is it harmful to the United States?

Scowcroft answered that it was strange to take such a step because the President had already declared that the US does not allow Iran to possess nuclear weapons. Installing this system presumes that Iran already has those weapons. He added that the goal behind this step is unclear because it is unclear whether the goal is defending Europe or the United States. If the technology is still the same, it is impossible to support both regions simultaneously. He claimed this step would challenge our efforts to reconcile this defense system with Russian ambitions<sup>(1)</sup>.

As for Brzezinski, he answered the question as a power expert in the narrow sense. He said that he feels that he is in a critical situation because think tanks in DC expect him to promote the idea that this defense system in Poland and the Czech Republic is necessary on the one hand. On the other hand, Poles and Czechs ask for his advice on how to deal with this case. He tells them they should remain allies with the United States in response to those demands. He advised them to accommodate the US tendencies, as well

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1- Zbigniew Brzezinski, Brent Scowcroft, *America and the World*, Moderated by: David Igrnatus, Amember of the Perseus books group, New York, 2008, P. 192.

as to be practical and pragmatic. This step depends on the political context in which they are placed. If NATO prefers this system and Russia admits it, there is no problem: both countries can deal with the US and ask for specific military compensation. The problem is in case NATO does not approve this defense system, and Russia refuses it, you should again submit to the will of the United States. It would help if you dealt with the US on compensatory commitments in case Russian threats become real. The situation here is complicated because the US is unwilling to present compensatory obligations. As a policy expert, he was bewildered because the proposed system seemed to defend the security of the Europeans, but they did not ask for such protection. Moreover, the threats are not present on the natural ground. He finally added that there is no need to accelerate the situation<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1- Zbigniew Brzezinski, Brent Scowcroft, *America and the World*, P. 192 – 193

## **Topic Two: Concept of American Foreign Policy**

Marcel Merrill defines foreign policy as that part of the governmental policy concerned about the regions beyond its borders. It deals with the affairs that are located beyond the country's borders. In other words, it is a set of decisions and activities. It is a set of principles and acts taken by committees and institutions inside the country toward foreign affairs. They aim to realize long-term and short-term goals. These goals seek to achieve certain privileges<sup>(1)</sup>.

One of the distinct features of foreign policy is that it is a field of political activity beyond decision-makers' control, though it undergoes general principles. It lies in an international area that is, to some extent, chaotic. It submits to different poles of power<sup>(2)</sup>.

The global interaction with the goals of the foreign policies of various countries leads to the rise of three primary types of interactive relations: cooperative, conflictful, and competitive. When a government appoints its general principles, it seeks to support the policy of those countries that help realize its goals. Those countries' response to others' demands decides the type of foreign policy it adopts, whether it is cooperative, conflictful, or

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1- Saad Haqi Tawfeeq, Principles of International Relations, Baghdad University Press, p. 12.

2- Philip Briar and Muhammad Reza Jalili, International Relations, translated by Hanan Fawzi Hamdan, Al-Hilal Publishing House, Beirut, 2009, p. 72.

competitive<sup>(1)</sup>.

Therefore, any international unit plays a specific role in the global layout of foreign policy. The unfamiliar part of the international unit consists of three primary dimensions<sup>(2)</sup>:

1- The first dimension concerns the foreign policy maker's conception of the unit in the international layout. In other words, it is the conception of those fields controlled by the international units. For example, the policymaker may have a specific vision of his role in regional and international fields.

2- The second dimension concerns the conception of the foreign policy maker of the primary motives of the international unit. Those motives are either cooperative (including international mediation or alliance) or conflictful (including anti-colonial or anti-communist tendencies).

3- The third dimension concerns the expectations of the foreign policy maker regarding the range of possible changeability in the general layout of international relations (like Interpol).

Marcel Merrill<sup>(3)</sup> believes foreign policy is managing one country's relations with another. In contrast, diplomacy is executing the proposed plan through a daily follow-up

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1- K. J. Holesti, *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*, PP. 146 – 147

2- Dr. Muhammed Al-Sayyid Salim, *Assessment of Foreign Policy*, edition 2, Al-Jeel Publishing House, Cairo, Tunisia, 2001, p. 48-49.

3- Marcel Merrill, *The Sociology of International Relations*, translated by Dr. Hasan Nafea, Al-Mustaqbal Al-Arabi Publishing House, Cairo, 1986, p. 328.

through negotiations between diplomats or ministers of Foreign Affairs.

Foreign policy is the legal path to managing international relations and diplomacy. This field demands free-willed diplomats. Politics is the field of specialty that concerns the official authorities, mainly the legislative power. In contrast, diplomacy is executing those political decisions and plans rather than preparing them<sup>(1)</sup>.

Walter Russell Mead, a distinguished professor and a member of the American Council on Foreign Relations, proposes four traditions in American foreign policy adopted as an American stereotype in this field. First, the Hamiltonians believe that the cooperation between the government and big businesses is the key to internal stability and external influence. They push toward the need of society to integrate with the economy. The Wilsonians believe that the United States has moral commitments and national interests. It is committed to spreading democratic and American values worldwide to create a law-abiding globe. Concerning the Jeffersonians, they think that the tendency of American foreign policy must not appeal to spreading democracy outside the country: it must protect it inside the borders. They constantly questioned the method of both Hamiltonians and Wilsonians at pushing the government to sign alliances with certain unfriendly countries, which may oblige the

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1- Kenneth Thompson, 'Theories of Foreign Policy and its Issues' in Foreign Policy in World Politics, edited by Roy McCrides, translated by Dr. Hasan Saab, Al-Ketab Al-Arabi Publishing House, Beirut, 1966, p. 58.

US to go to war. The last and most famous school in this field is the Jacksonian. It believes that the primary goal of the government is to maintain the personal safety and economic prosperity of the American people, as stated in the proverb: "Never step upon me." It is the snake's warning on the banner of the battle of the Jacksonian revolutionaries. They believed that the United States must not seek war outside its boundaries. However, when others put the country under the pressure of war, they raise the slogan of general Douglas Mc Arthur: "There is no alternative to victory."

Mead believes these four schools played the primary role in formulating American foreign policy between the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Their importance during the presidency of George W. Bush equals their significance at the time of George Washington. He proposes that American foreign policy depends on the ideas of these schools and the counter-movements that do not agree with their tendencies. Though all schools are necessary, he thinks the Jeffersonian is the one school the current foreign policy must follow. He believes that this school sees the American expansion has dangerous consequences<sup>(1)</sup>.

In his paper in the Journal of Foreign Affairs on April 2011, Mead presents a study on the Tea Party and its colonial roots. He believes such populist movements rise again when people are discontented with the social and economic elites. According to Mead, this movement

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1- Dr. Sayyid Amin Shebli, Perspectives on International Relations, Alam Al-Ketab Publications, Cairo, 2008, p. 195.

goes back to President Andrew Jackson, who invested in the populist movements of his time to rearrange the political system and push toward vast participation in the election<sup>(1)</sup>.

According to Nye, it is time to depend on American traditions. The United States is more in need of the Jeffersonian method rather than the Jacksonian one. He thinks the Wilsonians are correct in their proposal concerning global democratic change; they only need more patience with some Hamiltonian realism. In short, Nye proposes that the success of the United States depends on developing its understanding of the role of soft power. Further balance of both soft and hard forces must be maintained in American foreign policy<sup>(2)</sup>.

The need for Jeffersonian tendency in American foreign policy arose from the expansion of hostility of the United States around the world in recent years. According to Thomas Pickering, today, we are witnessing the climax of hostility toward the United States<sup>(3)</sup>.

Throughout history, the United States has been treading one path in its foreign policy. Therefore, many oppositional trends have appeared because this one-directional policy

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1- Karn Abil Khair, 'Populism Rises Again in Western Societies' in Journal of International Policy, ed. 184, Al-Ahram Institution, 2011, p. 173.

2-Joseph Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, translated by Dr. Muhammed Tawfeeq Al-Bjirami, Al-Abikan for Publications, KSA, 2007, p. 214-215.

3-Ibid, p. 187.

witnessed many irreconcilable situations<sup>(1)</sup>.

The only goal the United States seeks to achieve is supreme American national interests. However, the methods for those interests vary. Therefore, the United States sought to modify its interests in a way that copes with the expectations of each country. The most straightforward and essential priorities of the American foreign policy on the international stance may be summarized as the following<sup>(2)</sup>:

- ❖ Spread of capitalism and the free market.
- ❖ Spread of democracy and freedom around the world. After 9/11, the Americans came to believe their stability could not be realized unless democracy and human rights overwhelmed the globe.
- ❖ Limiting the spread of unconventional weapons.
- ❖ Eliminating terrorism (Islamic fundamentalist groups).
- ❖ Communication with different nations through technology, media, and presenting the best of the American culture.

These goals and priorities make American diplomacy interventionist. They tend to intervene in unstable parts

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1-Hans Morgenthau, 'A New Foreign Policy For The United States' in Foreign Policy Methods in World's Countries edited by Roy McCrides, translated by Dr. Hasan Sa'ab, Beirut, Al-Ketab Al-Arabi Publishing House, ed. 2, 1966, p. 349.

2- Dr. Usama Muratada, 'American Diplomacy in the 21st Century' in the Journal of Political Studies, Baitul Hikma, ed. 14, 2009, p. 92.

of the world to take the rein of mass media and divert the conflict away from its interests. The United States also chooses friendly diplomacy besides military power in cases where humanitarian intervention is required<sup>(1)</sup>.

Regarding the bureaucracy and diplomacy of the US State Department, George Schultz, the former US Secretary of State (1982-1989) during the presidency of Ronald Reagan, announced that half of the classified information that the United States receives, according to which the United States makes the US embassies around the world report its foreign policy. Therefore, it is believed that the workers in the embassies of the United States are the eyes and ears of the government abroad<sup>(2)</sup>.

Generally speaking, American foreign policy is an ongoing process managed by policymakers towards stable goals, yet within changeable circumstances. They try to control these circumstances within their authority to achieve the predetermined goals. American foreign policy is not set by one person or one institution. It is a process in which the President, Secretary of State, the Pentagon, Congress, and Think Tanks participate. They all move toward a common goal: the United States' national interests<sup>(3)</sup>.

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1- Ibid, p. 93.

2- Dr. Muhammed Abdul Azeez Rabi, *The Making of the American and Arab Politics*, Al-Karmel Samed Publishing House, Ammad, 1990, p. 37.

3- Hala Saudi, 'The American Policy towards the Arab World in the Post WWII Era' in *Creation of Hostility in the Arab-American Relations*. Edited by Ahmad Yousif and Mamdooh Hamza. Al-Wahda Al-Arabia Center for Studies, Beirut, ed. 4, April 2008, p. 71.

Madeleine Albright, the former US Secretary of State, a power expert in the narrow sense, mentioned in her article in *Washington Post* on the 8<sup>th</sup> of April, 2006, titled *A Realistic Idealism*, that the controversy between realism and idealism in foreign affairs is similar to the pendulum movement: both sides are unstable. Foreign policy must base its principles upon the natural world toward its improvement. In such a chaotic world, one must break some of his principles<sup>(1)</sup>.

The American foreign policy includes all the components of the international system on the one side and, on the other, the mutual impact of institutions. They all are pragmatic because they only seek to realize their goals, especially the critical ones.

The struggle over power in the United States may not be apparent in governmental activities, mainly foreign affairs. The President stands on one side, and the Congress on the other. According to the second article of the constitution of the United States, the President has the authority over a group of foreign affairs, including:

- ❖ The executive authority.
- ❖ Armed forces command authority.
- ❖ The power of the chief negotiator and chief diplomat.

In short, the president wears at least three hats in the

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1- Terry Dipple, *Foreign Affairs Strategy*. Translated by Dr. Waleed Shahada, Al-Ketab Al-Arabi Publishing House, Beirut, 2009, p. 166.

foreign policy field: the chief executive officer, the chief operating officer of the armed forces, and the chief diplomat<sup>(1)</sup>. As a result, American foreign policy is characterized by advanced and flexible planning. That flexibility lies in anticipating what is happening by dealing with the facts already on the ground—realistic capabilities and investing those capabilities within a pragmatic framework to achieve the pre-planned foreign policy goals.

American foreign policy is based on the national interest and the universality of American values. Its national interest represents its foreign policy in the short term, and its values represent its foreign policy in a long time. National interests always prevail over values because they define the standpoints of foreign policy that cannot be postponed. Because it is always - that is, values - deferred in the interest of American national interests, even American strategies that are developed with a balance between national interests and global values make radical changes at the expense of its values.

Condoleezza Rice<sup>(2)</sup>, the former National Security Adviser and former US Secretary of State, as an authority expert in the broad sense, talked about the goal of transition towards democracy and modernization in the Middle East, considering that among the things that make achieving that goal more complicated is that the future

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1- Dr. Fawaz Jurjus, *How is the American Policy Towards the Arabs is Made? Who Makes it?*. Al-Wahda Al-Arabia Center for Studies, Beiruty, 1998, p. 19.

2- Condoleezza Rice, 'Rethinking the National Interest: American Realism for a New World' in *International Studies*, No. 77, UAE Center for Strategic Studies, Abu Dhabi, 2008, p. 21.

of the Middle East is linked to many of our other vital interests, namely energy security, the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the defense of the claims of allies, the resolution of old conflicts, and the need to gain partners in the short term within the framework of the global struggle against Islamic extremism. But assuming that the US has to defend its security interests or democratic ideals involves a fallacy, as it must be recognized that our interests and objectives sometimes conflict in the short term. The United States must achieve a balance between many factors in its relations with the international communities. In this regard, the best guarantee for American security - in the long run - is the success of its ideals, including freedom, human rights, open markets, democracy, and the rule of law.

William Perry, former US Secretary of Defense (February 1994 - January 1997), identified three criteria to determine if there was a threat to vital US interests, which can be summarized as follows:

1- If it threatens the survival of the United States of America or its main allies.

2- If it threatens the vital economic interests of the United States of America.

3- If it poses a future nuclear threat<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1- A report prepared by the Office of National Security Affairs at the US Department of Defense (May 1995), in American attitudes towards the Middle East, prepared and edited by: Jawad Al-Hamad Center for Middle East Studies, Amman, p.199

Senator Lee Hamilton, widely regarded as one of the most seasoned and adept members of Congress in foreign policy, delivered a farewell speech at the Center for Strategic Studies and International Affairs in Washington in December 1998, marking the conclusion of his 17-year term in Congress before his retirement. He explained that the term 'vital interests' is inseparable from making foreign policy. It is drawn as a basis for protecting those interests and reconciling their components so that no conflict occurs among them in a way that leads to the paralysis of foreign policy and the loss of any influence or effectiveness in the performance of its roles<sup>(1)</sup>.

The certainty of American foreign policy expressing its vital interests is positioned practically. But, on the other hand, employing national interests to achieve the goals of American foreign policy explains to us the discrepancy and contradiction in the positions of the United States of America towards international events, whether simultaneous or successive or between countries or regions. Therefore, American foreign policy cannot be overlooked by adapting that factor to its goals and employing its capabilities in accordance with the American national interest by defining roles for its allies who revolve in its orbit. In this respect, we see double standards in American positions on similar events in different contexts.

Henry Kissinger referred to that subject in his article 'Ethics and Pragmatics,' writing that Gerald Ford came

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1- Atef Al-Gamri, *The Wandering American in the Middle East*, p. 183.

to the presidency when the foreign policy of the United States of America reached its limits. He presided over the total collapse of Indochina, which resulted from decisions taken long before his presidency. But Vietnam was a symbol, not a cause, of the national trauma of the 1970s that emerged due to the gap between historical convictions about the US mission and the practical challenges of an international environment. For the more significant part of its history, the United States has been able and powerful enough, far from the rest of the world, to prove that it is the only one of all the great nations that had the choice to play an international role. It can overcome any challenge that demands intervention if it executes certain decisions. As the Cold War progressed, both assumptions were essentially wrong. The US was involved in conflicts in parts of the world that most Americans cannot locate on a map because they are unknown or require endless efforts. In this sense, the turmoil of the late sixties and seventies brought about a revolution. The Vietnam War symbolized a world that does not allow evading answers. The form of that revolution took on the traditional American character not as a search for a better understanding of the emergence of a new world but as an effort to force it to conform to the basic principles<sup>(1)</sup>.

Before World War I, former US President Theodore

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1- Henry Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*. Translated by Husham Al-Dojani, KSA, Al-Okaiban, 2009, p. 944.

Roosevelt<sup>(1)</sup>, who took over the US presidency, succeeding the assassinated former US President McKinley<sup>(2)</sup>, believed that the United States of America was the most significant potential power. As a result, the concept of “foreign policy” was based in an unprecedented manner in the United States of America on geopolitical considerations to a large extent. Accordingly, the United States, in the twentieth century, would have played a global version of the role that Britain had previously played in the nineteenth century. It is the role of maintaining peace by ensuring equality, spreading its wings over the seas bordering Eurasia, and tipping the scales against any force that threatens to control any strategic region<sup>(3)</sup>.

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1- Theodore Roosevelt, a Republican, is the twenty-sixth President of the United States of America (1901-1909). Roosevelt was the youngest president to rule the United States of America, when he was only forty-three years old. During his presidency, his greatest projects were realized, including the Panama Canal in Central America, connecting the Pacific and the Atlantic. In foreign policy, Roosevelt “carried a big stick” - as he put it - when the government of Panama rejected his offer to allocate land for the construction of the canal. He launched a coup against the government. But soon the new rulers of Panama agreed to the terms of the US. He died suddenly by a heart attack in January 1919. See: Udo Zutter, Presidents of the United States of America from 1789 to the Present. Al-Hikma Publishing House, London, p. 172-180. See also Samuel Crompton, American Presidents. Beirut, Al-Multaqa for Publications, 1994, p. 96-98.

2 William McKinley, a Republican, is the twenty-fifth President of the United States of America (1897-1901). The Dingley Tariff was signed in 1897, which is the highest customs tariff in the history of the United States of America. He began to accelerate the expansion of the activity of the United States of America outside North America, which led his country to dominate global economic and political scenes. He was elected to a second term in the year 1900, and he was assassinated in September 1901. See Udo Zutter, p. 165-171.

3 Henry Kissinger, The World Order. Translated by Fadel Jaker, Al-Kitab Al-Arabi Publishing House, Beirut, p. 243.

According to Roosevelt, foreign policy is making American politics harmonious with the global balance of power with reservation and firmness, directing events to serve national interests. He saw the United States as the only country dangerous regional competitors do not afflict. Moreover, he thought that his country was the only one in the world safe from any possible threats from the Atlantic and Pacific. Therefore, he proposed that the United States is qualified to give the decisive word concerning the destinies of the eastern and western oceans<sup>(1)</sup>.

A century ago, former US President, Theodore Roosevelt, announced that the Atlantic era was witnessing the height of its development, and its resources must be depleted quickly as a typical result of the requirements of that development. The Pacific era, destined to be the most powerful of all, was still in its early stages of development. Europe was the leader of the Atlantic era, followed by America. One day, China alone will be the leader of the Pacific era<sup>(2)</sup>.

After the Second World War, the United States began to face new historical realities regarding the world order. New nations with different histories and cultures rose on the stage with the departure of colonialism. While the nature of communism became more complex and its

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1- Ibid, 245.

2- Parag Khanna, *The Second World and Power in the New World Order*. Translated by Dar Al-Tarjamah, Arab House of Science Publishers, Beirut, 2009, p. 349.

impact more ambiguous, in addition to the emergence of armed governments and ideologies that rejected American policies, they launched very stubborn challenges as the limits of American capabilities became exposed despite their abundance.

The United States' responses to these facts raised questions that had not previously been asked: Is American foreign policy a story with a beginning and an end, with the potential for decisive final victories? Or is it a process of managing and refining an endless series of recurring challenges? Are there any final destinations for foreign policy, or is that foreign policy a process of completion that is eternally unfinished?

In response to these questions, the United States engaged in heated debates and was exposed to internal divisions regarding the nature of its global role. This was the flip side of her historical idealism. By framing the question of America's global role as a representative of moral perfection, it punished itself, sometimes excessively, for its lacking performance. It anticipated a final culmination of its endeavors in various fields, including peace and democracy. The United States of America continued to risk the extremes of exaggeration and frustrated retreat<sup>(1)</sup>. It must be emphasized, in this regard, that foreign policy cannot be separated from international political theory. Foreign policy, in essence, means the ability and authority to make others implement what you want, or more precisely, subjugating the will of others. International

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1- Henry Kissinger, World Order, p. 272-273.

policy theory is the outcome of a group of foreign policies at a specific time or regarding a particular dilemma<sup>(1)</sup>.

The qualitative change in the international political order after World War II means more complexity concerning foreign policy. The ideological polarization within the framework of bipolarity requires the development of new patterns of thinking and perception to accommodate those qualitative developments in what is represented by the status quo to what should be (Revisionist thinking) to bring about stability. That is the task of statesmen as experts in power in the broad sense, as well as policy experts and think tanks.

According to Henry Kissinger, the requirement for a legitimate international order remains an imperative factor, and the United States should exercise caution against any unsafe return to Wilsonian idealism. He asserts that the prevailing American tradition perceives foreign policy as a means to safeguard and advance individual freedom and welfare. He also believes that this tradition lies in two contradictory and harmful directions: the first reaction is the isolationist withdrawal that the United States undertakes in international affairs to improve its democratic institutions more and more, designating itself a lantern for the rest the world. The other and more recent reaction is to engage in crusades for democracy worldwide to transform the international political system into a system based on democracy, a free market, and international law. He adds that the United States, in the

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1- Dr. Ahmed Nouri Al-Nuaimi, Decision-Making Process in Foreign Policy, p. 41.

more significant part of its history, has chosen the first path, that is, isolation. However, during the second half of the twentieth century, the second American path, the international crusades, dominated the political scene. It is more apparent during the Cold War. The US had an extreme moral tendency to refuse to be consistent with the realities of international power<sup>(1)</sup>.

A moral contradiction accompanied the victory of the Cold War. The United States was always digging into the depths of its soul in search of the moral value of its efforts in a way that it is difficult to find a historical counterpart for it. Either the American goals were unattainable, or the United States failed to adopt a strategy commensurate with the possibility of achieving those goals. As for the historians, they may conclude that it - the history of setbacks - derives from the inability to resolve a kind of oscillation between force and diplomacy, between realism and idealism, and between authority and legitimacy<sup>(2)</sup>.

The reason for the diversity of these concepts regarding foreign policy lies in the absence of a general academic theory of foreign policy. This issue is attributed to the following reasons: the dynamic nature of foreign policy, international interactions, and the implications of the emergence of new forces in international politics, in addition to several academic challenges facing building such a theory. We may also add another reason, which is the

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1- Martin Griffiths, *Fifty Thinkers in International Relations*. Gulf Research Center, Dubai, 2008, p. 63-64.

2- Henry Kissinger, *World Order*, p. 272-273.

difference in foreign policy from one country to another, and the limits of the subject that has become extended to include both domestic and foreign policies<sup>(1)</sup>. But despite the absence of a general academic theory of foreign policy, American foreign policy is distinguished, according to Mead, in that it is based on the balance and opposition of competing opinions and values. This chaotic state cannot be the basis for sound long-term policy. But history teaches us something different. It reviewed the United States in the dispute over foreign policy from the year 1949 to the year 1989, during which every essential element in that policy was discussed. However, the United States committed itself to a central strategic goal. It contained the Soviet Union and caused the collapse of the European communist system without a nuclear war<sup>(2)</sup>.

Nevertheless, Mead's symphony does not stand up to historical facts due to the failure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to play a significant role in the field of intelligence. The State Department has failed to be the chief conductor of American foreign policy because of what Acheson has called "civil disobedience in the State Department" and the inability or unwillingness of many officials to adopt a comprehensive theory of American foreign policy. Moreover, the American diplomatic corps members had a limited and more comfortable opinion regarding the role of performance and leadership. Still, it is fair to accept

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1- Dr. Ahmed Nuri Al-Nuaimi, *Foreign Policy*, Dar Amjad for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 2017, p. 23.

2- Walter Russell Mead, *American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World*, p. 72.

that the dominance of military interests and the control of the White House staff over the process of making foreign policy have imposed serious difficulties against the possibility of the State Department succeeding in playing a significant role in that domain. The relinquishment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to play a role in the field of intelligence contributed significantly to weakening the ability of that institution to be an active player in US foreign policy<sup>(1)</sup>.

The sung plays or operas are a harmonious mixture of multiple elements that are disparate in appearance (musical composition, text, singers, stage preparation, orchestra, conductor, stage managers, propaganda, ticket sales, and rehearsals). American foreign policy also arises from a complex interaction among several authorities, including the President, the State Department, the Pentagon, the CIA, Congress, and the National Security Council (NSC). Since World War II, the level of congressional intervention, in general, has decreased. Moreover, the intervention of the President, his close advisors, and the National Security Council, in particular, has increased. The influence of the President was so significant that Zbigniew Brzezinski considered him responsible for engineering the foreign policy that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs implements<sup>(2)</sup>.

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1- Prostruk Denny, A Comprehensive Look at American Foreign Policy. Translated by Dr. Waduda Abd al-Rahman Badran, review: Shweikar Muhammad Zaki. International House for Publishing and Distribution, Heliopolis, 1991, p. 136.

2- Janice Terry, American Foreign Policy in the Middle East. Translated by Hassan Bustani, Arab House of Science Publishers, Beirut, 2006, p. 13-14.

The authority of American political institutions and their mutual influence in foreign political decision-making resulted in a state comprising a group of totems<sup>(1)</sup>. This must be viewed as institutional sectarianism with common political goals that bring them together, just as the totem expresses a common sacred symbol that brings together a family or clan within the framework of a purely social relationship as kinship or friendship. There is a totem in the United States for the presidency, a totem for Congress, a totem for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a totem for the Pentagon, etc. Accordingly, the American foreign political decision is complex in a way that results from the nature of the totem of the American political system positioned throughout American history. However, it is characterized by a prevailing general trend that dominates every

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1- I took the word (totem) from the Ojibwe, which is the Algonquian language spoken by the Indians of the Great Lakes in North America. It means a pure social relationship (kinship or friendship) that exists between two people, and each clan takes a title derived from one of the animal species (Pierre Pont and Michel Izar, *Dictionary of Ethnology and Anthropology*. Translated by Dr. Misbah Al-Amad, Majd, Majd Al-Jamia for Publications, Beirut, 2006, p. 635). A clan or tribe takes it as a symbol that distinguishes itself from the rest. All members of that specific clan or tribe are identified by that totem because they believe that it is their sacred ancestor and their protector, or that it is linked by a religious bond with their forefathers. The members of the clan or tribe may feel that they are connected to the totem that they hold sacred, with which they form a social unit. McLennan studied the first origins of totemism, as he concluded that it represents some remnants of animism, (that is, the belief that living and non-living natural phenomena alike are endowed with spirits or have souls that can affect the society that lives within them). As for William Robertson Smith, he proposed that those people take totems as a sacred symbol because they believed that these totems return with goodness (John Scone and Gordon Marshall, *Encyclopedia of Sociology*. Vol. 1, translated by Ahmed Zaidan et al, The National Center for Translation, Cairo, 2011, p. 522).

historical era, which will be clarified later. Therefore, Americans cherish their political heritage and adopt the principles proposed by the founding fathers. As for the practical side, all tools require the surrounding context.

Ian Bremer explains that the United States applied three strategies in its foreign policies during the past century, which are the following<sup>(1)</sup>:

First: The strategy of 'American exception' at the global level. In other words, it is the strategy of 'indispensable America,' which dates back to the late forties of the previous century. It is based on alliances and military interventions and the provision of essential commodities. Bremer believes that the United States of America no longer has the necessary influence to play that role further, as American public opinion is unwilling to do so, especially if it comes to a war with China or Russia.

Second: The strategy of 'managing the United States as a company.' Bremer believes this strategy is based on the government's expenditure, cost reduction, and benefits maximization. This strategy may be functional because the US cannot face all international challenges. Therefore the priority must be to defend the threatened American interests worldwide without imposing its values. Accordingly, the United States must help its allies in ways that aim to achieve the security and prosperity of the American people. However, Bremer admits that this

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1- Ahmed Mahmoud Mustafa, 'The Great Powers: Three Options for the American Role in the World', in Journal of International Politics, Al-Ahram Foundation, Cairo, Issue 202, October 2015, p. 187.

strategy will not work. After all, the US is not a company, and it cannot act with that logic.

Third: The strategy of ‘American independence,’ which aims to reduce the international obligations of the US significantly. This strategy seeks to focus on the internal issue primarily. It also plans to reduce its military expenditures on aircraft carriers, national security, intelligence, and cyber-system protection. Moreover, it moves towards granting China and Russia further strategic space and spheres of influence. This strategy pushes toward ceasing the American role of security guarantor and the last resort for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Japan. It also seeks complete withdrawal from the Middle East.

In the end, Bremer believes that the United States did not have a clear strategy for its foreign policies during the last quarter of the previous century, indicating that its role was summarized in reacting to and following up on the growing Russian and Chinese international influence.

It is worth noting that after the slogan: “America is the indispensable country” ceased to be repeated further, Madeleine Albright kept mentioning it after she occupied the position of Secretary of State (23/1/1997 - 20/1/2001) during the presidency of Bill Clinton. The United States came to recognize that there are also other indispensable countries in a way that it could not comprehend. Henry Kissinger describes this issue by saying he hopes for America to be one of the equal international powers. Now, he was expressing his thoughts from an equality

standpoint rather than superiority and hegemony<sup>(1)</sup>.

This idea refers to the principle of 'mutual non-dispensation' in the field of international relations in the twenty-first century. It means no matter how powerful the United States of America is, it cannot solve or manage a significant problem without the cooperation of other major countries, including China, Russia, Germany, and the United Kingdom. These countries' power cannot be ignored. But, on their part, they also cannot succeed in solving fundamental problems without the United States. Former National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft explained this idea when he said that no longer any country alone can mobilize the global community to undertake the grand projects of the age. He added that the world would no longer accept the hegemony of the United States. Still, without the leadership of the United States, not much can be achieved<sup>(2)</sup>.

What distinguishes American strategic thought from others is that it is flexible and free to change and modify. It never neglects the forthcoming incidents and contexts. We should note that the United States is the only country with three combined powers: military, economic, and technological and informational. The US attitudes in foreign policy affirm the Kissingerian principle: threatening to use force is better than actually using it, with the ability

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1- Al-Gamri, *The Wandering American in the Middle East*, p. 38.

2- Leslie Gelb, *Rules of Power: How Intuitive Thinking Can Save American Foreign Policy*. Translated by: Kamal El-Sayed, Al-Ahram Center for Translation and Publishing, Cairo, 2011, p. 114.

to use it. In addition, it employs the elements of soft power, especially economic sanctions. This can only be achieved if the state has the necessary prestige, as Robert Gilpin believes. That prestige in international relations is the functional equivalent to the role of power in domestic politics because the hierarchical arrangement is essential in governing the global system. Prestige is closely linked to the concept of power. Still, there are specific differences between the two images: power refers to the state's military, economic, technological, and information capabilities, whereas prestige (status) refers primarily to the reputation of power. In other words, it is about the international community's perception of a specific country's ability to exercise power. Prestige and power are fundamental psychological components of American foreign policy. Therefore, the United States achieved its goals in foreign policy by psychologically employing its prestige and actual employment of military powers.

Regarding the role of political elites, including political and power experts, and their influence in shaping American foreign policy and strategies, we will take two examples: George Kennan's<sup>(1)</sup> containment strategy

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1- George Kennan was born in 1904 and became widely known after the publication of his article anonymously in 1947, in *Journal of Foreign Affairs*. In the article, he warned of the expansionist tendencies of the Soviet Union, and the need to 'contain them', which resonated positively in the United States. He was appointed as head of the newly established political planning apparatus at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Moreover, the American foreign policy adopted the Policy of Containment after World War II. Kennan died on March 17, 2005. See: Martin Griffiths, *Fifty Thinkers in International Relations*. Gulf Research Center, Abu Dhabi, 2008, p. 67; See also Dr. Ahmed Nuri Al-Nuaimi, *The Decision-Mak*



during the Cold War and the United States policy in Asia after the end of the Cold War. In its most simplistic form, the approach to containment and preservation of the American security system was conceptualized by Ambassador George Kennan. He is acknowledged as the originator of the term 'containment' and the associated security philosophy during his tenure as the first director of the Political Planning Department within the US State Department, where he served as a policy expert in a broader context. He was also a supervisor of American strategic planning from 1945 to 1949.

Kennan's strategic vision depended on geopolitical conditions that dominated American security planning after 1944. Kennan realized that the greatest threat to American interests lies in the possibility of the emergence of a dominant power that could impose its control on the centers of power in both Europe and Asia. This leads to transforming those resources into an industrial-military power that can then be directed against the American continent or at least employed to organize the isolation of the United States politically and economically by depriving it of any access to the eastern biosphere. What deepened these dangers was the vast security vacuum in Europe and Asia due to the defeat of the Axis forces. Kennan realized that the source of exposure to American interests did not stem from the military power of the Soviet Union but rather from the collapse of the economic and social

systems in Japan and Western Europe<sup>(1)</sup>.

Kennan proposed the theoretical framework for the policy of containment. He sought to analyze the goals of the Soviet strategy and determine how it viewed the capitalist West, the main obstacle to the spread of communism. Kennan believes that the Soviet design was in a state of studying the situation. The communist leaders were looking after the vulnerable countries through which they could intervene in global affairs<sup>(2)</sup>. The Soviets sought to exploit those countries to bring about more change compatible with their objectives. He also believed that this strategy was flexible, based on the assumption that the development of history was on their side. They were not restricted by a specific time to achieve their goals. Containing the Soviets within the areas of their influence could lead to two significant effects at the same time:

1- Resisting Soviet expansion and preventing it from dominating new countries.

2- The Communists will be forced to abandon their global expansionist strategy<sup>(3)</sup>.

In Kennan's book *American Diplomacy: 1900-1950*, he asks: "What is the reason for the failure of American foreign policy in the first half of the twentieth century?"

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1- Karim Hajjaj, 'Features of American Strategy in the Next Century', in *Journal of International Politics*, Al-Ahram Center, Cairo, Issue (127), January 1997, p. 67.

2- Dr. Ismail Sabry Makled, *Strategy and International Politics: Basic Concepts and Facts*, 2nd Edition, Arab Research Foundation, Beirut, 1985, p. 213.

3 - Ibid, 214.

Kennan attributes that failure to the innate American aversion to taking specific positions for specific problems. It is also related to the continuous pursuit of American politicians to reach universal formulas or theories by which they encapsulate and justify international affairs. Finally, the failure is also a consequence of the American tendency to propose one universal theory that explains all situations, disregarding the different contextual pressures and demands<sup>(1)</sup>.

Regarding American policy in Asia and its implementation towards various Central Asian nations, several experts in US foreign policy have proposed guidelines that must be studied to achieve the United States' vital interests in the region. These suggestions have been put forth by researchers at the Institute for Strategic and International Studies located in Washington. As for vital American interests, the researchers recommended adopting the following policies<sup>(2)</sup>:

- 1- Searching for new opportunities to enhance American leadership in the Asian-Pacific region.
- 2- Strengthening political and security relations with Japan.
- 3- Cooperating with China to prepare a common positive agenda and a mutually beneficial framework for

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1- Dr. Nabil Ragheb, *The Wise Men of American Politics*. World Library, Cairo, 2011, p. 61.

2- Dr. Muhammad Saad Abu Amoud, 'American Policy in Asia' in *Journal of International Politics*, Issue 127, Al-Ahram Foundation, Cairo, January 1997, p. 131.

integrating China into the economic, political, and security systems.

4- Cooperation with South Korea to increase stability on the Korean Peninsula.

5- Preparing a strategy that includes Southeast Asia within the American interests.

6- Preparing to start a security dialogue with Northeast Asia, including the United States, Japan, China, Russia, and the two Koreas.

7- Strengthening the deliberations of the ASEAN Regional Platform regarding regional and security affairs.

**The practical side of the ideas of experts, specialists, and those responsible for American-Asian foreign policy was represented by the following<sup>(1)</sup>:**

- 1- This policy solved the problem of the US military base in Okinawa and the redeployment of US forces while maintaining their strategic capabilities to carry out their tasks.
- 2- Strengthening traditional American alliances in Asia, as the volume of trade exchange with South Korea increased to \$50 billion in 1995.
- 3- As for the American policy towards China, despite their critical attitudes toward human rights and arms sales, US President Bill Clinton supported granting China the status of the most favored nation regarding

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1- Dr. Muhammad Saad Abu Amoud, American Policy in Asia, p. 132-133.

trade.

- 4- The US policy towards Asia's conflict areas is based on achieving stability and reducing tensions between the conflicting powers.
- 5- In recent years, US policy has tended to reconfigure new alliances and reconsider its stance toward the previous ones, as with India and Pakistan.
- 6- US policy in Asia focuses on strengthening economic relations with Asian countries, especially the rising ones.
- 7- American policy is based on the possibility of resolving Asian regional disputes within the Asian framework.
- 8- American policy in Asia is based on solving its differences with certain Asian countries during the Cold War.

As for the difficulties that faced American foreign policy after the end of the Cold War, Henry Kissinger, as a power expert in the narrow sense, believes that the fundamental reason for such turmoil in the nineties was developing a coherent strategy for the world in which it enjoys an important and central role. In this regard, there are three different approaches to American foreign policy. Those conflicting powers are the following<sup>(1)</sup>:

- ❖ Cold War veterans of the 1950s and 1960s who

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1- Henry Kissinger, *Does America Need a Foreign Policy: Towards Diplomacy for the Twenty-First Century*, 2nd edition, translated by: Omar Al-Ayoubi, Al-Kitab Al-Arabi Publishing House, Beirut, 2003, p. 18-22.

seek to adapt their experiences to the conditions of the new millennium. Proponents of the protest movement against Vietnam also seek to apply their experiences to the emerging new world order; The third approach consists of a new generation who are hard to understand the old perspectives of the previous generations.

❖ Cold War strategists sought to manage the conflict between the nuclear superpowers by containing the threats of the Soviet Union. Kissinger indicated that Vietnam cleaved the bond between ideology and strategy. That bond is the distinct feature of what has become known today as the 'Great Generation. However, their practical approach is the subject of severe and ongoing dispute.

❖ As for the post-Cold War generation, Kissinger believes that economic globalization is not a substitute for the world order, although it can be essential. The success of the globalized economy in and of itself will generate tensions both within and between societies. This puts pressure on the political leadership of the world. Meanwhile, the nation-state, which remains the unit of political accountability, is subject to reconfiguration in many parts of the world based on two contradictory trends: disintegrating into its ethnic components or dissolving into larger regional groupings. As long as the national leaders of the post-Cold War generation face skepticism in developing an unapologetic concept concerning national interest, they

will achieve successive failing results.

For Zbigniew Brzezinski, the fundamental question is whether the United States can pursue a prudent, responsible, and effective foreign policy consistent with its unique historical position as the world's most significant power. In this respect, a wise foreign policy is featured with the realization that globalization essentially means global interdependence. Such interdependence does not guarantee equality in status, nor even equality in security among all countries. On the contrary, it means that no country is entirely immune from the consequences of the technological revolution that has dramatically increased human capacity to commit acts of violence, yet, at the same time, strengthened the bonds of connection that increasingly bring people together<sup>(1)</sup>.

According to Brzezinski, there is doubt about the possibility of the United States using its power. But will America turn to use violence? Public opinion polls indicate that only a small minority (13 percent) of Americans support the view that: "The United States of America, as the only remaining superpower, should remain the pre-eminent world leader in solving international problems," while the majority (74 percent) favors solving global problems in cooperation with other countries<sup>(2)</sup>.

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1- Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Choice: Controlling the World or Leading the World*. Translated by Omar Al-Ayoubi, Al-Kitab Al-Arabi Publishing House, Beirut, 2004, p.9.

2- Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard*, 3rd edition, translated by Amal Al-Sharqi, Al-Ahlia for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 2012, p. 258.

Several thinkers and American foreign policy experts agree that the United States has an integrated and definitive vision of its role in the world in the next stage. It faces global events with decisions issued on a day-to-day basis. Sometimes, it depends on policies and visions that belong to the principle of the Cold War containment that is invalid today. The US seeks to open new doors with old keys. Many active players in the politics of the post-Cold War era admit that they have not yet been able to reach a principle that replaces the doctrine of containment. Sandy Berger, National Security Adviser to former US President Clinton, described the current stage of the global system as a transitional stage in which it is difficult to develop a vision that remains effective in the future before the conditions of the world and the positions of the forces affecting it crystallize<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1 Atef Al-Gamri, *The Wandering American in the Middle East*, p. 34.

## Topic Three

### The Decision-Making Process in American Foreign Policy

The decision-making process refers to the interaction between all participants in the governmental and non-governmental fields in drawing up public policies.

Richard Snyder stood out in that field, considering that the basis for the final unit of foreign policy analysis lies in the decision-making process. He believes the content of this theory is that the political movement is nothing more than a position that defines a specific context. In other words, the political decision-maker must identify the variables that control the situation, whether at the level of activity or prediction<sup>(1)</sup>.

The political decision-making process represents the second level of foreign policy (the first level is the development or formulation of foreign policy, and the third level is the process of implementing foreign policy). The political decision to liquidate a specific problem within a particular context is voluntary. In other words, the political decision means the following<sup>(2)</sup>:

1- Voluntary work on the part of the authority towards the containment of reality.

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1- Dr. Ahmed Nouri Al-Nuaimi, Decision-Making Process in Foreign Policy, p. 209.

2- Dr. Hamed Rabee, Psychological Warfare in the Arab Region. Arab Foundation for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, 1974, p. 132.

2- It aims to solve a specific problem within a particular context.

3- The decision, then, is a voluntary design that tends to move from the abstract world of concepts into the world of reality.

The political decision-making process is broader than the decision itself. The decision is an expression of the outputs related to the situation. As for the decision-making process is all related to the problem in terms of inputs and outputs, as well as the interaction between them. A decision is only one component of the whole process of decision-making<sup>(1)</sup>.

**The decision-making process is constituted of the following steps<sup>(2)</sup>:**

1- The element of stimulus: it may result from changes in the natural environment, the specific behavior of a force, or any problem that requires a solution.

2- The decision-maker's perception of the incentive: Unless the decision-maker perceives the stimulus, it will not have an effect. If the motivation is an objective phenomenon, the awareness of the encouragement is a subjective process in the decision-maker's vision of the incentive, and the perception represents the appropriate decision-making process.

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1- Dr. Hamed Rabi, *The Psychological Warfare in the Arab Region*, 133.

2- Dr.. Bassiouni Ibrahim Hamadeh, *Public Opinion and its Importance in Decision Making*, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Emirates Lecture Series 57, Abu Dhabi, 2002, pp. 16-17.

3- Defining the problem: When an opportunity for decision-making arises, searching for information begins to identify potential opportunities and threats. This stage is completed in democratic systems by dealing with public opinion.

4- Analyzing the information: This stage means rejecting or accepting the credibility of the information, linking it to each other, and giving it a specific meaning related to the situation.

5- Searching for alternatives: This element may take one of two ways:

The first is searching for the available alternatives and determining the possible results for each option. This is the rational model.

The other is searching for alternatives consistent with the decision-maker's doctrinal pattern. Therefore choices that contradict that pattern are rejected, as this method is called the cognitive model.

6- Implementing the decision: that process begins after the decision is taken and requires a series of decisions issued by the administrative apparatus.

7- Evaluating the decision: the essential criteria to which the evaluation is subjected is the status of the information and the degree of its completeness, the degree of advice in decision-making, and the degree to which the decision achieves its objective.

**The decision-making process as a method for analyzing foreign policy is not simple because it undergoes specific forces<sup>(1)</sup>:**

1- The nature of the objective conditions that drive a particular decision.

2- The nature of conflicting values at each stage of decision-making.

3- The mutual relationship between those values and the traditions of the institutions within which the decision is made.

4- The influence of the cultural, natural, and interest dimensions of decision-makers in their final decision choice.

5- The influence of the internal environment on decision-makers.

6- The impact of existing experiences and skills on decision-makers.

According to senior analyst William Quandt, there are several ways to understand decision-making in American foreign policy. As a result, we may encounter this issue from four distinct angles, albeit often complementary, namely<sup>(2)</sup>:

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1- Dr. Ahmed Nouri Al-Nuaimi, *The Decision-Making Process in Foreign Policy: The United States of America as a Model*, Amman, 2012, pp. 222-223.

2- William B. Quandt. *Decade of Decision Policy toward the Arab – Israeli Conflict, 1967 – 1976* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1977), P. 3. Quoted from Dr. Marwan Behairy, 'American Politics and the Middle East: From Truman to Kissinger', in *American Politics and the Arabs*, Al-Wahda Al-Arabia Center for



1- The perspective of strategic or national interests, which is most often used, and which emphasizes the world view.

2- The local policy perspective emphasizes the role of pressure groups, Congress, and public opinion in policy-making.

3- A bureaucratic policy perspective that emphasizes the executive branch's role and specialists in policy formation and implementation.

4- The presidential leadership perspective confirms the view that the president and his close advisors are the ones who draw high-level policy. Moreover, that perspective assumes that foreign policy is made not by abstract forces but by individuals.

Four primary schools of theory seek to understand the decision-making process in American foreign policy. The most famous and influential school is the one that uses the concept of 'the rational actor,' as that school assumes that the foreign policy-making process is an organized, coherent, and rational process. It is not stained by chaos, competition, and conflicts that may pollute the internal policy process. Instead, the various alternatives are studied at the highest levels according to accurate calculations of gains and losses based on the supreme interests of the United States. Though heated debates may occur regarding making a specific decision, when the president makes the decision, everyone strives for the

success of the implementation process.

The second school of thought in foreign decision-making emphasizes the bureaucratic model, which suggests that various bodies, institutions, and ministries have unique roles, practices, and visions that shape foreign policy. Unlike the rational actor model, this approach considers these entities as more than just cogs in a machine. Nevertheless, it is no secret that the ongoing institutional conflict has erupted consistently among the American foreign decision-making centers.

The third school adopts the model titled 'the political process.' This model proposes that foreign policy is made through the interaction of interest groups and pressure groups on foreign policy issues. Interest groups, pressure groups, and think tanks regularly seek to mobilize public opinion on foreign policy issues as part of the political process. Furthermore, this approach involves trading a foreign policy matter for a domestic policy consideration. An example of this is demonstrated by former US President Carter who secured Representative Dennis Deconcini's support for the Panama Canal Treaty by promising to have the Ministry of Defense purchase surplus copper from the representative's state, which would help improve the state's copper industry.

As for the fourth school, which experts adopt in the study of Congress, it sees the US Constitution as a call to conflict between the president and Congress in foreign policy. This situation is called the institutional interaction between Congress and the presidency. Congress is in

whose hands lies the funding for foreign and domestic policy. Accordingly, it is the one institution that can stop money flow to the president's projects.

According to former US Secretary of State Colin Powell, the process of making US foreign policy is a function that reflects the nature of the personality of the American president. Upon assuming power, each American president appoints his senior staff and advisors and selects the ministers of defense and foreign affairs. He also determines the tools that are used to implement his alien agenda<sup>(1)</sup>.

According to Brzezinski, as a power expert in the narrow sense, the President of the United States, the first statesman, must have a leadership personality. He must be a person of reason and order. He must also know what Machiavelli calls 'Fortuna', the mysterious interaction between fate and luck. In the American system, where there is a separation of powers, foreign policy is the domain in which presidents have the most significant influence of personal discretion. Every president is fascinated and enchanted by his single possession of such extraordinary powers and his ability to access information to which no one else has access<sup>(2)</sup>.

Therefore, the Federal Constitution entrusted the

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1 Kendall Scott, 'The Dynamics of Making American Foreign Policy' in Journal of International Politics, Issue (178), Al-Ahram Foundation, October 2009, p. 143.

2 Zbigniew Brzezinski, The Second Chance: Three Presidents and the Crisis of the American Great Powers, translated by: Omar Al-Ayoubi, Al-Kitab Al-Arabi Publishing House, Beirut, 2007, p. 14.

President with assuming the executive power, which stipulated that the executive power would be vested in the President. The presidency enjoys a lofty mission in the American constitutional system. It clarifies that the framers of the constitution took a bold step when they combined the prestige of the king and the prime minister's authority in one electoral position: the state's presidency. In this pertain, this position is the most excellent position on earth<sup>(1)</sup>.

Former US President Woodrow Wilson<sup>(2)</sup> believed that the Founders (members of the American Constitutional Convention in 1787) had drawn up a Newtonian Constitution that emphasized evaluating the context. As a result, they created a presidential position with limited authority. However, this position underwent a gradual transformation at the hands of its incumbents in the various situations they faced, beginning with George Washington, and passing through Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, and Grover Cleveland.

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1 Dr. Dawoud Murad Hussein, *The Powers of the American President: Between the Constitutional Text and the Practical Reality*, Academic Book Center, Amman, 2011, p. 40.

2 Woodrow Wilson is the Democratic twenty-eighth president of the United States (1913-1921). He graduated from Princeton University in 1879, and later became its president. He led his country in the First World War, and his personal contribution to leading the war was due to his desire to seek peace. Not only did he use various diplomatic initiatives for that goal, but also his declaration of the Fourteen Points in January of 1918. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1920, in appreciation of his efforts for world peace. He died in February 1924. See: Udo Zauter, p. 187-196; And Samuel Crompton, p. 187-190. See also Lain Mclean and Alistain Mcmillan, *Oxford Concise dictionary of Politics*, Oxford University Press, New York, Second edition, 2003, P. 574.

Woodrow Wilson claimed that the transformation process was a source of strength for the president that the framers of the Constitution did not imagine<sup>(1)</sup>.

It is worth noting that the first founding failed when the Union seemed a weak confederation when it was approved in 1781. The presidency was at the Philadelphia Convention in 1787, among the most experimental innovations. Politicians at the time came to recognize that more effective leadership was needed. But can this goal be achieved without the risk of driving toward tyranny? The ultimate goal was to rule, not just control, and the solution was the separation of powers to support and maintain unity. The statement in Philadelphia provides a basis for understanding the American government and politics<sup>(2)</sup>.

Kendall Scott, a researcher at the Institute for Global Security in Washington, believes that the president's primary function is coordinating the various influential players in making foreign policy and knowing which decisions can be accomplished. Unlike his role at the local level, the American president has absolute power not only in guiding US foreign policy but also in managing the process itself. He is also allowed to intervene in both critical affairs or minute details. For example, during the administration of former President George W. Bush, there

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1 David K. Nichols, *The Legend of the Modern American Presidency*, translated by: Sadiq Ibrahim Odeh, Al-Ahlia for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 1997, p. 29.

2 Charles Jones, *A Short Introduction to the American Presidency*, translated by: Muhammad Ahmad Al-Sayyid Harfush, Dar Al-Shorouk, Cairo, 2011, p. 14.

were many indications that the foreign policy decision-making process was ineffective.

The president is the first mover of foreign policy in the American political system. He is the authority ultimately responsible for making and managing it. As for Congress, it usually defines the frameworks for that policy and provides financial support for its implementation. On the part of the president, he acts out of responsibility and the national interests, and sometimes in pursuit of his ambitions. As for Congressmen, they work based on the interests of the states they represent<sup>(1)</sup>.

Presidents have several ways and strategies to avoid congressional objections. They may resort to non-treaty methods, such as executive agreements, to make international commitments. Administrative contracts usually do not require congressional approval, although - in theory - executive contracts are supposed to be used for minor affairs.

There are a group of reasons that led to the supremacy of the executive institution over the Congress in the United States, including the following<sup>(2)</sup>:

1- The executive establishment in the United States has a monopoly on collecting private information on intelligence, diplomatic, defense and trade issues.

2- Issues related to international trade, knowledge of

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1 Dr. Muhammed Abul Aziz Rabi, p. 219.

2 Dr. Ahmed Nouri Al-Nuaimi, Decision-Making Process in Foreign Policy: The United States of America as a Model, p. 93-96.

diplomatic history, and matters pertaining to cultural and military affairs need specialized qualitative understanding. Therefore, the executive institution can access it.

3- The ability of the executive institution to make decisions, especially in the field of national security, without consulting Congress is another element of superiority. Many examples support this view. For instance, on the fourth of June 1950, Truman decided to help South Korea against North Korea without consulting Congress, using his emergency powers. Moreover, In 1954, Eisenhower signed significant commitments with the Diệm government in Vietnam without consulting Congress. We may also refer to Kennedy's conclusion of a security agreement with Laos without the knowledge of Congress, Johnson's<sup>(1)</sup> sending 22,000 American soldiers to the Dominican Republic in the spring of 1965 without congressional approval, Nixon's continued invasion of Cambodia in 1971, avoiding consultation with Congress on war problems, and Carter's planning in 1980 of a significant operation in Tehran without informing the

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1 Lyndon Johnson is the thirty-sixth Democratic president of the United States (1963-1969). He assumed the presidency after the assassination of John Kennedy in 1963, and he is considered one of the most important leaders of the Democratic Party. He is responsible for designing the Great Society by issuing liberal legislation, including the Civil Rights Act. During his tenure, the number of United States soldiers in Vietnam increased from 1,600 American soldiers in 1963 to 550,000 soldiers in early 1968. He was elected president in 1964. His popularity deteriorated after 1966, and his chances in the elections collapsed as a result of unrest in his party. He was forced to withdraw from candidacy in 1968. He died in 1973. See: Udo Zutter, p. 251-260; And also: Richard Vallely et al., *Encyclopedia of U.S Political History*, New York, Congressional Quarterly Press, 2010, p. 223.

legislative institution.

From a theoretical point of view, the American presidential system makes the foreign policy a matter entrusted to the President alone, and with absolute independence, different from the rest of the democratic world systems in which foreign policy may be linked to the legislative authority. As for the practical aspect, the absolute powers enjoyed by the President of the United States collide with two primary factors closely related to the two structures of the American political system: legislative authority and public opinion. To clarify how these two factors were able, and in separate periods, to set clear lines for foreign policy for the United States, some examples may be mentioned here: the Treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations, and the Vietnam War. Although none of the American public opinion<sup>(1)</sup> and Congress can directly practice foreign policy, they created conditions and climates that dictate to the president what kind of policy he has to seek. However, the relationship between public opinion and the decision-making process in foreign policy is complex. The following factors can summarize this complexity<sup>(2)</sup>:

1- Decision makers may consider the trends of public opinion and dispense with those trends at other times, believing that such dispensation greatly benefits foreign

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1 - Dr. Hussein Kanaan, *The Future of Arab-American Relations: Can the USA Ensure World Peace?*, 2nd edition, Dar Al-Khayal, Beirut, 2005, p. 76.

2 Dr. Ahmed Nouri Al-Nuaimi, *The Decision-Making Process in American Foreign Policy: The United States of America as a Model*, p. 434-435.

policy.

2- Public opinion is characterized by its lack of interest in foreign policy matters. Only a small group of elites are concerned about the complexity of foreign policy.

As Ahmed Al-Nuaimi believes, some reasons explain the modest influence of public opinion on the decision-making process in American foreign policy<sup>(1)</sup>:

1- Public opinion's occasional interest in foreign policy matters and its relationship to great international crises.

2- The rapid influence of American public opinion on their superiors in foreign policy. For example, before the Iranian college students seized the US Embassy in Tehran in November 1979, President Carter's approval rating reached 82% of the public opinion's support while dealing with this case.

3- In this regard, President Eisenhower put pressure on the Zionists in 1956 to withdraw from Sinai, disregarding public opinion and this choice's impact on his position in the next election.

US President Richard Nixon identified three essential elements that American foreign policy needs, the lack of which would lead to the fragmentation of the decision-making process. The bureaucratic apparatus will be like wheels with no axle for movement as they will continue to turn. But each of them will go in their direction. The most crucial element is that they will not give the president

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1 Ibid, 416-417.

the information and advice he needs to choose the right tactical moves. We may summarize the three parts to which Nixon refers:

1- American foreign policy needs a strong leader, a president who can get the best from his advisors. He must get essential information from ministries. He must also be able to reach judgment and conclusions for foreign affairs himself.

2- The president should appoint Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and Director of the CIA individuals who can lead their administration successfully. The officials in these positions must have fixed ways of thinking and planning.

3- The president should maintain a robust National Security Council system. After the Iran-Contra hearings, the common wisdom among Washington politicians has become that the National Security Adviser and his staff have been overblown and should be demoted to no more than a show of cards. Some have announced explicitly that the State Department must return to exercising full responsibility for foreign policy. The president cannot make a more significant mistake than following this advice. He needs a robust national security advisor who can organize the decision-making process, crystallize political options, and oblige the bureaucratic apparatus to work in his desired direction. Suppose there is no national security advisor who monitors the implementation of the president's decisions with watchful eyes. In that case, the president will face a disconnect between what he wants

and what is achieved.

The decision-making process in foreign policy is the outcome of a conscious activity carried out by certain players operating in the field of foreign policy. They are also affected by a set of variables, such as national characteristics, the political system, the international system, objective variables, and the psychological environment of the political leader. Foreign policymakers adapt to the variables that (they see) affecting their state and try to influence them in a manner consistent with their vision of their state's position in the international system. Hence, foreign policymaking is a sum of objective and psychological variables<sup>(1)</sup>.

The external decision-maker's expectations of the variables in the scene make the political problem not an abstract, self-contained issue that moves within a framework of its own making. If this were the case, the situation would have become easy and devoid of complexity. Any political problem is characterized by ramifications, affected by the conflicting desires of the various parties. These factors are variable and not fixed, so the consequences of the political problem are real, as it has its military, economic, psychological, and diplomatic aspects. They are affected by each other. Any weakness or strength in the financial part affects other elements<sup>(2)</sup>, and so on. Former US President Woodrow Wilson once mentioned, "The politicians themselves

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1 - Dr. Muhammad Al-Sayyid Salim, Foreign Policy Analysis, p. 449.

2 Amin Howaidi, p. 222.

make governments... the government is not an entity composed of a group of blind forces (but) at its core is a group of people... On that basis, it is not a machine. Rather, it is a living organism. Therefore it is not subject to the theory of the universe but is governed by the theory of 'organic life'. In other words, its entity is subject to Darwinian rather than Newtonian"<sup>(1)</sup>.

Henry Kissinger, as a power expert in the broad sense, believes that the essential requirement for a fruitful national debate is that policymakers and their critics should appreciate each other's point of view and respect each other's purposes. On the other hand, critics must acknowledge the complexity and ambiguity inherent in the choices of the policymaker. He must be prepared to work in obscurity without the information available later to the analyst. He must recognize that he is responsible for the consequences of possible mistakes and the success of his choices. He may have to justify some goals not because they would be undesirable if achieved but because the risks of failure increase the potential gains<sup>(2)</sup>.

Understanding the functioning method of foreign policy requires identifying the structure within which that policy is made. The system of foreign policy-making means the pattern of the arrangement of relations between the agencies and institutions working in making that policy. In

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1 Theodore Sorensen, *Decision Making in the White House*, Prefaced by: John Kennedy. Translated by: Muhammad Saeed, Al-Marifa Press, (None), p. 21.

2 Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, Bohooth and Maloomat Center, Series of Translated Books, vol. 2, p. 731.

addition, making foreign policy includes defining the main goals sought in the foreign field and the tools for achieving those goals. In this regard, the executive authority is the most influential force, whereas other authorities do not play an essential role<sup>(1)</sup>.

The political decision-making process in the United States is carried out according to foundations and criteria based first on systemic-institutional rules manifested in political institutions and influential communities. Secondly, it functions depending on the political criteria on which the concept of democracy is based, including constitutional and organizational rules, cognitive perception of political problems, and consultation and participation in political achievements. Finally, they function depending on the psychological aspects of the individuals who occupy official positions in the state<sup>(2)</sup>.

Both fear and anxiety have always played an essential role in American foreign policy-making. As Al Gore, former US Vice President, sees it, fear is permanently and generally present in every human complex and is a natural part of the human condition. It has always been an enemy of the mind. The Roman philosopher and rhetorician Lactantius wrote: "Fear and wisdom do not reside together in one place."

Brzezinski<sup>(3)</sup> regards the anxiety of insecurity as a social necessity. He believes that "comprehensive national

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1- Dr. Muhammed Al-Sayyid Salim, p. 453.

2- Munsif Al-Salimi, p. 278.

3- Brzezinski, *The Choice*, p. 27.

security” is now a myth. In the era of globalization, comprehensive security and comprehensive defense cannot be achieved. In this regard, the real issue lies in the following:

How much insecurity can the United States face as it advances its interests in an increasingly interconnected and interactive world? Insecurity, though problematic, has been the destiny of many other countries for centuries. As for America, there is no longer any choice available: it must be possible to deal with insecurity by political means, even if it is unpleasant on the social level. According to Brzezinski, the American leadership must recognize that security, in the age of political consciousness and common international vulnerabilities, depends not only on military force but also the prevailing attitudes, the political definition of social emotions, and centers of fanatical hatred<sup>(1)</sup>.

The President of the United States is an influential participant in political decision-making through his management, depending on his perceptions and visions of future events and his constitutional powers. In the complicated decision-making process, the President works with two minds in one body: One mind represents the bridge that connects governmental foreign policy-making institutions (such as the National Security Council, the Foreign Ministry, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Pentagon, and Congress), and non-governmental ones (such as think tanks, pressure groups, the Israeli lobby,

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1- Ibid, p. 32.

and American public opinion). As for the other mind, it represents all his thoughts, experience, and conviction in choosing the appropriate decision.

By studying the previously mentioned models in the American foreign political decision-making process separately, we notice the neglect of the conflict between the decision-making institutions and their compatibility. Any decision demands the choice and will of the President. After all, his political tendency does not reside in a vacuum but is bound by his realization of the consequences of passing the decision. The President is flexible in comprehending the dynamic movement in the exchange and integration of roles for the different models in foreign political decision-making. The President can use the concept of the school (X) in choosing the decision, leaving the concept of school (Y). At the same time, another president may borrow some ideas of school (X) in one subject and use the ideas of school (Y) in another Section. In a more precise sense, American foreign policy-making is mediated by a balance between several circles of power that limit the freedom of some presidents, as is the case with President George W. Bush, and widen for other presidents. Therefore, the decision-making process does not emerge from a vacuum but is the outcome of that disparate and contradictory whole. We should note that three dimensions are integrated into the president's personality in the process of making and choosing the foreign political decision: The self-idea that is the product of his mental formation, the participation of others, as

experts and institutions, in the decision-making process, and his uniqueness in choosing the decision as an emperor in an empire that he does not own. This specific point shows the difference between him and the emperor in the traditional sense. The important role for statesmen or power experts in the foreign political decision-making process lies in reaching some kind of agreement or compromise emanating from different and conflicting demands.

Former President John Kennedy indicated this clearly in 1963. He clarified that the president is always the most exposed to conflicting opinions, advice, and pretentious ideas necessary for the decision-making process. Nevertheless, they provide the president with the needed information and the possibilities and limits of the critical decision. Hence, the wise president derives his strength and insight from his people, yet in the end, he stands alone, facing the consequence of his decisions. Former US President Andrew Jackson described this situation: "I have accustomed myself to accepting the opinions of others with respect. But I am always responsible for making my own decisions<sup>(1)</sup>".

The Greek philosopher Homer was right when he announced that the multiplicity of presidents is a bad thing<sup>(2)</sup>. Still, he was wrong when he said: "I wish the

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1- Theodore Sorensen, p. 9-10.

2- Bertrand Russell, *The Wisdom of the West: A Historical Presentation of Western Philosophy in Its Social and Political Framework*, Translated by: Dr. Fouad Zakaria, *The World of Knowledge*, 62, Kuwait, Part 1, 1983, p. 46.

conflict would disappear between the gods and the people,” as he did not realize that he was calling for the destruction of the world. If his supplication was answered, all things would be demolished<sup>(1)</sup>.

**Examining all the details of history, through tens of thousands of years of the existence of Homo sapiens on earth, we would recognize that the periods described as peaceful are few. After all, desires are hidden instincts that reside in the depths of any human being. Furthermore, we should note that the potential possibilities of reality drive decision-makers’ whims. After all, the potentials of reality are the drivers of decision-makers’ whims as power experts in the broad sense.**

In American foreign political decision-making, we must differentiate between perception as a means and awareness as an end. Perception<sup>(2)</sup> in foreign political

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1- Will Durant, *The Story of Philosophy: From Plato to John Dewey, Life and Opinions of the World’s Greatest Philosophers*, 3rd edition, translated by: Dr. Fathallah Muhammad Al-Mushasha’a, Al-Ma’arif Library, Beirut, 1975, p. 102.

2- There are two main models related to the decision-making process from the perspective of political psychology, namely: the perception model and the motives model. (Lebow 1981), and to be more specific, bias in perception is the product of a belief structure that has been consolidated in advance. The decision-maker is often prepared to accept and process information that is consistent with his expectations while rejecting the information that is not consistent with his beliefs (Jorvis 1976a). When the decision-maker is faced with new information that contradicts the beliefs he espouses, he reinterprets, changes, denies, or even ignores them. It is possible that the structure of a person’s beliefs may change superficially, but major changes in belief do not occur until enough evidence are found to refute pre-existing beliefs (Jervis 1976a). (Frank Harvey, *The Return of the Future: Nuclear Competition, Deterrence Theory, and Crisis Stability after the Cold War*, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2003, p. 21).

decision-making is a cognitive function to understand and comprehend what is, whether it is foreseeable or expected. However, it is also the awareness of the capabilities of the apparent forces and the latent forces of other countries related to the foreign political decision, whether that latent force is the undeclared force that must be realized or the untapped potentials that have not yet been discovered. In this regard, awareness of international relations is not limited to what is known but also what we expect in terms of mobilizing the potential power of other countries in its two dimensions: the undisclosed and the potential that is not exploited.

The concept of perception of American foreign policy decision-makers function in two fields:

**First: The psychological field:** represents the initial mental and psychological formation of the decision-maker, i.e., his cognitive and conscious system, his tendencies, his will, and the nature of his tensions. In their entirety, they represent the psychological dimension in which he functions<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1- Every human being has a mental store that forms the two sides of the mind: awareness and knowledge, that is, its conscious system and its cognitive system. The sensory stimulus is merely a stimulant of the inner energy of the one's mental store, and those measurements in the mental store represent his mental judgments of the various subjects he deals with. The only absolute thing is the existence of that mental storage. Those measurements are not topographical areas within the human mental storage isolated from each other, but rather dynamic and flexible areas whose concepts are constantly reconsidered. They represent impressions of the facts of the objective world as they are in reality in the mind. The fundamental problem of mental storage as a dialectical awareness is formed through the personal experiences. The objective of the society in which



Analysts have different opinions regarding evaluating the role of personal variables such as psychological readiness and individual ideological background in making foreign policy. Some believe that the ideological factors of decision-makers in foreign policy are the basis for analyzing decision results. Others believe that personal characteristics are of relatively minor importance in influencing the results of the foreign policy decision. However, we should acknowledge ideology and psychological factors' role in decision-making. After all, the state is an abstract legal entity in which a group depends on their personal experiences to issue a judgment<sup>(1)</sup>.

Holsty studied John Foster Dulles, who held the US Secretary of State position during the Eisenhower presidency. She clarified the role of perception in the foreign policy-making process by analyzing the content of the available official statements by Dulles regarding the Soviet Union. Holsty discovered that Dulles consistently perceived the Soviet Union as a source of evil in the international system. Furthermore, Dulles' complex

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he lives, is the degree of congruence or difference in the relationship between congruent consciousness as it exists in reality, and future (dimensional) awareness as required in the mind, i.e. difference means the existence of a mental image that is paradoxical to reality. See: Nassar Al-Rubaiee, *The Formation of the Dialectical Mind: A Theory of the Historical Formation of the Mental Structure as Consciousness and Knowledge: The Outcome of Dialectical Activism and Pluralism in Interpreting the Psychological Growth and Mental Upgrading of the Individual, Society and History*, Arab House of Science Publishers, Beirut, 2015, pp. 30-31.

1 Dr. Lloyd Jensen, *Interpretation of Foreign Policy*, translated by: Dr. Muhammad bin Ahmed Mufti and Dr. Muhammad al-Sayyid Salim, Deanship of Library Affairs, King Saud University, KSA, p.15.

system led to his perception that the Soviet Union tended to mitigate its hostility to the United States only when its capabilities decreased compared to the United States<sup>(1)</sup>. Harvey Starr, a political thinker, proposed similar empirical research on Henry Kissinger, in which he clarified his applicable code in his academic writings. Starr found that the management of the Vietnam War, which Henry Kissinger coordinated mostly between 1969 and 1973, was consistent with his practical code. He aimed to negotiate a mutual withdrawal of external forces and avoid negotiation on the internal structure of South Vietnam. Thus, North Vietnam faced a proper peace settlement in exchange for complex options: stalemate or escalation<sup>(2)</sup>.

Ideas in the political field have adopted an ideological stance. Many leaders of socialist and communist governments acknowledged that they work in the field of foreign policy guided by the principles of Karl Marx and Lenin<sup>(3)</sup>. John Foster Dulles always insisted on the idea that he could anticipate Soviet behavior because of his extensive knowledge of the works of Marx and Lenin. Sidney Verba summarized the relationship between personality and attitude in international politics with the following data<sup>(4)</sup>:

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1- Ibid, p. 35.

2- Karen. a. Mengust and Evan M. Oregon, Principles of International Relations, translated by: Hossam El-Din Khaddour, Al-Farqad Publishing House, Damascus, 2013, p. 246-247.

3- Terry L. Dibble, p. 145.

4- Sidney Verba, Assumptions of Rationatiry in Modes of the International Sys-



1- The more the decision-maker is irritable with the situation, the greater the chances of psychological effects and irrational emotions.

2- Whenever the decision-maker has sufficient information about the international politics, irrational influences' role in behavior recedes.

3- The higher the ability and art of the decision-maker in dealing with international events, the farther his decisions are from irrational influences.

4- Whenever the decision-maker attaches a high value to rationality, he moves away from the irrational turn in his decisions.

5- If the individual is confident that he can control events, personal attitudes will less influence his steps.

6- The more the decision-maker believes that he bears responsibility for his decisions, the more he becomes aware of the psychological impact on his steps.

The decision maker's perceptions cannot remain neutral and safe from his mental experiences. Such decisions represent his own accumulated experience. It is universally acknowledged that the mind is shaped and built up through daily experiences. It is a historical dialectical development of perception, a continuous update of the links that express needs between human groups. However, its complexity lies in the diverse and

contradictory cognitive fields in a long dialectical path (i.e., human groups), which makes human freedom relative and not absolute. In other words, it is impossible to abstract himself from the tribal formations given in his mind as a self-image of the formulated reality. It is in itself a posteriori consciousness.<sup>(1) (2)</sup>

Hegel believes that interpreting history means portraying human emotions, genius, and effective powers that play their role in the more excellent theater of life<sup>(3)</sup>  
(4).

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1- Nassar Al-Rubaiee, *Formation of the Dialectical Mind*, Al-Arabia Leloom Publishing House, Beirut, 2015, p. 16.

2- The political movement is an indication of an anxious balancing of latent forces that demand a new objective reality. The general framework of the formulated reality represented by the congruent awareness of the status que is too narrow to accommodate the maturity and growth of those requirements represented by the future (distant) awareness. It makes some countries revisionist states and not status quo states.

3- George Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History, Mind in History*, 3rd edition, translated by: Imam Abdel-Fattah Imam, Dar Al-Tanweer Publishing House, 1983, p. 82.

4- The Essence (i.e. a self, whether it is a Knowing Essence or an Active Essence) does not convey the objective reality as it is, rather as it is represented in the mind. That representation is the self-formation, which represents the subjective understanding of what actually exists. It is the degree and depth of self-realization of the objective mind. This process (self-representation of reality at the decision maker's mind) does not represent the thinking process as a whole, rather it is a movement of understanding from reality to the mind only (the knowing self or the conscious self) It is like a question that represents half of the thinking process. Thinking as a whole is not thinking unless it includes a subjective movement of action from the mind to reality. See: Nassar Al-Rubaie, *Formation of the Dialectical Mind*, p. 17.

**Second: the Realistic Medium:** This medium represents all the powers, circles, institutions, units, situations, and political systems that exist in the cognitive field of decision-makers. These factors are either accelerators or obstacles in the political decision-making process, depending on the possibility of implementation.

Lloyd Jensen<sup>(1)</sup> believes some reduce the role of personal variables and emphasize the restrictions imposed on the decision-maker, such as the restrictions of ideology, traditions, bureaucracy, parliament, and international politics. Nevertheless, we must be noted that national beliefs and social conditions affect the formulation of foreign policy objectives. They also affect the crystallization of the foreign policy elite's overall view of the outside world.

The realistic milieu in which the American foreign political decision-maker moves, which cannot be bypassed, is represented by two aspects: on the one hand, it represents the totemic structure of the American political system that already exists, and on the other hand, it represents the nature of the unique historical formation of the American nation. A detailed analysis would show us that the political decision-making process in the US is subject to the nature of its political system and to coercive forces positioned in society, including institutional and societal approaches to which the decision-maker must adapt and take into consideration. As previously mentioned, a number of totems dominate the functioning of the president,

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1- Dr. Lloyd Jensen, p. 15-25.

the Pentagon, the State Department, the Security Council, and Congress. The political decision-maker does not stop at the limits of what he perceives. Instead, he must justify his perceptions and render that justification into action.

According to Kissinger, the decision-maker cannot ignore the psychological state of his assistants. Sometimes he may lack the necessary factors that qualify him to intervene in certain situations. As a result, the decisions made become an automated habit rather than calculated measurements. In this regard, we may see the bureaucratic system affects the quality of the results. This chaos is observable in communist countries<sup>(1)</sup>.

A central question may arise: what is the self-referential frame that helps the decision-maker function correctly? In other words, is there any flexibility in light of all these institutional totems?

One of the aims of the study is to answer this question. While the American foreign political decision represents that complex whole resulting from the nature of the American totemic political system positioned throughout American history, it is characterized by a prevailing general trend that dominates each historical era. It is represented by the individuality of choosing the appropriate political decision. The unity of implementation also represents it. The agreement of performance means reaching a stage of mechanical balance between institutions (totems) in

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1- Henry Kissinger, American Foreign Policy, p. 26.

the decision-making phase, defined by the president's authority. This is the reason for the continued stability and flexibility of the American political system for more than two centuries. This chain of decision-making preserves the unity of the general will.

A number of facts concern American foreign policy-making and the implementation of those decisions. Here, we may deduce a constructive concept according to what has been explained in the interpretation and understanding of American foreign political decision-making: the idea of the outcome of decision-making, the individuality of choice, and the unity of implementation. That concept represents the outcome of realistic interaction and the reason for the continuity of the American political system for more than two centuries. In short, the American foreign political decision is characterized by:

- ❖ Institutions of manufacture and preparation (governmental and non-governmental).
- ❖ Stemming from a single authority (the President).
- ❖ Implementation unit (all institutions contribute to implementing the decision after it is taken).

In dialectical terms, the decision-making process represents the thesis, the individuality represents the antithesis, and the implementation unit represents the synthesis. This dynamic dialectical movement can be considered the process of preparing an outcome for American foreign political decision-making. It stems from the nature of the societal structure and the structure

of the American political system. Here, we may note the existence of a duality regarding the presence of the final reference, which shows the absolute freedom of the individual, the freedom of capital and the capitalist system, and the lack of a definitive and fixed authority in the American political system. We may conclude that the absence of absolute and limited power in the American political system is a source of strength for the United States.

Dialectical structuralism is structural regarding the institutional forces in the American political system. It is dialectical regarding flexibility in exchanging roles for the dominant forces in the system and the unity of implementation of the whole system. Therefore, the American political system changes the roles and positions of its components. The balance of power in the structure is not a mechanical one. In other words, it is not a set of isolated institutions with multiple wills in their outcome but rather a dynamic balance in that they end with an outcome of a unified position and will that can be implemented. After its manufacture, it is a cooperative action that acquires a collective response when applied; that is, the unity of implementation represents it.

All the complexities of the structure of the institutions of the political system in the United States and their contradictions end in implementation when making the political decision. It is noted that the flexibility of the American political system lies in this specific point. Therefore, any reluctance to the powers of the President

will inevitably lead to the collapse of the American political system, as it is the unifying will of the political decision. The failure of such a stance will lead to the flow and manifestation of opposing tendencies. Therefore, any reluctance in the powers of the President will be the Achilles' heel for the United States. The country's unity and strength depend on the President's power. However, we should note that any pitfall leads to the President's replacement rather than the entire state's fall.

The United States is well aware of this fact. In such critical situations, the vice president replaces the president. Similar problems lead to such a replacement, like the resignation or assassination of the president, as is the case with Nixon.

The strength of the American political system does not lie in the presence of a strong ideology but rather in the power of the hierarchy in the institutional construction of the political system despite all those totemic institutions in the system's structure.

If we analyze the American foreign political decision (prismatically), we can define the role of the institutions and their stance towards the ruling party. Still, they all contribute to the unity of the decision and its implementation, just as the colors of the solar spectrum contribute to the production of white.

Internal influences usually have a decisive role in making American foreign policy. After all, politics is not born in a social vacuum. Therefore, we must be careful

not to exaggerate the importance of the influence of interest groups. In that context, Shibley al-Telhami<sup>(1)</sup> presents a convincing hypothesis. He believes that when it comes to international issues related to security and economic interests, they are the ones that dominate the behavior of the state regardless of the dominant ideology of the ruling party. Therefore, the President tends to be compatible with the broader context of American national interests<sup>(2)</sup>.

The factors that influence decision-making, in turn, present different options due to the change in the internal conditions of the state and the external conditions. It also applies to foreign affairs. The network of relations between allies usually changes from time to time due to a crisis or a breakthrough in the international situation<sup>(3)</sup>. Such a modification may be due to a divergence of goals between allies. We should also add that a change in the regime of the allied country radically affects decision-making. For example, when the Shah of Iran, an ally of the United States, was in power before 1979, Washington strongly supported the Iranian nuclear program. Today's American stance towards this case has shifted. Henry

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1- He is a university professor in political science. He is an American of Palestinian origin. He works as director of the Near East Studies Program, associate professor of political science at Cornell University, and visiting professor of foreign policy at the Brookings Institution. See: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research on the website: [www.ecssr.com/ECSSR/Print/prf.jsp?Lang=en & prfid=lprofile/profiles – 1314.xml](http://www.ecssr.com/ECSSR/Print/prf.jsp?Lang=en&prfid=lprofile/profiles-1314.xml).

2- Dr. Fawaz Gerges, How is the American policy towards the Arabs made? And who makes it?, p. 36.

3- Amin Howaidi, p. 223.

Kissinger wrote in *The Washington Post* in 2005: “For a major oil state like Iran, nuclear power is a waste of resources.” When Kissinger was a minister during the presidency of Gerald Ford in the mid-seventies of the twentieth century, he emphasized that “The debut of nuclear power will support the growing economy of Iran and liberate the remaining oil reserves for export or conversion into petrochemicals”. However, in 2005, Davina Linz asked Kissinger about his change of mind. He replied very frankly, saying: “Iran was an ally”<sup>(1)</sup>.

Kissinger commented on this issue. He clarified that in foreign policy decision-making, he could never abandon American national security for the sake of virtue. Any attempt to view the power of the United States as a management of world affairs and a way to use it to impose its idea, the world may see these tendencies as an attempt at domination. The US, in this regard, would face opposition. Thus, the situation in which foreign policies are formulated ideologically is complicated because ideologies tend to lead societies in a way that is their capabilities. Therefore, the alleged binary division of pragmatism and morality seems a misleading choice: pragmatism without an ethical component leads to chaotic effectiveness, brutality, or stagnation, and moral faith not accompanied by a sense of realism leads to rigid integrity, intolerance, and the demise of all restrictions. Accordingly, the United States should always be pragmatic

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1 - Noam Chomsky, *Interventions*, Translated by: Mahmoud Barhoum and Nawal Al-Qassar Syriani, The Arab Institute for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, 2007, p. 159.

about its national security and never give it up for the sake of virtue<sup>(1)</sup>.

Brzezinski has a similar position to that Kissinger. He opposed the war in Iraq in 2003, publicly condemning it. He considered it a giant mistake in American foreign policy. He believed that it was a historical, strategic, and moral scandal, showing that it destroyed the legitimacy of the United States in all parts of the world. Moreover, the war will exacerbate instability in the region. However, the statement of Brzezinski in 1980, when the Iraqi-Iranian war was in its early stages, was strange. He declared that the dilemma that the United States of America will suffer from now on is: how can a second Gulf War be waged on the sidelines of the war between Iraq and Iran, through which America can correct the Sykes-Picot borders?<sup>(2)</sup>

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1- Henry Kissinger, *The Years of Renewal*, p. 951.

2- Muhammad Souefi Abdullah, *Brzezinski and the Demonization of America's Policies in the Middle East*, Al-Kitab Al-Arabi Publishing House, Damascus - Cairo, 2013, p. 174.

## Chapter Two

### The Role of Institutions in the American Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process

The political system comprises many social institutions formulating a society's general goals. It includes a group that works to implement these goals. The decisions of the political system are usually based on military legitimacy through force. In this context, the legitimacy of the system may vary significantly. For example, the political system's legitimacy in the United States during the decade that followed World War II was very high. However, it declined substantially during the Vietnam War and the following period. The regime's weak legitimacy may cause the destruction of political institutions and the failure of public policy. Conversely, politics' failure may be the cause of the regime's declining legitimacy<sup>(1)</sup>.

Every political system has institutions, agencies, and structures, such as parties, parliaments, government departments, and courts. They perform specific activities or functions. They enable the political system to formulate and implement its policies. In this regard, both structure and function are fundamental concepts in the political system; through them, it is possible to know how policies affect their natural and human environment and how they

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1- Gabriel A. Almond and G.I. Bingham Powell Jr., *Comparative Politics in the Present Time: A Global View*, translated by: Hisham Abdullah, Al-Ahlia House for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 1998, p. 16.

affect them<sup>(1)</sup>. For example, the Constitution prescribes an executive authority surrounded by a Congress that is inherently difficult to control in domestic affairs. It also defines a Supreme Court that is more or less impossible to recognize the requirements of people. As for the economy, it is in the hands of investors, managers, and consumers, as well as the hands of the Federal Reserve (it may also vary according to the currents of the market).

The states wield too much power. Civil society—religion, the press, popular culture, and the arts—is outside the president’s control, which is what the Founders wanted. He has no right to hegemonize it, although the president is the most influential in foreign policy<sup>(2)</sup>.

Some promise that the American political system has made the decision-making process of foreign policy like a balance by allowing a group of parties to overlap with each other so that each of them throws whatever influence they have in the required decision: if one of the two scales prevails, then the decision is taken. The most important of these parties are the President, the Congress, public opinion, lobbies, interest groups, and economic forces. Because of that process, the president’s power stems from his ability to persuade. According to Charles Jones, professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin, that persuasion is based on trust. It is trust that has been eroded. When a foreign policy decision is

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1- Ibid, p. 17.

2- George Friedman, *Empire and Republic in a Changing World*, translated by: Ahmed Mahmoud, The Egyptian Lebanese House, Cairo, 2016, p. 61.

needed to pass, according to the American system, the president must convince Congress first and public opinion second. In this regard, the president becomes a political handicap if he loses the ability to persuade. Accordingly, America's ability to exercise its role as the most powerful country in the world has eroded. Hence, the president must be characterized by the quality of collective conditioning of the decision he chooses by moving it from the mechanical equilibrium to the dynamic equilibrium stage on the one hand and willpower in decision-making and implementation on the other<sup>(1)</sup>.

Institutions in the United States political system have played an essential role in the foreign political decision-making process, whether executive or legislative or governmental, or non-governmental. These classifications will be studied in the coming chapter.

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1- See p. 100.

## Topic One

# The Role of Executive Institutions in the US Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process

## Section One: Presidency Institution

Former US President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1920), considered one of the most famous constitutional jurists in America, presented a definition of the presidential system in the United States of America, depending on the executive authority. He believes that in this system, the president is determined to have a preponderance in the balance of power. Therefore, the American system is described as being presidential because the president has prevalence over the authority of the House of Representatives<sup>(1)</sup>. In this regard, the American constitution in 1787 established a specific political system based on a president elected by people who heads the executive authority with its multiple administrations. At the same time, he is independent of the legislative authority of Congress<sup>(2)</sup>. The prominent position enjoyed by the president in his relationship with Congress lies in the fundamental transformation that has taken place in the functions of the state since the nineteenth century, in addition to the increasing importance of foreign policy<sup>(3)</sup>.

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1 - Hazem Sadeq, The Authority of the Head of State between the Parliamentary and Presidential Systems: A Comparative Study. The Egyptian General Organization for Publications, Cairo, 2013, p. 283.

2- Ibid, 283.

3- Emile Hubner, The Political System in the United States, Emirates Center for



The powers and position of the president grant him significant advantages in dealing with those he wants to persuade. Every authority is an advantage to him to the extent that others need his powers. Vetoes, budget preparation, and other fundamental affairs are all under the president's control. Almost without exception, those who take part in ruling this country realize that at some point, out of need or fear, they need to turn to the whims and demands of the president. This feeling of fear or lack is an advantage that the president enjoys<sup>(1)</sup>.

The President is considered the actual head of state during his electoral term, constitutionally determined to be four years. The executive institutions and their authorities emerge through the powers granted to the President, which together constitute the federal administration of the American state, or what is called 'the institution of the presidency.' It undergoes a long process of continuous evolution and reshaping. The constitution provided the power of administration to the president. Accordingly, the political, economic, and international means require general expansion or restructuring of the executive institutions<sup>(2)</sup>.

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Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, 2009, p. 163; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. One, Edition 4, translation and commentary: Amin Morsi Qandil, World of Books, Cairo, 2004, pp. 343-347.

1 Richard Neustadt, *The Authority of the President of the Republic in the United States*, translated by Dr. Rashid Al-Barawi, Arab Record Foundation, 1963, p. 59.

2- Dr. Amer Hashem Awwad, *The Role of the Presidency in Making the Comprehensive American Strategy After the Cold War*, Al-Wahda Al-Arabia for Research, Beirut, 2010, p. 4.

The characteristics and duration of the executive authority that characterizes the American presidential system lead to the following results<sup>(1)</sup>:

1- Ministers in the American presidential system are considered mere assistants to the head of state and executors of his will. This tendency is inspired by the Constitution, which grants this range of authority to the president. This is obvious in the endeavors of ministers implementing the president's policy.

2- The American presidential system has no so-called 'Cabinet of Ministers'; the ministers do not form a council with an independent collective will or specific competencies. In other words, each minister is considered the administrative head of his ministry and is completely subject to the head of state. Suppose one of the ministers expresses an opinion on a specific issue at the president's request. That opinion is nothing more than an advisory, non-binding opinion that the president may take and set aside according to his calculations. In this regard, jurists call the ministers in the American system 'secretaries.'

3- All the competencies of the executive authority are exercised by the president alone rather than through his ministers. He also appoints and dismisses ministers. As a result, ministerial responsibility is established for each minister separately. Collective responsibility does not have any place in the parliamentary system of the US.

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1- Hazem Sadiq, p. 346-347.

In 1937, the need of the President for more assistance was officially recognized. The summary of the Administrative Management Committee report stated the following: ((The president needs help)). Accordingly, the Executive Office of the President was established two years later. This step resulted in institutional headquarters consisting of several units facilitating information collection and policy control. Afterward, the President's Executive Office expanded its functions and staff. For example, a bureaucracy was created for power, and the few advisors in the office became hundreds of employees<sup>(1)</sup>.

The President's Executive Office is vital in the American political system. It was established in 1939 as part of the Reorganization Act and, according to Executive Order (8248), issued on September 18, 1939. Franklin<sup>(2)</sup> organized the Executive Office and defined its functions. Subsequent US presidents have continued to use executive orders and legislative initiatives to reorganize the Executive Office. They also sought to make its composition consistent with its announced goals, including supporting the President

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1- Charles Jones, p. 136.

2- Franklin Roosevelt is the thirty-second Democratic president of the United States (1933-1945). He was a subject of debate. Conservatives accused him of restricting the rights of states and individuals, and he became a leader of the Democrats in 1911. He was appointed Undersecretary of the Navy in President Wilson's term. He was paralyzed in 1921, distancing from politics for a while. After his limbs regained part of their activity, he returned to the political arena. He won the 1932 elections, over his Republican rival Hoover, and was re-elected four times. He suffered a heart attack, as a result of which he died in 1945. See: Udo Zauter, p. 217-226; For more details, see: Alan Brinkley, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Oxford university Press, 2010.

**in the following areas:**

- 1- The Executive Office makes the President fully aware of the affairs of the state.
- 2- It assists the President in solving urgent problems and planning for the future.
- 3- It provides information to the President before decisions are taken.
- 4- It helps the President by preparing research on political problems and presenting alternatives.
- 5- It decides on similar matters the President has previously agreed on. It also consists of a large number of agencies affiliated with it<sup>(1)</sup>.

The presidency as a decision-making institution includes the president and what is metaphorically called 'the White House,' originally called 'the Executive Office of the President.' The expansion of that Executive Office and the expansion of the role of the President led to the evolution of the role of the presidency as a whole. Consequently, it led to an increase in the authority of the President, especially in foreign affairs. Two main factors affect the president's role in the decision-making process: the international system and the political framework. The global system, whether it is bipolar or unipolar, imposes specific options and challenges on foreign policy. It also presents a vision for the state's role in the international community and the guidelines that can be followed.

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1 Dr. Dawood Murad Hussein, p. 111.

It also shows the state's behavior's legitimacy (or illegality). This, of course, affects the ability of the presidency to convince the rest of the institutions. As for the political framework, it explains how the impact of a theory such as 'containment theory' provided a legitimate framework for many political decisions that are difficult to take now without that legal framework.

Additionally, war or economic policies may provide a legitimate framework for foreign policy, affecting the relationship between decision-making factors<sup>(1)</sup>. Finally, it is worth noting that "Frames are mental constructs that shape how we see the world; as a result, they shape the goals we pursue, the plans we make, and how we behave. The social and political frameworks we adopt are important in implementing the political decision. Therefore, changing our frameworks constitutes a challenge to this process. To rephrase, re-framing is a social change"<sup>(2)</sup>.

As for the power of the presidency, the constitution gives the US president broad authority in the diplomatic field, as he is the one who determines the foreign policy program, concludes international agreements and treaties, implements the negotiation process internationally, appoints ambassadors, and appoints ambassadors to other countries. However, the constitution restricts the

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1- Nanis Mustafa Khalil, 'The Presidency as an Institution for Making American Foreign Policy', in *Journal of International Politics*, Al-Ahram Center, Issue (127), January 1997, pp. 80-81.

2- George Lykov, *Don't Think of an Elephant: The Political Discourse Between Conservatives and Progressives*, translated by Tariq Al-Numan, National Center for Translation, Cairo, 2015, p. 23.

president's prudent decision to the approval of two-thirds of the senators regarding treaties. He also needs the council's authorization regarding decisions concerning the appointment of American ambassadors abroad. However, the President is, in fact, free from the Senate's monitoring of his choices in the field of foreign policy. Instead, he resorts to executive agreements in this regard. An executive agreement is between the President and a foreign country with the law's force. Such agreements constitute the majority of the contracts that the United States makes with foreign countries<sup>(1)</sup>. Between (1946) and (1974), more than (63,000) presidential agreements were concluded, compared to (411) treaties also made by the President. However, the executive authority informally seeks advice from the Senate. At the same time, on the contrary, presidential agreements bypass Congress allowing the administrative authority to exercise control over foreign policy without the fear of congressional interference<sup>(2)</sup>.

The Executive Agreement, which some jurists define as "the agreement that the President or a person mediates on his behalf," is one of the most essential and dangerous powers enjoyed by the head of state in the United States in the foreign policy arena. It enables the President to conclude quick agreements with other countries without observing the formal rules required in completing treaties,

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1- Monsef Al-Sulaimi, p. 171.

2 - Dr. Fawaz Gerges, How is the American policy towards the Arabs made? And who makes it?, p. 72.

including obtaining the advice of the Senate. No provision in the American Constitution stipulates the competence of the head of state to conclude executive agreements. However, American constitutional jurisprudence created that competence from the spirit of the legislative texts that define the powers and competence of the President<sup>(1)</sup>. In his turn, the President deals with constitutional powers differently. There are two theories in this regard: first is proposed by Roosevelt. It claims that the president, as a national representative, must perform all that is required for the well-being of the people. Roosevelt put this theory into practice when he asked Congress to approve his approach to confronting the economic crisis<sup>(2)</sup> that afflicted the United States in the late thirties and beginning of the forties of the twentieth century. The second theory is related to William Howard Taft (1909-1913), in which the president can only exercise powers based on a reasonable basis from the provisions of the Constitution<sup>(3)</sup>. Pendleton Herring<sup>(4)</sup> is right when he

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1-Hazem Sadiq, p. 352-353.

2-Economic crisis: Many consider that the extent of the Great Depression extended for ten years in the United States – from 1929 until the engagement of the US in World War II in 1940. The total gross national product (GNP) was 104.4 billion in 1929, but dropped to 55.6 billion dollars in the spring of 1933. During the Depression, unemployment had pervaded nearly 25 percent of civil employees in the United States. See: E. Ray Canterbury, Brief History of Economics: Aesthetic Approaches to the Study of Dismal Science, translated by: Samir Karim, National Center for Translation, Cairo, 2011, pp. 296-297.

3-Dr. Dawood Murad Hussein, The Powers of the American President Between the Constitutional Text and the Practical Reality, Academic Book Center, Amman, 2011, pp. 40-41.

4-E. Pendleton Herring, Presidential Leadership, Publisher: Rinehart and Compa-



claimed that the American administration had created a potent office for the President; yet, the realization of that power depends on effect, not legal authority.

The US Constitution did not expressly stipulate the distinction of the institution of the presidency. The trick lies in the presidents' interpretation of their powers, in addition to the Supreme Court's disregard of this tendency led to the distinction of this institution<sup>(1)</sup>.

In the American presidential system, the head of state enjoys a significant position regarding constructing foreign policy, defining it, and implementing it on practical grounds. This role granted him further authority than that in internal affairs. We must acknowledge that this power is not a unique feature of the President because congress and the Senate share this authority to some extent. This is a method to refrain the president from consuming all the power alone. Moreover, the Congress and Senate supervise the movement and decision-making process of the President<sup>(2)</sup>.

Congress has tried to impose oversight on the executive authority and assert its control over sending US forces abroad after the US involvement in the 1960s in Vietnam. However, its attempts did not succeed. For instance, they failed to issue the War Powers Resolution in the mid-seventies. It concerns the idea that the President must end using the armed forces within (60) days. The Resolution also proposes that Congress can at

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ny, New York, January 1940, PP. 2 – 3

1- Dr. Amer Hashem Awwad, p. 14.

2- Hazem Sadiq, p. 346-347.

any time issue an act, forcing the President to withdraw US forces from an area of actual or potential conflict. However, it must be acknowledged that this Resolution did not successfully restrict the President: it allowed him to intervene militarily in any place for sixty days, not to mention the difficulty of forcing him to withdraw the US military forces<sup>(1)</sup>.

The struggle for power in the United States is most evident in the foreign policy arena. Although the President has three powers (Head of the Executive Office, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, and the chief diplomat), Congress disputes him over these powers. For example, it sought to issue the War Powers Act. While each provision of the administration aims to attain its plan on international affairs, the President is the one who decides the nature and extent of policies and initiatives<sup>(2)</sup>.

According to Brzezinski, the President is the necessary focal point to determine the national interest in a world fraught with dangers. It is not helpful for Congress to attempt to formulate the foundations of the United States foreign policy, especially if we consider the conflicting interests of different ethnic and professional groups. Only a government organized in a hierarchical structure, ultimately subordinate to the President, can successfully perform its foreign policy missions. This also must be the case for the good of national security<sup>(3)</sup>.

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1- Dr. Fawaz Gerges, American Policy towards the Arabs, p. 29-21.

2- Dr. Amer Hashem Awwad, p. 24.

3 - Zbigniew Brzezinski, The Choice, p. 225.

Therefore, the drafters of the American Constitution, at the Philadelphia Conference in 1787, tended to find a kind of cooperation and balance between the President's broad powers and the Congress's supervision in a way that enabled both authorities to ward off the corruption of the other. They created the well-known principle in the presidential system known as 'checks and balances.' The President also does not have the power to dissolve the Congress, in addition to the president's political irresponsibility vis-à-vis the Congress. However, the President can suspend the veto to stop Congress from taking specific steps. On the other hand, the Senate has specific political power by means of which it can monitor the decisions and efforts of the President<sup>(1)</sup>. The following table (2) shows the President's management and the Congress's supervision in accordance with the constitutional provisions<sup>(2)</sup>.

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1- Hazem Sadiq, p. 411.

2- Charles Jones, p. 51-52.

**Table 2**  
**The Separate Presidency: Powers of the President and Congressional Oversight (Constitutional Clauses)**

Powers of the President	Congressional Oversight
The right to veto	Reconsidering and approving laws with the approval of two-thirds of the members of both chambers
Abstaining from signing a bill	Becomes law within ten days (Sundays excluded)
Abstaining from signing, adjournment of congress sessions	Congress is excluded
The commander-in-chief of the armed forces The request for the opinion of the Department	Declaring war, raising the army’s morale and supporting it; providing the necessary support for the navy; organizing the armed forces; summoning the militia, organizing it, arming it, and deploying it.  There is no requirement.
Postponing sentences and granting amnesty	Congress is excluded.

Conclusion of treaties	The advice and approval of two-thirds of the members of the Senate
Nomination and appointment of ambassadors, general ministers, consuls, and judges of the Supreme Court	Senate advise and consent
Reception of ambassadors	There is no requirement
Occupying the vacant positions during the dissolution of the Senate	Congress is excluded
Delivering the State of the Union address	There is no requirement
Recommending projects to Congress	There is no requirement. (But it does require congressional approval to become law.)
Meeting with the two chambers or one of them and adjourn the meeting in case of disagreement	Congress is excluded
Sincerity in the implementation of laws	There is no requirement
Vice Presidential nomination in case of vacancy (25th Amendment)	The majority of votes in both chambers

**Source: Charles Jones, *The American Presidency: A Very Short Introduction*, translated by: Muhammad Ahmad Al-Sayyid Harfush, Dar Al-Shorouk, Cairo, 2011, pp. 51-52. (Information collected by the author from the provisions of the Constitution of the United States of America).**

The American President is considered the leading player in American foreign policy and is primarily responsible for managing and implementing his country's foreign affairs. The National Security Council assists him in setting foreign policy and providing him with the necessary experience. The overall approach is affected by the President's personality, qualifications, philosophy, and way of thinking <sup>(1)</sup> at any stage of his administration of the White House. Whatever constraints his previous undertakings may impose, he must make his own decisions<sup>(2)</sup>. The authority's experts directly influence determining and arranging priorities in foreign policy matters<sup>(3)</sup>. Their impact also lies in how they portray the concerned issues and information to the President. Their effect is evident in the way he deals with crises. However, no matter how many sources of advice there are, when

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1- Dr. Sabah Abd al-Razzaq Kubba, *US President Barack Obama's Foreign Policy towards Iraq*, Al-Ahmadi Technical Printing Company, Baghdad, 2015, p. 26. See also: Dr. Yasser Abdel-Hussein, *Leadership in American Foreign Policy after the Cold War*, Adnan House and Library, Baghdad, 2015, p. 162.

2- Theodore Sorensen, p. 71.

3- Frank Harvey, *Explaining The Iraq War: Counterfactual Theory, Logic and Evidence*, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, 2014, p. 133.

the decisive moment comes, the moment of facing the truth, there is no room for a plurality of opinions. Only one figure bears the responsibility: the President<sup>(1)</sup>.

While reading the positions of the presidents of the United States and questioning their details, the will of the President cannot be described as an absolute will, nor can it be described as a relative will: it can be characterized as farther from relativism and closer to the absolute. It is determined by compelling objective factors related to the nature of the presidency itself, the most important of which is the nature and mechanism of the electoral process, noting that acceptance of these factors is one of the adopted tendencies of the President himself. This flexibility in movement between the relative and absolute will of the president is not related to the power of objective factors but rather to the power of the personal will of the President<sup>(2)</sup>.

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1- Theodore Sorensen, p. 73.

2- See: Dialectical Structuralism, p. 100.

## Section Two: National Security Council

The National Security Council is the principal agency within the US government concerned with formulating high-level foreign and security policies. It also works on coordinating the work of the various departments involved in making those policies. The Council was established under the National Security Act during the presidency of Truman in 1947<sup>(1)</sup>. It was due to the increasing problems with the Soviet Union at the time. There was a need for a central apparatus to undertake the tasks of planning American foreign policy. In this regard, Congress issued the National Security Law, according to which the National Security Council and CIA were founded. The first part of the law aimed at establishing an apparatus affiliated with the presidency to draw up a foreign policy with multiple aspects and objectives capable of protecting America's national interests. The second part aimed to establish a device for collecting secret information, coordinating between the various intelligence agencies, and presenting reports and recommendations to the President to help him formulate and manage America's foreign policy. The third part aimed at integrating the various features of the armed forces and subjecting them to a central command, as indicated by multiple studies. The methods and tools of America's dealings with World War II showed the need to establish these agencies to bypass the policy of reaction and resort to temporary arrangements. As

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1- Paul Robinson, National Security Dictionary, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, 2009, p. 194.

a result, they formulated the policy that dominated the positions and actions of the US government during that war<sup>(1)</sup>. It is important to note that national security<sup>(2)</sup> is the acknowledgment that defense, intelligence, and diplomacy issues are interrelated and complementary. They all are different methods that serve one goal: protecting and promoting the national interests of the United States. Therefore, the National Security Law was proposed to establish the agencies capable of achieving the required coordination and integration between the concerned government institutions and defining the frameworks of making America's foreign policy in a way that preserves national interests<sup>(3)</sup>.

Historically, the decision-making mechanism in the executive authority followed one of three general models: the competitive mechanism of decision-making, the collective mechanism, and the formal mechanism. The President determines the type of decision-making mechanism according to his preferred options for the management style. The term 'decision-making mechanism' applies to how the President obtains his information and his advisors' recommendations; it is unrelated

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abdul Aziz Rabie, p. 60.

2- Hamed Rabie believes that the concept of 'foreign policy' should not be mistaken with the theory of national security because it represents the minimum that a particular country can allow in protecting its self-existence. He also believes that national security does not only move towards foreign policy, but also deals with domestic politics. It is a means of linking domestic and foreign policy. See: Dr. Hamed Rabie, Theory of Foreign Policy, Cairo Modern Library, No, p. 29.

3- Ibid, p. 61.

to the practical decision-making method. Former US President Franklin Roosevelt adopted the competitive mechanism, as he relied on encouraging competition and conflict between the poles of his government to discover the best potential in that specific context. As for the collective decision-making mechanism, it depends on an assessment team and their perusal of the status quo. Although the President holds the superior position in that team, this model encourages the exchange of ideas freely and openly among the team members. John Kennedy adopted this model, as it turned out to be suitable for his requirements. On a personal level, this model was the most appropriate for his personality. Kennedy was distinct with the four features of volatility, apprehension, complexity, and ambiguity. These features pushed him towards adopting this specific model. It relies on the formal structure to ensure that important decisions and essential information are submitted to the President. At the same time, minor issues are resolved within the framework of the bureaucracy by means of decisions taken at lower levels. Although different presidents proposed slightly different arrangements to suit their styles and preferences, the formal mechanism remains the same. We must note that the standard mechanism is also known as the National Security Council (NSC)<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1- Henry E. Excellis, 'Domestic Environment', in *Strategy and National Security Professionals: Strategic Thinking and Strategy Formulation in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Harry R. Yarger, translated by: Rajeh Mahrez Ali, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, translated studies 43, Abu Dhabi, 2011, p. 173-174.

As for the type of affairs referred to the White House to consider, no specific character determines their nature. In this regard, Eisenhower told Kennedy: "As a President, you will not be referred to easy issues because they are usually resolved at lower levels"<sup>(1)</sup>; in the White House, the mission is "greasing the wheels that creak."

The National Security Council has proved its qualification as the most important source for political decision-making on international and security issues. The main task of the Council is collecting information from the Pentagon, the US State Department, the Treasury, the Department of Commerce, and the CIA. In turn, it starts analyzing and coordinating all the data and proposes appropriate plans in the related context. Among the missions of the NSC is to approve the validity of the received data, mainly those classified as confidential, so their planning regarding international affairs can depend on reliable information. It is also expected to pinpoint the deficiencies of the White House administration and the methods to improve its performance. It also presents the necessary advice to the President, depending on extended studies and assessments, especially during international crises. In this regard, the NSC is the essential institution the President depends on to attain reliable information about various international affairs. However, this does not mean that the NSC is the lone formulator of foreign policy because there is ongoing tension in the relationship between the

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1- Theodore Sorensen, p. 32.

## NSC and the State Department<sup>(1)</sup>.

The National Security Council and its commission are among the essential advisory bodies the US President refers to in foreign policy and national security. The Council includes the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and the Finance Minister. The sessions of the NSC are attended by the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces and the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency as advisors. The President himself appoints the head of the NSC without the need for congressional approval. Perhaps the figures that occupied this position are a good indication of the great weight that this position enjoys in the American executive authority. For example, Henry Kissinger in the administration of Richard Nixon and Zbigniew Brzezinski in the administration of Jimmy Carter<sup>(2)</sup> was chosen to fill the position.

Interestingly, during their terms, the position of the National Security Adviser became even more important than the Council itself, which turned the Council into an apparatus in the service of the advisor rather than the President. Therefore, the President's advisor for national security affairs, especially Kissinger during the administration of Nixon, became his mouthpiece and leading advisor in foreign policy and security issues. For example, Kissinger took advantage of his position during the October War in 1973 by strengthening his bonds with Israel. He also worked on gaining the confidence

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abdul Aziz Rabie, p. 62.

2- Emil Hubner, p. 167.

of some Arab rulers, especially Anwar Sadat, while he promised the Israelis to send the military supplies they demanded. He sought to delude some Arabs by delaying military support to Israel to preserve his relationship and credibility with some Arab governments<sup>(1)</sup>. Kissinger's role as National Security Adviser was to carry out a double task, the first of which was to play the role of 'the postman' in directing the options submitted to the President's office or delivering data to the National Security Council for re-analysis. The second was to be the President's advisor on foreign policy issues whenever needed. To fulfill his dual role, Kissinger mobilized a counter-corporate of foreign-policy experts, which, despite Kissinger's ties to different academia and qualified professors, included a group of various qualifications and diverse professional experiences. But most of those he hired were from within the framework of the bureaucracy: some were Pentagon employees with different political orientations, and others were employees of the State Department. Kissinger's choice depended on their competencies rather than their political positions<sup>(2)</sup>. As a National Security Adviser and as the coordinator between the relevant agencies, he has direct links with the President: he is in daily contact with the President. He also assumes the tasks of the Planning Board. He, furthermore, raises specific issues of concern for discussion, according to which some believe that the functions of the Advisor outweigh and often overwhelm

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abdul Aziz Rabie, p. 65.

2- Marvin Caleb, and Bernard Caleb, Kissinger, Al-Ahlia for Publishing and Distribution, Beirut, 1975, pp. 53-54.

those of the Secretary of State due to his relationship with the President. US presidents vary in their dependence on the National Security Council. In this regard, John Kennedy sought to decrease the power of the Council after it was at the top of the hierarchy of US policy. However, he reconsidered this idea because the NSC should be an arena for solving political disagreements and developing practical solutions for ongoing issues<sup>(1)</sup>. Successive US presidents relied on the Council to varying degrees. Still, the general trend was towards increasing the importance of its role and increasing the number of its members who support the policy of the White House<sup>(2)</sup>.

The National Security Council and its supporting structures were designed to deliver information and decisions that must eventually be taken to the White House. For the Council to accomplish its missions properly, several permanent employees have been hired, and some committees have been established. The President undertakes the task of organizing the employees of the NSC and determining the number, type, and objectives of the committees: this is one of his first tasks in the Oval Office. Additionally, the President's Advisor for national security affairs and the assisting members of the National Security Council are considered part of the executive office. Consequently, they enjoy the advantages of

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1-Dr. Dawood Murad Hussein, p. 120.

2-Harry R. Yarger, *Strategy and the National Security Professional: Strategic Thinking and Strategy Formulation in the 21st Century*, translated by: Rageh Mahrez Ali, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, translated studies (43), Abu Dhabi, 2011, p. 176.

executive positions in dealing with Congress<sup>(1)</sup>.

The President's relationship with his advisor for national security affairs, on the one hand, and the extent of the White House's desire to directly manage American foreign policy, on the other hand, determine the scope of the council's involvement in making foreign policy, and the nature of its role in managing some of its essential and secret aspects. For example, President Nixon and President Carter assumed direct foreign policy management functions, as they relied heavily on the President's National Security Advisor. Nixon entrusted Henry Kissinger with initiating dialogue with China and relied on him to manage secret negotiations with the government of South Vietnam. As for Carter, he assigned Zbigniew Brzezinski, immediately after taking office in 1977, to re-plan American foreign policy and define its goals for the next four years<sup>(2)</sup>. Therefore, the President's tendency to manage foreign affairs himself is usually accompanied by the brilliance of the Advisor for national security affairs and the deterioration of the role of the Secretary of State. In return, the President's distancing from direct management of foreign policy leads to the rise and importance of the Secretary of State, resulting in the decline of the role of the Advisor. This is obvious in the deterioration of the part of the advisors during the presidency of Eisenhower, Johnson, and Ford.

In contrast, the role of their secretaries of state,

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1- Ibid, p. 177.

2- Dr. Muhammad Abdul Aziz Rabie, p. 62.

John Foster Dulles, Dean Rusk, and Henry Kissinger, maintained further importance. On the other hand, the role of Secretary of State William Rogers and Cyrus Vance diminished during the terms of Nixon and Carter. In contrast, Kissinger and Brzezinski gained further importance in advisory positions.

Henry Kissinger, a National Security Adviser and former US Secretary of State, believes that the specifications of the Adviser are not simply those of the Secretary of State because the President appoints his Assistant for National Security Affairs. The President appoints him to preside over a small group of employees. Initially, his mission is to provide consultation with the President. The President mainly relies on his security consultant to solve problems (maybe psychologists will one day explain why proximity to the oval office gives one such an advantage over employees who are not geographically distant so much from the location). Generally speaking, the Security Advisor is only an ordinary person who seeks higher positions like any other person. He only differs because he knows that his authority depends on his ability to show a unique kind of benefit as long as his only responsibility is the one the President names. He can also present his assessments like the Secretary of State does. If he has sufficient skills, he can put himself with bureaucratic discussions in a location close to the President's tendencies. After all, his proximity to the President makes him recognize those tendencies

better than his opponent in Foggy Bottom<sup>(1) (2)</sup>.

It is worth noting that the morale of the employees of the National Security Council under the auspices of Kissinger was very high. They viewed themselves as elites chosen very carefully, not based on nepotism after the elections, but exclusively on their experience in international affairs and in preparing foreign policy. Eight of the thirty council employees had Ph.D., eight others had worked in the State Department, and six others were former employees since the Johnson administration. They were allowed to remain in their positions; others borrowed from the Pentagon, the CIA, and different universities. Many of them were Democrats with grudges toward Richard Nixon. But Kissinger convinced them that the National Security Council, during his reign, would be above partisan affiliations<sup>(3)</sup>.

As for Brzezinski, he indicated that there is an aspect worth mentioning regarding the National Security Adviser: the vast majority of people do not realize the volume of messages coming to the President from people and do not realize the amount of data coming to the President from the Secretary of State, the Pentagon, and the CIA, not to mention the data provided by the National Security Adviser. One of the challenges facing the Advisor is that

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1- Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, p. 705.

2- Foggy Bottom is the area in which the State Department is located.

3- Seymour Hersh, *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House*, translated by: Brigadier General Khaled Ismail Al-Saffar and Brigadier General Abdel Wahhab Al-Qassab, Baitul Hikma Publishing House, (None), p. 61-62.

he is not simply a postman: the research and data sent to the White House are first assessed by the Advisor and then presented before the President. As a result, the Advisor encounters those who do not find their way to the President since he knows best the tendencies and decisions of the President<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1- Zbigniew Brzezinski, Brent Scowcroft, Op. Cit. p. 264.

## Section Three: State Department

Since the US Department of State's establishment in 1789, the Secretary of State has been considered the most potent employee in the government. He is also considered the first advisor to the President in foreign policy. The US State Department, in its current form, dates back to the post-World War I period after the ratification of the Rogers Act of 1924<sup>(1)</sup>. As a result of this act, the United States formed a professional diplomatic corps for the first time. It is appointed based on competence, not political influence or social standing<sup>(2)</sup>.

The State Department is considered one of the most critical institutions in the American administration, as it is the executive authority that undertakes the implementation of American foreign policy and the management of the relations of the United States of America at the diplomatic level<sup>(3)</sup>. In performing his duties,

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1- The Washington Post pointed out that the Rogers Act qualified the US State Department in 1924 to be a professional apparatus for diplomacy based on having special advantages. In addition to merging foreign affairs with consular works, the main goal behind this act was the cessation of the then prevailing practice, which is one of the political rewards that presidents offer to their supporters. In a note dated May 16, 1925, the US Assistant Secretary of State indicated that the political appointment to the position of ambassador should be limited to a limited number of persons who could provide real additions to the work of the ministry. See: Dr. Ahmed Nouri Al-Nuaimi, *The Decision-Making Process*, p. 533; and Mahjoub Al-Basha, 'Empowerment Policy in the US State Department', February 20, 2014 at [www.hurriyatsudan.com/?p=143616](http://www.hurriyatsudan.com/?p=143616). Al-Dustour Newspaper on January 17, 2014, *The Washington Post: 'American Presidents Encroach on the Role of the State Department'*, at: [www.dostor.org/178524](http://www.dostor.org/178524).

2- Dr. Fawaz Gerges, *American Policy towards the Arabs*, p. 57.

3- Dr. Hala Abu Bakr Saudi, *American Policy towards the Arab-Israeli Conflict*



the Secretary of State is assisted by a bureaucratic and diplomatic apparatus of over 28 thousand employees. They consisted of 1167 employees in the diplomatic corps, 7802 foreign nationalities, and 8784 employees in the civil service<sup>(1)</sup>. In this regard, both the Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense depend on the armed forces because they are the means that give superiority to American diplomacy. However, heated conflicts arise due to each party's claim of sovereignty<sup>(2)</sup>. The State Department, unlike the Pentagon and the National Security Council, tries to make the executive authority respond to complex regional dynamics. For example, regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict, from its genesis, the State Department called for a comprehensive solution that considers the interests, fears, and rights of the various adversaries, and not only those of Israel. Likewise, the State Department warned against viewing the conflict as part of the conflict between East and West, stressing its local roots instead<sup>(3)</sup>.

James Baker, Secretary of State of former US President George Bush, was subjected to current accusations, some even claiming that Baker was anti-Semitic after he challenged the Likud government to show goodwill in the peace process. The aim was to put Baker in a position of intimidation. Though Bush rushed to his aid, both learned

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(1967-1973), Al-Wahda Al-Arabia Center Studies, Beirut, 1983, p. 152.

1- The US State Department at Wikipedia.

2- Harry R. Yarger, *Strategy and the National Security Professional: Strategic Thinking and Strategy Formulation in the 21st Century*, translated by: Rageh Mahrez Ali, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, translated studies (43), Abu Dhabi, 2011, p. 173

3- Dr. Fawaz Gerges, *American Policy towards the Arabs*, p. 64-65.

their lesson: any attempt to confront Israel would be costly<sup>(1)</sup>.

The organizational structure of the State Department is divided into two parts<sup>(2)</sup>:

First: Regional offices focused on a specific geographical area, such as Africa, East Asia, the Pacific, Europe and Eurasia, South and Central Asia, and the western hemisphere. These specialized offices assume regional responsibilities according to each region.

Second, the US Deputy Secretary of State and five agents, the deputy is the second most important person next to the Secretary of State. Concerning the five agents, they are:

1- Undersecretary of the State Department for Diplomacy, Public Affairs, Education, and Cultural Affairs.

2- The Undersecretary of the State Department for Political Affairs is responsible for the regional offices, the International Organizations Office, and the Narcotics Control Bureau.

3- Undersecretary of the State Department for Economic, Energy, and Agricultural Affairs.

4- Undersecretary of the State Department for Administration Affairs, including three tasks: consular affairs, human resources, and managing the Bureau of Overseas Buildings Operations.

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1- Ibid, p. 67.

2- Dr. Osama Mortada, p. 91-92.

5- Undersecretary of the State Department for Democracy, Human Rights, Labor, Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, and Bureau of Diplomatic Security.

Although the State Department is theoretically supposed to be in charge of international affairs, its functions are often infringed upon by other executive departments. The American expert and diplomat George Kennan proposed his studies on the relationship between American domestic politics and the manifestation of American diplomacy. He concluded with the 'tragic paradox' or 'tragic contradiction.' Kennan believes that the diplomat is trained to think that he serves the national interests of the country as a whole in international fields. However, he later finds out that he is already helping specific individuals who do not adopt the same humanistic tendency. Moreover, those in charge never hold such patriotic beliefs. According to Kennan, American diplomacy is rarely managed by clear goals because they are often obscured by the current and immediate interests of those in charge of its administration<sup>(1)</sup>.

It is worth noting that the US State Secretaries from 1953 to 1990 were directly or alternately associated with the major oil companies. Therefore, it is unsurprising that oil is decisive in making the American decision. For example, the American invasion of Iraq should be placed in this context<sup>(2)</sup>. John Foster Dulles was the legal

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1 - Dr. Nabil Ragheb, p. 70.

2- Bishal Bougnon-Mourdan, Totalitarian America: The United States and the



advisor to Standard Oil and a director of the Rockefeller Foundation; Christian Herter (1959-1961) was associated with the Rockefeller companies through the Foundation for World Peace, which was run by Dean Riske (1961-1969); Henry Kissinger (1973- 1977), a member of the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation Board on Foreign Relations; Cyrus Vance (1977-1980) was the director of the Rockefeller Company, and member of the trilateral firm; from 1981 to 1982, Alexander Hague was the director of Chase Manhattan Bank; George Schultz was the director of the Perstel Company associated with Shaqroun and Gulf Oil; James Baker was Secretary of State during the administration of George Bush, representing the Houston Jurists Company that serves the major oil companies. His family owned stakes in ExxonMobil and Standard Oil, among other companies<sup>(1)</sup>.

According to the US Constitution, the Senate has a role in appointing the Secretary of State, as the Council must formally approve any new appointment to the position of Secretary of State. Therefore, it is natural to expect that the appointed person will be able to satisfy the Senate regarding his knowledge and experience in dealing with foreign affairs. Moreover, within the American political system, the State Department has a respectable value of experience, and the Secretary of State is expected to carry out White House policy faithfully<sup>(2)</sup>.

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World, translated by Khalil Ahmad Khalil, Al-Saqi Publishing House, Beirut, 2002, p. 162.

1- Ibid, p. 280.

2- Paul Wilkinson, International Relations, Kalamat Arabia for Translation and Publishing, Cairo, 2013, p. 21-22.

It is worth noting that foreign policy in the United States is the specialty of the elite. It is not a monopoly of the official institution by virtue of the nature of the American political system. The elite class plays its role on a daily and regular basis. The logical result of this process, when it reaches the peak of its interaction, is throwing its repercussions on all aspects of American policy-making and pushing new blood into all arteries<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1- Atef Al-Ghamry, p. 185.

## Section Four: Pentagon

The US Department of Defense, established in 1947, is also known as 'the Pentagon' because it is based in a pentagonal building in Washington. Theoretically, it does not carry out any diplomatic activity. However, the escalating use of threats and resort to force makes the US Department of Defense an increasingly important actor in foreign policy. It has over two million active employees (two-thirds of which are military). In addition to the institutions of the armament sector (including the military-industrial complex), it forms 6% of the US gross national product. Despite the unification of the armies under the auspices of the Secretary of Defense in 1947<sup>(1)</sup>, forms of bureaucratic competition between the ground forces, air forces, and navy have returned<sup>(2)</sup>.

The President of the United States has absolute control and authority over the US Army, the world's most powerful and technologically advanced force. The US Army has more than 10 thousand nuclear warheads. It also has more than 2.5 million soldiers in service and reserve ranks. In addition, it has an active presence in more than (130) countries worldwide<sup>(3)</sup>.

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1- The Department of Defense was established in July 1947. By virtue of Law (253), Congress merged the Ministries of War and Navy into one ministry called Department of Defense.

2- Maxim Le Fabvre, *American Foreign Policy*, translated by Hussein Hadir, Oweidat for Publishing and Printing, Beirut, 2006, p. 112.

3- Dr. Ahmed Nouri Al-Nuaimi, 'The American Pentagon and the Decision-Making Process in Foreign Policy', in *Journal of Political Science*, University of Baghdad, Issue (45), December 2012, p. 21.

The US Department of Defense is responsible for building and preparing the armed forces. It is also responsible for managing the military bases, over 350, deployed in various parts of the world. It also collects and analyzes information on the armies of both hostile and ally countries. Today, technology plays a prominent role in this regard. It plays the primary role in determining the level of preparation of armies for combat and the extent of their ability to confront enemies. The Defense Department has also become involved in controlling the export of technological and technical utilities abroad, especially in military arenas<sup>(1)</sup>. Located in Fort Meade, Maryland, the National Security Agency was founded in 1952 by a secret presidential act that was not revealed until the early eighties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the first book about the Agency was published, titled *The Puzzle Palace: Inside the National Security Agency, America's Most Secret Intelligence Organization*. It is specialized in matters of intelligence and information security. It intercepts electronic signals using land, sea, air, and space platforms. It also has many bases and stations outside the United States, such as Menwith Hill in Britain. Because they are considered the largest and most secret American intelligence institutions, they are part of the Defense Department. This agency was assigned to coordinate between the military intelligence services and collect confidential information. Today, the agency collects information through satellites and electronic

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abdul Aziz Rabie, p. 38.

devices, where electronic messages and telephone calls that cross the airspace of different countries are intercepted, analyzed, and archived<sup>(1)</sup>. In 1961, Defense Intelligence Agency was founded as a device affiliated with the Department of Defense. That agency became very important quickly as it started competing with the CIA. It specializes in collecting and analyzing confidential information, especially those related to military affairs. It also coordinates between the agencies specialized in espionage, functioning in the Department of Defense, and the various bureaus of the armed forces<sup>(2)</sup>.

Fawaz Gerges, a professor of international relations at the University of London, believes that some myths must be addressed, including the one that the CIA is the central hub of American intelligence. In truth, it only controls about 15 percent of the budget and the employees working in the intellect. Indeed, the National Security Agency has resources far exceeding those assigned to the CIA. The allocation of the NSA exceeds five to seven times that of the CIA. The NSA is the primary source of the intelligence apparatus in the information field: it uses 4000 towers and dishes for eavesdropping worldwide, not to mention the satellites. It is also home to the world's largest gathering of foreign language translators<sup>(3)</sup>.

The military institution occupies a unique position within the American decision-making apparatus,

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abdul Aziz Rabie, p. 68.

2- Paul Robinson, p. 193; Dr. Muhammad Abdul Aziz Rabie, p. 68.

3- Dr. Fawaz Gerges, American Policy towards the Arabs, p. 44-45.

whether as a unit within the administrative apparatus or in its relationship with Congress. It functions within the framework of its economic and social relationships. It attains its power as part of the requirement of its presence and intervention in various parts of the world. Constitutionally, the President is the supreme commander of the US armed forces. It is an authority that is not symbolic, as in parliamentary systems. The President personally makes commanding decisions for every soldier, officer, or chief of staff in the US armed forces. The President is also responsible for the status and condition of the armed forces. Concerning defense strategies and long-term plans, the President appoints senior officials of the Department of Defense and leaders of the armed forces. In this regard, it is essential to note that the Secretary of Defense and the Chief of the General Staff participate in the meetings of the National Security Council. In contrast, their assistants participate in the specialized provisions of the Department of Defense. They all take part in facilitating the process of foreign policy decision-making<sup>(1)</sup>.

Suppose the military institution's contribution to the decision-making process is considered pivotal. In that case, its role in political decisions of a diplomatic or economic nature is even of equal or greater importance, according to the following bases:

- ❖ The concept of American national security is based on the economic, military, and diplomatic dimen-

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1- Moncef Al-Sulaimi, p. 215.

sions. As strategic and fixed factors, they reflect the interests and objectives of three central powers, namely:

- 1- Military bureaucrats.
- 2- Capital owners and banks.
- 3- The owners of the industries.

This is because the role of the conventional arms trade, which directed foreign decisions, especially during the 1930s, is similar to that of the military-industrial complex in the 1960s.

- ❖ The development of the military establishment in the United States of America has been historically linked to the development of the economic, technological, and scientific structures, as the internal relationship between the military establishment and financial institutions. It externally appears at the level of multinational companies and economic institutions within the United States(1).
- ❖ The ten commands of the armed forces also contribute to the crystallization of military and field plans. They are more concerned with the executive aspect: they are the authority that carries out military operations based on political decisions taken in the White House. They consisted of the following units: Atlantic Command, Central Command, European Forces Command, Pacific Command, Government

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1- Ibid, p. 218-219.

Command, Space Command, Special Operations Command, Air and Strategic Command, and Transportation Command. The Department of Defense is the link between the President and the leaders of the ten commands. In this regard, the leaders receive military plans and strategies from the Joint Chiefs of Staff that are present in the Pentagon. The leadership of these commands is located both inside the US and outside the country in different parts of the world(1).

The Secretary of Defense is the assistant to the US President in everything related to defense and national security, and the Department of Defense has become one of the essential sources in the American decision-making process. This power and authority come from deploying military divisions and forces worldwide<sup>(2)</sup>.

Donald Rumsfeld, former Secretary of Defense, believed that the US armed forces needed drastic changes that would qualify them for imperial tasks - they could no longer be left to the natural evolution of the exercise of power. He also believed that the American leaders did not benefit enough from the Soviet downfall and thus did not take advantage of this opportunity because they were lost in eight years of formalities during the Bill Clinton administration. The result, in his estimation, lies in the

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1- Ibid, 215-216.

2- Dr. Hisham Al-Ghurairy, 'Decision Making in American Politics', in Strategic Studies, International Studies Center, University of Baghdad, Issue (18), 2001, p. 22.

following:

1- The army is no longer subject to the civil-political decision, though some of Clinton's generals (as he calls them) imagined they had a role and a say in the final decision. But, according to Rumsfeld, the armed forces must ensure they are subject to political decisions.

2- Rumsfeld also proposes that the Joint Chiefs of Staff interfered too much in political maneuvers, especially in Congress. They dived into complex relations claiming that they aimed at facilitating the process of obtaining funds; in return, they complimented the Senate and Representatives with the facilities that could be established in their constituencies. Rumsfeld discovered that the War Staff had a permanent liaison office with Congress. In contrast, other Departments- no less important in making political decisions than the General Staff - do not have such offices, including the State Department.

3- Rumsfeld alluded to the excessive influence of the chiefs of staff and senior leaders in the media field<sup>(1)</sup>.

George W. Bush authorized Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld in all matters relating to the armed forces. When General Shelton, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, asked him if he meant by saying that the Chairman does not have the right to communicate directly with the President, Rumsfeld replied: "What General Shelton understood is correct,". When Shelton tried to remind the Secretary of Defense that the Joint Chiefs of Staff

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1- Muhammad Hassanein Heikal, *The American Empire and the Raid on Iraq*, 3rd edition, Al-Shorouk Publishing House, 2004, p. 330.

Chairman is the first military advisor to the President, Rumsfeld replied: "That is also true"<sup>(1)</sup>.

Henry Kissinger had already referred to the same problem. He proposed that the Pentagon had suffered from what it considered the intervention of civilian strategists in the sixties and would not welcome a high-level review of its planning. Kissinger adds that in 1971, he asked the Department of Defense about the reason. Soviet weapons were less expensive than American weapons. That question remained under study for five years, and even after he left the administration, studies about this issue remained the core interest of specialists. However, the Joint Chiefs of Staff objected to the principle that its plans be subject to review by an official outside the Department of Defense. As a result, defense strategies changed only when James Schlesinger became Secretary of Defense in 1973 when the American administration obtained a review of objectives for strategic forces that was requested in 1969. At that time, the growth of the Soviet strategic forces severely limited American options<sup>(2)</sup>.

As for the studies conducted by the Pentagon regarding the political decision-making process, in January of each year, analysts at the Institute of Strategic Studies at the US Army War College conduct an assessment of local and international trends in the framework of defining the strategic context, which is used by military and political planners and those responsible for the decision-making

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1- Ibid, p. 332.

2- Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, p. 424.

process. The institute is directed by the international strategic assessments carried out by its experts in developing its research plans in light of the roles and tasks proposed by the army leadership for future strategies. This helps to improve the efforts to implement the Institute's external strategic program<sup>(1)</sup>. According to a study conducted<sup>(1)</sup> by the US Department of Defense published in 1993, titled *Defense Planning 1994-1999*, the political and military positions of the United States must be sufficient to discourage the pursuit of advanced industrial countries from "challenging our leadership," as well as to deter "potential competitors from aspiring to play a broader role or a global role." At the same time, the United States should "maintain the prominent responsibility of addressing mistakes that could threaten our interests, and even those of our allies and friends," or those that could destabilize international relations<sup>(2)</sup>.

In 1983, the Defense Intelligence Agency had previously funded four critical studies on the Arab world. Certain institutions were commissioned to prepare them almost confidentially. The first study aimed to identify the Gulf Cooperation Council's potential and determine its potential to develop into an influential political, economic and military bloc with a standard defense system, a unified customs system, and a coherent position, especially in the

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1- Earl Telford, 'A General Strategic Vision of the Global Situation', in Emirates Center for Social Studies and Research, Issue (13), Abu Dhabi, (None), p. 7.

2- Amr Thabet, 'Double Containment and Beyond: Reflections on American Strategic Thought', Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Issue (41), 2001, p. 45.

field of oil production and export policy. The second study aimed to identify the possibilities of establishing political unity between Syria and Iraq and to evaluate the impact of such an agreement on the political orientations of the Arab countries. It also included the interests of the United States in the Middle East region. The third study aimed at evaluating the capabilities of the West Bank from both sides: political and economical, with a focus on the West Bank's political history, its traditional leadership, and its capabilities to support a Palestinian state. As the fourth and final study, it tended to study human resources in the Arab countries, including women, and to determine its size, composition, and quality until the beginning of the third millennium. These studies indicate that the interests of the US Department of Defense far exceed military and technical matters. They are also concerned with the social, political, and economic transformations that foreign countries are experiencing since these aspects affect the war strategies of the Department of Defense<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abdul Aziz Rabie, p. 39.

## Section Five: Central Intelligence Agency

One of the most critical institutions upon which the United States relies to achieve the preemptive intelligence security strategy is the Central Intelligence Agency. It was founded upon an act issued by Congress in 1947. Exceptionally, it provides advice and recommendations to the National Security Council on issues of intelligence activity. It also works to assist all intelligence agencies in organizing and managing their activities in a manner that serves the tasks of the National Security Council<sup>(1)</sup>. Alan Dulles is considered the most crucial founder of American espionage, as he is the man who was entrusted with establishing the CIA. Still, President Truman replaced him with General Walter Smith due to some mistakes. However, later, Eisenhower reinstated Alan Dulles as the agency director and appointed his brother, John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State. Finally, Alan Dulles was removed from office during the presidency of Kennedy.

Nevertheless, he was in office for the most extended period among all other directors.<sup>(2)</sup> Until 2004, the top position of the CIA was known as the Director of Central Intelligence. He was not only responsible for directing the CIA but also for coordinating the work of the entire intelligence community. However, after the intelligence

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1- Dr. Yassin Al-Ithawi, *American Politics between the Constitution and Political Forces*, Osama House for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 2009, p. 110.

2- Ramzy El Miniawy, *CIA the Arm of Satan: The Bloody Record of the Head of the American Snake*, Al-Kitab Al-Arabi Publishing House, Damascus - Cairo, 2015, p. 70.

failures regarding Al-Qaeda's attack on September 11, 2001, and the Iraqi weapons of mass destruction, the Director of Central Intelligence position was abolished by the Intelligence Reform and Prevention of Terrorism Decree issued in 2004. A new position was introduced, that of the Director of National Intelligence, who assumed the coordinating role of the Director of the CIA. This step shows that the functions and powers of the CIA director have been reduced<sup>(1)</sup>.

There are five components of the CIA. There are four directorates and the CIA director's office, each with its mission and share of work. A directorate rarely sees the reports of the other directorate addressed to the director of the CIA. They are like rival sports teams: each enters into a silent competition with the other to win the funds allocated to the agency, win the interest of their superiors, or obtain a higher position. Each of these four directorates includes separate internal branches with a unique nature<sup>(2)</sup>. The Intelligence Directorate is responsible for analyzing and distributing intelligence from all sources. As for the Operations Directorate, it carries out human intelligence-gathering operations overseas and is also accountable for covert missions. The Science and Technology Directorate conducts technical research and development, looking for ways to apply technology (techniques) to intelligence problems. The Directorate of

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1- Paul Robinson, National Security Dictionary, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, 2009, p. 47-48.

2- Ronald Kessler, Inside the CIA, translated by Malik Fadel Al-Badiri, 3rd Edition, Al-Ahlia for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, vol. 1998, pp. 16-17.

Support handles the administrative services of the (CIA) and maintains close relations with foreign intelligence agencies, such as the British Secret Intelligence Service<sup>(1)</sup>. In this context, the CIA director and deputy are appointed by a political decision<sup>(2)</sup>.

The importance of placing the CIA within the political decision-making process is determined by the fact that it constitutes the most critical and practical executive organ within the American decision-making process. It is a pivotal part of the various stages of political decision-making, including preparation, study, report, follow-up of the decision, and its implementation<sup>(3)</sup>.

The agency, with its covert performance<sup>(4)</sup>, is the most critical link in the decision-making process of the American administration. Its influence comes from the fact that the meetings of the National Security Council begin with a summary of the agency's intelligence report, which is delivered by its director, just as the American

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1- Paul Robinson, p.48.

2- Ramzi Al-Minawi, p. 13

3- Moncef Al-Sulaimi, p. 211.

4- The 1990 law was passed, which defined the intelligence work permitting new legal procedures for carrying out covert operations. The Intelligence Operations Authorization Act of 1991 introduced amendments to the Intelligence Control Act of 1980, by requiring a number of reforms to be introduced in the results of presidential investigations regarding covert operations, as it required that they be in writing, that they not have retroactive effects. They would not authorize anyone for any action that would violate the law. It must also determine which third party (foreign country) was involved in the covert operation, submitting those results to the intelligence committees. See: Dr. Ahmed Nouri Al-Nuaimi, The decision-making process, p. 581.

president often starts his day by studying the intelligence report. In general, the agency's tasks are summarized in the following three main functions<sup>(1)</sup>, namely:

- ❖ Providing information in the political, strategic, and economic fields to the decision-making departments in national security.
- ❖ Providing assessments and estimates of the political and strategic situations in various countries at the request of the decision-making departments.
- ❖ Undertaking covert actions abroad to implement specific political and strategic objectives within the framework of the United States strategy by order or authorization from the President himself.

The nature and role of intelligence activities in foreign policy and defense are complex since everyone participates in such activities. Such participation calls for competition between specialists and non-specialists. Yet, intelligence activities are mainly classified because they require significant technological advancement. Moreover, they are carried out by specialized groups, albeit in competition. Intelligence activities are often confused with other government activities that share several common characteristics, though they differ in terms of purpose. Accordingly, there is a big difference between, on the one hand, official, local, and specialized legal work in which information is collected, analyzed and presented regarding other countries, and on the

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1- Dr. Amer Hashem Awwad, p. 126-127.

other hand, illegal actions, which officials disavow, such as assassinating foreign leaders, planning and directing secret war operations, and raiding foreign diplomatic and military facilities<sup>(1)</sup>. The agency is not just a tool or means to implement specific policies or procedures. Instead, it forms a focus within the US political decision-making apparatus through its influential contributions to foreign policy-making. It is an effective tool for implementing the 'domino' policy pursued by the US government in the sixties. It is a policy based on supporting regimes threatened by communism, one of the most prominent manifestations of which was the Vietnam War, in which the United States of America was involved. The decision to the war was due to an error in the estimates provided by the agency based on routine bureaucratic work that did not consider several elements in defining the parameters of the political decision, directing its goals, and following up all its episodes in implementation and evaluation<sup>(2)</sup>. William Colby, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency in 1974, referred to his management style. He claimed he used to take advantage of the separation processes between the agency's executive frameworks. Each department provided him with separate reports, unaware of the other reports. He also revealed the

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1- Brewster K. Denny, *Seeing American Foreign Policy Whole*, translated by: Dr. Waduda Abdel Rahman Badran, International House for Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, 1991, pp. 127-128.

2- Moncef Al-Sulaimi, p. 204-205.

agency's involvement in the 'Watergate' scandal<sup>(1) (2)</sup>. In his memoirs, the agency's former director, Edgar Hoover, sheds light on the agency's efforts to penetrate the Cuban borders to carry out military operations against the new communist regime, leading to failure. However, the agency had a decisive role in revealing Soviet nuclear missile platforms in Cuba, on which former President Kennedy would base his decision to blockade Cuba until the Soviet government was forced to back down<sup>(3)</sup>.

According to George Tenet, the former Director of the CIA (1997-2004), the Agency immediately lifted the intelligence gathering procedures after September 11, 2001, as we abandoned the bureaucratic model. However, because of the shortage of time, the CIA needed to obtain immediate reports on the related matter. Therefore, to accomplish the mission, the Agency abandoned the

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1- Dr. Samir Al-Tanir, *America from Within: Wars for Oil*, Publications Company for Distribution and Publishing, Beirut, 2010, p. 59.

2- Watergate scandal: The Republican Party nominated Richard Nixon for a second term in 1972. He won the elections by a wide margin from his Democratic opponent George McGovern. However, during the election, his aides tried to interfere with the Democratic Party's election campaign, as some were able to enter the machine rooms. The electoral committee of the Democratic Party were located in Watergate in Washington. The investigations were conducted by a committee of the Senate. Later, the Court of Justice showed that the White House was involved in the process. The scandal led to Nixon's resignation on August 9, 1974, and on September 8 of the same year, his successor Gerald Ford granted him a general pardon for all his crimes that he might have committed during his presidency. See: Udo Zutter, p. 268. and Lain McLean and Alistair McMillan, p. 566.

3- Moncef Al-Sulaimi, p. 204.

established procedures<sup>(1)</sup>.

The US intelligence services have been severely criticized for their failure to anticipate or prevent the attack of September 11, despite their massive budget of \$30 billion annually. They were also criticized for their inability to provide evidence proving the involvement of Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda in those attacks. Some have proposed the idea that George Tenet needed to resign. Others claimed that since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the CIA has been unable to crystallize a vision and policy for the post-Cold War period and the accompanying new dangers<sup>(2)</sup>. Likewise, President George W. Bush proposed a committee to conduct a comprehensive review of the intelligence services chaired by Brent Scowcroft, the former National Security Adviser. The committee recommended transferring three intelligence agencies affiliated with the Department of Defense and placing them under the auspices of the CIA. They are the National Security Agency, responsible for eavesdropping operations; the National Monitoring and Evaluation Directorate, responsible for building, developing, and managing spy satellites; and the National Imagery and Mapping Agency, which handles espionage images and maps. The budget of the three agencies is \$15 billion, half of the budget of all intelligence services. It created

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1- George Tenet, *At the Center of the Storm: My Years at the CIA*, translated by Omar Al-Ayoubi, Al-Kitab Al-Arabi Publishing House, Beirut, 2007, p. 201.

2- Dr. Muhammad Mustafa Kamal, 'September 11 and American National Security: a Review of Devices and Policies', in *International Politics Journal*, Al-Ahram Center, Issue (147), January 2002, p. 58.

a new position, the Director of National Intelligence, to coordinate the intelligence agencies' budget and work with the various intelligence agencies to set priorities<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1 Dr. Amer Hashem Awwad, p. 127-128.

## Topic Two

### **Legislative institution (US Congress: House of Representatives and Senate)**

Congress is an English word meaning (conference), previously called 'the legislative assemblies' and 'the legislative council.' Therefore, Congress is the name given to the council that assumes legislative power. It comprises two chambers: the House of Representatives and the Senate<sup>(1)</sup>.

Historically, the Articles of Confederation established a central government consisting of one chamber, called the 'conference,' that is, the Congress, in which the states enjoyed one vote (important decisions required the approval of nine states). Amending the Federal Articles involves the consent of all thirteen states, which was at the beginning of the formation of the United States of America. Under the Confederation, Congress was an advisory council that reflected the states' personal views more than the nation's tendencies. It is best to note that Congress carried out the executive authority's tasks, whereas the President's role was limited to presiding over Congress<sup>(2)</sup>.

Congress is also the legislative body in the American political system, as it is considered the first constitutional

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1- Dr. Amer Hashem Awwad, p. 71.

2- Dr. Yassin Al-Ithawi, American Politics between the Constitution and Political Forces, p. 41.

institution in terms of its status in the order of the articles of the Constitution (Article 1, 10 paragraphs). Several amendments were issued concerning its competencies. The Federal Constitution determines the nature of the House of Representatives and Senate composition. As for the House of Representatives, it functions based on numerical representation, which includes (435) members. Each term lasts two years, while the Senate has equal representation of the states. Any voter in each state may elect two Senators regardless of the population. The number of Senators is 100, and each term lasts six years, with the probability of renewing the time of one-third of the Senators every two years. The US Constitution empowers Congress with constitutional, legislative, and diplomatic decision-making authorities. It is also assigned the task of supervising the work of the government<sup>(1)</sup>.

The number of seats in the House of Representatives has been determined at 435 since 1913. Those seats are redistributed to the states after the population census is conducted every ten years. The population census of 1990 led to the redistribution of 19 seats obtained by the southern states from the northern states in the first place. In the elections of 2002, 12 seats were again redistributed between different centers. This redistribution must lead to essential changes in the various states' share of seats in the House of Representatives. New York, for example, in 2007, retained twenty-nine seats out of the forty-five seats it had in 1950. As for Pennsylvania, the case is

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1- Moncef Al-Sulaimi, p. 176.

different. It has only 19 out of 33 seats held in 1950<sup>(1)</sup>.

The powers of Congress may vary. Although the most important one is legislation, it possesses many other capabilities that can be summarized in the following: amending the Constitution; it has electoral power, as it approves the candidates for the position of presidency; the House of Representatives has the right to elect the President in case a candidate fails in obtaining a sufficient majority, provided that each state represents only one vote; the Constitution empowers Congress with some judicial powers to preserve the integrity of the executive staff; Congress has the right, accordingly, to bring all members of the administrative authority, led by the President and his deputy, to trial<sup>(2)</sup>.

The Speaker is chosen by the majority party when it meets in a caucus on the eve of the new Congress<sup>(3)</sup>. As for the President of the Senate, the US Constitution stipulates that the Vice President of the United States assumes the presidency of the Senate, while he is not a member of it, and does not vote except in the case of a tie. Therefore, except on ceremonial occasions, he rarely presides over Senate sessions. In other words, his role is more formal than practical. However, his role is not without importance, especially when there is a close

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1- Emil Hubner, p. 104-105; Alexis de Tocqueville, vol. 1, p. 340-343.

2- Dr. Milad Mumtaz Mansi, *The American Congress and the Foreign Policy of the United States*, Madbouly Library, Cairo, 2013, pp. 25-26.

3- David Kazak and John D. Marcantony, *Congress and Public Policy*, the Dousey Press, U.S.A., 1982, p. 143.

vote on important issues. In that case, the party leaders are keen on the necessity of the presence of the Vice President to break the tie<sup>(1)</sup>.

Draft laws may go through four stages within the two chambers until they take legal status. They go through the first stage, where the draft law is presented; at this stage, one member or more from one of the two chambers offers the draft. The second stage highlights the committees' tasks, as after submitting the draft, it is directed to the committee to study it minutely. Here, the committee has the right to reject the draft. Yet, in case it is approved, the concerned committee directs it to the sub-committees emanating from it. The competent committees consider the current and issue a report regarding those laws. The legislation is then transferred to the Procedures Committee in the House of Representatives, which directs it to the public discussion within the House. As for the Senate, there is no counterpart for that committee, as the leaders of the House itself carry out its role in regulating the procedures for considering bills. In this stage, the laws are amended and approved or rejected. But if the draft is approved, it is sent to the other chamber to go through the same previous stages. In case the draft obtains the approval of each of the two chambers on the same version without any amendment, then it is sent to the President for ratification. However, when there are differences between the two versions when any of the two chambers introduces

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1- Dr. Nasr Muhammad Ali, *The Party System and American Decision Making*, Cultural Center for Printing and Publishing, Babylon, 2014, p. 45.

amendments to the draft, it is directed to a committee called the 'Conference Committee.' It consists of three members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the Speaker, and three members of the Senate, who the Vice President appoints. These members are usually chosen from the committees that considered the draft. The committee's function is limited to reconciling the two versions of the draft in one formula to be accepted by the majority in both chambers. The difficulty lies in the fact that the report of that committee cannot be amended: it is either accepted or rejected by both chambers. After the approval of the draft by both chambers, nothing remains but the ratification stage, during which the draft is sent to the President for ratification. Finally, that draft becomes an enforceable law<sup>(1)</sup>.

It is worth noting that the reason for the number of Senators is fixed, based on two Senators for each state, lies in the need to remove the fear of the small states that the large ones with more significant populations may overcome their political presence. For example, if a bill that goes against the interests of the small states is passed in the House of Representatives, the Senators of these states can, if they unite, delay the bill's ratification. Hence, there is an opportunity to balance the demands of the large and small states. This formula helped the success of the 1787 conference, which was the basis for crystallizing the American Constitution<sup>(2)</sup>.

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1- Dr. Milad Mumtaz Mansi, p. 30-31.

2- Dr. Amer Hashem Awwad, p. 72.

The Senate, consisting of two members from each state, enjoys special privileges compared to the House of Representatives. It is the institution through which all the federal states participate in foreign policy making. The Senate is responsible for confirming the appointment of key officials in the administration (including those responsible for foreign policy, the army, and intelligence). It also has the authority to ratify the treaties (by a two-thirds majority), which allows a significant change in US foreign policy (as when it refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles or the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty). However, to limit the Senate's power, the US executive authority has doubled on executive agreements that do not need Senate confirmation.

George Kennan, a policy expert, does not hesitate to criticize the negative aspects of Congress, especially those related to decision-making mechanisms. Being a Senator does not mean siding with Congress' tendencies regardless of any consideration; instead, in the first place, it requires a critical attitude toward its incorrect decisions. In this regard, the participation of Congress in the decision-making process reduces the specificity of the decision. It infects that process with a high degree of rigidity and inflexibility, especially if the issue in concern is complex and requires careful examination. This negative aspect may deprive the policymaker of the ability to respond sensitively and quickly to unexpected problems. Moreover, according to Kenna, Congress is more exposed than other executive institutions to being affected, or

even submissive, to pressure forces that influence foreign policy in the interest of their limited interests<sup>(1)</sup>.

Al Gore, former US Vice President, believes that Congress, with its two chambers – the Representatives and the Senate – is witnessing a growing role of money in the associated re-election process and a significant decline in rational discussion and consultation. This condition leads to the spread of institutional corruption. The scandal involving Jack Abramoff<sup>(2)</sup> and the charges against him is only the tip of a giant iceberg that threatens the safety of the entire government legislature, and steps are being taken in Congress to reduce this risk. The reformists have repeatedly called for new laws and legislation to control the funds individuals and groups grant candidates. They have also called for the criminalization of certain forms of that corruption that has taken on an institutional nature<sup>(3)</sup>.

According to Senator Paul Findley, the representative

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1- Dr. Nabil Ragheb, *Elders of American Politics*, Academic Library, Cairo, 2011, p. 71.

2- He is considered one of the largest makers of economic and political pressure groups in the United States. His name has been associated with financing the electoral campaigns of members of Congress. This scandal was revealed through emails, documents, and interviews with his former aides. He managed intertwined political and economic entities; To make money and try to benefit and obtain influence for him and his clients through his relationship with lawmakers and members of Congress, senior politicians in Washington, led by President Bush, he took the initiative to return the suspicious sums that Abramoff and his partners had donated to the election campaigns of those politicians. See the link:  
[www.elaph.com/web/Newspapers/2006///120664.htm?sectionarchive=Newspapers](http://www.elaph.com/web/Newspapers/2006///120664.htm?sectionarchive=Newspapers).

3- Al Gore, p. 121.

of Illinois for twenty-two years, the most significant issue in the US Congress is the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). As soon as that name is mentioned in front of anyone who deals with Middle East politics in Capitol Hill (i.e., the Congressional Building in Washington), his face grimace, if not sullen because AIPAC is the dominant authority among the pressure groups (lobbies) in Washington<sup>(1)</sup>. AIPAC is not just a part of the Israeli lobby: in terms of direct influence on public policy, it is the most important. In recent years, it has deepened and expanded its influence. AIPAC controls all Capitol Hill actions regarding Middle Eastern politics. Moreover, almost all members of the Senate and Representatives obey, without exception, that committee's orders because most consider AIPAC the force that either makes them succeed or eliminates them from the political arena<sup>(2)</sup>.

Sometimes, the President uses his constitutional power to conclude executive agreements if the Senate refuses to approve such deals<sup>(3)</sup>. In this regard, an executive agreement does not require a law to obtain Senate approval. This case was apparent in 1905 when the Senate refused to approve a treaty proposed by former US President Theodore Roosevelt with Santo Domingo<sup>(4)</sup>, in which the United States pledged to

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1- Paul Findley, *Who Dare to Speak: The People and Institutions Confronting the Israeli Lobby*, edition 17, Al-Matbooat for Distribution and Publishing, Beirut, 2004, p. 59.

2- *Ibid*, p. 60.

3- *Ibid*, p. 115.

4- This colony was known by that name from its inception to its independence,



guarantee the independence of that colony in return for taking over the management of the customs of Santo Domingo. When the treaty was introduced to Congress, the representatives rejected it. As a result, the President concluded an executive agreement on the treaty itself<sup>(1)</sup>.

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and is now known as the Dominican Republic; the capital is Santo Domingo.

1 Hazem Sadiq, p. 352.

## Topic Three

### Institutions Affecting the Executive and Legislative Branches

#### Section One: Council on Foreign Relations

At the end of World War I, the United States had become one of the great powers. Yet, the federal government remained administratively weak and had insufficient organizational capacity and personnel to support broad foreign policy planning. As a result, the planning and discussion of foreign policy were increasingly located within a network of elites operating outside the formal boundaries of government. At the center of that network was a group of advisers to former US President Woodrow Wilson known as the Inquiry. In 1918, Wilson included a number of the proposals of the research team members in his fourteen-item speech and hinted at his approval of the establishment of the League of Nations<sup>(1)</sup>. The group emerged when twenty members were invited to accompany Woodrow Wilson to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Those American delegates created an organization or body dedicated to: “an in-depth understanding of American foreign policy and international affairs.” In 1918, a similar foreign policy team was established, an elite club of New York lawyers and businessmen run by Eliyahu Root, a former Secretary

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1- Thomas Midwitz, *Think Tanks in America*, translated by Nashwa Maher Karamalla, Forum for Arab and International Relations, Qatar, 2015, p. 81.

of State, to discuss various aspects of foreign affairs. Two of the American delegation contacted Root and asked him if he was ready to merge his Council on Foreign Relations with the body established by the American delegates to the Paris Peace Conference. The procedures were accomplished on July 29, 1921<sup>(1)</sup>. This alliance was based on the principle of the completion and integration of resources. According to Peter Gross, the merger was a case in which “academic and governmental expertise with practical commercial interests were integrated.” The research team was able to provide diplomatic expertise, but they did not provide funds because “lawyers and banks... were able to choose limited funding sources; yet they were in dire need of an intellectual core, movement, and connections”<sup>(2)</sup>.

The experts of the Council believed that the United States should prepare itself to play a broader role in foreign relations. Accordingly, the experts of the Council devoted their efforts to preparing studies and research to provide a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of American foreign policy and international affairs through the free exchange of ideas. Furthermore, the Council issued its famous periodical *Foreign Affairs* specialized in foreign affairs to maintain scholarly communication with the educated class and the rest of society. In addition, the Council held many intellectual seminars, conferences,

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1- Donald Abelson, *Do Think Tanks Matter?: Assessing the Impact of Public Policy Institutes*, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, 2007, p. 239.

2- *Ibid*, p.82.

and roundtables that dealt with various ongoing internal and international affairs. Visiting leaders of countries and academics and different American officials mainly attended them<sup>(1)</sup>.

The Council of Foreign Relations has a mini data bank consisting of university professors and prominent specialists in international affairs. This information bank undertakes the task of preparing books and specialized political reports<sup>(2)</sup>. The Council on Foreign Relations' central message is "Caring for America's understanding of other countries –peoples, cultures, histories, hopes, conflicts, and ambitions – and thus serving our nation through study and debate." The council seeks to accomplish that message by following three goals: first, to improve understanding of world affairs and to introduce new ideas for American foreign policy; second, to transform the Council into a genuinely national organization; and third, to find and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders and thinkers<sup>(3)</sup>.

The Council on Foreign Relations forum includes the elite of wealthy business people and intellectuals interested in international relations problems. The member of this forum hold meetings, which high officials and journalists attend to discuss political Sections. The Council

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1- Dr. Sabah Abdel-Razzaq Kubba, American Think Tanks and their Role in the Decision-Making Process in Foreign Policy, Al-Ahmadi Technical Printing Press, Baghdad, 2015, p. 78.

2- Dr. Sabah Abd al-Razzaq Kubba, American Think Tanks and Their Role in the Decision-making Process in Foreign Policy, p. 78.

3- Donald Abelson, p. 239-240.

also supervises several seminars that discuss Sections of interest to foreign affairs. Then the Council issues the results of its studies in books and periodicals<sup>(1)</sup>. Kissinger's fame and former positions were obtained through the Council. He acknowledged this fact in 1961 in the introduction to his book *The Necessity for Choice - Prospects of American Foreign Policy*. He proposed that the Council grant him the position of Secretary of State, which was his first opportunity to work in foreign relations. He acknowledges that his admiration for the Council kept increasing after that<sup>(2)</sup>.

The Council on Foreign Relations was - and still is - a private institution with many dignitaries interested in international political affairs. Many of these figures are from the east coast states of the country<sup>(3)</sup>.

In addition, the Council on Foreign Relations members meet periodically through a series of study and discussion gatherings. They present their ideas publicly through two primary means: first, a series of political reports and pamphlets, most of which were written by members of the Council or by researchers from outside the Council; second, the newspaper of the Council, titled *Foreign Affairs*, which was launched in September 1922. Its editor-in-chief was Archibald Cary Coolidge, a professor of history at Harvard University. It was marked by the

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1- Amin Huwaidi, p. 65.

2- *The Necessity for Choice: Prospects of American Policy*, P.65

3- Muhammad Hassanein Heikal, *Solution and War*, edition 9, Al-Matboot for Distribution and Publishing, Beirut, 2013, p. 106-107.

articles of politicians and researchers specializing in foreign policy, including several Secretaries of State. The Sections mainly focused on economic and trade issues related to the United States, the controversial League of Nations, and African colonialism<sup>(1)</sup>. The Council played a significant role in preparing studies during the Cold War. Moreover, the containment policy emerged due to the analysis presented by a member of the Council, George Kennan<sup>(2)</sup>.

The Council on Foreign Relations is considered one of the most potent and influential councils in the field of foreign policy in the United States. Among the essential means of the Council are three:

1- 'The First Circle' or 'the Global Ideological Circle,' chaired by Hamilton Fish Armstrong, the founder, and editor-in-chief of *Foreign Affairs* journal. It includes a group of elites who are professionals in global ideologies.

2- 'The Second Circle' or 'the Money Ring,' which includes the most powerful bankers and financiers on Wall Street, which Nelson Rockefeller chairs at a time when David Rockefeller directed the Council on Foreign Relations. The Council believes that money's influence on human relations has the same effect as devastating weapons in international relations.

3- The *Foreign Affairs* journalist is this council's mouthpiece. It has a dangerous influence among intellectuals because

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1- Thomas Midwitz, *Think Tanks in America*, p. 82-83.

2- Amin Huwaidi, p. 67.

they consider it to have a revolutionary tendency. It always focuses on belittling national traditions at the expense of glorifying global trends, or 'super nationalism.' It also confronts the 'isolationist' trends that appear from time to time in the vicinity of American politics. It heralds vague expressions about the imminent end of 'national sovereignty.' It has such a dangerous impact on drawing American foreign policy. Thus, Council generally has powerful tools of influence, which can be summarized as intellectual, financial, and means of publication<sup>(1)</sup>.

The Council on Foreign Relations is interested in the group-making function of the first think tanks of a particular section of the American elite and those enterprises' intellectual underpinnings. Let us recall, for example, the motley group of lawyers, journalists, bankers, and scholars who founded the Council on Foreign Relations in 1921. Instead of describing those founders as the elites who created a vehicle for class power, disguised as financiers or experts, it would be more accurate to say that they are founding a project that enables "creating a new form of experience. For example, the journal of the Council is the best tool for aspiring foreign policy experts to find their language, standards of judgment, and stock of knowledge. In this regard, the Council on Foreign Relations is a tool for mobilizing class power and a field of knowledge in which a new image of experts could emerge. Generally speaking, the Council on Foreign Relations and similar institutions were a space in which the formulation

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1- Ibid, p. 68-69.

of the 'relative values' of the various means of power - money, information, qualifications, social capital, etc. - could be decided after long terms discussion. Alliances were formed among its members by means of increasing rationality in political matters<sup>(1)</sup>.

## **Section Two: The American Think Tanks**

American think tanks play an essential role in American political life and the political decision-making process. American administrations often resort to these institutions for consultations and recommendations on many international issues in addition to American national interests and security strategy. This respectable situation is obtained from cultural elites' efforts to introduce these think tanks as an essential intellectual source for American foreign political decision-making circles. There are many formulas and methods by which these think tanks influence political life. The leading elites in these institutions work to present their ideas and their overall intellectual perceptions regarding all political and strategic issues through the media and hearings organized by the US Congress committees<sup>(2)</sup>.

Think tanks are the product of a long process of institutional growth and redefinition of affiliations. As a result, they have become essential tools for linking political practice with intellectual practice in the US.

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1- Thomas Miedewitz, p. 101-102.

2- Dr. Sabah Abdel-Razzaq Kubba, American Think Tanks and Their Role in the Decision-making Process in foreign Policy, p. 26.

Moreover, their proliferation during the past forty years has formed another institutional space in academic, political, economic, and media fields<sup>(1)</sup>.

Donald Abelson, a political science professor at the University of Western Ontario, is the most widely used definition. He believes that think tanks are non-profit, research-oriented bodies that do not express a particular partisan orientation without denying that their ideological tendencies influence public opinion<sup>(2)</sup>.

According to Richard Haass, an American diplomat and politician, President of the Council on Foreign Affairs since July 2003, former Director of the Policy Planning Department at the United States Department of State, and a close advisor to former Secretary of State Colin Powell, think tanks refer to independent institutions related to politics. They fill a void that distances the academic world on the one hand and the world of practical politics on the other. This is because the motive for university research is often systematic and ambiguous theoretical debates that are only remotely related to real political dilemmas. As for governments, officials who are immersed in the demands of daily concrete policy-making find themselves helpless, because of their many preoccupations, to deviate a little from daily affairs to reconsider the broader path of US policy. Therefore, the first contributions of think tanks were to help bridge the gap between the worlds of ideas

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1- Thomas Miedewitz, p. 23.

2- Donald Abelson, p. 27.

and practice<sup>(1)</sup>.

According to Richard Haass, from the perspective of American policymakers, think tanks provide five main benefits: they generate new thinking trends among American policymakers, provide experts to work in the government and Congress, provide policy-makers with a space to find a common understanding regarding the different political options, educate American citizens about the world, and provide the possibility for a third party to mediate between two conflicting fronts<sup>(2)</sup>.

The primary function of think tanks is to provide public policy research and related analyses. They seem to operate independently of the government or political parties<sup>(3)</sup>. In terms of numbers, North America is home to approximately (34%) of think tanks worldwide, followed by Western Europe and Asia. In comparison, the Middle East and North Africa include approximately (5%) of think tanks worldwide. The considerable number of think tanks in North America, especially in the United States, leads to the separation of powers, the decentralization of its political system, and the weakness of its bureaucracy. This system led to the provision of many outlets for the passage of policy advice. In addition, the United States is

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1- Dr. Andy Mahdi, 'The Role of Think Tanks in the United States, in Journal of International Politics, Al-Ahram Center, Cairo, Issue 199, January 2015, p. 38.

2- Richard Haass, Think Tanks and US Foreign Policy: A Policy Maker's Perspective, an electronic journal published by the US State Department, November 2002, p. 2; On the website: [www.ikhwanweb.Com/uploads/trans/NZXkP6TXEB-MX23F.Pdf](http://www.ikhwanweb.Com/uploads/trans/NZXkP6TXEB-MX23F.Pdf).

3- James G. McGann, Think Tanks and Policy Advice in the united States: Academics, Advisors and advocates, Taylor and Francis elibrary, U.S.A, 2007, p. 7.

characterized by a philanthropic culture that encourages wealthy individuals, such as Bill Gates and George Soros, to support these institutions financially<sup>(1)</sup>.

Worldwide, there are approximately 6305 think tanks, 1984 of which are located in the United States; 374 of these institutions are located in Washington, D.C. In addition, every American state has at least one think tank. They derive strength from their financial independence and the system's decentralization in the United States<sup>(2)</sup>.

Despite the multiplicity of think tanks and the diversity of their orientations and functions, they can be classified into three sections in terms of whether their institutions are affiliated or independent, which are based on the following:

- 1- The Center for Research and Studies, which the American administration and the elite political support.
- 2- Independent research and studies centers.
- 3- Research and studies centers supported by Zionist pressure groups.

Recently, Kent Weaver and James McGann classified the types of think tanks into several groups according to the terms of reference they are responsible for and the research and expertise they provide within American politics. According to Weaver, there are three types of

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1- Dr. James McGann, Partnership Relationships between the Gulf Think Tanks, Emirates Lecture Series (138), Abu Dhabi, 2011, p. 12.

2- Dr. Sabah Abdel-Razzaq Kubba, American Think Tanks, p. 29.

think tanks in the United States<sup>(1)</sup>:

- 1- Think tanks are like universities without students.
- 2- Contractual research organizations.
- 3- Advocacy think tanks.

As for Magan, he classified the think tanks into seven groups, which are the following<sup>(2)</sup>:

- 1- Academic think tanks.
- 2- Specialized think tanks.
- 3- Contractual/consulting think tanks.
- 4- Advocacy think tanks.
- 5- Institutional think tanks to provide political advice.
- 6- Think tanks concerned with educational affairs and publishing issues.
- 7- State think tanks.

The official independence of these think tanks does not always refer to epistemological independence because previously, the influence of think tanks in political matters depended entirely on the financial support of business people and the recognition of politicians. This matter is evident in the history of the Council of Foreign Relations, whose influence has been growing increasingly. As a result of the failure of the US federal government to plan

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1- Edward Said, *Orientalism*, translated by Kamal Oedip, Al-Wahda Al-Arabia Center for Studies, Beirut, 1988, p. 394.

2- Dr. Sabah Abdel-Razzaq Kubba, *American Think Tanks*, p. 36.

foreign policy during World War II, in September 1939, the State Department began a secret partnership with the Council on Foreign Relations to carry out studies on foreign policy and the economy. In this regard, Assistant Secretary of State George S. Messersmith designed the project, known as the Department of War and Peace Studies, with two directors of the Council on Foreign Relations: Hamilton Fish Armstrong and Walter Mallory. The Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation at the time provided them with financial assistance, as Carnegie provided 356 thousand dollars. Over the next five years, the War and Peace Studies Project resulted in hundreds of top-secret political notes related to the expected effects of the war on security, trade, financial, and geopolitical relations. For example, a study on Asia after the war suggested that after Japan's defeat, China could simultaneously become a significant market for American exports and a supplier of raw materials<sup>(1)</sup>.

The War and Peace Studies Project, launched by the Council on Foreign Relations during the administration of Roosevelt immediately before World War II (starting in 1939), constituted the master plan for the new post-war world order, a system in which the United States of America became the dominant power. It came out with an imperialist conception of American national interests. Among the conclusions of those studies is that American imperialism will try hard to organize and manage a global empire and that the complete success of that attempt

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1- Thomas Midwitz, Think Tanks in America, p. 100-101.

will work to make the United States the first power in the world. This will allow the domination of vast parts of the world<sup>(1)</sup>.

At a meeting on October 9, 1940, Leo Posvolski, the State Department's chief postwar planner, announced his agreement with the CFR's initial plan for American world domination. He believed the United States should not be satisfied with the western hemisphere as an area of influence. Instead, he proposed that the United States go to war to gain more areas to exercise its political and economic impact<sup>(2)</sup>.

The series of memorandums of the War and Peace Studies Project prepared by the Council on Foreign Relations during World War II is one of the transparent documentary sources. The participants in that project included a wide range of elites specialized in foreign relations. They had close ties with the government and market owners. These memorandums are concerned with "the needs of the United States in a world in which it intends to have absolute power. Among the most insisting needs is the completion of a program of quick rearmament in 1940". In the early years of the war, there was an assumption that part of the world would be subject to German control. Therefore, the main task was limited to developing an integrated policy to achieve American

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1- Abdel Hai Yahya Zalloum, *The Oil Crusades and the New American Century*, The Arab Institute for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, 2005, p. 118.

2- Abdel Hai Yahya Zalloum, *The Oil Crusades and the New American Century*, p. 120.

superiority in the military and economic fields within the world that was not under German control. This method included preparing specialized plans to ensure the failure of any exercise of sovereignty by foreign nations that would pose a threat to the global security and economic prosperity of the United States<sup>(1)</sup>.

This study accurately drew the nature of the future of the United States and the best ways to achieve emancipation from isolation. The geopolitical vacuum after the return of the United States to the policy of isolation after 1945 would have been dictated by two essential developments, neither of which was present after 1919. On the one hand, the Soviet Union had approached geopolitics from Iran and Greece, and thus Turkey became under direct pressure to reach the oil of the Middle East. As for the East, the presence of China, Vietnam, and the Soviet Union in North Korea was alarming after Japan became a shattered regional power controlled by the Americans. In other words, East and Southeast Asia were seething with internal developments threatening American interests in the Pacific. But, on the other hand, the consequences were constantly looming in the global scene on which the Soviet Union could build and expand its influence<sup>(2)</sup>.

The Second World War had essential effects on creating and applying military knowledge. Between 1940-

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1- Noam Chomsky, *Human Rights and American Foreign Policy*, p. 26.

2- Kazem Hashim Nehme, *Strategies of American Hegemony, 1924-1989*, Academy of Postgraduate Studies and Economic Research, Tripoli - Libya, 2001, p. 91.

1945, federal research and development expenditures increased fifteenfold because the government asked for financial support to help engineers, mathematicians, and scientists find new technical tools and weapons. Several recent think tanks emerged due to that alliance in a link between government, business, and academic fields. Here, we may refer to Environmental Modeling Center: Marine Modeling and Analysis Branch (1942), the Metro Company (1958), and the Hudson Institute (1961). However, the organization that is supposed to be a key symbol in that movement is the Research and Development Corporation (RAND). The RAND Project (initially known in 1943) sought to improve the country's war capabilities in light of the growing struggle against communism. According to its charter, RAND sought to develop "a program of study and research on the subject of war between continents on a large scale..., to develop recommendations on the preferred methods of the Air Force and its tools for that purpose"<sup>(1)</sup>.

Here, we may refer to the shock theory proposed for the first time in 1996 in a book by two American authors who were both academic and military. They worked together at the RAND Corporation, providing consultations to the intelligence apparatus. Harlan Ullman and James Wade coauthored *Shock and Awe*, in which the authors mention that future wars will be waged primarily with media more than any other weapon. Spreading the media message on the broadest scale will confuse the enemy, disperse

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1- Thomas Midwitz, *Think Tanks in America*, p. 91.

its capabilities, and achieve the final victory<sup>(1)</sup>. The Rand Corporation runs the Center for Middle East Public Policy (CMEPP), which focuses on political, social, economic, and technological development in the Middle East, intending to make that society more secure, informed, and prosperous<sup>(2)</sup>.

American think tanks have played a vital role in providing the presidents of the United States, politicians, and decision-makers with political advice and expertise. To obtain the required consultation and guidance, the President often relies on one or several specialists from those institutions to provide their expertise and knowledge to support him in managing state affairs and international relations<sup>(3)</sup>. Think tanks and their proposed studies constitute a crucial intellectual background in successive American policymaking. The outputs of these centers played an essential role in foreign political decision-making, in addition to the role they played in presenting new ideas to senior officials. They also offer a wide range of experts to serve in new administrations and on congressional personnel teams. It is important to note that the transfer of power in the United States leads to replacing hundreds of middle-level or senior employees in the executive branch. In this regard, think tanks help presidents and secretaries fill that void. For example, after his election in 1976, Jim-

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1- Muhammad Sweifi Abdullah, p. 116.

2- Ibid, p. 119.

3- Dr. Sabah Abdul-Razzaq Kubba, *Theoretical Starting Points and Intellectual Dimensions of American Policies and Decision-making*, Al-Ahmadi Press, Baghdad, 2015, p. 159.

my Carter appointed many experts from the Brookings Institution and the Council on Foreign Relations. Four years later, Ronald Reagan<sup>(1)</sup> hired many experts from other institutions, including the Heritage Foundation, the Hoover Institution, and the American Enterprise Institute, to form his expert body and advisors. As for George W. Bush, he followed the same pattern in appointing experts and advisors in his government in both terms of administration. This tradition continued in the administration of former Barack Obama. One of his administration's most prominent representatives of the think tanks was Susan Rice, the National Security Adviser and the former US delegate to the United Nations. She is a specialist at the Brookings Institution. She previously worked at the State Department during the Clinton second administration<sup>(2)</sup>.

Policy experts differ in professional backgrounds, styles, skills, and qualifications. As soon as they are introduced to think tanks, their judgments and practices are inevitably shaped by their rules and restrictions. They face specific pressures to acquire a complex mixture of skills and reactions that reflect the general structure of

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1- Ronald Reagan is the fortieth president of the United States (1981-1989). Reagan was an actor in the first place, and later became president. Earlier, he was a Democrat but later at the age of fifty-one in 1962 became a Republican. His political activity began in 1947, when he was chosen president of the Screen Actors Guild. In October 1980, Carter was defeated in the US presidential elections. In 1983, US forces secured the removal of the left-wing regime from the Caribbean island of Grenada. Reagan was able to survive the Iran-Contra affair that exploded at the end of 1986. He died in California in 2004. See: Samuel Crompton, pp. 150-151; See also Udo Zutter, p. 282, p. 290.

2- Dr. Engy Mahdi, p. 38-39.

their field. In other words, the successful policy expert is the one who promotes the four poles (academic, political, economic, and media) by coping the thought of a researcher with procedural knowledge, the ability to anticipate political issues and their players, the desire of one of the project owners to sell a commodity, the talent to speak in a sharp tone and write accurate paid texts for a media specialist<sup>(1)</sup>.

We may mention some think tanks that played a role in participating in the decision-making of George W. Bush regarding Iraq:

- ❖ American Enterprise Center: it is classified as an intellectual affiliate of the neo-conservatives. The Center had an essential role in planning the policy of President George W. Bush toward Iraq. More than 20 senior members of the Center served in various positions in the Bush administration and government committees. The American Enterprise group specialized in Iraq (Iraq Planning Group) issued a report titled *Choosing Victory: A Plan for Success in Iraq*, which included a proposal to send more American forces to Iraq in 2007. On January 10, 2007, President George W. Bush introduced his new strategy towards Iraq, naming it 'A Grand Strategy of Transformation,' later called 'Surge Policy.' It called for doubling the American forces in Iraq.

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1- Thomas Miedewitz, p. 57.

❖ The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) has specialized in international affairs since its founding in 1964. The center publishes a scientific periodical dealing with foreign affairs and international studies. Moreover, the Center has contributed to supporting and financing a research committee called 'Iraq Study Group,' which was assigned by the US administration during the presidency of George W. Bush to provide advice on the presence of US forces in Iraq. A special committee was also formed, named 'Independent Commission,' directed by the former US Secretary of State James Baker and Lee Hamilton, the head of the Wilson Research Center. The committee issued an extensive report on Iraq known as the 'Baker-Hamilton Report,' which proposed an orderly withdrawal of American forces from Iraq, contrary to what the American Enterprise Center and its experts had suggested. The committee's report also proposed creating positive relations with neighboring countries, mainly Iran and Syria<sup>(1)</sup>.

The most prominent recommendations of that report were adopted even without being announced<sup>(2)</sup>.

It is worth noting that among the trustees of the Council of the Center (the Center for Strategic and International Studies) are Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Scowcroft, who all held high positions in previous US administrations. They were an essential part of the decision-making process. They are considered

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1- Dr. Sabah Abdel-Razzaq Kubba, American Think Tanks, p. 81-82.

2- Dr. Ahmed Al-Nuaimi, The Decision-making Process in Foreign Policy, p. 554.

power experts in the broad sense.

### **Section Three: Military Industrial Complex**

The Military Industrial Complex is an idea pioneered by former US President Dwight Eisenhower<sup>(1)</sup> and then became widespread in the United States during the Vietnam War. In his farewell speech in 1961, Eisenhower warned against combining “a major military institution and a huge arms industry”<sup>(2)</sup>. This idea was initially attributed to the American sociologist Wright Mills, who proposed that the strong alliance between military and industrialists controlled the United States since the end of the Second World War<sup>(3) (4)</sup>. In this regard, the military-industrial complex in the United States is defined as the monopolistic state alliance of weapons producers,

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1- Dwight Eisenhower is the thirty-fourth Republican President of the United States (1953-1961). He had a major military role. He is also considered one of the five most important generals in the American army. During World War II, he became the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in Europe, and in 1951 he became the first Supreme Commander of NATO forces. Finally, he became President of the United States in 1953, and continued in his position until 1961. See: Tom Wicker, *Dwight D. Eisenhower: The American Presidents series: The 34th President, 1953-1961*, Times Books, 2014. See also, Udo Zutter, p. 235-243.

2- Paul Robinson, p. 177-178.

3- Dr. Ismail Sabry Makled, *The Arab Research Foundation*, 2nd edition, Beirut, 1985, p. 380.

4- Some researchers believe that Eisenhower was not the one who discovered the military-industrial complex. American sociologists saw the danger before him, including Wright Mills, as he proposes in his book *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press - New York, 1956. His theory aroused such a controversy. He showed the course of the movement of that “the mighty industrial and military machine” whose gears overlap and allowed to measure its influence and impact on the political life of the United States. See: Claude Julien, p. 479.

senior politicians, and military personnel who impose on American society and the world at large a policy of weapons building and escalating international tensions to ensure maximum profits and achieve goals that serve their interests<sup>(1)</sup>.

The military-industrial complex is considered one of the actors influencing American politics. The complex is first evident in the advanced position occupied by the United States in military expenditure that exceeds the countries of the world combined and in the enormous budgets allocated to the military sector. As for the structure of the complex, it consists of an alliance of defense companies and the Pentagon, the armed forces committees in the Senate and the House of Representatives, and think tanks associated with the Pentagon<sup>(2)</sup>. The internal ties of the military-industrial complex are used to encourage the inflating of the military budget to stand up to the communist threat that the CIA reports and the sensational newspapers remind the President of every day. In this regard, the more the budget increases, the more profits these companies will obtain in the name of serving the national interest. Members of Congress see this as a benefit, especially when factories working for defense purposes are set up in their constituencies. Accordingly, the government knows how to use that card to get the

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1- Basil Mahmoud Salloum, *The Military-industrial Complex and the American Media and Its Role in Drawing the Foreign Policy of the United States (1990-2002)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, College of Political Science, Al-Mustansiriya University, 2004, p. 60.

2- Dr. Nasr Muhammad Ali, p. 91.

senators to support its projects. Former US President Johnson asked a senator criticizing his Vietnam policy if he had consulted qualified people; the senator replied: "Yes, I spoke with Walter Liebman." President Johnson coldly replied, sneering: "So, next time, when you need to build a dam for irrigation and electricity generation in your state, go to Walter Liebman."<sup>(1)</sup> The structure of the military-industrial complex is based on a partnership that includes<sup>(2)</sup>:

- 1- Owners of military industries.
- 2- Officials who have authority or interests in military production.
- 3- Representatives of states that benefit from war expenditure.

Such an agreement has been established between government and business circles on the one hand and military leaders on the other. Military occupied a critical position, not only because of its war function in a country wrested from its isolation, but also because of the economic links established between the Pentagon and private industries due to the production of weapons<sup>(3)</sup>.

The complex constitutes the most vital economic institution in the United States. It also has a prominent role in the political establishment and American foreign

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1- Claude Julien, *The American Empire*, translated by Naji Abu Khalil - Dr. Fouad Shaheen, Al-Haqiqa Publishing House, Beirut, 1970, p. 483-484.

2- Dr. Nasr Muhammad Ali, p. 92.

3- Claude Julien, p. 478.

policy. When Charles Wilson, CEO of General Motors, the largest company for the manufacture of cars and the production of spare parts for weapons and warplanes in the fifties, was nominated to become the Secretary of Defense during the administration of Eisenhower (1953-1961), he announced that what is in the interest of General Motors is in the interest of the United States, expressing the influence he and his company possess<sup>(1)</sup>. He also showed the strong ties that link industrial companies with the government's interests. When Lyndon Johnson was Vice President during the Kennedy administration, he said: "I believe that no political party can be a friend of the American people if it is not a friend of businessmen. I also think that no political party can be a friend of businessmen if it is not a loyal and steadfast friend of the people. Business people and politicians in our free society are not natural opponents. For the success of every individual and the success of our government from the inside as well as from the outside, we must work together hand in hand as understanding allies<sup>(2)</sup>."

With the expansion of the military-industrial complex, the number of those interested in preserving it increases. This scenario makes it difficult to reverse the direction of evolution. Moreover, Military officers fear losing equipment and promotions; academics fear losing research grants; defense industries fear losing profits, and workers fear losing their jobs. Finally, politicians fear they

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1- Basil Mahmoud Salloum, p. 60.

2- Claude Julien, p. 477.

will not be re-elected if they lose those jobs. The result is the distortion of the priorities of the state budget, which results in negative economic consequences<sup>(1)</sup>. In addition to the above, the strength of that complex lies in three crucial factors<sup>(2)</sup>:

1- Almost a third of the US Department of Defense employees, including engineers and scientists, are workers and supporters of the complex.

2- Most American arms companies control the arms trade, a unique characteristic of the United States. Moreover, it obtains power and influence over the countries to which it exports arms.

3- The close relationship between the directors of companies and the American administration operating at the top of the American ruling pyramid.

Lockheed Martin Corp is the largest arms producer in the world. Approximately 80% of its contracts are signed with the Pentagon. In 2000, the company obtained \$15 billion worth of contracts with the Pentagon and \$2 billion for making nuclear weapons designs with the Department of Energy. The F16 is the company's most profitable item, as the company has sold more than 3000 F16S since the mid-seventies<sup>(3)</sup>.

The arms industry constitutes a new reality in the American experience as a contributor to economic, politi-

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1- Paul Robinson, p. 178.

2- Basil Mahmoud Salloum, p. 62.

3- Dr. Nasr Muhammad Ali, p. 95.

cal, and spiritual influence. Despite Eisenhower's emphasis on the urgent need for the development of the military-industrial complex, in a warning, he announced that "this military-industrial complex must never be allowed to jeopardize our freedoms or our democratic ways. Indeed, this is not guaranteed at all. Only alert, well-informed citizens can untie this real tangle in the gears of the huge, industrial, military, and defense mechanism, with sound means and goals, in a way in which security and freedom can flourish together<sup>(1)</sup>". As for Eisenhower, he had addressed another warning on January 17, 1961, in his speech to the American people he called the 'Farewell Speech.' It was the last speech he delivered as President. He warned against the military-industrial complex and the danger of its alliance with the army on American democracy. He plainly said:

"I have to say that there is now a military, industrial, financial, political, and intellectual group that exercises unprecedented influence in the American experience. Although we understand the circumstances that led to the emergence of this group, we must warn against its reaching positions of moral, political, and practical influence on the American decision because it is dangerous to the American society before it is a threat to others"<sup>(2)</sup>.

The situation that Eisenhower warned about is

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1- Claude Julien, p. 479.

2- Thaer Douri: 'The Military-industrial Complex's Control Over American Power', Damascus Center for Theoretical Studies and Civil Rights, on 14/2/2008: [www.mokarabat.com](http://www.mokarabat.com).

currently in place. According to a report by the Public Integrity Center in Washington, nine out of thirty members of the Defense Policy Council in the George W. Bush administration had close ties with companies that obtained large military contracts that amounted to 76 billion dollars between 2001 and 2002. For example, George Shultz, Secretary of State, who was appointed as a member of what was known as the Committee for the Liberation of Iraq, was one of those members. At the time, he was also the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Bechtel, which obtained contracts worth several billion dollars in Iraq, part of which was signed before the invasion<sup>(1)</sup>.

#### **Section Four: Political Parties**

Most of the founding American leaders feared to the point of panic about what might happen when citizens organized themselves into independent political parties. They believed that these cliques would constitute the first step on the path to the second American revolution. John Adams, the second American president after George Washington, clarified that nothing terrified him more than the division of the new republic between two big parties, each with its leader. In his farewell address, George Washington warned of “the fatal effects of partisanship.” Thomas Jefferson, the third American president, said, “If I cannot enter heaven unless accompanied by a party, then

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1- Abdel Hay Zalloum, p. 365.

I do not think of going there”<sup>(1)</sup>. The partisan division that arose at the beginning of the first formation of the state was also nascent. For the previous situations, the nature of the formation of the United States from multiple states led to the birth of two main wings, the first of which called for strengthening the central authority and the federal constitution. The other called for achieving more powers for the states, and protecting their local rights as a stand-alone state in the face of the central federal authority, finally giving birth to the current party system<sup>(2)</sup>. The creators of the American Constitution adapted its acts in a way that suited the existing conditions of the time. They established a solid executive authority to unite the dispersed states around the center. They also founded the Senate to enable each state to be represented by an equal number of senators to achieve a balance between them. They also applied the principle of ‘separation of powers.’ The Constitution was built upon this principle towards achieving democracy and preventing tyranny by distributing the state’s powers among different bodies without concentrating them in one hand while creating a kind of cooperation and balance between them. Moreover, the party system came to defend the central government’s rights, confronting the different states and guaranteeing the latter’s rights in the face of the former<sup>(3)</sup>.

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1- Muhammad Jalal Inaya, *Political Thought in America*, 2004, p. 83.

2- Hazem Sadiq, p. 278; See also chapter ten of Alexis de Tocqueville’s book, p. 157-162.

3- Hazem Sadiq, p. 278.

Republicans and Democrats dominate the United States political arena. They are heirs to previous parties from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With rare exceptions, these two main parties control the presidency, Congress, state governors, and state legislatures. For example, since 1852, all American presidents have been either Republicans or Democrats. Although, on average, since the first World War, these two parties have been winning approximately 95 percent of the votes for the position of the president, rarely do any of the fifty states elect a governor who does not belong to them. There are few members of Congress or legislative assemblies in the states who are independent or affiliated with a third party. The American Democratic Party, the party of former President Jefferson, is considered the party of the American Revolution.

In contrast, the Republican Party, the party of former US President Lincoln, is regarded as the party of the victorious North in the civil war<sup>(1)</sup>. From the beginning, the partisan system in the United States has played a crucial role in laying the foundations for the presidential system. It is evident in the features that characterize American parties, namely<sup>(2)</sup>:

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1- Dr. Khairy Abdel-Razzaq Jassim, 'Political Parties: The United States as a Model', in *Journal of the College of Political Science, Al-Nahrain University, Issues Nineteen and Twenty, 2010*, pg. 91.

2- Hazem Sadiq, p. 273-274, compare with: Maurice DeVergieh, *Political Parties*, 3rd Edition, An-Nahar Publishing House, Beirut, 1980, p. 217, 219, 226, 228, and also Maurice DeVergieh, *Political Institutions and Constitutional Law: Major Political Systems*, translated by Dr. George Saad, University Foundation for Studies, Publishing and Distribution, Beirut, 2014, p. 285-291.

1- The absence of different ideological foundations means the lack of unique principles and foundations for each party separately. In other words, neither the Democrats nor the Republicans are linked to a specific goal: they are united by one foundation and one specific purpose, promoting nationalism, the elements of which are democratic principles and goals. However, this does not mean these parties have no specific plan. After all, each strives to maintain power, despite using different means.

2- Similar social rules: This is because American parties mostly have similar limitations. Voters have long been affiliated with their parties as much as they belong to a religion. Therefore, these followers can't change their political stance. Moreover, each party has supporters from different classes.

3- The American parties are decentralized: they are non-nationalist parties; are distributed among all states. Eisenhower declared that there were no national parties in the United States: 48 parties at the national level were organized in electoral offices.

It is worth noting that the two-party system in the United States differs from the two-party system in Britain. The American parties are distinguished from others by the following:

- 1- Absence of ideological belief.
- 2- Weak organization (they are cadre parties, not mass parties).

Another feature of the American parties is the official role of the parties in the appointment. The American parties play an official position in selecting the candidates for the general elections, a process called 'appointment.' Moreover, the candidates for the polls and most states are not free to introduce new candidates. Therefore, only parties have the official right to nominate candidates for the general elections<sup>(1)</sup>.

The political parties in the United States are framework parties, meaning they are not based on individual affiliation. They are characterized by decentralization at both the local and national levels. Thus, the party's leadership does not have any actual powers concerning the branches of the party, which are spread out in the rest of the states. Those branches carry out the task of choosing candidates and electoral campaign management, in addition to drawing the party's policy. They also determine their position towards internal issues. Accordingly, some thinkers believe that in this Section, we are discussing the tendencies of over one hundred parties because every American state has a branch for each of the two parties constituting a separate party<sup>(2)</sup>.

The party is considered a primary political structure in the American political system. It derives its status and legitimacy through its functional performance and the fabric of relations it establishes between society

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1- Dr. Yassin Al-Ithawi, *American Politics between the Constitution and Political Forces*, Osama Publishing House, Amman, 2009, p. 62-63.

2- Dr. Dawood Murad Hussein, p. 86.

and the political system. Accordingly, the position of American parties is determined in accordance with the political decision-making process. In this regard, several researchers tend to analyze the party's role in that process, based on the influence function, which occurs at the Congress and the executive branch<sup>(1)</sup>. Furthermore, in the American system, they constitute a primary channel to receive the demands of individuals and groups, including trade unions, professional associations, and local organizations. In this regard, the electoral program is the principal means by which the parties absorb those demands or protests and suggestions and present them in political goals, practical and detailed proposals, and means of action. The political decision process of the American parties can be monitored at the following levels:

- ❖ Transfer of claims (individuals and groups).
- ❖ Lobbying for confident choices is done at the level of Congress, the media, and public opinion.
- ❖ Employing the leadership and organizational resources of the party to define the parameters of political decisions in accordance with the party's strategic direction. This is achieved at departments, higher executive institutions, and Congress<sup>(2)</sup>.

**The functions of American political parties continue to focus on the following:**

- 1- Voter mobilization: party workers urge voters to go

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1- Moncef Al-Sulaimi, p. 234.

2- Ibid, p. 235.

to the polls on election day, and they use all means to facilitate voter participation.

2- Appointing individuals to public positions: parties look for individuals who enjoy what qualifies them to occupy public positions.

3- Providing financial resources for electoral campaigns: the parties help collect donations so that their candidates can obtain the financial resources required to finance the increased expenses of the electoral campaigns.

4- Educating the masses and simplifying the electoral process: the parties work to educate the masses about contemporary public issues through speeches, debates, television coverage of the elections, and the like. In addition, political parties also influence public opinion by identifying society's problems and proposing political solutions.

5- Aggregation of interests: it helps the parties coordinate the electorate's common claims and demands. Its comprehensive function encourages peaceful change and loyalty to the political system.

6- Organizing the decision-making process: it works to organize partisan affiliation to Congress and state legislatures. As a result, party leaders influence the selection of members of legislative assemblies to work in sub-committees.

7- The oversight role of the parties: when the party is out of power, the party works to criticize the policies and decisions the ruling party takes. The minority party

always seeks to influence the thinking of the majority party. Moreover, it works hard to achieve electoral victory soon<sup>(1)</sup>.

The influence of political parties in the United States is not the same for all American presidents, even though the president is the leader of his party in Congress. The greater the credit for the president's victory in the presidential elections due to the personality of the candidate and his influence on public opinion, the less the impact of the party on his decisions. A strong president has the power of persuasion. His leadership personality depends not only on the force of laws but also on the support of public opinion and its endorsement of his policy. Therefore, American presidents consider themselves not only representatives of their party but also representatives of the entire nation<sup>(2)</sup>. According to Al Gore, Aristotle once said that respect for the rule of law is an indivisible whole, according to which our country will remain inseparable. But if its lust so deceives either of the two major political parties for power that it abandons that unifying principle, the very fabric of democracy will be torn apart<sup>(3)</sup>.

In this regard, political parties often attract voters based on their factional affiliations: working class, especially union members, African Americans, Jews, and Catholics. The Republican coalition was challenging to define, but what is certain is that non-poor whites and citizens of small towns and rural areas made essential

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1- Yassin Muhammad Al-Ithawi, Congress and the American Political System, Osama House for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 2008, p. 97.

2- Dr. Dawood Murad Hussein, The Powers of the American President, p. 86.

3- Al Gore, An Attack on Reason, p. 113.

contributions to it. This image has remained for more than thirty years. However, evident changes were observed in the last decades of the twentieth century and continued into the twenty-first century. The support of some groups for the Democrats has undoubtedly declined. The most prominent example in this regard is the original white southern groups who sympathized with the Democratic Party in large numbers until the sixties of the twentieth century, despite their potential opposition to the liberal policies of the Democratic Party, especially on the issue of civil rights. The Republicans did not compete for important positions in the south even after the election of 1964. In this context, white southerners had to resort to the Democrats.

Nevertheless, by the eighties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the loyalty of those whites had changed radically: Today, the original white southerners tend to sympathize with the Republicans more than the Democrats. Catholics were an essential part of the New Economic Plan coalition. Their loyalty to the Democrats was strengthened by John Kennedy's candidacy and election to be the first Catholic elected to the White House. Catholics are slightly more likely to define themselves as Democrats than Republicans. President George W. Bush got more Catholic votes than Senator John Kerry<sup>(1)</sup>. The Republican Ronald Reagan had previously achieved a significant victory in the 1984 elections when he won the votes of the

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1- L. Sandy Maisel, *American Political Parties and Elections: A Very Short Introduction*, translated by Khaled Gharib Ali, Reviewed by: Muhammad Fathi Khader, Hindawi Foundation for Education and Culture, Cairo, 2014, p. 96-97.

Catholics, who traditionally rallied around the Democrats. We must note that the achievement of the Republican candidate for the position of president does not show the success of the party alone but also the candidates' personality, the political performance of high-ranking officials in the US administration, and the credibility of the political programs advocated by the competitors. These factors play a significant role in this regard. They may also outweigh the importance of the party's prestige and acceptance<sup>(1)</sup>.

And the former Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, confirms that the political parties in the United States contribute effectively to the preparation of the foreign policy. After all, foreign political decision-making is not limited to government structures only<sup>(2)</sup>.

However, former National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, a Republican, believes that partisanship is a narrow tactical issue that should not take a strategic direction and should not interfere with the work of the government<sup>(3)</sup>.

### **Section Five: Jewish Lobby**

Every society, especially in democratic countries, includes an organization that is affected by the relations of foreign countries. It is natural for such organizations or

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1- Emil Hubner, p. 109.

2- James Rosenau, N. The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy, The Free Press, New York, 1971, P. 45.

3- Zbigniew Brzezinski, Brent Scowcroft, p. 273.

groups, known as 'interest groups' or 'pressure groups,' to have goals of an international character<sup>(1)</sup>. Pressure groups in the United States try to strengthen their relationship with executive and legislative authority members. It is widely acknowledged that executive authority can influence decision-makers. In this regard, pressure groups seek to feed the legislative authority with much information. This is a strategy to influence the direction of such legislation for its benefit. Moreover, the legislative institution can allow some pressure groups to express their opinions before the congressional committees<sup>(2)</sup>. We must note that pressure groups or interest groups are considered official political groups that differ from the political party in that they only seek to influence the work of the government, not to be an official part of it<sup>(3)</sup>.

Pressure groups are generally divided into two distinct classes that differ in terms of function, still meeting in terms of their goals. However, they often work in a coordinated and integrated manner. The organizations and associations that belong to the first category work tirelessly to convince the political decision-makers of the correctness of their views and push them towards adopting their point of view. As for the organizations in the second category, they work to buy the loyalty of Congress members and other government officials. The

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1- Dr. Ahmed Nouri Al-Nuaimi, *The Decision-making Process*, p. 452.

2- *Ibid*, p. 459.

3- Stephen de Tansey, *Essentials of Politics*, translated by Rasha Jamal, edition 2, The Arab Network for Research and Publishing, Beirut, 2013.

first category organizations are called ‘special pressure groups’ or ‘the lobby,’ whereas the organizations of the second category are called ‘Political Action Committees’ (PACS).

Regarding the nature of their work, pressure groups are featured with their unique structure, work style, and fields. Their job requires a tight organization and the employment of highly qualified specialists to collect data, write reports, establish relationships with political decision-makers, and use various pressure methods to get them to make specific decisions. The second category, PACS, requires building agencies capable of collecting funds, negotiating with candidates, and directing funds to support electoral campaigns for those committed to adopting their program and defending their interests. Since the requirements for achieving specific goals, they often need to buy the loyalty of some government officials. In the first place, these groups compose affiliated political action committees and simultaneously carry out pressure political activity and financial and electoral activity<sup>(1)</sup>.

According to Abdel-Wahhab Al-Messiri, the term ‘lobby’ refers to pressure groups that officially register themselves as such in the specific and narrow sense of the word. In this regard, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)<sup>(2)</sup> is one of the most critical pressure groups. Its mission is to pressure US lawmakers to support the Zionist state. As for the lobby in the general

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abdul Aziz Rabie, p. 93-94.

2- This will be discussed further.

sense, it refers to a group of organizations, bodies, interest groups, and political tendencies that may not be officially registered as such. It is considered a general organizational framework within which several Jewish and Zionist associations, organizations, and bodies work and coordinate among themselves, the most important of which is the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and World Jewish Congress. All these organizations have representatives in Washington to influence the US policy-making process towards the Middle East. They also seek to pressure Congress by sending letters to its members and other forms of pressure<sup>(1)</sup>. The term 'lobby' is an abbreviation for the free coalition of individuals and organizations working hard to shape American foreign policy in a pro-Israeli direction. Our use of the term (as Mearsheimer and Walt see in their article) is not intended to suggest that the 'lobby' is a united movement with a central leadership or that its members agree on specific issues. The lobby's core consists of American Jews who go to great lengths daily to adapt American foreign policy to advance Israeli interests. In this regard, their activities go beyond mere endorsing pro-Israel candidates: they take further steps by writing speeches, contributing financially, and supporting pro-Israel organizations. However, not every American Jew is part of the lobby because Israel is not an essential issue for many of them<sup>(2)</sup>. Moreover, the United

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1- Dr. Abd al-Wahhab al-Masiri, *The Secret of Zionist Influence*, p. 1.

2- John. J Mearsheimer and Stephen. M. Walt, *The Israeli Lobby and American Foreign Policy*, translated by Wejdan Rasmi Bassiouni, Al-Ferjani Publishing



States has a divided government that provides many ways to influence politics. As a result, interest groups can shape policies in many different ways, including putting pressure on elected representatives and executive branch members, contributing to the success of campaigns, voting in elections, and forming public opinion<sup>(1)</sup>.

Accordingly, the lobby's work is subject to a legal framework, that of the 1946 law. There are approximately 10-20 thousand lobby groups. They consist of lawyers, foreign representatives, experts in legislation, representatives of professional societies, and specialists in public relations. The lobby's forms of work have taken more precise and developed formulas in recent years due to the progress made in the technological and administrative fields. A report by Fortune indicates that some stakeholders who have had enough of the practices of lobby groups over the past decades are looking for more sophisticated approaches to reach decision-makers and influence their decisions. This is evident in the role of senior experts, scientists, and users of high technology and modern communication industries. They present themselves in a technical or informational way to the decision-maker. This is particularly apparent in the White House, officials' offices, and federal executive agencies<sup>(2)</sup>. Accordingly, the constitutional protection for the work of those groups (pressure groups and lobbies) had a significant role in their spread to the extent that

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House, Tripoli - Cairo - London, 2006, p. 28.

1 Ibid, p. 30.

2 Moncef Al-Sulaimi, The American Political Decision, p. 242.

specific legislation was passed to organize their activities. The Lobby Discourse Act, issued in 1995,<sup>(1)</sup> is the best example. It became effective in January 1996, applying to individuals and employees who practice pressure on Congress and executive branch employees<sup>(2)</sup>. The lobby has a strong influence over the executive branch, and that power derives in part from the impact of Jewish voters on the presidential elections. Despite their small number relative to the population (less than 3%), they carry out massive campaigns supporting their candidates on both sides. The Washington Post once estimated that the Democratic presidential candidates “rely on Jewish support with nearly 60 percent of their fund.”

What’s more, Jewish voters enjoy high voter turnout rates. They primarily reside in critical states, such as California, Florida, Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania. Moreover, because of their significant influence over the direction of politics, the candidates for the presidential elections do their best not to antagonize Jewish voters<sup>(3)</sup>.

Before the emergence of Israel as a state, political

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1- This law (The Lobby Disclosure Act) included the following:

- The one who plays the role of lobbying is the person who spends (20%) of his time for lobbying activity.
- Lobby activities include preparing research and preparations to influence politics. It also includes direct contact with decision-makers and their cadres.
- The lobbyist must record his name, his client, the case he is defending, and an approximate amount of wages he receives for his services.
- The lobbyist submits a report semiannually, and whoever violates that law pays a fine not exceeding 5000 dollars. Ibid, p. 196.

2- Dr. Nasr Muhammad Ali, p. 195.

3- John. J Meirsheimer and Stephen. M. Walt, The Israeli Lobby, p. 33.

clubby were formed in the European capitals, then in Washington. Zionism was a dream in the imagination of a group of theorists or ideology theorists of the nineteenth century in Europe. They agreed on only one thing: for the Jews to live a (regular) life in an anti-Semitic world, they must establish a Jewish state<sup>(1)</sup>. Almost a century ago, international millionaire Henry Ford mentioned in his book *The International Jew* (1921)<sup>(2)</sup> that there are two significant organizations concerning their hidden goals with extraordinary powers: New York Kehilla and the American Jewish Committee. As for Kehilla, it is considered the most vital factor in New York's political life. Today, it significantly influences the rest of the world because it consciously issues a pro-Jews program on the one hand and is hostile to Gentiles on the other hand. Some see it as an influential organization whose decisions are considered laws, and its actions are an official expression of the aims of the Jews.

Moreover, it establishes a realistic and complete indication of the existence of a government within a government in the heart of the greatest and most politically

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1- Edward Tivenen, *The Lobby: Jewish political power and American foreign policy*, 4th edition, translation and supervision by Dr. Mahmoud Zayed, Al-Mat-boat Publications, Beirut, 1993, p. 11.

2- Henry Ford, author of *The International Jew*, believes that the use of the phrase 'the international jew' as the title of this book, has two connotations: the first is the jew who is everywhere, and the second is the Jew who exercises global control. However, what the world remembers is the second meaning, whether through the Jews themselves or through their followers. See: Henry Ford, *The International Jew*, translated by Khairy Hammad, Commercial Office Publications, Beirut, Bla, p. 216).

influential cities in America. It also constitutes the apparatus that operates through propaganda for and against Gentiles. In other words, the Jews in New York comprise the central part of the Jewish government of the United States. It is worth noting that the word 'Kehilla' bears the same meaning as 'Kahal,' meaning 'society' or 'association' or government. It represents the Jewish form of government in 'Deborah,' that is, in exile. In this regard, during the Babylonian captivity and in Eastern Europe today, Kahal represents the strength and protection to which devoted Jews aspire as a means of establishing justice. It also describes the Jewish diaspora to New York from all over the globe. It is what Rome was to the Catholics and Mecca to the Muslims<sup>(1)</sup>.

The strength of the Israeli lobby is manifested in two ways: the first is the strength and enormity of its resources inside and outside the United States, on which it has historically achieved the most important centers of influence in the course of the political process:

- Huge financial resources and influence in the economic and business market (Wall Street) and giant companies in military and technological industries.
- Great media resources in the media industry and audiovisual and film production.
- Influencing political channels and bodies, such as parties, professional associations, and research and consulting centers.

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1- Ibid, 108-109.

Second: The performance of the Israeli lobby, by its non-traditional resources, becomes unbalanced and unsimilar to the pattern of influence exercised by the traditional pressure groups within the American system. One of the results of this feature is that its work extends to the highest level of the state hierarchy (the White House) and the various decision-making institutions. Concerning the American political decision regarding the Middle East<sup>(1)</sup>, American policymakers know perfectly well that the more they invest in their support for Israel, the more they will be rewarded at the polls. This point deserves emphasis because Washington's official support for Israel cannot be explained simply by the strength of the Zionist lobby alone. A more complex explanation must consider the broad support Israel extracts from the American public. This particular point represents the achievement of the pro-Israel lobby on behalf of the Jewish state. This achievement should not be underestimated, considering that anti-Semitism still exists in the United States<sup>(2)</sup>. Therefore, it is remarkable that American politicians in the executive and legislative branches are reluctant to provoke Likud supporters in Washington because they are afraid they will refrain from supporting them in the re-election campaigns. As a result, American politicians perceive it unhelpful for Zionist lobbies to oppose or challenge them. After all, perceptions play a decisive role in politics because it becomes indistinguishable

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1- Moncef Al-Sulaimi, p. 243-244.

2- Dr. Fawaz Gerges, American Policy towards the Arabs, p. 103.

from practical reality<sup>(1)</sup>. In this regard, Brzezinski believes their ability to collect election campaign funds explains the growing role of the Israeli American lobby groups. The high costs of television campaigns during elections turned targeted funding support into a crucial tool for gaining influence<sup>(2)</sup>.

It is worth noting that the electoral system in the United States depends entirely on private funds in electoral campaigns. One of the greatest strengths of AIPAC is its ability to direct political donations toward candidates with a good voting record on issues supported by the lobby. One example of AIPAC's tight grip on Congress dates back to 2002 when George W. Bush began pressuring Ariel Sharon to withdraw from the occupied territories. The lobby rose to make decisions in the interest of Israel. The House of Representatives voted against the withdrawal by 252 votes against 21 votes; the Senate voted by 94 votes against two votes<sup>(3)</sup>.

As for the most prominent Jewish lobby in the United States of America, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is the most successful of all other Jewish lobbies. The Committee emerged from the American Zionist Council and was founded by IL. Cy Kenen in 1954. The role of the Committee, according to

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1- Ibid, p. 109.

2- Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Second Chance*, p. 203.

3- Susan George, *Hijacking America: How the Secular and Religious Right Changed What Americans Think*, translated by Dr. Fatima Nasr, Sotoor Publications, Cairo, 2009, p. 96.

Kenen, was manifested in “telling the President of the necessity of dominating the Department of State”<sup>(1)</sup>. In this regard, in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Committee is counted as the country’s second most potent pressure group in terms of its effectiveness, only second to the American Federation of Retired Persons (AARP), which includes 33 million members. Thus, the Committee surpassed the organized labor unions in strength and influence. Accordingly, members of Congress are fully aware of the political and financial power of the Committee<sup>(2)</sup>. Therefore, they give great attention to its activities. Regarding AIPAC’s vast influence and the importance of its role in guiding America’s foreign policy, New York Times described it as “the most effective political pressure force and organization in Washington.” Additionally, the Washington Post described it as “the first political force of American Jews”<sup>(3)</sup>.

Silverman, an American researcher, confirms in a study prepared by the University of Virginia that the Jewish Committee (AIPAC) can influence congressional committees. It has succeeded in making Americans view their policy towards the Middle East as having internal dimensions. Moreover, its delegates are keen to attend Congress sessions when the discussions revolve around Israel and the Middle East. Accordingly, thanks to AIPAC and other Jewish organizations, Israel obtained additional

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1- Janice J. Terry, p. 127.

2- Ibid, p. 129.

3- Dr. Muhammad Abdul Aziz Rabie, p. 97.

aid estimated at more than one billion US dollars<sup>(1)</sup>.

AIPAC's strategic research represented a significant leap in the lobby's media efforts. The research did not include only lobbyists but a small team of US policymakers in the White House and the State and Defense Departments. In 1982, AIPAC began publishing a series of research papers on the strategic value of Israel in the Middle East that benefits the United States, some of which are the following:

1- Its strategic location in the middle of the road between Europe and the Arabian Gulf allows the United States to reach three scenes of operations: the Gulf, the Mediterranean Sea, and the southern and central fronts of NATO.

2- Political stability must be maintained through Israel's presence in the region to guarantee democracy.

3- Political confidence is another feature. As for the Arab allies, as Rosen says, they may lose their thrones tomorrow. As for Israel's strategic interests and the values of its people, it is a permanent ally of the free world.

4- Israel is the politically and technologically advanced country in the region<sup>(2)</sup>.

Thus, US think tanks are dominated by pro-Israel forces who are essential in shaping public debates and policies. The lobby formed its think tanks in 1985 when

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1- Dr. Samir Al-Tanir, *America from Within: Wars for Oil*, Al-Matbooat for Distribution and Publishing, Beirut, 2010, p. 37.

2- Edward Tiffin, p. 211.

Martin Indyk helped founding the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP). Although the institute downplays its ties to Israel, claiming instead that it offers a “balanced and realistic” view of Middle Eastern issues, it has an influential role. The institute is funded and run by individuals deeply dedicated to advancing the Israeli agenda. The lobby’s influence over think tanks extends far beyond this institute<sup>(1)</sup>.

In addition to political influence, the AIPAC has an organized army ready to change the direction of the candidate’s electoral campaign by organizing conferences, distributing leaflets, visiting homes, sending faxes, and making phone calls. This army moves with direct instructions from the leaders of AIPAC<sup>(2)</sup>.

AIPAC issues a weekly bulletin titled *The Near East Report*, of which 60 thousand copies are printed and distributed to Congress members and the Committee. It deals with Middle Eastern affairs and the activity of the Senate and legislative representatives regarding those affairs. These publications show Israel as the only democracy in the Middle East and the country that shares the values of Americans. But on the other hand, it presents the Arabs and Palestinians with an undesirably negative image<sup>(3)</sup>.

As a result of this influence, and in the face of this

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1- John. J Meirsheimer and Stephen. M. Walt, *The Israeli Lobby*, p. 36.

2- Atef Al-Ghamry, *The Wandering American in the Middle East*, p. 49.

3- Dr. Saleh Zahreddine, *American Jews and the Zionist Lobby*, Lebanese Cultural Center, Beirut, 2004, p. 143-144.

Zionist control on American foreign policy in the Middle East, some senior Americans, starting with James Forrestal, the Secretary of War in 1948, and William Hughes, the American philosopher in the fifties, began to call for America's independence and liberation from that influence. It implied acknowledging that the United States had become a colony of Zionism. George Kennan, the distinguished diplomat, and American historian announced in an interview with C.B.S. in 1975 that the government of the United States should declare its independence from the Zionist lobby<sup>(1)</sup>. It is best to note that the strength of the influence of the Israeli lobby within the United States, and its impact on its foreign policy towards the Middle East, is due to several reasons that can be summarized as follows:

1- The American Jewish community possesses administrative and financial authority: the American Jews contribute to the American economy at a rate of 10-12 percent, equivalent to six times the number of American Jews compared to the total population of the United States, which is estimated at the highest rate of 2 percent.

2- American Jews understood well the nature of American society and the American political system, the capabilities of American politicians, and how to deal with them.

3- The ability of American Jews to effectively use the two previous elements in putting pressure on American

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1- Dr. Nadim Al-Bitar, Is it Possible to Appeal to America?, Al-Mawqif Al-Arabi Publishing House, Cairo, 1989, p. 14.

decision-making institutions to serve Israeli interests.

4- The presence of American Jews in critical states, such as California, Florida, Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania. This presence gave them the ability to influence the elections.

5- The absence of an effective, unified and influential Arab lobby in the United States is another aspect of the strength of the Jewish lobby.

6- The pro-Israel organizations use the label of ‘anti-Semitism’ against anyone who criticizes Israel, which Mearsheimer and Walt described in their study as “the great silencer”<sup>(1)</sup>.

The Jewish lobby in the United States is constantly pursuing two main goals: first, achieving the most significant possible amount of official and public support for Israel in the economic, military, technological, political, and strategic fields. Second, it strives to break any link in the relationship between Americans and Arabs (except what is in the interest of Israel) in various sensitive areas. In other words, it seeks to distort the image of Arabs in the United States and the world<sup>(2)</sup>.

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1- Amr Abd al-Ati, The Israeli lobby and American foreign policy towards Egypt after the thirtieth of June 2013, Al-Wahda Al-Arabia Center for Studies, Al-Mus-taqbal Al-Arabi Journal, Beirut, Issue (446), June 2015, pp. 46-47.

2- Faisal Abu Khadra, History of Jewish Influence in America, p. 129.

## Chapter Three

### A Study of Power Experts

#### Topic One: A General Study of Power Experts

International politics is defined as a policy that arises from the absence of joint sovereignty or a policy between entities that do not have a ruler-general. Thus, global politics is called anarchy. Just as 'monarchy' means one ruler, 'anarchy'<sup>(1)</sup> means the absence of any ruler. International politics is considered a system of self-reliance. The British philosopher Thomas Hobbes calls such systems 'the state of nature.' The assumptions about an integrated rational decision-maker, comprehensive information, and a politically neutral environment were all unrealistic and harmful<sup>(2)</sup>. Otherwise, having an intellectual framework provides policymakers with a compass to set priorities, which helps make decisions that have a long-term impact. Bruce Rossett, a political science professor at the University of Peel, highlights the interconnection between foreign policy and domestic politics, stating, "Domestic political developments drive the success or failure of international politics, and the policy choices made by aspiring leaders are integral to their success."

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1- See the appendix: Anarchy is a product of the international orders and in turn, a producer of international systems. p. 559. This point is the outline of the author's new book on a theory in international relations.

2- Frank Harvey, *The Return of the Future: Nuclear Rivalry, Deterrence Theory, and Crisis Stability after the Cold War*, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2003, pp. 21-22.

**The outcome of the experience of authority experts is positioned in the form of a doctrine or principle. Therefore, the term ‘beliefs of the presidents’ were used to explain the United States’ view of the world and its foreign policy since the presidency of James Monroe.** Despite lacking such comprehensive ideas, they provided strategic frameworks and established their role in international politics. Their number increased after World War II, as the Cold War confrontation with the Soviet Union paved the way for the emergence of the Truman Doctrine in 1947 and the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957. Both aimed, each in its way, to curb the spread of communism and thus expand the global reach and influence of the United States ten years later. The Nixon Doctrine proposed a “twin columns” policy that provided military and economic assistance to Iran and Saudi Arabia. In the post-Cold War era, presidential ideologies implied new strategies to respond to the challenges of an unusual, unipolar world<sup>(1)</sup>.

In the United States, every power transition leads to replacing hundreds of senior or middle-ranking employees in the executive authority. The most crucial aspect in this context is, as mentioned earlier, that the importance of those appointments lies concerning authority experts in the broad sense when they assume high positions in the state as political decision-makers. What matters is the consequence of appointing advisors, assistants, and

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1- Dr. Fawaz Gerges, *Obama and the Middle East: The End of the American Era*, translated by: Dr. Muhammad Shaya, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2014, p. 103.

office managers, because think tanks assist presidents and secretaries in the selection process and provide new administrations with experts. It is necessary for the relationship between the expert and the politician that recognize the role of the other. In other words, the expert should not try to substitute his judgment on the political issue for the decision of the one responsible for planning the policy, nor should he resist it when exercising his role.

Experts' predictions may sometimes be less accurate than political planners' predictions. For example, in the fall of 1962, it was believed among most experts in Soviet affairs that the Russians would not establish bases for Soviet long-range missiles on the island of Cuba. Unexpectedly, the President's respect for the opinions of those professional experts did not diminish. However, what happened proved that the infallible experts are only those whose assessments are not subject to practical testing<sup>(1)</sup>.

The American foreign political decision-making process requires interaction and mutual influence between several active actors. It is often complicated and slows with bureaucratic rivalries and disputes over power and interests. The President of the United States, in his capacity as the head of the state, the executive authority, and the army, plays a central role in the course of foreign policy, confirming the fundamental trends, taking the most critical decisions, and meeting presidents of

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1- Theodore Sorensen, *Decision Making in the White House*, Prefaced by: John Kennedy. Translated by: Muhammad Saeed, Al-Marifa Press, (None), p. 109.

other states and their governments. He also assumes the authority to negotiate treaties and agreements. He also receives the data of all ministries periodically. He also has direct contact with Intelligence (the CIA has been in charge of foreign intelligence since 1947, and the FBI has been in charge of domestic intelligence since 1908). The Executive Office of the President on the National Security Council, which since 1947 consists of the leading officials in American foreign policy (the President, Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, Director of Intelligence Services, and National Security Adviser). Influential personalities have successively held the latter position, including Henry Kissinger during the presidency of Nixon<sup>(1)</sup> and Ford<sup>(2)</sup>, Brent Scowcroft during the presidency

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1- Richard Nixon is the thirty-seventh Republican President of the United States (1969-1974). He was Vice President during the presidency of Dwight Eisenhower based on the nomination of the Republican Party in the elections of 1952, and remained in office for eight years until 1960. He won the presidential elections in 1968. In 1972, Nixon ended the American intervention in Vietnam in 1973. In his first term in 1969, he launched the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). In May 1972, during his visit to Moscow, he was able to sign an agreement explaining to both parties the size and quantity of defensive missiles and their positions in the future. President Nixon was the only President of the United States who was expelled from the White House during his second term. His resignation was considered inevitable, as a result of the Watergate scandal and the misconduct of the American administration. He passed away in 1994. See: Lines. Maclean and Others, *Encyclopedia of Religion in American Politics Vol. 2*, New York, Greenwood Publishing Group, 1999, PP. 173-174. See also: Udo Zutter, p. 261-269.

2- Gerald Ford is the thirty-eighth Republic President of the United States (1974-1977). When Nixon was forced to resign on August 9, 1974, Ford succeeded him as President, the first person to hold the position of Vice President and then President without nomination and election. He used his federal powers to grant Nixon amnesty for all the crimes he committed during his presidency. He lost the



of Ford and George Bush, and Zbigniew Brzezinski during the presidency of Carter<sup>(1)</sup>. From a practical perspective, American foreign policy remains a complex process, as Kendell Scott, an Institute for National Security in Washington researcher sees it. Although the President is the one who appoints the National Security Adviser, and the Ministers of Defense and Foreign Affairs, communication and coordination between these agencies do not take place smoothly or automatically. It is called 'agency culture,' i.e., how every US ministry or sovereign institution thinks. Unless the President undertakes a clear and rigorous division of competencies and powers, the conflict between various agencies will be the main feature of the US foreign policy process<sup>(2)</sup>.

It is generally acknowledged that American foreign policy is made from a hierarchy perspective (top to bottom). This perspective indicates that the few politicians at the top of government prepare foreign policy and market it through the accompanying political process. Nevertheless, a deeper look at making foreign policy in the United States shows that it is also made from bottom to top through pressure groups, interest groups, and their representatives in Congress. Accordingly, the foreign af-

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presidential battle against Jimmy Carter in 1976 by a margin of 2 percent of the votes. See: Lynda Lee Kaid and Christina Holtz - Bacha, *Encyclopedia of Political Communication*, London, Sage Publications, 2007, PP. 249 - 250. See also: Udo Zutter, p. 270-274.

1- Maxim Le Fabvre, *American Foreign Policy*, Owaidan for Publishing and Printing, Beirut, 2006, p. 108.

2- Kendall Scott, *The Dynamics of Making American Foreign Policy*, p. 142.

fairs strategy considers from the moment of its inception what can be marketed to public opinion and Congress. Several cultural, intellectual, and political factors contribute to varying degrees in making foreign policy and managing the accompanying crises<sup>(1)</sup>.

In this regard, Tip O’Neill, the former Speaker of the US House of Representatives, was right when he said: “All politics is local,” meaning that the American official - in the government or Congress - needs first and foremost the support of those who elect him to obtain power. To get that, he does anything regardless of any standards, principles, or values that can govern his behavior. This is pragmatism, a purely American political product<sup>(2)</sup>.

Walter Lippman<sup>(3)</sup>, who was chosen by former US President Woodrow Wilson as secretary of a group of experts to prepare for peace after the First World War, and who contributed to the development of the Fourteen Points, believed that the settlement after the First World War must be based on an agreement between the powers without action on the balance of power because reconciliation is always open to negotiation and

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1- Obada Muhammad al-Tamer, *United States Policy and International Crisis Management: Iran - Iraq - Syria - Lebanon as a model*, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Beirut, 2015, p. 64.

2- Seymour Hersh, p.8.

3- Walter Lippman (1889-1974) was one of the pioneering American thinkers who left his mark in journalism, politics, history, sociology, philosophy, civilization, ethics and diplomacy. Among his political books are *The Pillars of Diplomacy* (1915), *US Foreign Policy* (1943), *US Objectives of War* (1944), and *The Cold War* (1947). See: Dr. Nabil Ragheb, p. 84.

understanding. As for the element of balance, it is a tricky process because it is vague and cannot be controlled or codified. Lippman was keen to set things straight so that the United States' foreign policy does not enter into the maze for which it is indispensable. Furthermore, he sought to prevent international politics from facing obstacles threatening world peace. Lippman was the first to make it very clear since World War I that the world's destiny has become a two-sided coin that cannot be separated, namely the United States' foreign policy and international politics<sup>(1)</sup>.

The American diplomat, George Kennan, believes Americans must learn an important lesson. Regarding foreign affairs, Americans must deal with them in the way of the gardener and not in the form of the mechanic. The development of international life must be seen as if it is an organic, not a mechanical process. What Keenan says in this regard is suitable for a theory that can be applied in all areas of politics because politics is one of the human sciences practiced by people who do not think or act mechanically, but rather the relations between them are based on organic interactions according to the factors of influence and mutual influence in a form that is always considered continuous and sequential, whether positive or negative. They have to learn how those forces work and the reasons that led to their creation and to take them as a successful tool for action. Keenan urges Americans also to understand that patience is necessary

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1- Dr. Nabil Ragheb, *The Sages of American Politics*, p. 84-85.

in the political arena: they should never perceive themselves as the center of the world while the world as a whole bend before them<sup>(1)</sup>. Kennan also believes that the US military and economic establishment is in constant need to create an enemy that will give a renewed impetus to the production, development, and promotion of weapons around the world for the sake of the survival of the American arms trade. Kennan's theory was proven correct in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, when the slogan 'the war on terror' was raised as the new goal after the collapse of the Soviet Union<sup>(2)</sup>.

The outcome of what American political scientists have reached by classifying their presidents indicates the president's role and leadership in practice and protocol.

James Buchanan (1857-1861), James Madison (1809-1817), and Dwight Eisenhower (1953-1961) wanted decisive decisions to be approved by themselves alone, with little help from assistants and advisors. Foster Dulles, former US President Eisenhower's Secretary of State, had absolute powers in foreign affairs. At the same time, presidents Roosevelt, Washington, and Kennedy were decision-makers, formulating the decision in light of American interests after consulting with specialists. In this regard, former US President John F. Kennedy<sup>(3)</sup> once

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1- Dr. Nabil Ragheb, p. 64.

2- Ibid, p. 74.

3- John Kennedy is the thirty-fifth Democratic President of the United States (1961-1963). He joined the party after the end of World War II. He won the US presidential elections in 1960, when he was 43 years old, against his Republican rival Nixon by a small margin. He is the first Catholic president to reach the US



said that he did not want findings to be displayed before him for approval, but he sought problems to solve<sup>(1)</sup>.

There are essential differences between the presidents of the United States in the degrees of personal involvement. Brzezinski believes that today, they help shape presidential views. In this regard, the National Security Council has a special place in the White House as the executive hand of the president in protecting the nation and dealing with the outside world<sup>(2)</sup>. This relationship and mutual functions are apparent between Nixon and Kissinger. The position of the National Security Adviser emerged under direct presidential leadership. Despite his limited initial experience in foreign affairs, President Carter improved the authority of his National Security Adviser, Brzezinski. At the same time, presidents who were more preoccupied with domestic issues tended to delegate foreign affairs to secretaries of state. They are entrusted with greater freedom of action in formulating policy. They have the first role among counterparts in the President's foreign policy team, as with President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger. Concerning Reagan, he

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presidency. His term is considered one of the critical periods during the Cold War due to his adoption of strict and strong positions towards the Soviet Union. He was assassinated by Harvey Oswald on November 22, 1963. See: Robert Dallek, John F. Kennedy, Oxford University Press, 2011. See also: Leonard W. Levy and Louis Fisher, Encyclopedia of the American Presidency, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1994, Vol. 1, p. 170. See also: Udo Zutter, p. 244-250.

1- Hussein Kanaan, From George Washington to Obama: The American States and the International System, Al-Nahar Publishing House, Beirut, 2013, p. 87-88.

2- Zbigniew Brzezinski, The Second Chance, p. 14.

showed a tendency to delegate a large part of policy-making to the Secretary of State by appointing General Alexander Haig, then George Shultz in that position<sup>(1)</sup>. The influence of the State Department varies according to the relationship of the Secretary of State with the political decision-maker, such as the case with Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who the President first appointed to the job mentioned above. The White House staff rejected his attempt to gain influence. The internal bureaucratic strife that characterized Hague's relations with the National Security Council and the White House staff was more often the rule than the exception. He reappointed George Shultz to the post of Secretary of State. He came to influence his department because Shultz and Reagan shared mutual respect and similar political views<sup>(2)</sup>. During the 1968 presidential campaign, Richard Nixon said, "No Secretary of State is essential; the president is the one who makes foreign policy." However, paradoxically, no president has time to do more than frame the outline policy. Politicians will suffer if the Secretary of State is weak, unskilled, or careless. Even the most confident and internationalist president wants a capable partner in the State Department<sup>(3)</sup>.

The Secretary of State is considered the primary

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1- Ibid, p.14.

2- Dr. Ahmed Nouri Al-Nuaimi, *Decision-Making Process in Foreign Policy*, p. 506.

3- Madeleine Albright, *Memo to the President Elect: How We Can Restore America's Reputation and Leadership*, Arab Science Publishers House, Beirut, 2008, p. 43.

foreign policy advisor to the US President. He occupies the second most important position after the President in foreign affairs. He is also a member of the National Security Council and in the decision-making unit<sup>(1)</sup>. Moreover, he is the spokesman for the government. He is the administration's representative to Congress concerning aid programs for foreign countries and international organizations. However, this does not mean a complete agreement of opinion between the Secretary of State and the President. There is also an undecisive ground of power. This factor depends on the convictions of the President in the first place. James Baker, during the presidency of George Herbert Walker Bush<sup>(2)</sup>, and Condoleezza Rice, during the presidency of George W. Bush (the second term), enjoyed good relations and powers. This tendency is found in the case of Madeleine Albright in former President Bill Clinton's second term. However, the matter with Warren Christopher during the presidency of former President Bill Clinton (the first term) and Colin Powell during the presidency of Bush Jr. was different: most of their roles were often replaced by

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1- Robert K. CARR and Other's, American Democracy IN Theory and Practice. Holt Rinehart and Winston, U.S.A. 1961, P. 757.

2- George Herbert Walker Bush is the forty-first Republic President of the United States of America (1989-1993). He ascended to presidency with an enormous wealth of experience and study in foreign affairs. He held several important positions in the past. In his term the Soviet Union collapsed, and in December 1989, after the killing of an American soldier, Bush ordered the arrest of Noriega, the strong man of Panama, and ordered the war on Iraq in early 1991, as he managed to organize an international alliance to confront the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. He lost the 1992 elections to his rival, Bill Clinton. See: Samuel Crompton, p. 153-155. See also, and Udo Zutter, p. 291-297.

relying on small groups of advisors<sup>(1)</sup>.

No matter how strong the Secretary of State is, the President remains the strongest and the most crucial element in the state. He sometimes acts in foreign policy according to his personal, electoral, and partisan interests. When James Byrnes was assigned Secretary of State, he asked Truman not to recognize Israel as a state because if that happened, it would cause severe damage to American interests in the Middle East. It will also lead to great hostility with the Arab world. The President was measuring his steps regarding his electoral interests and the chances of his opponent Thomas Dewey, Governor of New York State. He replied: "Based on your proposal, what is the number of Arab votes in California?" He said that the Arabs do not have votes in the United States. He replied: "I know the number of Jewish votes, which interests me." Since then, foreign policy has been introduced into the US presidential elections. It became a norm among politicians and academics that US foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy<sup>(2)</sup>.

Former US President Truman is considered the creator of the principle known by his name, 'the Truman Doctrine,' which was based on the idea of 'strike force.' It is an idea that gives the United States the right to intervene with military force when its interests require it. This applies to Korea, Vietnam, Latin America, and other countries.

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1- Dr. Amer Hashem Awad, p. 131; See also Dr. Ahmed Al-Nuaimi, *The Decision-Making Process*, p. 513-514.

2- Hussein Kanaan, *From George Washington to Obama*, p. 87-88.

President Truman announced that principle on March 12, 1947, when Winston Churchill declared the Cold War of the free world against communism and the Soviet Union<sup>(1)</sup>. The 'containment policy' was the first link in the strategy of the United States in the post-war period. The American diplomatic expert in Soviet affairs at the time, George Kennan, was the one who formulated the strategy. Later, President Truman sponsored and implemented it, giving it an ideological dimension related to the need to defend the free world<sup>(2)</sup>. The policy of containment was implemented by surrounding the Soviet Union with a wall of alliances and military bases as follows:

- 1- NATO in Europe.
- 2- The Mutual Security Pact between the United States, Australia, and New Zealand for the defense of the Pacific region.
- 3- The mutual security pact between the United States and Japan.
- 4- The treaty between the United States and South Korea.
- 5- The American-Chinese Treaty (National China).
- 6- The United States developed some of the previous

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1- Dr. Abdul Hussein Shaaban, 'Before and after the Arab Spring: Geopolitics and the Crossroads', in Hammurabi Journal of Studies, Issue (3), Baghdad, June 2012, p. 24.

2- Dr. Hussein Sharif, The United States: From Independence and Isolation to World Sovereignty 1783-2001 - The Second Part of the Cold War to the Vietnam Disaster 1945-1969, Egyptian General Book Organization, 2001, p. 76.

charters into the Southeast Asian Alliance, which included eight countries: the United States, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines.

7- The Baghdad Pact in the Middle East was later known as 'the Central Treaty Pact.' It consisted of Britain, Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran. However, Iraq withdrew from it after the 1958 revolution<sup>(1)</sup>.

On the economic level, General Marshall took advantage of an opportunity at Harvard University and specified in his speech his vision of what became known as 'the Marshall Plan.' He positively understood the Truman Doctrine and the nature of American aid, which will be a remedy, not a sedative. He proposed that the Truman Doctrine is a policy not directed against any particular country or theory but against hunger, poverty, despair, and turmoil. He added that its goal was economic recovery<sup>(2)</sup>.

It is worth noting that the US administration deviated from Kennan's concept of the policy of containment: it turned to American hegemony over the capabilities of the whole world. It sought to eliminate communism rather than contain it. Because of this distortion from its prime principle, Kenan often attacked his theory. Lippman suffered, like Kenan, from his insistence on not linking the idea of containment with the American policy

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1- Dr. Hussein Sharif, *The United States of Independence and Isolation*, p. 77-78.

2- *Ibid*, p. 83.

of hegemony, which could lead the whole world into an endless vortex<sup>(1)</sup>.

In this regard, Henry Kissinger believes that the new world order emerging after World War II is evident in that the United States, for the first time, has become incapable of withdrawing from the world. It has become weaker than dominating the world. It cannot change how it realized its role throughout its history. The problem is that it is not for it to do that because when the US entered the international arena, it was then young and robust. It was a country that was able, by its strength, to create a world that conforms to its vision of international relations (economically, the output of the United States accounted for 35 percent of the total global production at the time)<sup>(2)</sup>.

The strategy expert Lawrence Freedman indicated that the United States has two features that distinguish it from the superpowers in the past: the reliance of American power on alliances, not colonies, and its association with a flexible ideology. These two elements represent the essence of the relationships and values that America can return to even after it has burdened itself beyond its capacity. Another researcher, Anne-Marie Slaughter, argues, as she looks to the future, that the culture of openness and innovation in the United States will maintain its central position in a world in which networks complement hierarchical power, even if they do

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1- Dr. Nabil Ragheb, p. 86.

2- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, New York, 1994, P. 19.

not replace it entirely. Moreover, the United States can benefit from such networks and alliances if it follows intelligent strategies<sup>(1)</sup>.

As for former US President Eisenhower, after winning the elections, he summoned many Council on Foreign Relations members to work in his administration to benefit from their expertise and advice in internal and external affairs. The most prominent expert was John Foster Dulles, who was assigned as the Secretary of State. Dulles has been an attorney for the Standard Oil Company and a permanent member of the board of directors of the Rockefeller Foundation, which owns the Standard Oil Company. Dulles maintained a strong relationship between his institutions and the American administration through his position as US Secretary of State<sup>(2)</sup>. During the term of former US President Eisenhower, the National Security Adviser did not have an active role because Dulles was the confidant of the President. As for his brother Alan Dulles, he was the director of the CIA. He used to provide his brother with the needed information that helped him in managing foreign crises. He did not hide any information from his brother. He also hid some of it from the President so Dulles could confide him with those inputs to gain his confidence<sup>(3)</sup>. After the death of John Foster Dulles in 1959, a planner of American foreign

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1- Joseph Nye, 'The Future of American Power', in *Global Studies: The Future of American Power*. Edited by Joseph Nye et al. Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Issue 105, Abu Dhabi, 2012, p. 22.

2- Dr. Sabah Abdel-Razzaq Kubba, *American Think Tanks*, p. 93.

3- Hussein Kanaan, *From George Washington to Obama*, p. 76.

policy, and the owner of the Eisenhower principle and the Baghdad Pact, he left the President alone, carrying the burdens of foreign policy. The problem was that the deputy of Dulles, Christian Herter, who was appointed in his place as the Secretary of State, was not qualified to manage the situation. He could not easily replace Dulles because the latter had the upper hand in foreign policy for two crucial reasons: first, he had a close friendship with the President, and second, he enjoyed the experience and assistance of his brother in the CIA. Perhaps that was the only period in the history of the United States during which the administration did not witness a conflict between the CIA and the State Department<sup>(1)</sup>.

The scope of the agency's work expanded during the term of Eisenhower, especially during the Korean War. However, harmony prevailed in its relationship with the State Department. As an organ serving the National Security Council and receiving its instructions, it became a complementary apparatus to the State Department and a tool for carrying out covert operations against foreign countries. Therefore, it tended to focus on covert operations, the foremost of which was overthrowing the regimes hostile to the United States and replacing them with administrations willing to follow the path of American politics. For example, in 1953, the agency overthrew Mossadeq's national regime in Iran and changed the regime in Costa Rica.

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1- Dr. Hussein Kanaan, *The Future of Arab-American Relations: Can the USA Ensure World Peace*, 2nd Edition, Al-Khayal Publishing House, Beirut, 2005, p. 59.

Moreover, in 1954 it overthrew the legitimately elected government of Guatemala and replaced it with a military government. In 1958, it succeeded in changing the regime in Tibet, while it failed in Indonesia. In all cases, the processes were similar, and the method was almost the same. The goal at that time was to remove regimes that were considered an obstacle to achieving American interests<sup>(1)</sup>.

The United States realized its role in the Second World War would not end with the war's end. Instead, it will extend for a long time. If the European need for American weapons were severe, their need for American assistance for construction and reconstruction in the post-war period would be even greater. The political vacuum, the economic collapse, and the state of poverty and loss drove the masses closer to the methods of communist propaganda. Thus, communist organizations became active in various European countries and attracted many people to them. It is worth noting that the first elections held in Western Europe after the war led to the rise of the Italian Communist Party. In France, the Communists got a quarter of the votes, noting they were not communist countries<sup>(2)</sup>. Therefore, the Eisenhower principle was based on 'the theory of filling the void'<sup>(3)</sup> to preserve

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abd al-Aziz Rabi`, The Making of American Policy and the Arabs, p. 68.

2- Dr. Hussein Sharif, The United States from Independence and Isolation to World Sovereignty (1783-2001), p. 99-100.

3- The theory of filling the void: The United States realized that the Soviet Union is able to have its influence in the newly independent countries, which were



the vital interests of the United States<sup>(1)</sup>. According to this principle, Eisenhower singled out the Soviet threat by issuing the commitment of the American forces “to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political independence of such nations, which request such aid against explicit armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism.” This vacuum was even more significant after British and French influence declined in the region<sup>(2)</sup>. Therefore, the Eisenhower project aimed to push the United States to fill the colonial void created by the fall of English and French imperialism. However, the paradox in that theory or principle was that filling the gap was realized through military intervention and economic aid to preserve the independence of

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under the dominance of colonialism. This Russian intention posed a threat to the American interest in the region. Therefore, Eisenhower proposed his theory known as the theory of ‘filling the void’. It seeks to replace the old colonial countries with new systems that are completely different from the old colonial method. Such systems depend on the method of economic. The Americans tend to propagate that the United States seeks to raise the standard of living in the newly independent countries, a mission that the communist systems failed to realize. See: Dr. Hussein Sharif, United States of America from Independence and Isolation to World Sovereignty, vol. 2, p. 156-157.

1- The term “vital interests” dates back to the era of former US President Monroe, who, according to his famous principle, considered half of the Western world a vital area for American interests. Truman expanded that concept to include the Mediterranean basin and the Middle East. As for Carter, Western Europe, Scandinavia, Africa, the Near East and Southeast Asia were included in that field. Then, this concept developed during Carter’s presidency. He considered the whole world a vital area for American interests, especially the country rich in oil in the Arabian Gulf. In this regard, Washington has the right to repel, by any means, including armed force, any encroachment on America’s vital interests, see: Dr. Abdul Hussein Shaaban, Before the Arab Spring, p. 25-26.

2- [www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Presidency\\_of\\_Dwight\\_D.\\_Eisenhower](http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Presidency_of_Dwight_D._Eisenhower)

states<sup>(1)</sup>. We must note that John Dulles discussed this principle early during his visit to the Middle East in 1953. He announced the need to build ‘the northern belt.’ He also claimed that making the ‘impenetrable dams’ in Southeast Asia was necessary.

As for Iran, after the overthrow of Mossadegh on August 9, 1953, in the CIA operation ‘Ajax,’ an oil agreement was signed without delay between Iran and a group of countries from Western oil companies based on 50% of shares for each side. Later, by force, it became the model in the Middle East<sup>(2)</sup>. On 6/8/1954, the New York Times mentioned a clear lesson for those developing countries with rich resources about the heavy price that must be paid by anyone who goes too far in his fanatical patriotism<sup>(3)</sup>.

It should be noted that Carter’s principle, known as ‘rapid deployment,’ continues with Eisenhower’s principle. It includes filling the void according to the vital interests of the United States in the face of the Soviet threat, according to which Washington has the right to confront it by any means, including armed force (i.e., aggression). Concerning the vital interests of the United States, described by Brzezinski as “the arc of crises and thunderbolt operations,” armed intervention was required just because an imminent and potential danger threatened the vital interests of the United

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1- [www.rehlatfakkor.com/Article.aspx? Art=178](http://www.rehlatfakkor.com/Article.aspx?Art=178).

2- Dr. Fawaz Gerjes, *Obama and the Middle East*, p. 3.

3- *Ibid*, p. 64.

States. Accordingly, ‘**the strategy of war and half-war**’ was proposed. This strategy was based on classifying the world into regions: the first region is **Europe**, the second region is the Far East, and the third region is the **Middle East**. This strategy referred to the condition in which the United States was qualified to wage a total war in Europe. At the same time, it could wage a semi-war anywhere in the world<sup>(1)</sup>.

The Carter administration considered the fall of the Shah of Iran in 1979 and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December of 1979 a threat to the oil resources in the region. Therefore, the Carter Doctrine was declared on the 23 of January 1980, in which he emphasized that any attempt by foreign powers to control the Gulf region<sup>(2)</sup> would be seen as an aggression against the vital interests of the United States and would be resisted by all means, including using military force. This was a change in the US strategy in the region, as it became a combination of direct presence and reliance on critical regional powers. The United States announced the Carter Doctrine for the first time in the early eighties. It is based on the principle of military use in the Gulf to protect American interests in oil-producing countries<sup>(3)</sup>.

The existence of an intellectual framework provides policymakers with a compass that prompts them to

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1- Ibid. See also: Dr. Ahmed Nuri Al-Nuaimi, *The Regional Function of Turkey in the Middle East*, Al-Jinan Publishing House, Amman, 2010, p. 209.

2- Hala Saudi, *American policy towards the Arab world*, p. 80.

3- Abdul Hai Yahya Zalloum, *Oil Crusades*, p. 80.

set priorities and thus helps in making decisions that have a long-term impact. In turn, it needs to coordinate different and disparate opinions on other issues to crystallize a vision that enables the President to choose the appropriate decision.

Once, Brzezinski<sup>(1)</sup> was asked about his role as an assistant to former President Carter for national security affairs. He said that he is the President's advisor for foreign affairs and security issues and is the primary coordinator for all Sections and cases that arrives at the President's office for decision-making with the help of the Pentagon, State Department, and the CIA. Moreover, with the help of his staff, he plays a pioneering role in drawing general policy, in addition to defining the main orientations of the United States foreign policy. He seeks to overcome the daily problems and reach a broader and more general framework for the American movement in various fields<sup>(2)</sup>.

Carter adopted a different approach to the method of the Nixon-Kissinger team. He felt that the secrecy with which his predecessor surrounded his foreign policy was a moral error. He realized that foreign policy in a democratic country requires the support of the people. In 1977, while he was in Notre Dame, he said: "I think we can have a democratic foreign policy, and we can have a foreign policy that the American people support, change, know and understand it." Nevertheless, Carter's

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1- See: Brzezinski's Biography and Intellectual Development, p. 401.

2- Dr. Muhammad Abd al-Aziz Rabie, The Making of American and Arab Policy, p. 65-66.

method of democratizing politics brought him into his administration at its highest levels. These people were the most vigorous ideological opponents, such as Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and the National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. All these procedures were taken due to Carter's lack of sufficient experience in foreign affairs. The President saw himself as unable to achieve a logical coherence of concepts between contradictory opinions.

Consequently, his administration fell into a battle with itself<sup>(1)</sup>. Carter always had two minds thinking about the power of the United States: his Polish-born National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and the idealistic lawyer Cyrus Vance, his Secretary of State. He used to adopt both opinions but rarely combined the two views into a coherent, comprehensive policy<sup>(2)</sup>.

Carter had accused Henry Kissinger (and, through him, Richard Nixon) of sacrificing actual American values on the altar of the blatant expression of the balance of power. Carter believed that force represents values<sup>(3)(4)</sup>. It is worth noting that Jimmy Carter while running for president, condemned the CIA as a "national disgrace." The paradox is that as soon as he was in power, he issued several secret operations, as Nixon and Ford did. The

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1- Ibid., p. 207.

2- Leslie Gelb, *Power Rules*, p. 56.

3- Ibid., p. 28.

4- Leslie Gelb: When I interviewed Carter informally, not for publication, as a reporter of *The New York Times*, I asked him who he thought was the country's most capable foreign policy thinker, he replied: Kissinger (ibid., p. 28).

difference is that he did it in the name of human rights<sup>(1)</sup>.

After being elected President, Richard Nixon carried new ideas and perceptions that had the most significant impact on changing the direction of American foreign policy after 1969. In his inauguration speech, Nixon said: "The greatest honor in history is winning the title of 'Peacemaker,' and that title now applies to the United States of America, which has the opportunity to lead the world out of problems, and to the hills of safe peace." Nixon added: "After a period of confrontation, we are now entering the era of negotiation."

In Nixon's report to Congress on February 18, 1970, titled 'A New Strategy for Peace,' he encountered the Vietnamese issue. He explained American policy towards Vietnam within his framework known as the 'Guam Theory.' Nixon summarized his theory or principle in three items:

1- The United States will remain committed to all the agreements and treaties.

2- The United States will offer the protection of the nuclear umbrella if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of an ally or a country whose survival is vital to the security of the United States and South Asia.

3- In the case of other types of aggression, like non-nuclear aggression, the United States will provide the required and appropriate military and economic aid.

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1- Tim Wise, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of CIA*, translated by: Antoine Bassil, Al-Matbooat Publications, Beirut, 2010, p. 485.

As for Vietnam, Nixon defined the American goals as achieving a condition of peace acceptable to all parties. To obtain that peace, the United States will follow two paths: the first is the means of negotiations, and the other is Vietnamization. Vietnamization is an application of Nixon's theory (principle) in South Vietnam to achieve the American withdrawal from that region. Afterward, parties affiliated with South Vietnam will replace the American forces.

After the election of Nixon in 1969, he reorganized and strengthened the National Security Council and linked the intelligence services to it. It seems that Nixon's experience as Vice President during the term Eisenhower, a period that witnessed the completion of the construction of the Council, and the occurrence of excellent coordination between the State Department and the CIA, convinced him of the inevitability of rebuilding and rehabilitating those agencies to play an active role in making and implementing the foreign policy of the United States. However, Kissinger's assumption of the duties of the presidency of the National Security Council and the responsibilities of coordination with the intelligence services, and his tendency to use his powers to enhance his capabilities and strengthen his influence inside and outside the state agencies weakened the independence of those agencies, and then their ability to contribute to impartially making foreign policy<sup>(1)</sup>. In this regard, Nixon, in his

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abd al-Aziz Rabie, *The Making of American and Arab Policy*, p. 69-70.

message to Congress regarding “the state of the world,” indicated that he had decided to reconfigure the National Security Council to represent the main body through which the President would discuss foreign policy issues. Nixon focused on the critical role played by the Council in providing the capabilities to meet the challenges of the 1970s. It required the fulfillment of several conditions that enable the Council to carry out its responsibilities, including creative solutions, systematic planning, providing necessary facts, crisis planning, and policy implementation<sup>(1)</sup>. During the presidency of Nixon and after choosing Kissinger as the National Security Adviser, the reliance on advisers diminished, whereas the dependence on the National Security Council increased. Accordingly, the Council began to play a significant role in foreign policy. It adopted the mission of making major decisions, especially during times of crisis. In times of crisis, the President of the Council became the most important spokesperson for the President regarding national security issues. He also became the person entrusted with particular tasks and secret communications. Therefore, Kissinger was President Nixon’s envoy to start a dialogue with China, conduct negotiations with the leaders of North Vietnam, and the mediator who assumed the task of negotiating disengagement agreements between the Israeli forces on the one hand, and the Egyptian and Syrian forces on

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1- Dr. Hussein Sharif, *The United States from Independence and Isolation to World Sovereignty 1783-2001*, Vol Three: *From the Vietnam Disaster to Pioneering Star Wars 1969-1989*, Egyptian General Book Organization, 2001, p. 97.

the other, after the October 1973 war<sup>(1)</sup>. It is worth noting that at the time, Henry Kissinger was in sharp and continuous disagreement with William Rogers, Secretary of State. Thus, after accurate planning, Kissinger succeeded in bringing together all the strands of foreign policy in his hands so that the State Department became secondary.

Moreover, when Rogers presented his project known as the 'Rogers Project,' his famous initiative to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, Kissinger stopped implementing it. He used to comment on Rogers: "I do not work in Rogers' style that does not lead to a result. He presents those projects that stem from the vacuum. This is not my style". Conversely, Rogers commented on Henry Kissinger's style: "Henry Kissinger wants to play with crises rather than solve them."

Richard Haass believes that none of the three American presidents (George Herbert Walker Bush, Clinton, and George W. Bush) that followed the Cold War succeeded in revealing a comprehensive foreign policy or a doctrine of national security. The administration of George H. W. Bush spoke of a "new world order." However, it never defined its content. For example, the Clinton administration discussed expanding the circle of democracies but could not put that project into a coherent foreign policy demand. Moreover, the 'Bush Doctrine' also fell short because there was less of a symmetrical policy versus a mix of counterterrorism, democratization, preventive strikes, and unipolarity<sup>(2)</sup>.

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abdel Aziz, p. 38.

2- Richard N. Haas, The Opportunity: America's Moment to Alter History's Course, 

Therefore, unipolarity has been excluded as a doctrine of national security because no country can successfully deal with transnational challenges on its own, no matter how powerful.

George H. W. Bush spoke of the emergence of a new world order on September 11, 1990, pointing out that freedom and peace prevailed in that order for all peoples. He even repeated the term 'New World Order' from August 1990 until March 1991 about 347 times on different occasions<sup>(1)</sup>. In this regard, three phenomena can be observed that determined the shape of the new world order after the end of the Cold War, namely the emergence of the elements of the total power of the United States, the establishment of China as a center for global economic growth based on the aspect of low wages, and the emergence of the European Union as an integrated significant economic power. The last factor was more tangible after the launch of the single European currency (the euro) on January 1, 1999<sup>(2)</sup>, in addition to the impact of the technological revolution that the world witnessed. It increased the state of interdependence between countries. According to the theory of interdependence, the principle of national sovereignty led to creating an internationalized economy that intersects with international organizations based on national sovereignty. The internationalized economy requires a political structure that agrees with it to push

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translated by: Asaad Kamel Elias, Obeikan Publishing, Riyadh, 2007, p. 45.

1- Jamal Sanad Al Suwaidi, *Horizons of the American Age: Sovereignty and Influence in the New World Order*, Abu Dhabi, 2014, p. 33.

2- *Ibid.*, p. 43.

it towards the erosion of the institution of nation-states and the emergence of new political structures similar to multinational corporations, becoming one of the units of the international system until the spring of 1990<sup>(1)</sup>. Heated debates were still going on in Washington, finally leading to two opinions proposed by the National Security Council, namely:

1- An opinion represented by the (doves), advocates of conservatism (Secretary of State Baker, National Security Adviser Scowcroft, and Chief of Staff Powell), which proposes that absolute American sovereignty over the world is impossible. It is better to accept relative independence that allows the presence of other partners with limited shares, especially with the Europeans within the framework of NATO, led by the United States of America, in a way that is more commensurate with the necessities of the post-Cold War.

2- Another opinion represented by the (hawks) advocates of impulsiveness, and their logic is that the United States of America did not bear - alone - the responsibilities and burdens of the Cold War to accept a partnership competing with it for the prizes of victory, mainly from Europe which began the policy of rapprochement with the Soviet Union (as France did during the time of de Gaulle and his allies), or the policy of appeasing the Soviet Union, as Germany did when it

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1- Dr. Saad Haqi Tawfiq, *The New International Order: A Study of the Future of International Relations after the End of the Cold War*, Al-Ahlia for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 2002, p. 55.

leaned toward the East during the days of Chancellor Willy Brandt and those who followed his policy until Helmut Kohl<sup>(1)</sup>.

In this regard, Brzezinski believes that the United States' attempt to restructure the new world order formally requires addressing elements and questions of central importance on the geostrategic level: Will the European Union remain the main ally of the United States in light of the continuing controversy, and perhaps the dispute with France and Germany regarding the nature of Global threats? One example of this controversy is the American spying scandal discovered in early August 2013 against some European allies. Another question is, can Russia be included within the European community? How can it help promote stability in Eurasia?<sup>(2)</sup>

George H. W. Bush, James Baker, the secretary of state, and Brent Scowcroft, the National Security Adviser, harnessed their diplomatic might to have nuclear weapons previously stockpiled throughout the Soviet Union and on Russian soil and worked with the Soviets to hold elections in Nicaragua, leading to the defeat of the Soviet allies there (the Sandinistas). They began a promising, albeit short-term, process to achieve peace in the Middle East, including almost all regional and critical external parties. Bush, Baker, and Scowcroft realized that the United States had the power not to dictate but to make things happen

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1- Muhammad Hassanein Heikal, *The American Empire and the Raid on Iraq*, 3rd edition, Al-Shorouk Publishing House, Cairo, 2004, p. 121.

2- Jamal Sanad Al-Suwaidi, *Horizons of the American Era*, p. 129.

through diplomacy<sup>(1)</sup>.

The new world order proclaimed by former US President George H. W. Bush is strikingly similar to the vision of international stability that Woodrow Wilson held in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Indeed, that vision failed in the 1920s since it can be argued that its successor in the late twentieth century had already failed to transform international relations from a world of conflicts to a world of cooperation<sup>(2)</sup>. The geopolitical re-division of the world following the emerging requirements of capitalist economic development on its global stage will be accomplished mainly under human rights law and international humanitarian law. This process is linked to the law of war (the right of humanitarian intervention) and

During the nineties, with the absence of the Soviet threat and the need to deal with it, the United States regained the power to choose the interests it wanted to push forward, a freedom that allowed former US President Clinton to pursue opportunities after the Cold War. Clinton's team worked to reduce the priority of security affairs in favor of economic prosperity. Therefore, Clinton established a new council called 'the National Economic Council' whose task was coordinating the international aspects of revitalizing the economy. At the same time, he launched a comprehensive program to reduce the

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1- Leslie Gelb, p. 61-62.

2- Martin Griffiths, *Fifty Thinkers in International Relations*, Gulf Research Center, Abu Dhabi, 2008, p. 183.

budget deficit and public investment<sup>(1)</sup>. The presidency of Clinton was distinguished from his predecessors in that the direction of strategic decision-making leaned from the military aspects towards economic issues. In this regard, he chose a team for the White House that was more distant from strategic military matters. This was due to Clinton's anti-war record.

Moreover, his relationship with Clinton, the military leaders, and those advocating the adoption of military strategies and strengthening their institutions was tense and unstable. Clinton reduced the budget deficit from 255 billion dollars in 1993 to 22 billion dollars in 1997. He reached the surplus in the US budget in 2000 to 2.4 percent of the gross national product, i.e., 236 billion dollars, while the deficit during the George W. Bush administration in 2004 amounted to 421 billion dollars or 3.6 percent of the total national product<sup>(2)</sup>. Clinton's motives were unrelated to foreign policy, except that he realized and understood more than any other American President in the post-Cold War era the importance of economic performance in American power. He was also well aware of how globalization is changing the method of creating national wealth<sup>(3)</sup>. Between 1990 and 2000, the United States became the truly unique power leading the global situation due to the enormous vacuum left by the disintegration of the eastern power. This coincided with

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1- Terry L. Dibble, p. 277.

2- Dr. Amer Hashem Awwad, p. 256.

3- Terry L. Dibble, p. 356.

the 'information revolution' or the third technological revolution, and the emergence of the world of the internet and intercontinental satellite channels within the context of the expansion of the globalization movement that Clinton worked to accelerate its pace<sup>(1)</sup>. Clinton is considered one of the most vital theorists and heralds of the inevitability of globalization and the leading and dominant role of the United States. He announced this idea at more than one international conference and forum. For example, he mentioned: "Globalization is not something that we can block or stop. It is a natural force, like wind and water, that we cannot ignore, nor will it leave us". He also said: "Globalization is the natural doctrine of global hegemony"<sup>(2)</sup>. It is not just a mechanism of capitalist development but also primarily an ideology that reflects the will to dominate the world and its Americanization. Globalization is a system whose dimensions go beyond the circle of the economy: it includes all aspects of life, including money, marketing, exchanges, communication, and thought.

With President Clinton coming to power in 1993, the new American administration amended the balance of power policy adopted in the past decade between Iraq and Iran. It proposed a new policy called 'the policy of dual containment' against Iraq and Iran. This policy recognizes the existence of an Iranian threat and the continuation

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1- Dr. Rafik Abdel Salam, *The United States of America between Hard Power and Soft Power*, Al-Enteshar Al-Arabi Foundation, Beirut, 2011, p. 36.

2- Suhail Rustom, *The Roots of American Globalization*, Al-Fikr Publishing House, Beirut, 2010, p. 284.

of the Iraqi threat to vital American interests in the Gulf region<sup>(1)</sup>. The US Department of Defense declared that Iraq and Iran are the two biggest threats to ensuring oil flow from the Gulf to global markets. It expressed its worries that the Iran-Iraq competition for hegemony in the region, whose danger might spread to the countries of the Arabian Peninsula, is a threat to the area. Therefore, the Office of National Security Affairs report at the US Department of Defense in May 1995 shows that the Clinton administration's policy was to contain both dangers simultaneously (double containment)<sup>(2)</sup>. The official American statements unanimously agreed that the primary sources of threat to American interests in the Arab region are concentrated mainly in Iran and Iraq. In this regard, William Perry, Secretary of Defense in the Clinton administration, stressed that Iran and Iraq represent a direct threat to the main partners of the United States in the region. He described them as two competing radical countries in almost everything. Still, they agree on one thing: they pursue policies that threaten American interests in the region: they represent dangerous threats to Israel and the main partners of the United States, such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and other moderate Gulf

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1- During the hearings that followed James Woolsey's assumption of the presidency of the CIA (1993-1995), in Bill Clinton's first term, he declared: "After we fought the dragon for forty-five years, and we were able to kill it, we found ourselves in a forest full of poisonous snakes". See: Frank Danino, *CIA: A Political Story 1947-2007*, translated by: Abeer Al-Mundhir, Al-Itishar Al-Arabi, Beirut, 2009, p. 249.

2- Report of the Office of National Security Affairs at the US Department of Defense (May 1995), in *American Approaches to the Middle East*, p. 59.

countries. They also oppose peace with Israel, in addition to their possession and development of chemical and biological weapons and ballistic missile systems<sup>(1)</sup>. Clinton's State Department began to lose its position in favor of other executive bodies. President Clinton relied on his advisors from the National Security Council more than he relied on the State Department to make the United States policy towards the Arab region. The policy of "dual containment" for Iraq and Iran was devised by Clinton's special adviser on the National Security Council, Martin Indyk<sup>(2)</sup>, not the State Department. Indyk also greatly influenced Clinton's position on the Arab-Israeli "peace process." Although the State Department officials had implicitly expressed dissatisfaction with the "dual containment" policy, they felt powerless to do anything about it<sup>(3)</sup>. Former State Department official Arthur Lowery asserted that Clinton's policy of dual containment, and his subsequent announcement in 1995 of a total trade boycott of Iran, was influenced by lobbying tactics and political pressures from friends of Israel. He also drew a causal relationship between the anti-Islam campaign

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1- Hala Saudi, 'American policy towards the Arab world in the aftermath of World War II', in *The Industry of Hatred*, p. 86-87.

2- Martin Indyk is an expert on Middle East affairs, and a former ambassador of the United States to Israel for two terms (1995-1997) and (2000-2001). He was recently the director of the Saban Center for Middle Eastern Studies. Before his appointment as ambassador, he worked as a special assistant to President Clinton and senior director Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs in the US National Security Council. See: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2016, Martin Indyk: <http://www.eccsr.com/EGSSR>.

3- Dr. Fawaz Gerges, *American Policy towards the Arabs*, p. 65.

and American society. We must note that the campaign was carried out by Israel and its supporting lobby in the United States.

Moreover, the Economist magazine complained that Clinton relies in part on the information provided by Israel and takes advantage of the electoral events to show personal intransigence on the issue of terrorism<sup>(1)</sup>. After several years of implementing the 'dual containment' strategy and reviewing its results in the late nineties, decision-makers and consultants in the United States of America realized the need for a revision to reach 'discriminatory containment.' The proposed changes were based on the assumption that bilateralism may have led to linking the fate of Iran and Iraq, which created pressures to destabilize the American strategy in the region. The discriminatory method aimed to break the link between the two countries destinies with the assumption of benefiting from the previous enmity between them. It also sought to overcome the logical defect rooted in the double containment, represented by assuming that it is possible to simultaneously contain the two countries while preserving the American strategy's goals and specifics<sup>(2)</sup>.

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1- Dr. Fawaz Gerges, American Policy towards the Arabs, p. 112.

2- Omar Thabet, Double Containment and Beyond: Reflections on American Strategic Thought, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Issue (41), Abu Dhabi, 2001, p. 16.

## **Topic Two:**

### **A Study of Power Experts During the Cold War**

#### **Section One:**

#### **Power Experts During the Presidency of John F. Kennedy**

Former US President John Kennedy, who assumed power in the United at the beginning of 1961, inherited complex and challenging international situations that forced him to follow a policy of severity and escalation in relations with the Soviet Union and global issues. During his election campaign, he launched an attack on communism. He demanded more significant support to prevent the extension and influence of that camp to the American continent, especially after the Cuban revolution in 1959. In this regard, the Cuban revolution represented the most significant challenge for the new American administration, especially after Cuba became a substantial base for the Soviet Union militarily and ideologically. There were also other challenges, mainly the issue of Berlin. Moreover, the number of flights of American spy planes increased over Soviet territory. This case was revealed after the Soviets shot down one of the U2 planes over Soviet territory in May 1960, a few months before Kennedy<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1- Dr. Musa Muhammad Al Tuwarish, *The Contemporary World Between Two Wars: From World War I to the Cold War 1914-1991*, 2nd edition, Inana Publishing House, Beirut, 2015, p. 131.

Accordingly to Kennedy, the American presidency is an enormous and visible organ, despite some ambiguity. It represents the source of the final decision in the American political system. It is also visible because the decision cannot be issued in a vacuum, as the presidency is the center that is constantly exposed to the influence of pressures, interests, and intellectual trends in the country. The President's office is the heart to which all elements that have a role in making national decisions are attracted. As for its ambiguity, it is because the observer cannot simply recognize the final decision process. It is often difficult for the decision-maker himself to wholly comprehend the process<sup>(1)</sup>. John Kennedy adds that an old proverb claims that judgment is a process of choice and that we cannot escape from choosing between options. Therefore, the presidency, at its core, must be able to make decisions that combine wisdom and decisiveness. This process must be based on sufficient and correct information. Hence, analyzing how the findings of the President are made is the way to realize the core of the enormous task that the presidency undertakes<sup>(2)</sup>.

The term 'think tank' was not popular when Kennedy was elected. However, journalists noticed a group of those who call themselves "thinking factories" in Massachusetts. Kennedy was a senator who represented these institutions. The Brookings Institution was the most famous of them. It established a new center for advanced

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1- Theodore Sorensen, previously mentioned, p.7.

2- Ibid., p. 8.

studies in 1960. In a Washington Post report on the center's official opening just two weeks after the election, it was publicly announced in an encouraging editorial expression that "men of knowledge and ideas have again taken over our government." The Washington Post was very respectful in describing the matter: "Intellectuals See the Shiny Side." Less than a year later, the Economist described the Brookings Institution researchers as "ready Kennedy experts" and welcomed "the intellectual's closeness to the government" as a distinctive feature of the new administration<sup>(1)</sup>.

When John Kennedy assumed the presidency after his defeat of Richard Nixon in 1960, he announced that he would push the 'new front' to Washington. He intended to move intellectuals from their universities to policy-making centers and help in the decision-making process. In this regard, he assigned McGeorge Bundy as his advisor for national security affairs, Arthur Schlesinger as a special assistant to the President, and Henry Kissinger became an advisor to three critical committees<sup>(2)</sup>. It is worth noting that those opportunities available to Kissinger turned into a disappointment under the President's policy. The President was unaware of the limitations of power. He was also hasty in his pledges of American aid. His views were romantic toward the power of the United States. As for Kissinger, he dealt with those attitudes and behaviors as a predominance of illusion over reality and subjectivity

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1- James Alan Smith, *Idea Brokers*, p. 237.

2- Amin Huwaidi, p. 35.

over objective analysis. For example, a difference of opinion arose over the delicate problem of Berlin when the Soviets suddenly lifted the famous Wall (the Berlin Wall) in August 1961. Kissinger was upset because he had repeatedly warned of leniency, which worsened Berlin's situation. He believed that building the wall was an act of aggression that must be deterred so that it does not escalate into a new world war. At the same time, Kennedy saw, as he secretly told his aides, the wall must be set as a tool for stabilizing the situation in Eastern Europe. Kissinger tried to reach out to the President to exchange views, but Pandey, the National Security Adviser, prevented him from making his voice heard. However, Kissinger, according to some of Kennedy's advisors, turned into opposition to the policies of the President. Kennedy started considering him as becoming "a little annoying"<sup>(1)</sup>. When Kennedy was assassinated, Kissinger said that if the late president had a second term, he would have led the country either to the heights of greatness or to the abyss of disaster<sup>(2)</sup>.

Kennedy's rule brought a new era of political doctrine and personality. The President called on people from both parties to help him. Accordingly, he bypassed selectable characters for the position of Secretary of State, such as Adlai Stevenson and Senator Fulbright, and instead appointed Dean Rusk, who was the director of the Rockefeller Foundation; Robert S. McNamara became

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1- Marvin Caleb and Bernard Caleb, Kissinger, Al-Ahlia for Publishing and Distribution, Beirut, 1975, p. 44-45.

2- Ibid., p. 29.

Secretary of Defense, and was Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Ford Motor Company; the Republican Douglas Dillon, who also worked during the presidency of Eisenhower, assumed the Treasury Department<sup>(1)</sup>. Dean Rusk, the former US Secretary of State, mentioned that when Kennedy asked him to attend his office and proposed the position, he told Kennedy: “Why did you choose me in particular, when the news says that you will choose Senator Fulbright?” Kennedy replied: “I chose you because I read an article of yours in Foreign Affairs magazine in which you explain how foreign policy can fortify the President and make him strong. So I admired your views, so I chose you”<sup>(2)</sup>. However, Kennedy relied more on his National Security Adviser (McGeorge Bondi) and Secretary of Defense (McNamara) than on his reliance on Secretary of State Dick Rusk due to his lack of confidence in the adequacy and effectiveness of the State Department. President Kennedy continued to obtain information outside the scope of government channels due to his inclination to rely on a strict decision-making structure that restricted his political options. Kennedy justified his tendency as being scientific. He believed that academics are not linked to the founding loyalty of government employees themselves, in addition to the fact that the research institutions are specialized in collecting data, analyzing them, and proposing conclusions.

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1- Dr. Hussain Sharif, *The United States from Independence and Isolation to Sovereignty: 1783-2001*, Vol. Two, p. 399.

2- Hussein Kanaan, *From George Washington to Obama*, p. 76.

Therefore these academics are non-political<sup>(1)</sup>. They can deal with political issues neutrally. Decades before the term 'Soft Power,' Kennedy established Peace Corps to show the world a different face of the United States<sup>(2)</sup>. After Kennedy started his Alliance for Progress, foreign policy researchers at the Brookings Institution studied the United Nations, international economic development, and the American administration of foreign assistance programs, especially in Latin America. They were also interested in training political leaders and managers in developing countries. In addition, they analyzed the role of education in less developed countries<sup>(3)</sup>. The Alliance for Progress is a project for economic cooperation between the United States and Latin American countries. The project was inaugurated in 1961. The American government surrounded it with massive publicity to show the significant role played by the United States in developing Latin American societies<sup>(4)</sup>.

In 1958, when he was a member of the Senate, John Kennedy stressed that the goal of the United States aid program for Latin America should not be to buy allies but rather to strengthen the Western hemisphere as a free

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1- Dr. Dawoud Murad Hussein, *The Powers of the American President*, p. 121.

2- Hillary Clinton, 'Leadership Through Civil Power: Redefining American Diplomacy and Development', in *Global Studies: The Future of American Power*, Joseph Nye et al., Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Issue (105), Abu Dhabi, 2012, p. 43; See also the issue of peace teams: Dr. Ahmed Nouri Al-Nuaimi, *Foreign Policy*, Amjad Publishing House, Amman, 2017, p. 563-569.

3- James Alan Smith, *Thought Brokers*, 2nd edition, p. 242.

4- Dr. Ismail Sabri Makled, *Strategy and International Politics: Basic Concepts and Facts*, Beirut, Arab Research Foundation, 1985, p. 716-717.

and democratic world. When he became the President, Kennedy established the Alliance for Progress, a ten-year project that would achieve for Latin America what the Marshall Plan did for Western Europe. It was a project: “a peaceful hemispheric revolution... a large-scale, collaborative effort of equal magnitude and loftiness to satisfy the basic needs of Latin Americans at home and work.” To achieve this, the United States pledged to provide an initial one billion-dollar grant, promising billions more<sup>(1)</sup>.

Noam Chomsky believes that the Alliance for Progress has revealed a system of exploitation and oppression that had existed for a long time. The Latin American military mission, which the United States mainly dominates, changed its mission from the defense aspect to internal security. The administration of former US President Eisenhower toyed with that idea, but it could not conclude. Finally, however, the Kennedy administration did so in 1962<sup>(2)</sup>.

The Kennedy administration’s Arab policy was based on developmental and practical needs rather than ideological considerations. Unlike his predecessor, President Dwight Eisenhower, Kennedy distinguished between Third World nationalism and communism. Kennedy considered that national governments were more capable of facing the communist challenge than the old regimes that replaced

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1- Dr. Hussein Sharif, *The United States of Independence*, Vol. Two, p. 409-440.

2- Noam Chomsky, *Dates of Defection: Interviews*, edited by David Bersanian, Translated by: Muhammad Najjar, Al-Ahlia for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 1997, p. 184.

them. Therefore, instead of confronting President Gamal Abdel Nasser in the Yemen war, Kennedy established close relations with the Egyptian leader, showed great interest in economic development in Egypt, and signed a long-term economic agreement with Egypt in October 1962, according to which the United States agreed to provide Egypt with 431.8-million-dollar food aid for the financial years 1963, 1964 and 1965. One of the reasons for the partial success of the Kennedy approach lies in his interest in local needs, not global ones. Nevertheless, Kennedy had an essential role in setting policies that did not sacrifice regional issues on the approach of international accounts<sup>(1)</sup>.

One of the first interests Kennedy insisted on was the escalation of the anti-Cuba policy. It was started by his predecessor Eisenhower when he decided to cut off diplomatic relations with Cuba only three weeks before Kennedy's term. He was under tremendous pressure to accept the plans prepared by Eisenhower<sup>(2)</sup>. In 1961, the United States cut diplomatic relations with Cuba and began practicing secret operations to overthrow Castro and his regime. The CIA decided to implement what was known as the "Bay of Pigs" invasion. It further complicated the problems, leading to new alliances with the Soviet Union. It concluded secret agreements with Moscow to establish missile bases on the island, which the United States discovered in 1962. This problem launched a

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1- Dr. Fawaz Gerges, *American Policy towards the Arabs*, p. 27-28.

2- Dr. Musa Muhammad Al Tuwarish, *The Contemporary World*, p. 133.

confrontation that lasted 14 days. The two powers almost entered into a nuclear conflict<sup>(1)</sup>.

The Cuban missile crisis was a watershed in the history of relations between the two superpowers after World War II. It was the most complex crisis of that period, laden with the possibility of dragging the world into a new world war. This crisis motivated all humanity to feel the necessity of preventing nuclear war, despite all other interests<sup>(2)</sup>.

The role of the intelligence services in making the foreign policy of the United States was evident in collecting secret information about the situations, leaders, and directions of foreign countries, analyzing them, and proposing recommendations to the National Security Council. Sometimes, it planned and executed secret operations. In 1960 and 1961, the CIA could not assess the situation in Cuba. They also failed to estimate the resistance faced by the invasion forces that tried to seize power and overthrow Castro. It also led to the decline of the influence of the CIA. However, in 1962, the CIA regained success and importance by discovering Soviet missile bases in Cuba. At the time, Kennedy insisted on removing those bases and withdrawing the missiles from Cuba, even if it

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1- Dr. Mr. Amin Shalabi, *The Repercussions of the American-Iranian Rapprochement: International and Arab Questions*, International Policy Journal, Al-Ahram Center, Cairo, Issue (202), October 2015, p. 89; Also see: James Doherty and Robert Palestgram, *Conflicting Theories in International Relations*, Kazma for Publishing, Translation and Distribution, Beirut, 1985, p. 330-331.

2- Dr. Hussein Sharif, *The United States of Independence and Isolation*, Vol. Two, p. 382-383.

was necessary to wage war against the Soviet Union<sup>(1)</sup>. The Soviet leadership, represented by Nikita Khrushchev, was obliged to return the missiles to the Soviet Union. Previously, the CIA deluded into believing that the Soviets would never send nuclear weapons to Cuba. After discovering those missiles, it remains unable to comprehend the Soviet mind. On October 16, 1962, Kennedy complained: "I can't understand their point of view; it's a damned mystery to me because I don't know enough about the Soviet Union." Accordingly, he asked to prepare three plans to launch a military strike: the first, to destroy nuclear missile facilities by Air Force or Navy aircraft; the second for a much larger air attack; and the third is to invade and occupy Cuba. Once, he declared: "We will certainly do number one, and we will remove those missiles." After a series of endless meetings, he left the meeting with two military options: a surprise attack on Cuba or a full-scale invasion<sup>(2)</sup>.

A confrontation took place between the Soviet and American delegates in the Security Council when Stevenson (the American representative) showed photographs of Soviet missiles in Cuba and asked Zorin (the Soviet diplomat) to answer (yes) or (no) whether those missiles existed, but the delegate refused to answer. The Soviet representative only said: "He is not in an American court, and you are not a prosecutor, and I

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abdul Aziz Rabie, p. 9.

2- Ibid., p. 275.

will not answer your questions.”<sup>(1)</sup>

The back channels contributed to resolving the Soviet missile crisis in Cuba, preventing the breakout of World War III. The world held its breath in anticipation during the situation as messages resounded between America and Russia. First, the Soviet missiles were close to the United States, where Kennedy imposed a naval blockade on Cuba. Then, in a complicated context, Khrushchev sent the director of the Soviet intelligence (KGB), Alexander Fomin, to Washington to visit John Sculley, an American journalist. During the meeting, Fomin asked Scully whether he believed the United States would agree not to invade Cuba if the Soviets withdrew their missiles and bombers. That message, which the journalist relayed to the White House, was a fundamental turning point in the crisis<sup>(2)</sup>.

In 1961, when McNamara was assigned as the Secretary of Defense, the Soviet Union had a small arsenal of intercontinental missiles. Still, it had the technological and industrial capacity to expand that arsenal substantially in the following years. The US did not indicate that the Soviet Union had already thoroughly planned to use that capability. However, Americans should consider the worst possible scenario. Hope is not functional in such situations. The United States was unable to ascertain the intentions

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1- Dr. Hussein Sharif, *The United States of Independence and Isolation*, Vol. Two, p. 477.

2- Dr. Ahmed Nouri Al-Nuaimi, *Decision-Making Process in Foreign Policy*, p. 561-562.

of the Soviets or whether they would achieve significant progress in strategic weapons. Accordingly, the US made decisions that led to its current superiority concerning its military power. Henry Kissinger had sensed what he called 'the missile gap.' He wanted to create a deterrent gap for that situation in the interest of the United States<sup>(1)</sup>. Henry Kissinger sensed the rise of a new position, called the "missile gap." It means the Soviet Union's superiority in the number of missiles would continue for the next four years (from 1961 to 1965).

On the other hand, some deny the idea of the missile gap, ascribing it to Kissinger's imagination<sup>(2)</sup>. Nevertheless, President Kennedy and his Defense Secretary McNamara were keen to hide the absence of the missile gap from the American people. During the first six months, Kennedy sent three letters to Congress requesting an increase of one billion dollars in defense expenditure, a large part of which was allocated to strategic weapons. As a result, upon Kennedy's death, the United States had achieved an overwhelming superiority over the Soviet Union in intercontinental missiles and Polaris missiles, thus creating a dangerous imbalance in the arms race<sup>(3)</sup>.

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1- Robert McNamara, 'The Essence of Security', Appendix (2) in The United States from Independence and Isolation to World Sovereignty 1783-2001, Vol. Two, p. 862-863.

2- Amin Huwaidi, p. 102.

3- Dr. Hussein Sharif, The United States of Independence, Vol. Two, p. 385.

## Section Two:

### Power Experts During the Presidency of Ronald Regan

Former US President Ronald Reagan defeated Carter in the US presidential elections thanks to the role played by the experts and advisors of think tanks on whom Reagan relied. They helped him transform his conservative ideas into a political program that attracted the attention of American voters who were disappointed with Carter's failure in foreign policy on more than one level<sup>(1)</sup>. After Regan's victory, he rewarded the advisory team that accompanied him throughout the pre-election period. Among those chosen were Alan Gerbinspan as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Federal Reserve Bank, George Schultz as Secretary of State, Casper Weinberger as Secretary of Defense, and Richard Ellen as National Security Adviser<sup>(2)</sup>. During the presidency of Ronald Regan, the importance of the National Security Council and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs declined, the status of the President's advisor for national security affairs diminished, and the position of Secretary of State also diminished.

On the other hand, by appointing his friends to key government positions, Regan formed a wall around himself, preventing new ideas and people from reaching his office. Donald Reagan once said that his role was limited to a prime minister. Therefore, that period was

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1 Dr. Sabah Abd al-Razzaq Kubba, *American Think Tanks and their Role*, p. 102.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

marked by many complaints from senior government officials concerning the inability to reach the President and the impossibility of exchange of views and ideas with him. The Secretary of State and the President's advisor for national security affairs were among those officials who expressed dissatisfaction<sup>(1)</sup>.

It is worth noting that the concern of the United States European allies regarding the disintegration and conflict within the American administration characterized the 1970s. As a result, there were significant gaps between officials. The 1980s would decide how ideological solidarity among those officials could be saved. It has become clear that from time to time, radical differences appear between the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State., or between the Secretary of State and his senior aides. Such situations suggest that the US administration supposed to lead the world has become less efficient than required. The United States wished to remedy the case in the eighties to confront other ongoing global issues, mainly Soviet expansion<sup>(2)</sup>.

During the term of Reagan, the presidency returned to relying on advisors. This led to a decline in the role of the State Department. Accordingly, it strengthened the position of the president's assistants working in the

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abd al-Aziz Rabie, *The Making of American and Arab Policy*, p. 66.

2- Dr. Hussein Sharif, *The United States from Independence and Isolation to World Sovereignty 1783-2001*, Vol. Three: *From the Vietnam Disaster to Pioneering Star Wars 1969-1989*, The Egyptian General Book Organization, 2001, p. 897.

White House. In this regard, the Secretary of State, Shultz, demanded that the Secretary of State have an office in the White House to facilitate reaching the President. Therefore, Shultz began to confuse the importance of the President hearing the opinion of the Secretary of State and his desire to be close to the President. As modern American history indicates, no other President like Regan neglected the State Department and shortened its role.

Moreover, he managed the sale of American weapons to Iran without consulting the Secretary of State. He appointed approximately 40% of the United States ambassadors abroad from among his personal friends and political supporters, despite the majority having no previous knowledge of foreign policy affairs<sup>(1)</sup>. The arrival of Ronald Reagan to the presidency of the United States was not ordinary. There was a heated competition between two people and two parties that the United States of America had witnessed over four years. It was also an unprecedented victory for a strong-sounding, confrontational, ideological movement with multiple schools, rich in means, sometimes called the “new right,” the “neo-conservatives,” or also the “new nationalist movement”<sup>(2)</sup>. Therefore, Reagan’s tendencies were announced clearly. In foreign policy, he proposed the principle of anti-communism and the Soviet Union and tended to strike national liberation movements in the Third

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abd al-Aziz Rabie, *The Making of American and Arab Policy*, p. 38.

2- Dr. Ghassan Salameh: ‘Ideology and Foreign Policy: The Current American Administration’, in *The Arab Future*, Issue 29, July 1981, p. 108.

World. He also worked to undermine the foundations of foreign regimes that refused subordination to American policy. Reagan devised a magic wand of the word ‘military’ and its derivations based on that philosophy. He tended to implement it to deal with all international issues. In the United States, that magic wand expressed itself by directing vast sums of money to spend on the army and building many new weapons, including an attempt to develop Star Wars technology. In Central America, that wand referred to sending military advisors and equipment to El Salvador and Guatemala. As for the Middle East, that wand provided Israel with military aid, war equipment, and weapons technology. It also sent the Navy to Lebanon, attacked Libya, sent the American fleet to the Gulf, sold weapons to Iran secretly, and supplied Pakistan and the Mujahideen in Afghanistan with arms and military aid. These military steps were the first solutions to global problems, without resorting to any diplomatic initiative to solve the issues<sup>(1)</sup>.

In his farewell speech, Ronald Reagan said: “We aimed to change the nation, and instead, we changed the world.” Some pro-Reaganian analysts explained his sentence by proposing that his ideological campaign against the Soviet Union and its leader dealt a death blow to the Soviet regime. Moreover, the West won the ideological Cold War for sure. The background of that thinking is a deep ideological philosophy of history, just as Lenin believed that ideas are more powerful than cannons.

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abdul Aziz Rabie, p. 66.

Pro-Reaganian politicians criticized realist politicians such as George Kennan, Lippman, Morgenthau, and Kissinger because their ideas represented a misunderstanding of the Soviet Union.

Moreover, they believed that the Kissinger project of reconciliation between East and West was a moral compromise. It was unilateral ideological disarmament. From a military perspective, the Reagan school summed up its opinion on the impact of the American military construction, especially the strategic defense initiative on Soviet developments, by proposing that he left the Soviet Union and its leaders to choose one of the two options, both of which were difficult: either to keep pace with the American military construction to the point of bankruptcy or to confess their failure to do so. Accordingly, the Reagan school held that the American military construction process undertaken by the Reagan administration was the catalyst that gave a new dimension to the discussions with the Soviets. This transitional station pushed think tanks to propose extensive studies on how the Soviet Union was threatened to become a Third World country economically and socially. This idea became a public discussion after the presidency of Gorbachev<sup>(1)</sup>.

In Ronald Reagan's speech on September 1, 1982, he said: "Two main issues had to be addressed. The first was the strategic threat to the region posed by the Soviet

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1- Dr. Sayyid Amin Shalabi, 'Was Ronald Reagan Responsible for the End of the Cold War?', in *Journal of International Politics*, Al-Ahram Center, Cairo, Issue 158, October 2004, p. 55.

Union and its proxy states, which was demonstrated in the brutal war in Afghanistan. The other issue was the peace process between Israel and its Arab neighbors. As for the Soviet threat, we have supported our efforts to develop a common policy with our friends and allies to deter the Soviets and their agents from further expansion in the region and to confront them if necessary"<sup>(1)</sup>.

In Reagan's famous speech on the so-called "Empire of Evil" during a conference held by pastors in March 1983 in Florida, Ronald Reagan said: "I invite everyone to resist the temptation of pride, a temptation that may urge you to rise above the battle and to acknowledge that the guilt lies on both sides. So you ignore the evil empire's historical facts and aggressive motives... The temptation makes you content with saying that the rush to arms is just a misunderstanding, which makes you stand neutral in the struggle between good and evil... and right and wrong... I think we will be able to overcome the challenge... Communism is only another sad chapter in our history book...a chapter whose last pages are being written under our supervision". In less than two months later, Reagan launched the "Strategic Defense" initiative, which was an ambitious project aimed at protecting the United States from Soviet missiles, through a group of systems on the ground and in air. Soon, American newspapers started writing about 'Star Wars'<sup>(2)</sup>. Bernstein, of Polish origin (like

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1- Dr. Hussein Sharif, *The United States of Independence*, Vol. Three, p. 935.

2- Frank Danino, *CIA: A Political Story 1947-2007*, translated by Abeer Al-Mundhir, Al-Itashary Al-Arabi Publishing House, Beirut, 2009, p. 217-218.

the Pope), and biographer of Pope John Paul II, pointed out that since the sacred union was consecrated in June 1982, during Reagan's visit to the Holy See, the President later declared: "We realized that a grave mistake had been made in Yalta, and we found that we had to act... Solidarity is the ideal weapon in this war."<sup>(1)</sup> It is worth noting that Poland constituted one of the main points of pressure in Europe, especially after the declaration of martial law in 1981. Accordingly, Reagan decided to intervene in Poland through the CIA. This step won the full support of the Vatican. According to William Clark, the National Security Adviser of Reagan, that mission was of great importance: "The Supreme Pontiff and the President believed that they were entrusted with a spiritual mission. They shared the same opinion regarding the lies upon which atheistic communism was built. Once people realize the truth, communism will inevitably collapse"<sup>(2)</sup>.

As for the American historian, diplomat, and expert on Soviet affairs, George Kennan, he addressed the claim of the Reagan school. He proposed that the claim that any government has the ability and power to influence another large country's internal interactions is simply childish. No superpower can have such an influence on the internal developments of other countries. Regarding his traditional position criticizing the American focus on military force in interaction with the Soviet Union, Kennan denied that the American military construction

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1- Ibid., p. 217.

2- Frank Danino, p. 216.

in the eighties greatly influenced the changes in the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the results were sometimes unexpectedly contradictory. To contribute to strengthening the hardliners within the Soviet leadership and their opposition and obstruction of the reforms that Gorbachev was trying to achieve, Kennan argued that subjugating the Soviet Union was, in the first place, due to the forces that interacted within Soviet society, the most important of which was, according to Kennan, the loss of the illusion of the Soviet people regarding the ability of their state to provide the social and material benefits that it had promised. Furthermore, the dissatisfaction of ethnic minorities with their subjugation to the Russian majority and the increasing awareness of Soviet people of the conditions outside their country were other reasons that led to the Soviet failure. All these conditions, according to Kennan, led the Soviet leaders to conclude that only radical reform would prevent the deterioration of the Soviet Union's status and prestige<sup>(1)</sup>.

During the presidency of Reagan, the National Security Council became an enforcement agency and a tool for managing covert operations such as arms sales to Iran and assistance to the Contra forces. These steps were taken after the President had practically eliminated the need for planning foreign policy. In this regard, the Reagan administration was the least active and accomplished American administration in international relations despite remain-

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1- Dr. Sayyid Amin Chalabi, 'Was Ronald Reagan responsible for the end of the Cold War?', p. 56.

ing in power for eight consecutive years, exceeding the terms of all presidents since 1960. It is worth mentioning that without the Soviet attempts under Gorbachev's leadership to launch a serious campaign to ease international tension and find political solutions to some problems and regional wars, Reagan's term would most likely have ended without significant achievements in foreign policy<sup>(1)</sup>.

One of the significant challenges that Reagan faced was the outbreak of the Iran-Contra scandal in November 1986, when the Reagan administration was secretly selling weapons to Iran in exchange for help releasing the American hostages in Lebanon. Moreover, the profits of those deals were used to finance covert military support for the Nicaraguan rebels<sup>(2)</sup>.

That deal constituted the first episode of a political scandal, the biggest since the Watergate scandal. Although the law prohibited the CIA from supporting the rebels in Nicaragua, the Reagan administration did not stop from implementing its projects<sup>(3)</sup>. In 1986, some news was leaked. They showed that the CIA was involved in secret deals to sell weapons to Iran, arranged by the Reagan administration. The money from that deal was transferred to the rebels of Nicaragua. Concerning the

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1- Dr. Muhammad Abdul Aziz Rabie, p. 67.

2- Ronald Kessler, *Inside the CIA: The American Central Intelligence Agency*, 3rd edition, translated by Malik Fadel Al-Badiri, Al-Ahlia Publishing House, 1998, p. 269; For more details regarding Iran Gate, see: Dr. Ahmed Nouri Al-Nuaimi, *Iranian Foreign Policy, 1979-2011*, Al-Jinan Publishing House, Amman, 2012, p. 279-286.

3- Frank Danino, *CIA: A Political Story*, p. 226.

Contras, in 1985, Reagan said: “They are our brothers, these freedom fighters. They are the moral equivalent of our Founding Fathers, the brave men, and women of the French Resistance. We cannot abandon them because that struggle is not a struggle of the Right against the Left. It is a struggle of justice against injustice.”<sup>(1)</sup> Despite Congress’s ban on arms sales to Iran and Reagan’s promise not to negotiate with terrorists, his special advisor in the National Security Agency, Robert McFarlane, was allowed to pursue the case. The Secretary of Defense, Casper Weinberger<sup>(2)</sup>, and one of his close advisors, General Colin Powell, believed that the idea was absurd and illogical, just like the original idea of holding negotiations with Gaddafi in a calm atmosphere.

However, William J. Casey, the director of the CIA (1981-1987), supported the idea that President Reagan soon adopted. After his stormy meeting with the families of the hostages, he proposed his new idea. During the exchange of hostages, dozens of missiles were sold to Tehran through the CIA<sup>(3)</sup>. Due to the importance of Buckley’s position<sup>(4)</sup>, various proposals from the various

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1- Ashraf Shteivi, *The Fall of the CIA*, The Egyptian General Book Committee, Cairo, 2013, p. 92.

2- He was the Secretary of Defense in Reagan’s second term. He was convicted of perjury (lying) while testifying before Congress and government investigators regarding the Iran-Contra case in which President Ronald Reagan’s administration was involved. Weinberger had to attend the court in 1993. Although he was innocent, former US President George Herbert Walker Bush pardoned him in 1992. See: <http://ency.kaaomb.com>.

3- Frank Danino, *CIA: A Political Story*, p. 225.

4- One of the hostages was William Buckley, who enjoyed an important posi-



intelligence services were made to save Buckley. One of the proposals included spraying large areas of West Beirut with a non-toxic, short-acting type of immobilizer, and then a special team carried out the rescue operation. This proposal was quickly rejected because the United States objected (timidly) to Iraq's use of poison gas against Iran.

Another problem was how can the effect of the gas be determined on the area where the hostages were. And what would the Soviets - let alone America's allies - react if the gas made its employees faint? Echoes of memories of Vietnam had returned to the Reagan administration when disturbing news arrived of the killing of a member of the Hezbollah organization in Beirut. He was murdered due to torture with an electric shock machine at the hands of a CIA enthusiast who was immediately summoned to the United States and fired from his job. The incident gave Iran and Hezbollah yet another excuse to pressure Buckley. Reagan entered a significant conflict with Congress regarding providing aid to the Contras<sup>(1)</sup>. At the time, the United States supported the revolutionaries in Nicaragua.

Nevertheless, Congress rejected Reagan's request. In this regard, some believe that the only reason for the Iran-Contra affair, which included profits from secret

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tion. He was the director of the CIA HQ in Beirut. He had thirty years of experience in his specialty. However, he was kidnapped due to his neglect of some security rules. See: Frank Danino, *CIA: A Political Tale*, p. 224).

1- John Cooley, *The Harvest: America's Long War in the Middle East*, 5th edition, translated by Ashour Al-Shams, Al-Makatab Publishing House, 2014, p. 218-219.

arms sales to Iran that were used secretly to help the Nicaraguan contras, is that the President has changed National Security Advisors more than once<sup>(1)</sup>. For example, a National Security Advisor, Colonel Oliver North, tried to develop a complex plan to avoid this problem. The project sought to make Washington sell weapons to Iran on the condition that Iran releases the American hostages in Lebanon. As for the proceeds of that secret deal, they can be invested in the interest of the Contra rebels in Nicaragua<sup>(2)</sup>.

On November 24, 1986, Attorney General, Edwin Mees, discovered a memorandum explaining Oliver North's plan. The following day, he advised Reagan to announce that plan immediately so that he would not be accused of covering up North. The President met the National Security Adviser and informed him of North's program. Nevertheless, he praised North, calling him a hero, while Admiral John Poend, a National Security Adviser, resigned after the scandal hovered around him.

George Shultz, the US Secretary of State, mentioned in his memoirs that it was fate that made him sign the first indication of a swap of weapons for hostages when he learned that the National Security Adviser Robert MacFarlane and several National Security Council employees wanted to send weapons to Iran in an attempt to release an American hostage with Israeli intervention. He entered into four significant conflicts between mid-

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1- Dr. Ahmed Nouri Al-Nuaimi, *The Decision-Making Process in Politics*, p. 565.

2- *Ibid.*, p. 566.

1985 and the fall of 1986 to stop a deal like that<sup>(1)</sup>. As he mentions, he felt every time that his point of view was the correct one. However, the process did not stop. In the two meetings with the President and senior advisors, they insisted on selling arms to Iran, whether or not it was related to the release of the hostages. Shultz objected to this step, believing it would violate American policy and destroy its dignity. He added that the case involved suspicious personalities who tried to deceive the administration into implementing their goals<sup>(2)</sup>. MacFarlane sought to become the Secretary of State, as was the case with Henry Kissinger. However, in an unannounced way, as Kissinger succeeded in opening new channels with China, MacFarlane also sought to open new channels with Iran. McFarlane also wanted to achieve that goal secretly, away from the intervention of the National Security Council, and then surprise the President with the success of bringing Iran back into the American path<sup>(3)</sup>.

It is worth noting that after acknowledging the Iran-gate issue, Hashemi Rafsanjani considered it one of the glories of diplomatic work. He said, "It was necessary for us because of the context of the war and its necessities. However, it was also a conscious choice on our part. It remained under our control in all its details. When I

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1- George Schultz, *Turbulence and Victory (Memoirs)*, Part 1, translated by Muhammad Mahmoud Dabour et al., Al-Ahlia Publishing House, Amman, 1994, p. 276.

2- *Ibid.*, p. 277.

3- *Ibid.*, p. 314.

evaluate it now, I classify it as part of the glories of our diplomatic attempts. However, the polluted political situation sometimes allows some to say whatever they want without reckoning. In this initiative, we created a real split in the American administration, a crisis that has haunted them for years. It is almost turning into a scandal similar to the Watergate scandal. In return, we were able to obtain several privileges. It also benefited us politically. We only paid the price for relentless efforts to release Western hostages who were being held in Lebanon. We believed that the human side of the issue required our intervention. We could obtain our needs of TOW and Hog missiles and optical equipment for our departments without accepting the obligations of negotiations.”<sup>(1)</sup>

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1- Muhammad Sadiq al-Husseini, The President Sheikh from the Village of Red Sapphires to the Golden Throne of Leadership, Riyad al-Rayyes Publishing House, Beirut, 2004, p. 98-99.

## **Topic Three**

### **A Study of Power Experts after the Cold War**

#### **Section One**

##### **A Study of Power Experts during the Presidency of George W. Bush**

George W. Bush began his career as a former CEO of an oil company and later as governor of Texas, with a minimal interest in foreign policy. Bush entered into significant dealings with Mexico in the energy field and issues that can be described as trans-border. Otherwise, he lacked extensive experience or a strong presence in international affairs. Although Bush may have adopted opinions and ideas characterized by some Clarity and mastery, he proved that he possessed an innate, high-level ability to apply the saying: “Anything but Clinton’s policies.” Through his work with his campaign advisors, including Condoleezza Rice, he could redefine his wish to adopt realism in his politics<sup>(1)</sup>. Bush and Condoleezza Rice, his first National Security Advisor and later his Secretary of State in his second term believed that Clinton’s biggest mistake was directing the American power toward issues of minor importance, such as Bosnia, Somalia, and Kosovo, while ignoring the new threats arising from emerging

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1- Matthew Rhodes, ‘USA: Unipolar Postpolar Leadership’, in *Great Powers and Strategic Stability in the Twenty-First Century: Competing Visions of the World Order*, edited by Graeme Hurd, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, 2013, p. 178-179.

significant powers, such as Beijing and Moscow. According to the Bush administration, those significant powers could only harm the United States. However, Saddam Hussein was not excluded from the list of troublemakers. This name was kept concealed until the right time to reveal that little secret<sup>(1)</sup>.

After the attacks of September 11, 2001, George W. Bush took a decisive step towards implementing a new American strategy by carrying out pre-emptive strikes, which became the basis of the military doctrine that bore his name. According to that doctrine, any country or company that produces or uses weapons of mass destruction will be subjected to military preventive strikes. In other words, the United States has the right to deal with any threat directed toward its national security. Accordingly, American foreign policy changed its direction. There was a transition from the deterrence strategy that was adopted during the Cold War to a new strategy that is the pre-emptive special military strikes in the twenty-first century. In this regard, the greatest country in the world put an end to the traditional world order. The radicalism of the Bush doctrine cannot be compatible with the Charter of the United Nations, nor with international law that took more than a hundred years to be formulated. Therefore, preemptive wars do not respect international law except in particular respects. Preventive war is one of the central principles of the Bush doctrine, which is based, in essence, on the desire to ensure control for the

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1- Leslie Gelb, p. 66.

United States. This doctrine depends on the idea that the United States cannot rely on deterrence to defend itself against the threats posed by international terrorism and failed states. The supporters of this doctrine believe that the volume of contract costs for the necessary work is much higher than the volume of preventive work costs. In this regard, Dick Cheney, the former Vice President, said Iraq must be struck before it acquires nuclear weapons. It was clear that he invoked the doctrine of preventive war, unlike preemptive war, which is launched when there is an imminent attack. Preventive war is using force against a target country before it poses an imminent danger. This strategy implies that the evidence supporting preventive action is often ambiguous or refutable at worst. According to international law, preemptive war is a legitimate act of self-defense. However, the same cannot be true about preventive war. The logic of preventive war is what justified the invasion of Iraq. It was the symbolic moment when the United States declined from being a dominant country responsible for maintaining order to a corrective imperial power that wanted to change the game's rules<sup>(1)</sup>.

Part of Bush's doctrine was presented in his speech at the US Military Academy graduation ceremony at West Point on June 1, 2002. In his remarks, Bush gave three main directions for US foreign policy, which are the following:

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1- Tim Dunn and Klegda Molag, *America after Iraq*, in *The Future of American Power*, Joseph Nye et al., Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Issue 105, Abu Dhabi, 2012, p. 51.

- Protect the world from the threats of terrorists and rogue states.
- Preserve peace by establishing good relations with the great powers.
- Expand the spread of peace through the cooperation of free societies on all continents.

He also declared in his speech that the strategy of 'restraint' that was in effect during the Cold War has no value now in light of any threat from terrorist networks that cannot be limited to a specific country or people. Therefore, there is no way out for the United States unless it is ready to take pre-emptive strikes when necessary to protect freedom and people's lives<sup>(1)</sup>. To better understand Bush's foreign policy, the focus is not on the Jacksonian impulses of Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld, Bush's Texas background, or the neoconservatives' sinister plot. Indeed, the decisive factor in Bush's policies was 9/11 and the decade preceding the attack when the United States was roaming the international arena freely. However, some domestic constraints—money, Congress, and public opinion—made it difficult for Washington to adopt a unilateral or aggressive foreign policy<sup>(2)</sup>. Bush adopted an ambitious ideology after the "Twin Towers" fell on September 11. It included the connection between the liberal ideals of former US President Wilson on the one hand, and the perception of an offensive neoconservative,

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1- See Appendix 3 in F. j. Kralov, *Emperor of All Earth or Secrets New World Order*, translated by M. Muntajab Younes, Dar Aladdin, Damascus, 2007, p. 493.

2- Dr. Ahmed Nuri Al-Nuaimi, *The Decision-Making Process*, p. 512.

relying on force on the other hand, in addition to the dominance of this doctrine over American strategy throughout his years in the White House. The Bush Doctrine provided the ideological basis for the 'global war on terrorism,' especially the pursuit of al-Qaeda through the invasion of Afghanistan and the war on Iraq. It also imposed the unrestricted use of force to bring about social and political changes abroad<sup>(1)</sup>. 9/11 was a significant turning point in American policy towards the world. The administration of Bush, which was dominated by the neo-conservative movement, worked to exploit these events and employ them to strengthen American hegemony over the world and reformulate the global system. This tendency was based on new foundations and principles in international relations that served American interests in the first place, the most prominent of which was the declaration of a preventive war anywhere in the world that America deems a threat to its security. It allowed itself to use all means possible, including military intervention, changing existing political systems, and introducing new moral values. The new administration started working upon the principle it taught: He who is not with us is against us<sup>(2)</sup>. CBS News once mentioned that before going to bed on September 11, President George W. Bush wrote in his diary - quoted by the Washington Post on January 27, 2002: "Today Pearl Harbor of the twenty-first century

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1- Dr. Fawaz Gerges, *Obama and the Middle East*, p. 103.

2- Abeer Bassiouni and Arafa Ali Radwan, *American Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya Publishing House, 2011, p. 43.

took place”<sup>(1)</sup>.

The following day after the 9/11 attacks, the President wanted to link the attacks with Saddam Hussein. Clark recounted this situation in the news: “The President asked for a meeting. He closed the door and said, “I want to know if Iraq did this.” I said, “Mr. President, we’ve done this before and scrutinized this matter with an open mind; there was no connection.” He replied, “Iraq, Saddam, find out if there is a connection.” So we gathered all the FBI and CIA experts. They prepared the report clearly, and we sent it to President Bush. The result of the report was the denial of any relation to Saddam Hussein. The President replied: “Wrong answer, rewrite it again”<sup>(2)</sup>. It is worth noting that the idea of ‘preventive strategy’ was previously encountered by Henry Kissinger in his book *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* in 1957. He mentions that the British Empire was at the height of its power when it adopted the preventive defense strategy to preserve the status quo by carrying out preventive actions against any bad intentions without hesitation or waiting<sup>(3)</sup>.

During the presidency of Bush, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice was able to overthrow Secretary of State, Colin Powell. She allied with the neoconservatives, led by Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of

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1- David Ray Griffin, *Suspicious about 9/11, Disturbing Questions about the Bush Administration and the Events of 9/11*, Al-Arabia Iel Oloom Publishing House, translated by Arabization and Programming Institute, Beirut, 2005, p. 13.

2- Al Gore, p. 162-163.

3- Amin Huwaidi, *Kissinger and the Management of International Conflict*, p. 158.

Defense Rumsfeld. She challenged the Secretary of State, who disagreed with the neo-conservatives and their extremist ideas<sup>(1)</sup>. They were afraid of him because the man was chief of staff, and he had great military and strategic experience. He was evaluating matters with rational scales in the political and strategic sense.

Moreover, he did not accept the extremist neo-conservative policy of invading Iraq. It was apparent what parties directly influenced the President, including the National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and his assistant Paul Wolfowitz. Colin Powell saw himself as the only one serving in the military from among his circle of advisors and friends in the administration. They also gave him an unappropriated label, that of 'the dove of peace.' They tried to detach the President from the chatter of world peace from the State Department<sup>(2)</sup>. The President's most influential advisors, Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld worked closely with former President Nixon. All reports show that both Cheney and Rumsfeld were staunch advocates of the invasion of Iraq and the decision to suspend implementation of what was stated in the Geneva Convention on the prohibition of torture. It is no secret that both men opposed any reduction in the powers of the President, which was enacted after the Watergate scandal<sup>(3)</sup>. Al Gore, former US Vice President, once

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1- Hussein Kanaan, From George Washington to Obama, p. 77.

2- Kralov, p. 90.

3- Al Gore, p. 104.

mentioned that “we know Cheney, when he was directing the Halliburton Company, did a considerable amount of business with Iraq even though it was subject to United Nations sanctions at the time, and we also know that Cheney mentioned in a public speech addressed to the Institute of Petroleum in London in 1999, more than a year before he assumed the position of former Vice President George W. Bush, that in the next decade, the world would need an additional fifty million barrels of oil per day. Cheney asked himself: “Where will it come from?” Again, he answered his question: “From the Middle East, which owns two-thirds of the world’s oil and at the lowest cost, the grand prize is still there”<sup>(1)</sup>. According to Scowcroft, Dick Cheney became the most assertive Vice President and the most destructive in his lust to support executive power at the expense of Congress and legislative power. He undermined the approach of the check and balances on which the United States was founded.

Moreover, he had inappropriate policies, such as the theory of ‘the one percent.’ He believes that if there is a 1% possibility of threat, it must be encountered. He had a unique method to justify the personal work of torture and harmful influence on state affairs. Cheney remained the cornerstone of the crumbling project of pre-emptive war and the policy of non-negotiating with the enemy<sup>(2)</sup>. Donald Rumsfeld’s name has been associated with the Abu Ghraib prison. He is the bully at the Pentagon who writes

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1- Ibid., p. 178-179.

2- Dr. Sayed Amin Shalabi, *Theories on International Relations*, p. 170-171.

the free audit of information. According to Scowcroft, he is an enigma, obstruction, devious, and deceitful. In American living memory, his war strategy has hurt his country more than any other Secretary of Defense<sup>(1)</sup>.

Rumsfeld was fascinated to the bone marrow by the American politician Henry Kissinger, who said about the young Rumsfeld: "He is a capable and wise bureaucratic politician, distinguished by soothing qualities. He has a solid determination. His abilities must not be underestimated."<sup>(2)</sup>

The administration of President George W. Bush did not publish a formal foreign affairs strategy. However, the centrality of the war on terrorism in its foreign policy makes the National Security Strategy document of the United States, published for the first time in September 2002 and then updated in March 2006, the primary document<sup>(3)</sup>. According to legislation passed by the US Congress in 1986, requiring US administrations to issue a paper on the US national security strategy every four years. As for the 2002 strategy, it was published in the wake of 9/11. Therefore, it came to reflect the impact of those events and their change in the concepts of American security, considering that the global security environment has changed. In this regard, the essential pillar of that strategy is the concept of 'preemptive strikes,' which is the concept according to which the United States can

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1- Ibid., p. 199.

2- Kralov, p. 105.

3- Terry L. Dibble, p. 630.

anticipate dangers and act if necessary to thwart them before they take place. President Bush explained that concept when he said: “We cannot wait for the dangers to compile.” The war on Iraq in March 2003 embodied that concept and its application, which sparked controversy regarding the continuity of that theory<sup>(1)</sup>.

The national security strategy of George W. Bush, which was developed in 2006, is the same one adopted one year after the 9/11 attacks, i.e., the strategy of 2002<sup>(2)</sup>. It has become more precise than before, as it reaffirms that spreading democracy and a free economy in the world is the key to peace and prosperity. It has maintained unilateralism, emphasizing the country’s willingness to move forward with its plans alone without the help of anyone, as well as reaffirming the role of preventive action, generating different visions. It may not be far from the truth if we say that the most prominent example of the influence of the intellectual orientations of a specific group on the American President in his capacity as the first person in the presidential institution is the example of President George W. Bush. He relied on a group of thinkers who rejected the centrist current to form the backbone of the American administration after their ideas drew the nature of the direction of American foreign policy, whereby the military force was elevated as the primary means of change that contributed to achieving

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1- Dr. Sayyid Amin Shalabi, *Perspectives on International Relations*, p. 166.

2- Terry L. Dibble, p. 47.

the goals<sup>(1)</sup>. In another graduation speech on June 1, 2002, Bush mentioned that during the past century, the United States adopted the defense doctrine used during the Cold War. It is based on the principle of 'deterrence.' The strategy is still valid today in some cases. Still, despite this, the new threats require a unique style of thinking, and the policy of deterrence - that is, mutual destruction - is not suitable for confronting underground terrorist networks. Those networks do not have a homeland or people to defend. Therefore, the principle of 'deterrence' is useless and cannot be applied in the audacity of some dictatorial leaders who use weapons of mass destruction. They never hesitate to use or deliver them to terrorist groups with which they are linked<sup>(2)</sup>. Writing about Bush's first term, the Egyptian writer Muhammad Hassanein Heikal believes that influence starts with an idea. The ideas driving the American decision now are flowing from think tanks.

For example, the American Enterprise Institute AEI coined and popularized the idea of 'rogue states.' It soon turned into a war strategy. Donald Rumsfeld and Condoleezza Rice are both essential players at the Hoover Institute. Likewise, Cheney and his wife are crucial in the American Institute for Research. Richard Perle, the director of the National Defense Council known as the 'Prince of Darkness,' is the most prominent advocate

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1- Dr. Amer Hashem Awwad, *The Role of the Presidency*, p. 339.

2- President Bush's speech in Appendix 3 in F. j. Karlov, *Emperor of All Earth*, p. 509.

for redrawing the map of the Middle East, starting with the war on Iraq. His research institute became the shadow government in America. Some have confirmed that the shadow government formulates the political decision and then presents it to the President to sign<sup>(1)</sup>. Among the dilemmas facing the President of the United States in the decision is choosing not between the vital and the important but between two vital interests, as presidents always want both. In 2006, Bush tried to push India into a tacit strategic alliance against China to fulfill his policy of combating nuclear proliferation. He sought to attract India to America's side by complying with its demand not to subject nuclear facilities run by the military to international inspection, as proposed by the Non-Proliferation Treaty. As for Russia, Bush had to choose between betting on Moscow to obtain its decisive assistance against Iran's nuclear efforts on the one hand and proceeding with the deployment of American anti-missile networks in Eastern Europe on the other hand. He tried to do both, and it was clear that he realized too late that the support of Russia regarding Iran was much more critical than the deployment of counter-missiles. The anti-missile technology was not ready yet, and Iran, according to US intelligence, will not be close to being able to produce high enough enriched uranium for arms until a period extending from 2010 to 2015<sup>(2)</sup>.

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1- Muhammad Hassanein Heikal, *The American Empire and the Raid on Iraq*, 3rd edition, Al-Shorouk Publishing House, 2004, p. 272.

2- Leslie Gelb, *Rules of Power*, p. 244-245.

In his book *The Study of History*, Arnold Toynbee concluded that the reason behind the collapse of empires is the suicide of political wisdom. In this regard, according to Brzezinski, it seemed as if that phrase applied to the policies pursued by the United States since the catastrophe of 9/11. However, there have been some hints recently that the administration may begin to recalibrate its objectives, crystallized in slogans related to its military intervention. Failing in Iraq, the President's October 6 speech was a throwback in favor of the demagogic formulas he used during his 2004 election campaign to justify the war he started, a war advocated by a limited circle of decision-makers for reasons that have not yet been fully disclosed. Its promotion through demagogic slogans based on false assurances has become more costly in blood and money than expected. It also led to worldwide criticism at a time when the United States became an heir to British imperialism in the Middle East and a partner to Israel in the military oppression of the Arabs<sup>(1)</sup>. Since the presidency of Bush, there has been a shift in the orientations of American foreign policy from the pragmatic style to the ideological model or unilateral view of the world. According to this new American policy, many issues have been encountered, including terrorism, preventive strikes, and the case of Palestine<sup>(2)</sup>.

Al Gore proposes that Bush's reactionary ideology,

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1- Zbigniew Brzezinski, *George Bush: It's Suicidal Statecraft*, Asharq Al-Awsat Newspaper, Issue 9813, October 10, 2005.

2- Dr. Sayed Amin Shalabi, *Perspectives on International Relations*, p. 166.

not his religious faith, is the source of his disturbing inertia. Whatever his religious views, he has absolute certainty in the validity of his strict right-wing ideology. He does not feel the same desire as others towards the ongoing issues. As a result, he ignores the warnings of his experts, overcomes their opposition, and often refuses to reconsider his assumptions, which contradict tangible facts and data. He is detached from reality. His indifference endangers the safety and security of the American people. The Bush administration showed its contempt for the foundations of the logical decision-making process. However, the distinguishing feature of this administration is its organized effort to twist the arm of truth to serve an oppressive ideology, which the administration deems more important than the basic principles of integrity<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1- Al Gore, p. 99.

## Section Two:

### A Study of Power Experts during the Presidency of Barack Obama

Barack Obama's<sup>(1)</sup> strong prominence has been observed since he delivered his essential speech in July 2004 during the Democratic Party Convention. He proposed that there is no liberal America and a conservative America: there is the United States of America; there is no black America, or white America, or Latin America, or Asian America: there is the United States of America. We are one<sup>(2)</sup>. Obama inherited a deteriorating American situation from his predecessor politically, economically, and militarily. He was required to get out of those situations with minimal losses and damages. Since he arrived in the White House in January 2009, jurisprudence has not stopped regarding defining his principle or belief in foreign policy. Some say that his policies are merely an extension of the liberal current that believes in international cooperation, multilateral efforts, and its hesitation to use military

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1- Barack Hussein Obama: He is the forty-fourth Democratic President of the United States. He is the first black American President of African descent. He assumed the presidency for two consecutive terms, from January 20, 2009, until January 19, 2017. He is considered the most prominent figure in the United States. He enjoys high popularity among various groups of the American people. Attention was drawn to him when he obtained 70 percent of the votes of Illinois voters in the Senate elections in 2004, thus becoming the fifth black American to reach the Senate in the history of the United States. 70 percent is considered the highest percentage obtained by a candidate for Senate in the history of the country. See: [www.whitehouse.gov/administration/president-Obama](http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/president-Obama).

2- Dr. Amer Hashem Awwad, p. 328.

force in dealing with Problems. Others viewed his foreign policy as an example of realism and pragmatism, which looks at the world as it is, not as it should be, and seeks to gradually improve it, considering international data on the ground. Other thinkers believe that Obama's foreign policy lacks vision and leadership because it is based on romantic ideas<sup>(1)</sup>.

The main question regarding Obama's foreign policy was whether he had built and adopted a theory or doctrine that guides his policy, as American presidents have done since the end of World War II. In this regard, several experts and analysts counted that the international environment that Obama faced, the ongoing development, and the complexity of power relations did not allow Obama to formulate what can be considered a well-defined doctrine or theory similar, for example, to the policy of containment adopted by former President Truman with the onset of the Cold War conflict and competition. However, other analysts attribute to Obama a theory he crystallized in his speech when he received the Nobel Peace Prize. He said that the old structure of thinking about war and peace is being adopted. Now, thinking in new ways about the ideas of just war and peace is required.

The administration of President Obama also relied heavily on the experts of think tanks and their various consultations. President Obama relied on some think

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1- Dr. Muhammad Kamal: 'Obama's principle and his Middle Eastern policy', in Journal of International Politics, Al-Ahram Center, Cairo, Issue 201, July 2015, p. 70.

tanks and had close relations with the leaders of some of those institutes<sup>(1)</sup>. Two fundamental characteristics characterized the think tanks to which Obama resorted: the first characteristic of these institutes is that they are centrist, pragmatic, and technocratic. They are also progressive and idealist. These features reflected Obama's personality, his way of managing the administration, and the type of institutions he relied on to obtain expertise and advice. Those think tanks were full of experts and advisors. His administration staff in the White House were experts from those institutes, most importantly Brookings Foundation, The Center for American Progressive (CAP), and The Center for a New American Security (CNAS)<sup>(2)</sup>.

The Obama principle is based on a group of main ideas that the American President believed. He spoke about them on various occasions. The most important of these ideas is American power. This idea relates to the status of the United States in today's world. It seems clear in the writings of some international relations theorists who Obama, including Stephen Walt, the famous professor of international relations at Harvard University, influenced. Walt believes that any discussion of American strategy must begin with defining the distinctive position of the United States globally and to what extent it enjoys security and not feeling the slightest anxiety about defending itself

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1- Dr. Sabah Abd al-Razzaq Kubba, US President Barack Obama's foreign policy towards Iraq, p. 218.

2- Dr. Sabah Abd al-Razzaq Kubba, p. 221.

against any foreign invasion or threat<sup>(1)</sup>. To understand and explore the depths of Obama's doctrine and foreign policies, Colin Dueck, a professor of International Affairs at George Mason University in the United States, published a book titled *The Obama Doctrine: American Grand Strategy Today*. According to Dueck, the Obama doctrine is based on two main axes. The first is reducing American engagement in international affairs, in exchange for focusing on the American interior to build the United States from the inside.

Moreover, it adopts liberal initiatives to preserve American global position in light of global changes. Second, the Obama Doctrine assumes the policy of containment of the opponents (China, Russia, Iran) and offers them concessions to change their anti-American behavior on the international level<sup>(2)</sup>. President Obama avoided discussing his principles and foreign policy during the past years. However, he finally decided to put an end to the jurisprudence that is related to this field. In an interview with the American journalist Thomas Friedman, published in the *New York Times* on April 5, 2015, he declared that his principle is summed up in the following phrase: 'Engagement' while preserving other capabilities. Engagement means diplomacy. The United States prioritizes diplomatic tools in dealing with other countries, especially its opponents while maintaining the right to use different economic and

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1- Dr. Muhammad Kamal, *The Obama Doctrine*, p. 71.

2- Amr Abdel-Aty, 'Foreign Failures: American Literature on the Obama Administration's Dealing with International Crises', in *International Politics Journal*, Al-Ahram Center, Issue 203, January 2016, p. 188.

military means in case the prudent option fails<sup>(1)</sup>. Obama also believes that the policy of engagement or diplomacy can better serve America's interests than sanctions or endless isolation.

According to Obama, the United States will not lose anything from trying to use diplomatic means while keeping its other options. If it can solve problems through diplomacy, the United States and its allies will be better positioned globally. Once diplomacy proves that it does not lead to better results, the United States can change its policies and adopt other options. Military superiority will remain the distinct American feature that deters other countries. According to Obama, military force should only be used as the last option and only after all other political and economic tools have been exhausted. He set many criteria for using that force, the most important of which is that it should be used when necessary, proportionate, and just<sup>(2)</sup>. Unlike his predecessor, George W. Bush, who refused to "negotiate with evil," Obama carved his leadership of foreign policy along the policy of John Kennedy and the centrist Republican George H. W. Bush. Obama pledged to reach out politically to the enemies: "I will meet not only our friends, but our enemies as well because I remember what Kennedy said, that we do not negotiate out of fear, and we are not afraid to negotiate." More than ever, he insisted that diplomacy and engagement are necessary to rebuild: "Our alliances rebuild our relations around the

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1- Dr. Muhammad Kamal, *The Obama Doctrine*, p. 70.

2- *Ibid.*

world and practically make us more secure in the long run.” By relying on excessive militarization and avoiding direct contact with its opponents, Obama made it clear that the administration of George W. Bush had caused severe damage to the vital national interests of the United States in the moral world.

Conversely, Obama believed that integrating extremist countries (such as Iran and Cuba) into the international system and regularly dealing with them would have a transformative effect on them and persuade them to abandon their extremist tendencies in exchange for dealing with them as average powers, that is, dealing with them in a usual way<sup>(1)</sup>. This policy will transform these countries into regular and moderate states and support the reformist forces within them. It will also lead to their integration into the international system<sup>(2)</sup>.

The National Security Strategy of the United States, published on May 27, 2010, reflected the vision of the American administration for its global influence, which aimed to strengthen the ability of the United States to play its leading role in the new world order to achieve its interests in the twenty-first century, by working on two tracks. The first is to build its internal strength, while the other is to work on formulating a global system that can face international challenges by reconsidering cooperative or participatory approaches and alliances capable of achieving global success. At the same time, the United States

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1- Dr. Fawaz Gerges, *Obama and the Middle East*, p. 129-130.

2- Dr. Muhammad Kamal, *Obama's Principle and Policy*, p. 71.

can strike a balance between the hard and soft powers, called 'Smart Power'<sup>(1)</sup> <sup>(2)</sup>. In this regard, in Obama's first term, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said: "I have stressed, since I assumed my position as US Secretary of State, the need to raise the level of diplomacy and development alongside defense, which is what I call the 'smart power approach,' to solve global problems." However, the success of this approach requires the strengthening and expanding American civil power, which must be better balanced with American military power, according to US Secretary of Defense Robert Gates. He proposed in his speech in August 2010 that there must be a change in attitude by acknowledging the critical role played by the US Department of State and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)<sup>(3)</sup>; that role must be pioneering the new strategy (National Security Strategy of 2010) which adopts 'soft power diplomacy' instead of 'cowboy diplomacy.' In her analysis, Hillary Clinton indi-

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1- Jamal Sanad Al-Suwaidi, *Horizons of the American Era*, p. 482.

2- Smart Power: It is an integrated strategy that seeks to combine hard and soft power. Smart power needs well-funded and well-equipped balanced institutions, and there should be a kind of cooperation and coordination between soft and hard power institutions, in order to achieve the goals of the country's foreign policy. See: Ernest J. Wilson, *Hard Power - Soft Power - Smart Power, U.S.A.:* SAGE Publications, 2008, PP. 116-118.

Joseph Nye had previously proposed the American influence in the international system does not depend on military and economic capabilities; it also depends on values. Therefore the continuity of the influential capabilities of the United States over other countries depends on the extent of the spread of American culture in the digital age. See: Jihad Odeh, *International Conflict: Concepts and Issues*, 2nd Edition, Al-Dalil Publishing House, 2014, p. 214.

3- Hillary Clinton, *Leadership Through Civilian Power*, p. 25.

cated that the United States needs to use its international strength differently. The US cannot depend only on the military model of diplomacy. To clarify the essence of American foreign policy, she said: "We are not less powerful. But we need to use our power in different forms. We are now shifting from force's direct use and application to a more sophisticated mixture. So smart power is not just a slogan; in reality, it means something deeper"<sup>(1)</sup><sup>(2)</sup>. She added: "America cannot solve the most pressing problems, just as the world cannot solve those without America. Rather, we must use what is called smart power, which is a complete series of mechanisms under our command"<sup>(3)</sup>. Among the most prominent examples of the United States' use of intelligence power are its dealings with global terrorism, the Iranian crisis, and its indirect support for protests in Egypt and Tunisia. The national security strategy announced by the Obama administration on May 27, 2010, which adopts the principle of 'change,'

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1- Dr. Abeer Bassiouni and Arafa Ali Radwan, p. 69.

2- John Brennan, Senior Adviser to President Barack Obama, later appointed to serve as Director of the CIA, explained that the new strategy shows that the United States does not consider itself at war with Islam, because "We have never been and will not be at war with Islam." John Brennan's talk aims to improve the image of American politics and consolidate the principles of President Barack Obama in building logical relations with the Islamic world after its image was corrupted by the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq. Moreover, the scandals of secret prisons of the American intelligence, the mistreatment of prisoners in Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo, and the use of the term "Islamic fascism" by the previous administration to describe the pattern of thinking in the Islamic nation were all some reasons that led to the distrust of the Muslims in American intentions. See: Dr. Abeer Bassiouni and Arafa Ali Radwan, p. 51.

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. *The Future of Power*, Public Affairs, New York, 2011, p. ix.

3- Jamal Sanad Al-Suwaidi, p. 497.

raised two main questions: to what extent did the new strategy reflect the Obama administration's approach to US foreign policy, and does it represent a change in American thought and practice compared to the two administration strategies of former Presidents?<sup>(1)</sup>

Obama's policy in foreign affairs is characterized by selectivity. Obama used to discuss the importance of multilateral cooperation to achieve foreign policy goals and praised international law. Therefore, he sometimes appeared as a liberal who believed in global or international orientations. On the other hand, Obama opposed the policy of former President George W. Bush in Iraq, which considers a violation of law and morals. He was unwilling to risk getting involved in the region's affairs, making him seem a realist who took the defender's position. One of the crucial indications in this regard is that when assuming office in his first term, Obama kept the Secretary of Defense, Robert Gates, a Republican, in office. He served during the administration of George H. W. Bush and Bush Jr. Later, he appointed Chuck Hagel, the Secretary of Defense, a pragmatic Republican<sup>(2)</sup>. Hillary Clinton once noted that Obama "has ushered in a new era of interaction based on shared interests, values, and mutual respect."<sup>(3)</sup>

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1- Dr. Abeer Bassiouni and Arafa Ali Radwan, p. 45.

2- Joan Cole, American Policy in the Middle East during the Second Presidential Term of Barack Obama, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Emirates Lecture Series 167, Abu Dhabi, 2014, p. 4.

3- Hussein Kanaan, From George Washington to Obama, p. 114.

Obama sought to eliminate the legacy of his predecessor, George W. Bush, and the problems he left behind. Unfortunately, however, it collided with two main factors: the internal factor, which is represented by the role of the pressing forces and their interests, and the external factor, which is characterized by the lack of cooperation between Europe, Russia, and China in that direction. The internal aspect is represented by the apparent contradictions that control the course of affairs and the strategic position of the United States. Yet, with all that, no one can separate the internal factor from the external factor because of the American structure, as the two are complementary<sup>(1)</sup>. Therefore, Obama's attitude towards the Palestinian-Israeli peace process and the crisis of Afghanistan belonged to the structural-institutional continuity in American foreign policy. In this regard, Middle Eastern policy has been subjected, more than anywhere else in the world, to the influences of institutional, bureaucratic, and domestic policies, mainly the advocates of the school of 'Israel First'<sup>(2)</sup>.

The Obama administration was greatly influenced by the recommendations of the 'Baker-Hamilton' report<sup>(3)</sup>.

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1- Ibid., p. 5.

2- Dr. Fawaz Gerges, *Obama and the Middle East*, p. 342.

3- The Baker-Hamilton Committee: It is the Iraq Study Group, which was formed on March 15, 2006, at a meeting held in the Congressional Building. The two co-chairs of the group are former US Secretary of State James Baker (Republican), and the former chairman of the committee of International Relations of the House of Representatives Lee Hamilton (Democrat). The committee proposed 79 recommendations. Those recommendations urged the US administration to take four steps: withdrawing US forces from Iraq, increasing the number of US forces



It became an action plan regarding foreign policies, especially Iraq and Iran. Likewise, it is impossible to understand the dimensions of the relationship between the Obama doctrine and the Middle East without referring to the ideas put forward by Stephen Walt, a professor at Harvard University. Walt believes that the solution for the United States is to return to the strategy related to establishing a system of balance of power among the regional authorities<sup>(1)</sup>, which is the policy that the United States pursued in the period between 1945 to 1990 when it had a balancing role or external equivalent in the region. However, the main obstacle to that step is the unique relations of the United States with some regional powers, such as Egypt, Israel, and Saudi Arabia. Therefore, Walt

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in Afghanistan, revitalizing the Arab-Israeli peace process, and finally launching a diplomatic dialogue with the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Syrian government. See details of the report and recommendations: *Strategic Axes: Strategic Confusion in the Arc of Oil and Crises*, Strategic Center for Arab and International Studies, 5, Beirut, 2007, p. 70.

1- It is important to distinguish between regional balances on the one hand, and the balance of power in the international system in general on the other hand. Although historians often discuss the balance of power in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as if it represented the sum of international relations, this did not become an actual reality except in the short period in which European countries dominated the rest of the world. However, today the world is witnessing a number of regional balances dominated by a unipolar state. One of the most prominent disputed issues in the study of international relations is the relationship between the balance of power and the stability of the international system. See: Martin Griffiths and Whitrey O'Callaghan, *Basic Concepts in International Relations*, Gulf Research Center, Dubai, 2008, p. 156. For further reading, see: Richard Little, *Balance of Power in International Relations*, translated by Hani Tabari, Al-Kitab Al-Arabi Publishing House, Beirut, 2009. See also: Dr. Ibrahim Abu Khazam, *Wars and the Balance of Power*, Al-Ketab Al-Jadeed Al-Motaheda Publishing House, Beirut, 2009.

believes in the need for these relations to transform from special regards to normal relations. At the same time, the United States must establish a normal relationship to some extent with Iran that allows cooperation between the governments of the two countries on issues of common concern, such as the crisis in Afghanistan<sup>(1)</sup>. Obama believed that establishing a system for the balance of power in the Middle East, especially the Gulf region, is the guarantee that the United States would help reduce its presence in the region while at the same time preserving stability in that area. This balance is based on two forces: Iran on the one hand and the Sunni states in the region on the other hand: (the Gulf states mainly, in addition to Egypt and Turkey). This balance of forces will prevent the domination of one regional state over the Gulf region. This balance will also guarantee the continuation of oil flows while the United States maintains a good relationship with both sides<sup>(2)</sup>. Although Obama was well aware of the complex issues in the Middle East, he seemed hesitant to face them directly. He was far from the spirit of adventurous courage, preferring to rule by consensus at home and following national interests abroad. Based on those sensitivities that he and his closest assistants intervened in making decisions, he was not psychologically equipped to implement a transformative foreign policy contrary to the desires of the dominant discourse on foreign policy. In this regard, it is unsurprising that Obama backtracked

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1- Dr. Muhammad Kamal, p. 72.

2- Ibid., p. 73.

from his insistence at the beginning that Israel must stop building Jewish settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories to allow the Prime Minister of Israel to score a political victory<sup>(1)</sup>. The question that one might ask is why Obama made such a dramatic shift. "It is the power of domestic politics," said Zbigniew Brzezinski. Obama and his advisors had come to recognize that challenging the institutional status quo would mean the loss of votes and money. As a politician, Obama chose to play it safe and make concessions to special interest groups. However, his supporters justified his decisions, proposing that he proposed such compromises from a patriotic standpoint<sup>(2)</sup>.

Vali Nasr noted in his book, *The Dispensable Nation: American Foreign Policy in Retreat*. Nasr points out President Obama's advisors were young, non-experts in American foreign policy. Their expertise focused on the electoral campaigns of an accelerated nature of the conflict between the Republicans and Democrats. Perhaps that is why Chuck Hagel submitted his resignation from his position as the Secretary of Defense. Some analysts believe it was due to the President's marginalization of his opinions and advice in return for listening to his advisors<sup>(3)</sup>. It is worth noting that Chuck Hagel, who was criticized

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1- Dr. Fawaz Gerges, *Obama and the Middle East*, p. 327.

2- *Ibid.*, p. 328.

3- Amr Abdel-Aty, 'A Wobbly President: Former US Officials Criticize Obama's Foreign Policy', in *Journal of International Politics*, Issue (199), Al-Ahram Foundation, Cairo, January 2015, p. 169. For more details on this, see: Vali Nasr, *The Dispensable Nation*, translated and prefaced by Qais Qassem Al-Ajrash, Al-Maqdain for Publishing, Baghdad, 2016.

by the Republican conservatives because of his leniency with Iran, was in a hurry to withdraw from Afghanistan. He also refused to support Israel strongly. In 2006, he criticized President George W. Bush for supporting the Israeli war on Lebanon. He declared that “the sickening slaughter on both sides must end, and it must end now. President Bush must call for an immediate cease-fire. This foolishness must stop... Our relationship with Israel is special and historical, but it is unnecessary and cannot be at the expense of our Arab and Islamic relations. This is a false, irresponsible, and dangerous choice.” It is worth noting that he developed a strategic theory. He proposed that the United States needs, in the medium and long term, an independent leadership other than the traditional leadership of the Republican and Democratic parties<sup>(1)</sup>.

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1- Abdul Haq Azouzi, *The International Security Environment and How to Make Strategy*, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, 2013, p. 30-31.





