

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.63332/joph.v5i5.1370>

The constant and the Variable in US Foreign Policy

Esraa Qassim Ghanim Al-Gharawi¹

Abstract

A change in US administrations does not mean a change in the direction of its foreign policy. US goals are specific and consistent in light of a comprehensive strategy. A change in US administrations is simply a response to internal and external conditions. In addition to the strengths of the United States' ability to compete with emerging international powers, this is what we found in the change in administration under President Joe Biden, a Democrat with an idealistic foreign policy orientation. This contrasts with the administration of Donald Trump, a Republican with a realistic orientation, who relied on the use of force in its economic form.

Keywords: Constant, Variable, US Foreign Policy.

Introduction

The emergence of a major global power possesses the capabilities, will, and effective performance, in addition to its skill in confronting or limiting the American ability to control the international system through soft power, peaceful ascension, and the call to adhere to the rules of international law and not resort to military force in managing international crises and addressing goals and interests according to the foundations of partnership. The decline in the superiority of the United States' military and economic capabilities compared to those possessed by China, Russia, in addition to India and Brazil, will lead to a decline in the effectiveness of American foreign policy, with the ability of global powers to unify their forces according to the era of geo-economic, geo-political, and geo-military partnership, the goal of which is to stop the expansion of American hegemony over the world. The future of the United States' position and its effective global role depends on the extent of its ability to adapt to the developments of the new global system, which is witnessing the rise of new powers and the building of partnerships and organizations that possess the strength and ability to make it have a strong influence that exceeds some nation-states. Despite being the major military power in the world, we find it today stumbling severely, and we find its economy It is becoming more and more vulnerable due to the fierce competition it faces from other emerging economies.

The Importance of the Study:

The importance of the study lies in its focus on a crucial area: the foreign policy of a superpower. Tracking the trends of US foreign policy enables us to understand and recognize international events and their impact on all countries of the world, given the vital interests they seek to protect. Researching the constants and variables in US foreign policy enables us to understand and analyze the fundamental principles upon which the United States bases its foreign policy, in

¹Department of Political Science, College of Law and Political Science, Aliraqia University, Iraq, Email: Esraaqasimghnim@aliraqia.edu.iq



addition to the impact of internal and external changes on the continuity and change of foreign policy.

The Problem of the Study:

The United States of America witnessed a decline in its international standing after 2008 due to the decline in its economic power compared to emerging powers competing with it in the global order, as a result of its increased military spending prior to 2008. Therefore, we find continuity and change in American foreign policy, and its reliance on smart power and a strategy of creative chaos in its foreign policy. Several questions arise here, including:

1. What is constant and what is variable?
2. What is the future of American foreign policy?

Study Hypothesis:

US foreign policy seeks to maintain its goal of dominating the global order by relying on smart power, regardless of the variables in the US's domestic and external environment, its strengths, and the differences between the US administration, whether Democratic or Republican.

Study Methods:

To ensure a more scientifically sound study, I used the structural approach. I also utilized several scientific approaches, including the descriptive approach to describe the political phenomenon and the factors influencing it; the decision-making approach; and the systems analysis approach to analyze models related to regional and international environmental variables as inputs and outputs that influence the continuity and change of US foreign policy. The analytical approach was used to study and analyze the factors influencing US foreign policy; and the future-oriented approach was used to investigate the future continuity and change of US foreign policy.

Study Structure:

We will address the constants and variables in American foreign policy and the future of American foreign policy.

The First Requirement: Constants and Variables in American Foreign Policy:

Constants are pre-established and established facts that form the general framework and foundation for the components of a subject, entity, or orientation. That is, constants are supreme values and can be a continuous line despite the perceptions and variables occurring in the external environment. The interests of the United States of America are among the constants that it seeks to preserve in its foreign policy. These interests include vital interests, important interests, and secondary interests. A variable is defined as a new factor that complements the continuity factors represented by the constant, forming either an element of confirmation and acceleration or elements of obstruction and conflict. That is, they are among the elements that manifest change or provoke change, whether negatively or positively (1). After World War II, the security vacuum was caused by the collapse of European countries and the decline of their colonial role in several regions. According to the American vision, what was required was to fill the vacuum to secure those regions from the communist threat. After the end of the Cold War, the vacuum resulting from the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from its positions of influence became what the United States of America sought to fill. After September 11, 2001, securing the world from terrorism became the slogan of the American security mission.

First: The Constants in American Foreign Policy:

The interests of the United States are formed by the constants it seeks to preserve in its foreign policy. These interests include vital interests, important interests, and secondary interests.

1. Vital Interests:

These are those interests whose loss in and of itself poses a direct threat to the security of the United States (2). This is because the security of the United States is politically, economically, and ideologically linked to the influence of changes occurring anywhere in the world, and ignoring these global changes could cost the United States a high price. Given the nature of vital interests and the need to confront existing threats and risks, the United States has made clear through its National Security Strategy that it must assume global leadership. It must lead abroad in order to achieve security at home. Given that the United States' intervention in the world has limits that cannot be exceeded, the American strategy emphasizes the need to focus on the opportunities and threats most closely related to American interests, according to predetermined priorities. The vital interests of the United States include: protecting the American homeland and people (self-protection), protecting the American economy, and maintaining control over vital regions. A- Protecting the American land and people (self-protection).

A. Protecting the American homeland and people (self-protection):

Protecting the American homeland and people is one of the first vital, fixed interests emphasized by American foreign policy. A review of the contemporary history of the United States shows that it has not been subjected to any military aggression on its territory. However, after the events of September 11, and the unprecedented assault on its economic, political, and security centers, this led to a general feeling among Americans of insecurity and internal danger. Hence, in its national security strategy, it began to emphasize self-protection and seek the necessity of securing an advanced military presence at the regional and international levels, considering that new threats require an increase in the force deployed abroad and prepared to carry out missions anywhere in the world (3), thus providing the possibility of rapid movement and action, especially in areas of constant tension and strategic gravity related to the essence of American national security (4).

The United States always seeks to secure the American people and their interests by protecting their lives and personal safety, both at home and abroad, preserving the country's sovereignty, values, and institutions, and achieving prosperity for the American people. This is especially true given the United States' increasingly interconnected and interdependent global economy, and at a time when the world is witnessing the spread of ethnic and religious conflicts, creating a turbulent and conflicting environment that has increased the United States' security concerns as the world's foremost power concerned with international affairs (5). Therefore, foreign policy was built to appropriately interact between what is of great importance to the United States and the extent of the capacity and will used to protect its goals and interests. Therefore, the United States has become fully prepared to use all its capabilities to confront any threat to its strategic objective of protecting the United States' territory and the American people, depending on the threat (6). It has expanded the necessary measures to protect the United States' people, entity, and values, making it clear that protecting the American people and American interests is a constant principle of American foreign policy.

B. Protecting the American Economy:

Since the well-being of the people is part of protecting the people, protecting the American economy represents a vital and constant interest in American foreign policy. It is an integral part of protecting the American land and people, as the United States seeks to ensure economic stability, the growth and development of American trade, and maintaining a high level of growth.

Therefore, we note that the United States seeks to preserve and revitalize its economy in a way that contributes to strengthening its economic security. It does not hesitate to do anything to protect economic interests, as National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice emphasized when she said, "American foreign policy must refocus on the national interest and on basic priorities such as promoting American economic growth" (7). Accordingly, we find that the United States uses all its foreign policy capabilities, especially in the military field, to achieve economic goals. The expansion of American economic interests has increased American reliance on military force. The United States also seeks to control global economic institutions, which it considers part of its strategy to dominate international economic affairs. These global economic institutions are among the most important tools it uses to ensure and achieve its vital interests in the world, particularly economic ones.

The United States relies on controlling oil resources and transportation routes to protect its economy. This is because oil is a limited, depleting, and in short supply. Due to its economic importance, it has become a source of military intervention in productive regions. Its importance for the United States stems from its increasing reliance on imported oil, in addition to its domestic production, and has made obtaining it a national security requirement. It is well known that global demand for oil doubles every decade to meet the needs of economic development. In addition to the necessity of controlling energy resources and ensuring their continued security for the United States and its allies, this is achieved by applying pressure to maintain oil prices within limits, allowing the development of the American economy and the economies of its allies (8). The primary goal of controlling energy resources is to ensure the ability of the United States and its economy to obtain sufficient energy supplies at reasonable prices, under conditions that support economic growth.

C. Control of Vital Regions:

Control of vital regions is one of the constants of vital interests in American foreign policy. This constant stems from the fact that the issue of American supremacy over the world must be linked to control of vital regions, given the fact that political geography remains a crucial consideration in international affairs (7), as it seeks to control and dominate those regions as a necessity to prevent the emergence of any competing power in those regions (10). Especially because of the widespread American interests and their close connection to specific regions that supply the United States with primary resources, or represent huge markets for American commercial institutions or important economic allies, an American strategy was built that aims to defend these regions using all means and capabilities that the United States possesses, so that these regions become the most important for American strategy. Paul Wolfowitz (US Deputy Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld 2001-2006) explains the importance of these regions by saying, "Any hostile power must be prevented from controlling regions whose wealth could make this power a threat to the United States." Dick Cheney (US Secretary of Defense 1989-1993) says, "We must shape our policy and our military forces so that they are capable of deterring or quickly crushing any regional threats to regions of vital importance to the United States." (11) Within the comprehensive vision of the US national security strategy, all regions

of the world become influential, in one way or another, on its vital interests. They are an integral part of its national security. This demonstrates that control of vital regions is a constant, vital interest in US foreign policy.

2. Important Interests:

These are those interests whose loss or threat constitutes a direct threat to one of the United States' vital interests. The United States determines that it must sometimes treat important interests as if they were vital interests, using a wise strategy based on the idea of forward defense (12). Important fixed interests in American foreign policy include securing allies and promoting American values and the capitalist system.

A. Securing Allies:

The United States believes that the defeat of its allied states is the first step and a practical prelude to its own defeat at a later stage. The defeat of allied states is a warning bell that rings, signaling a negative change and a relative decline in the strategic weight, international standing, and global influence of allied states. Therefore, the United States considers supporting its allies one of its most important goals in various regions of the world. The alliance has its difficulties, although the interests of the allied states and the objectives of the alliance may be in the final stage and the final outcome indivisible. This fact cannot negate the phenomenon of multiplicity and diversity of opinions, nor does it guarantee the absence of disagreement and divergence in the choice of methods and means to achieve the objectives. One of the proposed solutions to the aforementioned difficulties is for the allied states to increase their degree of reliance on the consultation process.

In its foreign policy, the United States supports its allied and friendly governments, due to the latter's role in protecting American interests. If we take Israel as an example of an allied and friendly state, we find that Israel is a strategic ally of the United States. Despite the presence of American forces in the Middle East, it enjoys strategic importance for the United States as the dominant partner in the region. The United States has also linked ensuring the protection of Israel's security in the event of its exposure to danger and its readiness to defend it directly to the security of the United States and its vital interests (13). The reason for this is the role played by Israel in defending and protecting American interests as a vital ally for it. Therefore, the United States still views any attack on Israel as a direct threat to the security of the United States (14). Therefore, securing allied countries is one of the important and fixed interests that the United States seeks to protect as part of the constants of its foreign policy.

B. Disseminating American Values and the American Capitalist System:

Disseminating American values and the American capitalist system are important, enduring interests that the United States seeks to achieve. The United States believes that promoting freedom and democracy is an important interest, as American security directly depends on increasing freedom and expanding democracy globally. Without this, repression, corruption, and instability will prevail in a number of countries, threatening the stability of entire regions. This will then lead to terrorism, which in turn directly targets American interests or other interests that may be linked to American interests, or may even target the United States itself. There is a deeply held belief in the United States that fully democratic governments do not pose a threat to the international community, and therefore do not pose a threat to the United States or its allies. On the contrary, democratic countries cooperate with each other and are bound by mutual interests.

The United States of America has been exerting pressure on other countries to adopt American values and practices related to human rights and democracy in particular (15). The main reason is that the United States of America is seeking to spread its values among countries, in order to establish an international system that reflects American values, which leads to the best guarantee of its ongoing national interests (16). This is what concerns the dissemination of American values represented by freedom and democracy.

The United States' pursuit of the universalization of the capitalist system is an important and fundamental goal for two reasons:

1. The universalization of the capitalist system is the United States' message to the world, due to its connection to economic freedom and individualism, which are among the fundamental values upon which American thought, the American capitalist economic system, and even the political system in the United States are built. Based on this intellectual construct and its connection to values, the United States has become an important carrier of those values and the capitalist model, their primary defender, advocate, and global demander (17).

2. The universalization of the capitalist system is the responsibility of the United States, because it is the largest economy with a global reach. It is the leader of global capitalism and the dominant economic engine that dominates most global markets, making it the first to carry this slogan and implement this goal. The United States may resort to supporting its allies in spreading this goal, as it remains the dominant force, and the entire capitalist world looks to it as their spokesperson and implementer of capitalist ambitions (18).

Therefore, we find that the United States considers the spread of capitalist values and the capitalist system to be an important and fixed interest, which it seeks to spread in order to create an international system that reflects American values and represents the best environment for achieving its goals and protecting its interests.

3. Secondary Interests:

These are interests that can be called auxiliary or marginal interests, which contribute to achieving the vital and important interests of the United States of America. They are defined as interests that, if seized by a hostile state, would constitute a remote threat to a vital or important interest of the United States of America, and would not require a military response (19). This led the United States of America to resort to employing international organizations and making them the tool through which it could achieve its goals. Among these organizations are the United Nations and NATO.

A. The United Nations:

The United Nations is one of the international institutions that receives significant attention in the American national security strategy. This is due to the fact that it constitutes an international center through which the United States can achieve its goals and protect its interests. This situation has made the United Nations a secondary, fixed interest for the United States, capable of protecting and achieving vital and important interests. Especially after the Cold War, the United States has been unique in using the United Nations as a tool to serve American global orientations, imbuing them with international legitimacy and managing world affairs in a manner that achieves its goals and serves its interests. Since finding itself at the pinnacle of global politics, the United States has not been committed to elevating the role of the United Nations and implementing its resolutions as much as it has been concerned with its own scattered

interests around the world. Whenever it finds a congruence with the atmosphere of the United Nations in form and content, it is committed to the "international legitimacy" required by the decisions of the "international community." However, whenever it finds a discrepancy (which is frequent) between its political performance and the discourse of the United Nations, it is not obligated to comply with any international or UN resolution (20).

The United States' interest in the United Nations also stems from its full awareness that the United Nations is truly incapable of protecting countries and regions and achieving peace there, especially if these countries and regions represent a vital or important interest of the United States. The United States cannot and will not leave its interests and security in the hands of the United Nations or its Security Council, recognizing the weakness of this organization's rapid and effective response (21). Therefore, it can be said that the United States may use the United Nations when needed, according to its interests. Even intervention by the United Nations and its institutions would be supported by the United States and proceed in accordance with its interests.

B. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO):

The United States' interest in NATO stems from a secondary, fixed interest in relying on it as a military-security pillar. The United States and Western European countries formed NATO in 1949 to confront the communist threat, and this situation remained in place even after the Soviet threat faded. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, NATO members began discussing the need for the alliance's expansion eastward. The United States is one of the most enthusiastic members for the alliance's expansion eastward (22), as it believes that the alliance's expansion would have significant benefits for the European security architecture. The United States had specific objectives behind its insistence on NATO's expansion (23). NATO's expansion also coincides with the largest redeployment of US forces abroad, especially since these forces enjoy a broad network of military facilities that enable them to move and have a presence, in one way or another, in the world's lands, airspace, and waters.

The United States of America uses the alliance as a tool to protect its national and global security, which was confirmed by National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, who said, "NATO is truly a vital multilateral organization that has contributed and will contribute to ensuring global security through the development of partnerships among its members, and to ensuring the confrontation of the greatest threats to our nation and our freedom" (24). From here we note that the United States of America, since the establishment of the alliance, has given it great attention in its strategy.

The United States also believes that NATO's primary goal is to defend America and Europe through a strong and effective presence outside of America and Europe. They argue that the threat comes from outside these two regions. Based on this, they are working hard to transform the alliance into a tool that can serve as an alternative to them in some targeted areas. Therefore, using the alliance through the creation of a rapid-action force lifts a significant burden from the United States, which it needs to relieve. This force can deploy anywhere in the world within a few days, and its command is often under its control (25). The United States seeks to create a global climate that is consistent with its interests and goals. There is an American desire to bypass the United Nations and international legitimacy, reaching a stage where the United States, rather than the UN, is the source of international legitimacy, through its control of NATO.

In summary, we find that the American constants, which are represented by vital interests and what they include of preserving the American self, people and land, protecting the American

economy and controlling vital regions, and the important interests, which are represented by the security of allies and the dissemination of American values and the capitalist system, in addition to the secondary interests that contribute to achieving the vital and important interests of the United States of America, which are represented by the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, where if either of them is seized by a hostile state, it will constitute a remote threat to the vital or important interests of the United States of America, all of what these interests include represents a constant in American foreign policy.

Second: The Changing Nature of American Foreign Policy:

After World War II, the security vacuum was caused by the collapse of European countries and the decline of their colonial role in several regions. According to the American vision, filling the vacuum was required to secure those regions from the communist threat. After the end of the Cold War, the vacuum resulting from the Soviet Union's withdrawal from its positions of influence became what the United States sought to fill. After September 11, 2001, securing the world from terrorism became the slogan of America's security mission, in addition to curbing competing international powers as a variable in its foreign policy.

1. The Enemy (Terrorism):

During the Cold War (1945-1991), the United States considered the Soviet Union an enemy, viewing it as a threat to its national security. Therefore, it mobilized its entire national security strategy to eliminate it. The primary reason behind this was its pursuit of dominance and hegemony as a global superpower. However, after the end of the war, which led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the United States' dominance of the international system, it sought to establish a unipolar international system over which it could exercise its influence and dominance. Therefore, it sought an enemy that posed a threat to its national security, against which it could formulate its strategies. These strategies would serve the purpose of achieving dominance. Therefore, it adopted terrorism as an enemy and a fundamental variable in its foreign policy.

The concept of terrorism is one of the concepts that has taken up a wide space in the fields of politics and international security. The international community's interest in the problem of terrorism dates back to 1934. The phenomenon of terrorism as a variable in its foreign policy has exceeded in its meaning the considerations of national sovereignty for many countries, whether by breaching their security or stability through the use of means of violence or in light of illegal international interventions under the pretext of combating terrorism. The United States of America has exploited the concept of terrorism and made it an international pressure tool to achieve gains, relying on its security means against those it considers a threat to its security and the security of its friends and allies from terrorism (25).

The United States exploited the events of September 11, 2001, as a pretext to legitimize its declaration of war on terrorism and its efforts to eliminate it, and to achieve its ambitions of hegemony. This was a means to achieve other goals by excluding powers seeking a leading international position, whether military or economic, and by subjugating the countries of the South to achieve a position of dominance over the global economy and obtaining the privileges of hegemony and absolute monopoly of global power. It described its war on terrorism as encompassing the entire world, and that the enemy is not a political system, an individual, a religion, or a particular ideology, but rather deliberate terrorism and politically supported

violence. This war extends across multiple fronts against a deceptive enemy and spans a long period of time (27).

Therefore, the United States used terrorism as a pretext for its strategy of creating an enemy to employ the thesis of American peace. Here the enemy-making became apparent, and since this strategy derives its legitimacy and sustainability from the existence of an enemy that threatens the values of Western human civilization, it was therefore necessary for the United States to constantly create a new enemy that would justify its use of force and the permissibility of intervention (28). The use of (terrorism) in (the American enemy-making) contributed to the creation of the phenomenon of (the militarization of human life), meaning the priority of security over all other demands and its use as a pretext for violating public freedoms, breaching privacy through eavesdropping and spying, violating human rights, placing bank accounts under constant surveillance, racial discrimination against nations and peoples, and working to control them with armed force and open their markets through pressure, coercion, and flooding, and surrounding them with military alliances and bases. This, in turn, contributed to the emergence of the phenomenon of globalizing anti-terrorism security.

2. Curbing the Rival Poles:

The international system has known since its inception the existence of international powers competing for advanced positions in the international peace based on their capabilities and effectiveness in international affairs. The international system also knew the reality of the direct relationship between the capabilities of the state and the extent of its international influence. The Second World War was an announcement of the beginning of the decline of the British Empire, and the emergence of other international powers represented by the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which led the interactions of the international environment for about half a century. The international scene in the 1990s was dominated by the repercussions of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the states associated with it, and the United States' monopoly of the position of the superpower (29). This led to a clear American monopoly in the post-Cold War world compared to other major powers aspiring to increase their role and effectiveness. The possibility of the emergence of competing international poles was considered a potential threat to the dominant American position globally. Thus, within the framework of the hegemony strategy, it became necessary to expand the control of the United States from a geopolitical perspective, as this matter contributes to securing the regions in which the United States has interests. From here, the United States of America began its insistence that the twenty-first century be an American century, and it is keen to provide Strategic visions that support this ambition and work to prevent the emergence of other new powers.

American foreign policy has focused on preventing the emergence of any competitor on the global stage, defining the general directions of American foreign policy:

1. Preventing the dominance of a hostile power over any important region of the world.
2. Preventing Russia's return to expansionist policies.
3. Weakening China's growth prospects.
4. Maintaining American military superiority.
5. Direct use of force if necessary.
6. Providing domestic support for the United States to assume a leadership role in the world.

This is because the emergence of any major emerging powers makes it the primary enemy and one of the most dangerous challenges to the United States. However, this does not mean that the United States stood idly by in the face of these powers. The emerging powers were moving toward a more influential position, and the United States was also moving to limit the expansion of their growing powers (30). The various major powers on the international scene sought to curb American power and limit its monopoly on global affairs.

Conclusion:

The world today is witnessing the emergence of international axes and poles. If these axes are able to enhance their capabilities to possess modern technology, economic, scientific, informational, military, and political capabilities, and are able to establish independent, open foreign policies in their relations with the countries of the world and their regional surroundings, they will compete with the United States in establishing equal economic, trade, and political relations. Some of them have established economic alliances with each other, along with political coordination. These international powers are effective and influential, and are moving upwards toward climbing the international hierarchy to regain their lost status, given their possession of major power attributes that qualify them to fulfill their role and occupy a position commensurate with the reality of other international powers. These powers vary in the components of their strategic reliance in achieving their ambition to participate in leading the international system, especially since their growing economic, political, and military capabilities pose a challenge to the United States. Among the countries that possess these capabilities are China, Japan, the European Union countries, India, and the Russian Federation.

References

- Abdul Mahdi, A. 2009. Constants and Variables in the Economic History of Islamic Countries, Dar Al-Arabiya for Sciences, Beirut, 2009, p. 187.
- Nixon, R. 1992. America and the Historical Opportunity, translated by Muhammad Zakaria Ismail, Bissan Library, Beirut, 1992, p. 39.
- Gatte'a, S. 2009. "The Elements of American Power and Its Impact on the International System," Journal of International Studies, Issue (42), Center for International Studies, University of Baghdad, 2009, p. 64.
- Amin, S.A. 2008. "The American Leadership Model for the New World Order," Journal of International Studies, University of Baghdad, Issue (35), 2008, p. 99.
- Lawrence J.K., Caroline, P. W., and Andrew J. G. 2006. "Restoring American Military: A Progressive Quadrennial Defense Review," Center for American Progress, Washington, D.C., January 2006, p. iii.
- Nixon, R. 1992. America and the Historical Opportunity, translated by Muhammad Zakaria Ismail, Bissan Library, Beirut, 1992, p. 39.
- Dawidar, H. 1997. The United States and International Financial Institutions, International Politics, Issue 127, Cairo, Issue 127, 1997, pp. 191-120.
- Al-Ani, F.N. 2001. The United States of America and the Security of the Arabian Gulf, Dar Al-Kutub wal-Watha'iq - Al-Izza Press, Baghdad, 2001, p. 17.
- Fahmi, A.M. 2004. Introduction to the Study of Strategy, 1st ed., Baghdad, Dar Al-Raqim for Publishing and Distribution, 2004, p. 328.
- Joseph S.N. 2003. The Paradox of American Power, translated by Muhammad Tawfiq Al-Bajermi, 1st ed., Al-Obeikan Library, Riyadh, 2003, p. 249.
- Habib, H. 2023. The United States from the Truman Doctrine to the Bush Doctrine, accessed on 9/21/2023, on the website, <http://www.Palpepeople.org/index.htm>.
- Nixon, R. previously cited source, p. 39.

- Darwish, I. 2001. "Features of American Policy: Current Developments and Future Prospects," *Political Thought Magazine*, Issues 11-12, Damascus, 2001, p. 6.
- Marouf, K.N. 2002. "Basic Aspects of Vital American Interests in the Arab Region," *Political Issues Magazine*, Issue 2, Baghdad, 2002, pp. 99-100.
- Amin, S.A. 2002. *The Hegemonic Superpower: A Study of the American Leadership Model for the New World Order*, Strategic Studies Series, Issue (32), 2002, p. 45.
- Rice, C. 2006. *Rethinking the National Interest: American Realism for a New World*, Global Studies, Issue (77), Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, 2006, p. 35.
- Abdullah, I.A. 2010. *Employing the Idea of Democracy in American Strategy*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, College of Political Science, Al-Nahrain University, Baghdad, 2010, p. 17.
- Brzezinski, Z. 1998. *Chaos-Disorder on the Brink of the Twenty-First Century*, translated by Malek Fadel, Al-Ahliya Publishing and Distribution, Beirut, 1998, p. 88.
- Nixon, R. previously cited source, p. 39.
- Al-Qubaisi, H. 2008. *American Foreign Policy between Two Schools - Neoconservatives and Realism - 1st ed.*, Arab Scientific Publishers, 2008, p. 55.
- Abdullah, I.A. previously cited source, p. 18.
- Al-Khayali, N.I. 2003. *The Role of NATO after the End of the Cold War*, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2003, p. 59.
- The same source, pp. 59-62.
- Rice, C. 2005. Availability at the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, 2005, p. 3, International Information Network (Internet): <http://www.usinfo>.
- William Kristol, Net Informatization, 2003, p.k., Internet Information Network (Internet): <http://www.numbercenter.org>
- Abdul Samad Saadoun, "International Terrorism: Meaning and Content in American Strategy," *Political Issues Magazine*, Issue (11), College of Political Science, Nahrain University, 2006, p. 20.
- Hussein, S.A. 2003. *Features of the New Strategy*, International Monitor, Issue (80), Center for International Studies, University of Baghdad, 2003, p. 2.
- Al-Assaf, S.I. 2002. *War and the Strategy of American Hegemony: The Future of the American Presence*, International Monitor, Issue (41), Center for International Studies, Baghdad, 2002, pp. 1-3.
- Al-Rubaie, K.A. and Al-Ali, M.S. 2012. "The Future of the New International System in the Shadow of the Emergence of Rising Powers and Its Impact on the Arab Region - The European Union as a Model," *Political Issues*, Issue (25), College of Political Science, Al-Nahrain University, Baghdad, 2012, p. 99.
- Al-Rubaie, K.A. and Al-Ali, M.S. previously mentioned source, p. 111.