

Neoconservatives and the USA Foreign Policy

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Summary:

The neoconservatives, often dubbed the neo-cons by supporters and critics alike, came to change the direction of US foreign policy and to support the American leadership, the fact that turns America into a fascist imperial country. They are credited with or blamed for influencing U.S. foreign policy, especially under the administrations of George W. Bush (2001-present). Neoconservatives have often been singled out for criticism by opponents of the 2003 invasion of Iraq, many of whom see this invasion as a neoconservative initiative

By imposing their principles, the neo-conservatives aim at changing the American post Cold War role into a role of world leadership, and in their view democracy can be installed by conquest and opposition to any regime that may represent some threat to the USA or to any of its allies. Those **Neoconservatives** wish to build an American policy based on a total support for the countries that adopt policies nearly identical to that of America, and a vehement opposition to the regimes not adopting such a policy .along with unlimited support for Israeli policies.

This group of people is always ready to wage pre-emptive war against Terrorism or "Rogue States" which may threaten American interests and values .This doctrine "pre-emptive war" is clearly applied in the American war on terrorism and on Iraq.

ملخص:

ظهر مصطلح المحافظون الجدد في منتصف التسعينات في الإدارة الأمريكية، والمحافظون الجدد هم جماعة من المستشارين والسياسيين والمفكرين والصحفيين والذين يمارسون - بشكل أو بآخر- تأثيرا ونفوذا متناميين على السياسة الأمريكية. ويعمل المحافظون الجدد خاصة في ظل

إدارة جورج بوش الابن على تدعيم الدور الأمريكي في العالم في مرحلة ما بعد الحرب الباردة والمتمثل في قيادة العالم.

و يعتقد المحافظون الجدد بجملة من المبادئ شكلت أيديولوجية متكاملة من بينها إمكانية نشر الديمقراطية الأمريكية ولو باستخدام القوة العسكرية، وفرض الاحتلال كما حدث في العراق (2003). وبالقضاء على أي نظام قد يهدد أمن ومصالح الولايات المتحدة وحلفاءها.

يسعى المحافظون الجدد أمثال ديك تشيني *Dick Cheney*، دونالد رامسفيلد *Donald Rumsfeld*، ريتشارد بيرل، *Richard Perle* بول ولفوويتز *Paul Wolfowitz*. الخ إلى دعم الأنظمة الموالية للسياسات الأمريكية ومعارضة تلك التي تناوئها، ومن ثم يرفع هؤلاء شعار الحروب الاستباقية *Pre-emptive Wars* ضد أي خطر محتمل من الدول "الراعية للإرهاب" أو "الدول المارقة" *Rogue-States*.

ورغم أن بعض المحافظين الجدد ليسوا من أصول يهودية كما كس بوت *Max Boot*، جين كيكباتريك *Jeanne Kirkpatrick* ومايكل نوفك *Michael Novak* إلا أن السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية في ظل سيطرة هذه الجماعة تقوم على الدعم المستمر لإسرائيل باعتبارها الحليف القوي للولايات المتحدة في الشرق الأوسط إضافة إلى كونها متشابهين من حيث الطبيعة الديمقراطية لكليهما ومعاناتهما المشتركة من خطر الإرهاب، ولذلك يعتقد هؤلاء أن ما يخدم أمريكا يخدم حتما إسرائيل.

Introduction:

By the the mid 1990, a new term corresponding to a group of advisors in the American government, appeared in the political scene. This term is "Neo-conservatives"

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and critics alike, came to change the direction of US foreign policy and to support the American leadership, the fact that turns America into a fascist imperial country. They are credited with or blamed for influencing U.S. foreign policy, especially under the administrations of George W. Bush (2001-present). Neoconservatives have often been singled out for criticism by opponents of the 2003 invasion of Iraq, many of whom see this invasion as a neoconservative initiative.

This study aims at answering the following problematic: Who are the Neoconservatives? and what is their vision to the American foreign policy?.

In trying to answer these questions, we will divide our work in two major parts:

The first part of this article, defines the concept of Neoconservatism (definition of the term, its origins, the main goals, and the most prominent neocons). While in the second part we will focus on the influence of the neo cons on the USA foreign affairs, (the war on terror, the war on Irak and the unlimited support to Israel)

In the second Part, we will present some examples about the influence of the Neo-Conservatives on the American foreign policy including the neo-conservatives and the war on terrorism in addition to the neo-conservatives and Iraq .We will conclude this part by identifying the relationship between the neo-conservatives and Israel.

PART ONE : NEOCONSERVATISM IN THE USA:

In this Part we will try to identify the concept "Neoconservatives" by presenting many definitions given by different thinkers and people interested in this question .Then, we try to follow the roots of neo-cons along with clarifying their main principles which constitute a whole ideology of Neo-conservatism. The last point in this part deals with the most prominent figures called Neoconservatives.

I-1. Definition:

Neoconservatism is a somewhat controversial term referring to the political goals and ideology of the "new conservatives" in the United States. The "newness" refers either to being new to American conservatism (often coming from **liberal** or **socialist** backgrounds) or to being part of a "new wave" of conservative thought and political organization.

Compared to other U.S. conservatives, neoconservatives are characterized by an aggressive moralist stance on foreign policy, a lesser social conservatism, weaker dedication to a policy of minimal government, and a greater acceptance of the welfare state⁽¹⁾.

The term refers also more to journalists, pundits, policy analysts, and institutions affiliated with the **Project for the New American Century** (PNAC) and with **Commentary** and **The Weekly Standard** than to more traditional conservative policy think tanks such as the **American Enterprise Institute** (AEI) and **Heritage Foundation** or periodicals such as **Policy Review** or **National Review**⁽²⁾.

It is a movement founded on, and perpetuated by an aggressive approach to foreign policy, free trade, opposition to **communism** during the **Cold War**, support for beleaguered liberal democracies such as Israel and Taiwan and opposition to Middle Eastern and other states that are perceived by the Neo-cons to support **terrorism**⁽³⁾. Today, a rift still divides the neoconservatives from many members of the State Department, who favor established foreign policy conventions.

For **starters, Justin** "neo-cons" are people who do not necessarily hold to traditional conservative values concerning foreign policy (limited, or non intervention), social conservatism (traditional values), or ideas on the role of government (limited government). He suggests also that neoconservatives do not stand for anything traditionally considered conservative. The old term for neoconservatives was **RINO (Republican In Name Only)**, and before that they were known as '**Rockefeller Republicans**⁽⁴⁾.

For **Jeff Adams** true conservatives fit the description of what used to be called the "**Old Right**." These "new conservatives" present nothing that reflects the ideas of the "Old Right," or traditional conservatism. Neo-conservatives see nothing wrong with big, centralized government, as long as they, the neo-conservatives, are in charge instead of liberal Democrats⁽⁵⁾.

In a recent article, **Mc Govern** writes : " Bush administration policy towards the Middle East is being run by men -- yes, only men - - who were routinely referred to in high circles in Washington during the 1980s as "**the crazies**"with a value system in which "might makes right." Operating out of that value system, and now sporting the more respectable misnomer "neoconservative".

He thinks that they are convinced that they know exactly what they are doing. They have a clear ideology and a geopolitical strategy, which leap from papers they put out at **the Project for the New American Century** over recent years⁽⁶⁾.

So, Neoconservatives in USA are people who are found mainly in the Reagan and Bush administrations, they are not traditionalists, characterized by an aggressive foreign policy, free trade, war against **communism** during the **Cold War**, and against **terrorism** after it. A total support for Israel and opposition to Middle East and other states that are perceived to support **terrorism**

I.2. Origins of the Neo Cons:

Neoconservatives are conservatives who are "**new**" (**neo**) to the conservative movement in some way. Usually, this comes as a result from the migration from the **left** of the political spectrum to the **right**, over the course of many years.

Some of today's most famous neocons are from Eastern European Jewish immigrant families, who were frequently on the edge of poverty. The Great Depression(1929) radicalized many immigrants, and introduced them to the new and revolutionary ideas of socialism and communism. The Soviet Union's break with Stalinism in the 1950's led to the rise of the so-called New Left in America, which was anti-Sovietism along with anti-capitalism.⁽⁷⁾

The Neoconservatives emerged as the first important group of social policy critics from the working class, the original neoconservatives, (though not yet using this term), were generally liberals or socialists who strongly supported the Second World War. The current neoconservative desire to spread democratic capitalism

abroad often by force, it is sometimes said, parallels the Trotskyist dream of world socialist revolution. The influence of the Trotskyists perhaps left them with strong anti-Soviet tendencies.

The original "neoconservative" theorists, such as **Irving Kristol** and **Norman Podhoretz**, were often associated with the magazine Commentary, and their intellectual evolution is quite evident in that magazine over the course of these years. Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s the early neoconservatives were anti-Communist socialists strongly supportive of the civil rights movement, integration, and Martin Luther King. .

These intellectuals shifted to the right and moved towards a more aggressive militarism. Admiration of the interventionist foreign policy of Theodore Roosevelt remains a common theme in neoconservative tracts as well. Influential periodicals such as *Commentary*, **The New Republic**, **The Public Interest**, and *The American Spectator*, and lately **The Weekly Standard** have been established by prominent neoconservatives⁽⁸⁾ .

The Neo Cons rebelled against the Democratic Party's leftward drift on defense issues in the 1970s, especially after the nomination of George McGovern in 1972, but then, they aligned themselves with **Ronald Reagan** and the Republicans, who promised to confront charges of Soviet "expansionism."

Neo conservatives ' thoughts are influenced by some thinkers such as **Max Shachtman** and **Leo Strauss** and also the skeptical liberal literary critic **Lionel Trilling**. The influence of Some writers argue that Strauss's influence has left some neoconservatives adopting a Machiavellian view of politics⁽⁹⁾ .

A. Neoconservatism as a "Jewish" movement:

One of the most controversial issues surrounding neoconservatism is its relation to Jewish intellectual traditions; in the most extreme form of this view, neoconservatism has been regarded by some as primarily a movement to advance Jewish interests.

Kevin B. MacDonald⁸ published an article on the similarities between neoconservatism and several other possibly Jewish-dominated influential intellectual and political movements, arguing that neoconservatism is an excellent illustration of the key traits behind the success of Jewish activism: ethnocentrism, intelligence and wealth, psychological intensity, and aggressiveness.⁽¹⁰⁾ His general conclusions are that "neoconservatism fits into a general pattern of twentieth-century Jewish intellectual and political activism"⁽¹¹⁾

MacDonald thinks that, neoconservatism uses arguments that appeal to non-Jews, rather than appealing explicitly to Jewish interests. MacDonald argues that non-Jewish neo-conservatives like **Jeanne Kirkpatrick** and **Donald Rumsfeld** are examples of an ability to recruit prominent non-Jews while nevertheless preserving a Jewish core and an intense commitment to Jewish interests: MacDonald's proposals are regarded as anti-Semitic by non-supporters and have been condemned as "nauseating" by the writer **Judith Shulevitz**⁽¹²⁾ .

However, some others disagree with this view, **Michael Lind**, a self-described former neoconservative, for instance, wrote in 2004, "It is true, and unfortunate, that some journalists tend to use 'neoconservative' to refer only to Jewish neoconservatives, a practice that forces them to invent categories like 'nationalist conservative' or 'Western conservative' for **Rumsfeld** and **Cheney**. But neoconservatism is an ideology, and **Rumsfeld** and **Dick** and **Lynne Cheney** are full-fledged neocons, even though they are not Jewish and were never liberals or leftists"⁽¹³⁾.

Lind argues that, while "there were, and are, very few Northeastern WASP mandarins in the neoconservative movement", its origins are not specifically Jewish. "...Neoconservatism recruited from diverse 'farm teams,' including liberal Catholics (**William Bennett** and **Michael Novak**.) and populists, socialists and New Deal liberals in the South and Southwest"⁽¹⁴⁾ .

B. Neoconservatism as an "ex-leftist" movement:

In fact, some Neo-cons such as Lind argue that neoconservatism "originated in the 1970s as a movement of anti-Soviet liberals and social democrats in the tradition of Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, Humphrey and Henry ("Scoop") Jackson, but they preferred to call themselves "**paleoliberals**". When the Cold War ended, "many 'paleoliberals' drifted back to the Democratic center. Lind sees that the neoconservatives are influenced by the thought of Trotskyists such as **James Burnham** and **Max Shachtman**, who argued that "the United States and similar societies are dominated by a decadent, postbourgeois 'new class". He sees the neoconservative concept of "**global democratic revolution**" as deriving from the Trotskyist International's "vision of permanent revolution"⁽¹⁵⁾.

C. Reagan and the Neoconservatives:

During **Ronald Reagan's** successful 1980 campaign, **Jeane Kirkpatrick**⁽¹⁶⁾ was hired as his foreign policy adviser and later nominated her as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, a position she held for four years. Known for her anti-communist stance and for her tolerance of right-wing dictatorships, she argued that Third World social revolutions were illegitimate, and thus, that the overthrow of leftist governments, even if replaced with right-wing dictatorships, was acceptable and essential because they served as a bulwark against the expansion of the Soviet Union. Under this doctrine, known as the **Kirkpatrick Doctrine**, the **Reagan** administration actively supported leaders such as **Augusto Pinochet** in Chile and **Ferdinand Marcos** in the Philippines. Support for such regimes was based primarily on their usefulness, Hence, the U.S. could turn against them if circumstances changed.

In this sense, the neoconservative foreign policy makers were different from some of their more traditionalist conservative predecessors. While many from the old school believed that America's allies should be unquestionably defended at all costs, no matter what the nature of their regime, many neocons were more supportive to the idea of changing regimes to make them more compatible and reflective of U.S. values. Some critics however, say that their want for externally-imposed "regime change" for "rogue" nations such as

Iraq conflicted with the democratic value of national self-determination.(contradiction) But most neocons view this argument as invalid until a country has a democratic government to express the actual determination of its people.

President **Reagan** mostly favored quick campaigns to attack or overthrow terrorist groups or leftist governments, favoring small, quick interventions such as the attacks on **Grenada** and **Libya**, and arming right-wing militias in Central America such as that of the **Sandinistas**.

D. The comeback of neoconservatism under George W. Bush:

After the collapse of the Soviet Union. During the 1990s, neoconservatives were once again in the opposition side of the foreign policy establishment, they considered the reduction of military expenditures during **George H.W. Bush** and **Bill Clinton's** administration as insufficiently idealistic.

Early in the **George W. Bush** administration, neoconservatives were particularly upset by Bush's non-confrontational policy towards the **PRC** and **Russia** and what they perceived as Bush's insufficient support of **Israel**, and most neoconservatives perceived **Bush's** foreign policies to be not different from the policies of **Clinton**. After the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and The Pentagon, the influence of neoconservatism in the Bush administration increased. In contrast with earlier writings that emphasized the danger from a strong Russia and the PRC, the focus of neoconservatives shifted from Communism to the Middle East and global terrorism.⁽¹⁷⁾

In his well-publicized piece "The Case for American Empire" in the conservative *Weekly Standard*, **Max Boot** argued that "The most realistic response to terrorism is for America to embrace its imperial role. ... In fact .. The September 11 attack was a result of insufficient American involvement and ambition; the solution is to be more expansive in our goals and more assertive in their implementation."⁽¹⁸⁾

after September 11th. **Thomas Donnelly**, a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), argued : ""the fundamental premise of the Bush Doctrine is true: The United States possesses the means—economic, military, diplomatic—to realize its expansive geopolitical purposes. Further, and especially in light of the domestic political reaction to the attacks of September 11, the victory in Afghanistan and the remarkable skill demonstrated by President **Bush** in focusing national attention, it is equally true that Americans possess the requisite political willpower to pursue an expansive strategy"⁽¹⁹⁾.

The **Bush Doctrine**, in U.S. foreign policy, " the right of the United States to wage pre-emptive war" should it be threatened by terrorists or **rogue states**. This doctrine can be seen as the abandonment of a focus on the doctrine of deterrence as the primary means of self-defense. The doctrine also states that the United States "will be strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries from pursuing a military build-up in hopes of surpassing, or equaling, the power of the United States"⁽²⁰⁾.(the cases of Iran, Afghanistan, and Iraq)

Today, the most prominent supporters of the neoconservative stance inside the Bush administration are Vice President **Dick Cheney**, Secretary of State **Condoleezza Rice**, Defense Secretary **Donald Rumsfeld**, and Deputy Defense Secretary **Paul Wolfowitz**. Neoconservatives perhaps are closer to the mainstream of the Republican Party today since the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, especially considering the nature of the Bush Doctrine and the preemptive war against Iraq.

I-3. The Main principles of Neo-Conservatives:

In the **PNAC** ("Project for the New American Century") established in June 3, 1997 by **William Kristol**,⁽²¹⁾ the purposes of the neo- cons are clearly defined as follow:

- A need for increase defense spending significantly if we are to carry out our global responsibilities today and modernize our armed forces for the future;
- A need for strengthen our ties to democratic allies and to challenge regimes which stand against our interests and values;

- A need for promoting the cause of political and economic freedom abroad;
- A need for accepting responsibility for America's unique role in preserving and extending an international order friendly to our security, our prosperity, and our principles. Such a Reaganite policy of military strength and moral clarity may not be fashionable today.

According to the **PNAC**, the NEO-CONS aim at supporting American global leadership. Thus, "America should shape circumstances before crises emerge, and should meet threats before they become dire"⁽²²⁾ (a support for pre-emptive wars). Therefore, according to them, the Americans under the Democratic administration seem to have forgotten the essential elements of the Reagan Administration's success: "a military that is strong and ready to meet both present and future challenges; a foreign policy that purposefully promotes American principles abroad; and national leadership that accepts the United States' global responsibilities"⁽²³⁾.

Max Boot^{***}, a neoconservative, explains the neo-cons vision to American empire by saying that America is acting like a liberal empire by getting involved in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq, and other countries. And suggests that most Americans realize that this is vital to their national security broadly interpreted – that if Americans don't address sources of terrorism, ethnic cleansing, instability, nuclear proliferation, etc, they will suffer a heavy price, as they already did on 11/9⁽²⁴⁾.

As compared with traditional conservatism, which sometimes exhibited an isolationist strain, neo-conservatism is characterized by support for significantly increased defense spending, challenging regimes that are hostile to the values and interests of the United States, pressing for free-market policies abroad, and ensuring that the United States remains the world's sole superpower.

In fact, neo-conservatives support unending aggression against any country that does not succumb to the United States political,

economic, and military control. and as **WAYNE MADSEN** said "they are taking a page from Nazi Germany's leaders in their quest for world domination"⁽²⁵⁾.

I. 4. The most prominent Neo conservatives:

This is a list of prominent public figures frequently referred to as *neoconservatives*. Who are found in public sectors as well as in private sectors. we should note that this listing should not be taken as definitive.

Public Sector: *In public sectors we can list:*

- **Elliott Abrams**, Senior director, National Security Council; son-in-law of Norman Podhoretz.
- **Kenneth Adelman**, member of Pentagon's Defense Policy Board, former member of Reagan administration who praised Apartheid era South Africa for its nuclear proliferation.
- **John Bolton**, the US ambassador at the UN.
- **L. Paul Bremer**, administrator of the U.S. Occupation of Iraq.
- **Stephen Cambone**, first Defense Undersecretary for Intelligence, Rumsfeld protege.
- **Linda Chavez**, Hispanic Republican Cabinet Appointee.
- **Richard Cheney**, United States Vice President since 2001, former Secretary of Defense, former CEO of Halliburton.
- **Eliot Cohen**, member Defense Policy Board.
- **Douglas Feith**, Undersecretary of Defense for Policy since 2001, responsible for planning the occupation of Iraq.
- **Larry Franklin**, Feith lieutenant being investigated for passing government secrets to the **American Israel Public Affairs Committee** and Israeli Embassy Officials.
- **Francis Fukuyama**, author of *The End of History*, leader of non-scientist faction on the President's Council on Bioethics.
- **I. Lewis Libby**, a.k.a Scooter Libby, Chief of Staff to the Vice President. Suspected of having committed treason by revealing the identity of CIA operative Valerie Plame as a political reprisal against her husband.
- **William J. Luti**, Deputy Undersecretary of Defense.
- **Harold Rhode**, Foreign Affairs Specialist, Office of Net Assessment, Office of the Secretary of Defense.

- **Condoleezza Rice**, National Security Advisor from 2001 till 2005, then the secretary of state
- Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense since 2001.
- Abram Shulsky, Director Office of Special Plans.
- Paul Wolfowitz, Deputy Secretary of Defense since 2001, a major advocate for the 2003 invasion of Iraq.
- **David Wurmser**, Office of the Vice President, Middle East Adviser.
- **Dov Zakheim**, former Comptroller, Department of Defense.
- **Leo Strauss**, political philosopher and founder of Straussianism, which gives a philosophical basis for many neoconservative ideals⁽²⁶⁾.

Private Sectors: we can find:

- **Lynne Cheney**, wife of Vice President Richard 'Dick' Cheney; critic of academic critics of the second Bush administration.
- **David Frum, Canadian**, newspaper columnist, and speechwriter.
- **David Horowitz McCarthyism**.
- **Robert Kagan**, co-founder, **Project for the New American Century**.
- **Jeane Kirkpatrick**, former **Ambassador to the United Nations**
- **Charles Krauthammer**.
- **Irving Kristol** : He is referred to as the "Godfather" of all the so called neo-cons.
- **William Kristol**, co-founder, **Project for the New American Century**.
- **Michael Ledeen**
- **Philip Merrill**, Chairman of the **Export-Import Bank** since 2001.
- **Dennis Miller**, comedian.
- **Oliver North**, conservative talk show host.
- **Richard Perle**, Chairman of the **Defense Policy Board**.
- **Norman Podhoretz**
- **Daniel Pipes**, journalist, author, academic, and expert on Islamism and terrorism
- **Ronald D. Rotunda**, law professor at conservative **George Mason University**.

- **Michael Rubin**, lecturer; former Resident Scholar, **American Enterprise Institute**; Washington Institute for Near East Policy; Soref Fellow (1999-2000).
- **Mark Steyn**, author of several books, and politics, arts, and culture commentator for, most notably, the **Chicago Sun-Times**, the UK's **Daily Telegraph**, and **The Irish Times**⁽²⁷⁾

PART TWO: THE INFLUENCE OF THE NEOCONSERVATIVES ON THE US FOREIGN POLICY

After having known the neo-conservatives and their principles, in this Part we will demonstrate the American foreign policy how it is guided by these principles. Then, we will proceed by presenting some examples including the neo-conservatives and the war on terrorism in addition to the neo-conservatives and Iraq .We will conclude this part by identifying the relationship between the neo-conservatives and Israel.

II. 1. Neo-Conservatives vision to The American Foreign Policy:

Neo-conservatives envision a world in which the United States is the unchallenged power, immune to threats. They believe that the USA has a responsibility to act as a "*Benevolent Global Hegemony*". In this capacity, the US would maintain an empire of sorts by helping to create democratic economically government in place of the "Failed States" or oppressive regimes they deem threatening to the USA or its interests.

The neoconservatives think that the Middle East would be democracy in the belief that this would eliminate a prime breeding ground for terrorists.

This approach they claim is not only best for the United States, it is best for the world .In their view, the world can only achieve peace through strong American leadership backed with credible force not weak treaties to be disrespected by tyrants⁽²⁸⁾.

Robert Kagan is one of the most prominent of the group of the neo-conservatives who came together in the mid 1990's in a bid to change the direction of US foreign policy, KAGAN co-authored with William Kristol, in the journal "*Foreign Affairs*", a neo-reagnite

manifests calling for the world wide imposition of American ideals through the deployment of overwhelming US force.

The journal made by William Kristol and Robert Kagan contains the main principles that govern the US foreign policy under neo-conservatives. Some of these principles can be shown in the following:

“Twenty years later, it is time once again to challenge indifferent America and a confused America conservatism. Today’s like warm consensus about America’s reduced role in a post cold war is wrong. Conservatives should not accede to it, it is bad for the country and, incidentally, bad for conservatism. Conservatives will not be able to govern the long term if they fail to offer some elevated vision of America’s international role. Benevolent global hegemony, having defeated the “Evil Empire “, the United States enjoys strategic and ideological predominance⁽²⁹⁾.

The first objective of US foreign policy should be to preserve and enhance that pre-dominance by strengthening America’s security, supporting its friends, advancing its interests and standing up for its principles around the world.

Moral clarity: American foreign policy should be informed with a clear moral purpose, based on the understanding that its moral goals and its fundamental national interests are almost always in harmony. The US achieved its present position of strength not by practicing a foreign policy of “ *live and let live* “ nor by passively waiting for threats to arise, but by actively promoting American principles of governance abroad ... democracy, free markets, respect for liberty .

Support for American principles around the world can be sustained by the continuing exertion of American influence which comes from the aid provided to friendly regimes that are trying to carry out democratic and free markets reforms⁽³⁰⁾ .

Therefore as **Michael Lind**, the new statesman, says: "*as a result of several bizarre and unforeseeable contingencies, the foreign policy of the world’s global power is being made by a small clique that is unrepresentative of either the US population or the main stream policy establishment* "⁽³¹⁾ .

II. 2- Neo-conservatives and War on Terrorism:

On Sept , 11 , 2001 , the president of the USA , **Georges Walker Bush** said that "*We will not distinguish between those who committed the acts of terrorism and the countries that harbored them and supported them And that is now the first principle of American policy*" said M^r **Richard Perle**.

In a recent interview **Max Boot** was asked if neo-conservatives in America would breed more terrorist attacks, he said that neo-conservatives approach to terrorism would address the " *root causes* " more that being the lack of liberal democracy in the Muslim world .Encouraging democracy in IRAN and other places would be a center piece of this strategy, this would be combined with military attacks on obvious terrorist out-posts like the Taliban in Afghanistan. This approach will reduce on the contrary the number of terrorists⁽³²⁾.

According to **Max Boot** neo-conservatives approach tries to promote democracy, free markets ...etc, it wills to undertake humanitarian interventions in places like Liberia. It tries to get along with China and Russia and it may clash with some European nations over issues like Kyoto, etc.

Moreover, he adds that neo-conservatives foreign policy combines the best of the two dominant strains at US foreign policy thinking: **Wilsonian** idealism and **Kissingerian** real politic. They have **Wilsonian's** devotion to promoting democracy while using, at the same time force (Hard Wilsonian).

Neo-conservatives view that both North Korea and Iran are two biggest threats to the US at the moment because of their nuclear weapons programs and tyrannical governments, thus; their policy in both cases should be preempted in order to democratize those countries, so they no longer seek to threaten their neighbors, or the USA. In fact, they believe that they do not need to worry about China nearly as much as we worry about, they worry about North Korea and Iran⁽³³⁾.

So, using the pretext of responding to terrorist attacks, President **Bush** and his cheerleaders proposed changes that, in reality, have long been planned to consolidate police-state powers at the federal level.

"Thousands of trained killers are plotting to attack us, and this terrible knowledge requires us to act differently." Thus spoke President **Bush** in his nationally televised June 6th address unveiling "the most extensive reorganization, explained the president, would be "a permanent cabinet level department of Home Land Security." By presenting this proposal in a prime-time address, the Bush White House staged a spin control coup that would do credit to the infamous Clinton "War Room". **Bush** has insisted that the New Home Land Security department be established and operating by January 1st 2003 – something that can not happen unless the Congress once again is stampeded into passing the implementing legislation.

Indeed, the Home Land Security proposal was conceived long before 9-11 tragedy which means that the proposal cannot be a response to the tragedy⁽³⁴⁾.

Instead, the conservative Bush administration is using 9.11 to justify the proposal which would transfer more power to the executive branch without thwarting the terrorist threat. President Bush's proposal to create Home Land Security Department (H. L. S. C) is one of several unprecedented efforts to centralize military and law enforcement power in the executive branch in the name of fighting terrorism.

II. 3- Neo-Conservatives and Israel:

The neoconservatives support a robust American stance on Israel. The neoconservative influenced **Project for the New American Century** called for an Israel no longer dependent on American aid through the removal of major threats in the region.

Opponents of neoconservatives have sought to emphasize their interest on Israel, and the large proportion of Jewish neoconservatives and have raised the question of "dual loyalty", an issue they do not raise with the neoconservatives equally support of Taiwan. A number of critics, such as **Pat Buchanan**, have accused them of putting Israeli interests above those of America. In turn these critics have been labeled as anti-Semites by many neoconservatives which in turn has led to accusations of professional smearing and then paranoia, and so on⁽³⁵⁾.

However, one should note that some prominent neoconservatives are not Jewish, such as **Michael Novak**, **Jeanne Kirkpatrick**, **Frank Gaffney**, and **Max Boot** and may even have anti-Zionist / anti-Semitic sentiments themselves (**Michael Novak**). Furthermore, neoconservatives in the 1960's were much less interested in Israel before the June 1967 Six Day War. It has only been since this conflict, which has raised the specter of unopposed Soviet influence in the Middle East, that the neoconservatives have become preoccupied by Israel's security interests.

They promote the view that Israel is the US's strongest ally in the Middle East as the sole Western – style democracy in the region, aside from Turkey (Gorges .W. Bush has also supported Turkey in its efforts to join the European Union).

Moreover, they have long argued that the United States should emulate Israel's of preemptive attacks, especially Israel's strikes in the 1980s on nuclear facilities in Libya and Iraq Identification with the state of Israel was furthered by the September 11 terrorist attacks which served to highlight parallels between the United States and Israel as both democratic nations under the threat of terrorist attack.

A leading figure among immigrant politicians former –soviet dissident and now an Israeli minister without portfolio **Natan Sharansky** whose book, The case for Democracy, promotes a foreign policy philosophy nearly identical to neo-conservatives. President **Bush** has effusively praised this book and called it a "*Glimpse of how i think*"⁽³⁶⁾.

What is good for Israel is good for the US, this is a unique perspective held by a group of very powerful US government officials advisers and influential media pundits . This phrase was featured in the introduction to a book which was published 20 years ago titled: **The Armageddon Net work**. This book featured an incident that happened over 25 years ago which started a quest for truth and justice in U.S relationship with Israel and other countries in the Middle East. This book highlights the early careers of **Stephen Bryan** and **Richard Perle**, one of the most powerful; neo-conservatives in U.S today and focuses on **Perle** and his network of

friends. Who often promote an "Israeli-first" policy in US of America⁽³⁷⁾.

Therefore, Neo-conservatives share unwavering support for Israel, which they see as crucial to US military sufficiency in a volatile region. They also see Israel as a key out-post of democracy in a region ruled by despots, believing that authoritarianism and theocracy have allowed anti-Americanism to flourish in the Middle East. Neo-conservatives advocate the democratic transformation of the region starting with Iraq. They also believe the US is unnecessarily hampered by multilateral institutions in which they do not trust to neutralize threats to global security⁽³⁸⁾.

II. 4. Neoconservatives and IRAQ:

Within a few years of the Gulf war in Iraq, many associated with the neo-conservatism were pushing for the ouster of Saddam Hussein .On February 19, 1998 an open letter to President Clinton was signed by dozens of pundits , many identified with both neoconservatism and later, related groups such as PNAC , urging decisive action to remove Saddam from power although sanctions , encouragement of insurrection, and enforcement of no-fly zones continued under Clinton and then Bush no such action was taken until after the IRAQ disarmament crisis of 2003.

Proponents of the invasion of Iraq in 2003 sought to compare their war to **Churchill** 's war against **Hitler**, with speakers like US secretary of defense **Donald Rumsfeld** comparing **Saddam** to **Hitler** , while likening tolerance shown **saddam** to the 1930's appeasement of **Hitler** .This represented a major twin around for many conservatives including **D.Rumsfeld** himself, who in 1983 met **Saddam Hussein** and **Tariq Azziz**, and declared that the US and Iraq share many common interests.

Prior to war, **Bush** compared Saddam to Stalin and Hitler and invoked the specter of appeasement. *«like the Nazis and the communists», he said, « the terrorists seek to end lives and control all life»*but the visage of evil conjured up by **Bush** during his European trip was that of **Saddam Hussein**, not **Bin Laden** , who many considered a greater threat .Iraq' s president was singled out as the " *great evil* " who by his search for terrible weapons, by his ties to

terrorists groups, threatens the security of every free nation, including the free nations of Europe.

Following the release, on June 16, 2004, of the preliminary findings of the staff of the bipartisan commission investigating the sept 11. 2001, terror attacks, the commission found no evidence that Iraq had anything to do with the attacks⁽³⁹⁾.

There have been reports that contact between Iraq and Al Qaeda so occurred after Bin Laden had returned to Afghanistan further the commission found that :

«With **Al Qaeda** as its foundation, **Bin Laden** sought to build a boarder Islamic army that also included terrorist groups from Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Saoudi Arabia, Oman, Tunisia, Iraq, Lebanon, Morocco, Somalia and Iriteria. Not all groups from these states agreed to join, but at least one from each did»⁽⁴⁰⁾. Hence as **Bill streigerward** has demonstrated :

«The war on Iraq was a war of national interest and it was broadly supported by neo-conservatives. Infact, they were very involved in the planning and execution of the war, **Paul Walfowitz** being very prominent among them»⁽⁴¹⁾.

Americans have a far different view of the war's impact – on the war on terrorism and the global standing of the US than people in the other surveyed countries.

Generally, the Neo- conservatives think the war helped in the fight against terrorism, illustrated the power of the US Military, and revealed America to be trustworthy and supportive of democracy around the world. They think that they, by any measure, achieved an extraordinary measure of success in Bush administration at this moment in time. Its adherents occupy positions of the highest influence and power; their long-time burr Saddam has been vanquished; and the President has adopted their activist bearing towards world affairs. These successes have prompted any number of attacks, some less learned than others⁽⁴²⁾.

However many American experts and politicians think that the American war on Iraq has bad results and negative impact on both American interests and reputation in the Middle East mainly after the scandal of Abou Ghrib Prison⁽⁴³⁾.

As a conclusion of what has been said in this part, we notice that Neo-conservatives In USA have an aggressive foreign policy based on

The believe that the USA has a responsibility to act as a “ *Benevolent Global Hegemony* ” and the world wide imposition of American ideals through the deployment of overwhelming US force. Neo-conservatives' foreign policy was to be clear in the war on Iraq which was a war of national interest for which neo- conservatives may start unending preemptive wars against what they call "Terrorism". Concerning Israel, despite the fact that some prominent neoconservatives are not Jewish, they give unlimited support to Israel and to its policies. This support is done on the basis that what is good for Israel is good for USA.

CONCLUSION:

This study has demonstrated that the American government is controlled by a group of people known as "**Neoconservatives**" such as **Richard 'Dick' Cheney, Robert Kagan, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Irving Kristol, Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz**...etc, these people are trying to revive American Empire.

By imposing their principles, the neo-conservatives aim at changing the American post Cold War role into a role of world leadership, and in their view democracy can be installed by conquest and opposition to any regime that may represent some threat to the USA or to any of its allies. Those "**Neoconservatives**" wish to build an American policy based on a total support for the countries that adopt policies nearly identical to that of America, and a vehement opposition to the regimes not adopting such a policy .along with unlimited support for Israeli policies.

This group of people is always ready to wage pe-emptive war against Terrorism or "Rogue States" which may threaten American interests and values .This doctrine "pre-emptive war" is clearly applied in the American war on terrorism and on Iraq as we have demonstrated.

Thus, our study has found that the Neo- conservatives, often called the "Crazies" and "Mads", are the only drawers of the American foreign policy.

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