



Journal of Liberal Arts and Humanities (JLAH)  
Issue: Vol. 1; No. 3 March 2020 (pp. 114-130)  
ISSN 2690-070X (Print) 2690-0718 (Online)  
Website: www.jlahnet.com  
E-mail: editor@jlahnet.com

## **Egoism in U.S Foreign Policy during Donald Trump's Presidency: Results and Consequences**

**Dr. Vahid Noori**

Ph.D. graduated in International Relations  
Allame Tabatabaei University  
E-mail: V.Noori@hotmail.com

**Seyed Hassan Hosseini (Corresponding Author)**

M.A graduated in Department of International Relations  
Faculty of Humanities  
Qom Islamic Azad University  
E-mail: hassanhosseinii@gmail.com

### **Abstract**

Two years have passed since Donald Trump became U.S president, during which Washington has taken out a kind of turbulent foreign policy. Everyday media reports on his new decisions that have made U.S. foreign policy to deserve "unpredictability". This paper attempts to find out the fundamental causes of such changes; therefore, its main question is what is the most important variable affecting U.S recent foreign policy? To answer the question, it uses James Rosenau's theory of foreign policy and the findings of two pieces researches on Trump's personality assessment, evaluates the U.S foreign policy positions, and analyzes his interaction with foreign policy maker institutions and their internal developments. Accordingly, it hypothesizes that *Trump's personality traits have made "individual variable" superior to other parameters affecting U.S foreign policy, i.e., systemic, governmental, societal, and role variables.* "Authoritarian populism", "narcissism", "vengefulness", and "disagreeableness" are Trump's profound personality traits that manifest "egocentrism" hidden in his personality. These individual traits have exerted affected the weight and relations between governmental institutions of foreign policy, and institutions completely in harmony with the president's view has now been formed. The new arrangement has led to U.S. withdrawal from international agreements and regimes and challenging them to such extent that some observers believe such doctrine has been threatening existing international order and arrangements.

**Key words:** Trump's foreign policy, Trump's psychology, James Rosenau's continuity theory, HEXACO personality assessment model, the framework of analyzing authoritarian populist personality

### **Introduction**

Donald Trump began his four years presidency in January 20, 2017 after he won presidential elections against democrat Hillary Clinton in 2016. Before his presence in oval office in the White House and during election campaigns, it was supposed that his somehow unpredictable positions and views about persons, organizations, and some countries are merely election propaganda, which is a usual phenomenon around the world. Now, however, it seems that U.S foreign policy has taken a different and unpredictable nature after two years of his presidency to such extent that states, politicians, pundits and even ordinary people are surprised and somehow influenced by White House's positions and decisions about current issues of foreign policy. Such decisions as unprecedented withdrawal from a wide range of international treaties, organizations and regimes as well as unusual treatment with Washington's close allies have considerably distinguished Trump's foreign policy from that of his previous presidents. Therefore, the present study is an attempt to find the main factor directing U.S foreign policy during its forty-fifth presidency. To this end and considering psychological findings of researches conducted by Kellner and Visser et al. using HEXACO personality assessment model, as well as Erich Fromm's theory of authoritarian populism as hypothesis, it is argued that U.S foreign policy during Donald Trump's presidency is completely influenced by his personal motives, beliefs, and traits, and has finally led to "individual variable" to override other variables affecting the structure of U.S foreign policy.

James Rosenau's continuity theory is briefly explained as the analytical framework of the paper. It refers to "international environment", "bureaucratic or governmental", "societal", "role", and "individual or idiosyncratic" variables as five parameters affecting foreign policy making. Therefore, the changes of two "individual" and "bureaucratic" variables are studied and analyzed while the three others are regarded as fixed. To this end, Donald Trump is regarded as being qualified for the attributes of "authoritarian populist", "narcissist", and "greatly disagreeable", based on the findings of two separate studies by Kellner and Visser et al. The flux of these personality traits in the form of "individual variable" in the sources of U.S foreign policy has deranged the relation and balance between "sources and parameters affecting U.S foreign policy" and has made "individual variable" to stand above other structural, societal, role (while being fixed), and bureaucratic variables in the new order of sources. This has been actualized in two ways. The first is the direct application of Trump's personal views in U.S foreign policy, and the second is indirect effects due to appointment of favorable individuals in bureaucratic institutions of federal government. Trump's "egocentrism" and "revisionism" have resulted in negative effects of his approach on a wide range of existing international regimes, specially treaties, institutions and collective mechanisms. In such atmosphere, we see America led by Trump withdraw or is going to withdraw from any regime, treaty or organization unfavorable to him. It is while the U.S as the winner of Cold War and the only superpower at the onset of 21<sup>st</sup> century was most influential in the formation, preservation, and continuation of existing international order (Gharayagh Zandi et al, 1390 solar (2011) pp. 29-34).

There is no research method as qualitative research in the paper. Thus existing first hand data (the data of two psychological studies) and third had data (observers' analyses of U.S. foreign policy (Blaikie, 2010, p. 240) are used to answer the paper's questions. Then, arguing logically, the authors answer the questions using conceptual - theoretical insights of Rosenau's theory and observing the news and developments.

### **1. Theoretical Framework of James Rosenau's Continuity Theory: Five Sources of Analyzing Foreign Policy**

Rosenau put forward "pre-theory" and "continuity model" to combine two macro and micro levels in analyzing foreign policy, and tried to assess the effect size of individual, governmental, societal, and international environment parameters in forming foreign policy by putting these five parameters together. The brief definition of each parameter is as follow:

- **Individual variable**  
It includes leaders and policy makers' psychological, genetic, and biological traits as well as their beliefs, conceptions, and worldviews.
- **Role variable**  
It includes the specific function of each structure. In other words, it includes ought tos and ought not tos imposed by a certain role.
- **Governmental variable**  
It consists of the nature of a political system (democratic, authoritarian, or totalitarian) along with the characteristics of bureaucracy governing it.
- **Societal variable**  
It is the non-governmental characteristics of a society such as political culture, ideology, international status and the like.
- **International environment variable**  
It includes the structure of international system and values governing it (liberalism, human rights, and recently environmental issues) (Seyifzadeh, 1385 solar (2006), pp. 304-324).

With regard to U.S foreign policy, Rosenau's theory is based on the hypothesis that each parameter can be regarded as a causal factor (in Kegley and Wittkof, 2003, p. 20). It should be noted that the effect size of these five variables are not the same and one or more parameters may have more prominent role in every period. Trump's presence in the White House has affected the relative weight and position of these parameters in relation to each other and has made considerable changes in U.S foreign policy. Since environmental (structural), societal, and role variables are relatively fixed sources (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 1391 solar (2012), p. 68), the authors of the paper consider them fixed with regard to U.S foreign policy in the past two years;

However, individual variable has greatly changed and directly affected bureaucratic institutions influential in foreign policy in a way that they are completely in harmony with the president after many strives and tensions. Therefore, it seems that the effect size of "individual variable", influenced by Trump's personal traits, has greatly increased and prioritized over other sources and variables affecting America's foreign policy (see figure 1).

## **2. Individual and Bureaucratic Variables in America's Foreign Policy**

### **2.1. Individual Variable**

According to the definitions provided in theoretical section, this level of analysis put emphasis on political leaders' ideologies, motives, ideals, conceptions, values and moral characteristics, and their effect on foreign policy behavior. In this section, Donald Trump's psychological traits are studied according to two models of personality assessment. These are HEXACO model, which uses lexical analysis framework, and personality assessment framework based on Erich Fromm's authoritarian populist model.

#### **2.1.1. HEXACO Personality Assessment Model**

According to Kibeom Lee and Michael C. Ashton's definition, HEXACO model studies the main dimensions of personality through lexical analysis. In this method, the words people use are analyzed and the results are quantitatively shown. The output is provided in the form of six main factors or dimensions of "Honesty-Humility (H)", "Emotionality (E)", "Extraversion (X)", "Agreeableness (A)", "Conscientiousness (C)", and "Openness to Experience (O)", each with four facets (Lee and Ashton, 2010, p. 329). This section uses the results of psychological research conducted by Beth A. Visser, Angela S. Book, and Anthony A. Volk who applied HEXACO model to analyze Trump's personality:

#### **A. Honesty-Humility**

Donald Trump got 1.32 score on Honesty-humility index, which is very low compared with normal value of 3.18. Here, the low score implies "controlling, manipulating, and exploiting others" and people with such score "feel entitled and important, and are more likely to break rules for personal gain" (Visser, Book & Volk, 2017, p. 2).

#### **B. Emotionality**

Donald Trump Got 2.29 in emotionality index, which is low compared with normal value of 3.31. People with low score in this dimension are emotionally detached and low on empathy, making them less likely to be concerned with the effect of their behavior on other people (Visser, Book & Volk, 2017, pp. 2-5).

#### **C. Extraversion**

Trump got 4.21 in this index, which is high compared with normal value of 3.51. High scores on extraversion are correlated with high level of confidence, charisma, and sociability (Visser, Book & Volk, 2017, p. 2). Extravert people are also reward-seeking, and are always driven to pursue positive emotional experiences, whether they come in the form of social approval, fame, or wealth, and it is the pursuit itself, more so even than the actual attainment of the goal, that extroverts find so gratifying. Therefore, it can be said that extroversion is directly related to risk-taking and adventure (McAdams, 2016).

#### **D. Agreeableness**

Agreeableness relates to the ability to forgive, being tolerant, and willing to compromise/cooperate with others. This domain is exemplified by four facets measuring forgiveness, gentleness, flexibility, and patience. Low scorers tend to be vengeful, stubborn, and are more likely to react to provocation with anger. Donald Trump got low score of 1.45 on agreeableness, which is very low compared with normal score of 3.05 and extraordinary (Visser, Book & Volk, 2017, p. 2).

### E. Openness to experience

Openness to experience indicates individual's ability to accept new or unconventional ideas. Donald Trump got 2.45 on this index, which is low compared with normal score of 3.18. Low score on openness to experience means that the person cannot accept unconventional ideas. Here there is an additional scale directly measuring Altruism. People with low score on this item tend to be more hard-hearted and less likely to engage in helping others (Visser, Book & Volk, 2017, p. 2).

### F. Conscientiousness

Conscientiousness is another dimension of HEXACO model. People with high score on conscientiousness are organized, disciplined, and make thoughtful decisions, whereas low scorers are impulsive and moody. Such people make decisions with instant motives and without forethought, and are less concerned with quality of work. Donald Trump's total median on conscientiousness was 2.73, which is low compared with normal score of 3.41. In general, the findings of these studies show that Donald Trump is "antisocial", "narcissist", and "Machiavellianist" (Visser, Book, & Volk, 2017, pp. 2-3). The following table provides the detailed scores of the facets of Donald Trump's personality, compared with normal level and inserted standard deviation:

	percentile	SD	Norm	Output
<b>Honesty-Humility</b>	<b>.21</b>	<b>0.65</b>	<b>3.18</b>	<b>1.32</b>
Sincerity	3.53	0.78	3.16	1.75
Fairness	2.77	0.98	3.35	1.47
Greed Avoidance	3.51	0.95	2.72	1
Modesty	0.06	0.76	3.48	1.03
<b>Emotionality</b>	<b>5.48</b>	<b>0.64</b>	<b>3.31</b>	<b>2.29</b>
Fearfulness	28.14	0.87	3.17	2.67
Anxiety	2.19	0.77	3.33	1.78
Dependence	24.07	0.86	3.3	2.69
Sentimentality	3.43	0.78	3.42	2
<b>Extraversion</b>	<b>87.9</b>	<b>0.6</b>	<b>3.51</b>	<b>4.21</b>
Social Self esteem	92.42	0.65	3.79	4.72
Social Boldness	96.67	0.88	3.08	4.69
Sociability	63.06	0.79	3.57	3.83
Liveliness	66.18	0.74	3.58	3.89
<b>Agreeableness</b>	<b>0.78</b>	<b>0.66</b>	<b>3.05</b>	<b>1.45</b>
Forgiveness	1.96	0.78	2.83	1.22
Gentleness	0.48	0.82	3.29	1.17
Flexibility	4.98	0.86	2.84	1.42
Patience	1.72	0.85	3.24	1.44
<b>Conscientiousness</b>	<b>23.58</b>	<b>0.63</b>	<b>3.41</b>	<b>2.73</b>
Organization	37.22	0.92	3.3	3
Diligence	55.36	0.75	3.76	3.86
Perfectionism	4.16	0.83	3.41	1.97
Prudence	2.42	0.79	3.17	1.61
<b>Openness to Experience</b>	<b>14.01</b>	<b>0.64</b>	<b>3.18</b>	<b>2.45</b>
Aesthetic appreciator	5.9	0.92	3.03	1.59
Inquisitiveness	16.9	0.9	3	2.14
Creativity	18.35	0.84	3.48	2.72
Unconventionality	24.5	0.68	3.19	2.72
<b>Altruism</b>	<b>0.09</b>	<b>0.69</b>	<b>3.77</b>	<b>1.62</b>

**Table 1. HEXACO dimensions and their facets in psychological analysis of Donald Trump's personality, compared with normal level (Visser, Book & Volk, 2017, p. 3).**

**Table percentage guide:**

>99 Exceptionally high, 90-99 Very high, 75-90 High, 25-75 Normal, 10-25 Low, 1-10 Very low, <1 Exceptionally low

According to above study, Visser, Book, and Volk conclude their research with the fact that Donald Trump is antisocial, narcissist, and Machiavellianist (Visser, Book & Volk, 2017, pp. 2-3).

### 2.1.2. Erich Fromm's Authoritarian Populism Model

Douglas Kellner, a critical theory thinker, believes that Erich Fromm's personality analysis model can well describe Donald Trump's personality traits. In this theoretical framework of personality analysis, five basic traits are taken into consideration, based on which people's personality can be described, including "narcissism", "sadism", "malignant aggression", "vengeably destructive", and "necrophilia" (Kellner, 2016, pp.27-29).

#### A. Narcissism

For the narcissistically involved person, there is only one reality, that of his own thoughts, feelings and related events. In fact, there is no objective and unbiased experience and perception of outside world in narcissist person's mind. Kellner believes that Trump, as a narcissist person, is only interested in his own needs, thoughts and ideals and always talks about his own views. The outside world and people are important as far as they serve his needs and plans (Kellner, 2016, p. 31). Trump reviews and watches news related to him every day, which proves the claim that he "excessively pays attention to himself" (R. Wolf, 2017, p. 101). Another basic character of narcissist people is excessive propagation of their own names to make others understand their greatness (McAdams, 2016). Howard Gardner, Harvard psychology professor, believes that putting Trump's name on everything related to him, from tower and university to steak and casino, is the real instance of excessive narcissism. Excessive use of "I", "my", and "mine" is also another sign of narcissism. The following text is taken from Trump's book, "The Path to Success", which shows his narcissism well. It has 19 sentences with subject pronoun "I" 16 times, possessive adjective "my" 5 times, and object pronoun "me" 3 times. That is, first person singular pronoun has averagely been used 2.3 times per sentence (Fuchs, 2017, p. 49):

*"Whenever I start something new, I know I have tons to learn. I see each new project as a blank page that I can't wait to fill. I get excited because I love to investigate, dig in new areas, acquire information, put it together, and gain an in-depth understanding of something completely new. I've had this feeling at every stage of my career; it's how I begin every successful project. I consider it a sign; if I don't feel excited, I usually pass on the opportunity, even if it could produce huge profits. My enthusiasm drives me to learn, and what I learn gives me more control. My knowledge also helps me avoid mistakes and eliminate problems that could arise. I studied up on travel before starting GoTrump.com, my travel agency. I studied the men's fashion industry for my Donald J. Trump Signature Collection of menswear. I researched and read carefully before starting Trump University; and that's just to name a few examples"*

#### B. Sadism

It is necessary to provide a brief definition of personality types from Sigmund Freud's view, before beginning the discussion. According to his theory, a person's personality consists of "id", "ego", and "super ego". Id is the oldest and most primitive agency of man's personality and present from birth. It motivates the organism to seek material pleasure. The contact between id and external world leads to its evolution in the form of ego whose basis is logical thinking. Finally, there is super-ego that is responsible for moral and conscientious judgment, and related to person's perfection and ideals (Lapsley and Stey, 2011, p. 1).

According to Kellner, Trump, like classical Fascist leaders, arguably has an underdeveloped "superego", while he has a developed "ego" because he has attained material instances of success such as wealth and power, the fact that can be understood from his personal relations. His failed marriages, his intense desire to control, harm, and humiliate others, and excessive character destruction of his enemies and competitors are instances of sadism that he frequently repeats. For example, we can refer to the fact that he encouraged his supporters to attack critics and protestors, desires to harm (punch) his critics and protestors physically (Lopez, 2016), encouraged his supporters to boycott CNN network (Graham, 2017, p. 86), and ridiculed a handicapped reporter (Borchers, 2017).

Based on these statements, Kellner regards Trump as the most gigantic and unrestrained "ego" in recent U.S politics, whose presence had led to outmost aggression, narcissism and rage as the basic elements of American politics.

### **C. Malignant Aggression**

Trump's hostile language and humiliation of his critics and protestors make him similar to classical authoritarian leaders. During primaries, he even insulted his opponents from the same party line, because it was not enough for him to defeat, but he attempted to destroy them. Trump insults many of his opponents. "Lying Ted" and "crooked Hillary" are just some examples (Kellner, 2016T pp. 33-34).<sup>1</sup> This aggression and ambitious desires are also seen in Trump's everyday life to the extent that his former executive and cohort, Barbara Res, believes rage is the main factor of Trump's personality. McAdams also believes that Trump's aggressive, brutal and venturous mentality makes him a politician who seeks the most wonderful result with little concern for its outcomes (McAdams, 2016).

### **D. Vengeably Destructive**

Vengeably destructiveness is another main index of authoritarian populism. A person with such trait destroys his opponents to revenge his failure without considering who is right. As an example, Trump accused Judge Gonzalo Curiel with Mexican heritage of impartiality in the case of "Trump University". The judge rejected proposal by Trump's attorneys to cancel taking cognizance the lawsuit. Finally, the judge adjudged Trump to pay damages. Another example is that Trump threatened the Republican Party with street riot of his followers if there was any attempt to block his nomination, and in final elections he claimed that the election was 'rigged' and that his followers may riot if he did not win Hillary Clinton. Kellner believes that Trump regarded himself entitled, and his right to take any revenge for granted in all these cases (Kellner, 2016, pp. 33-36).

### **E. Necrophilic**

The last index of authoritarian populism is necrophilic personality. The necrophilic personality type is empty and needs to fill themselves with ever more acquisitions, conquests, or victories. Such personality is full of rage and hate, racist, pro-war and even prone to self-destruction (Kellner, 2016, pp. 37-39). Racism can be clearly seen in Trump's positions against Mexican, Chinese, and Muslim immigrants and no doubt against his critics and political opponents (Fuchs, 2017, p. 64). Trump's mental occupation and obsession with numbers and figures is also another instance of necrophilia. For example, he gave wrong figures of the participants in his oath of office and claimed that he has got more popular votes than Hillary Clinton. Trump's obsession is rooted in his excessive competitive spirit (R. Wolf, 2017, pp.101-103)

Examining above-mentioned personality traits in Trump's behaviors, Kellner believes that he is repeating "authoritarian populism" phenomenon. The main character of such personality is "intolerant towards freedom" and tries to "attract common people". Trump's behavioral features reveal his loyalty to the ideals of authoritarian movements (Kellner, 2015, p. 27).

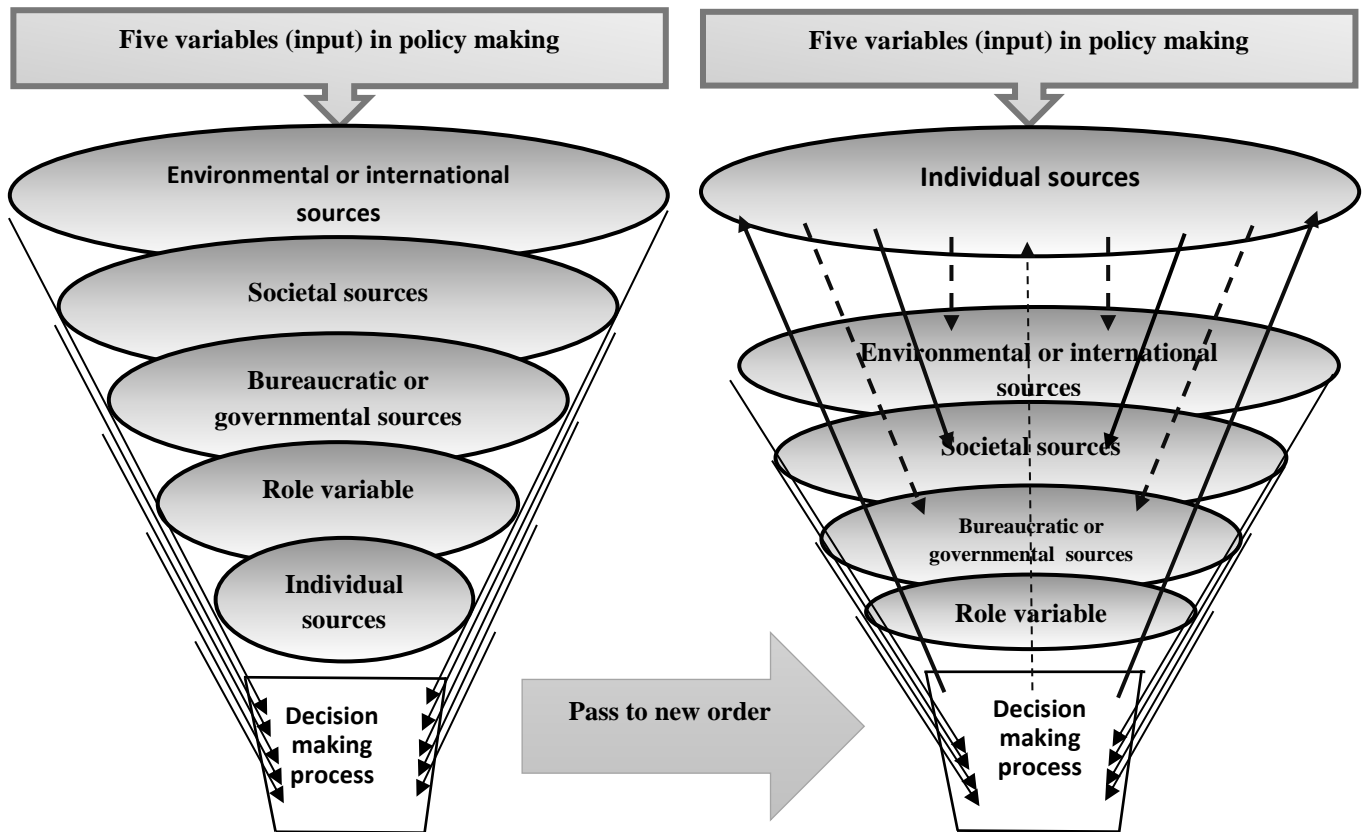
## **2.2. Bureaucratic or Governmental Variables in U.S Foreign Policy**

The bureaucratic source of U.S foreign policy includes such institutions as U.S. foreign department, U.S. defense department, CIA, National Security Council, and in about twenty years ago U.S. treasury department. The review of two past years developments in above departments reveals that "egocentrism", "desire to control", and "disagreeableness" found in Trump's personality has greatly affected the bureaucratic structure and its senior officers, so that some observers hold Trump does not believe in and value U.S political structures and accepted principles of its foreign policy so much (Yazdanfam, 1395 solar (2016), pp.143-144). As an individual with low "agreeableness" and "openness to experience", Trump needs individuals in harmony with him in the cabinet, which allows him to escape from criticisms and advance his viewpoints.

---

<sup>1</sup> A complete list can be seen in [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_nicknames\\_used\\_by\\_Donald\\_Trump](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_nicknames_used_by_Donald_Trump)

These personality dimensions have determined the nature and fate of interactions between the president and those in charge of above-mentioned departments in the form of two models: the first is adjustment and harmony with president's viewpoints and the second is resignation and discontinuation of cooperation. Both models have led to disorder in the relation and balance among "five sources and variables of U.S. foreign policy" in two past years. In this new order and arrangement of sources, individual variable stands above other structural, societal, role (while being fixed) and bureaucratic variables and increasingly affects them directly and indirectly without being so much affected by them. The following diagram shows this change:



**Diagram 1. The new arrangement of sources of U.S. foreign policy**

### 2.2.1. Department of State

Contrary to Barak Obama's presidency when department of state was considerably independent in policy making and directing foreign policy, its position was seriously challenged during Trump's presidency because of his personality traits. In Trump's administration, it has passed two general periods and its weight compared with other institutions and its relation with them has changed due to each secretary of state's personality and how he interacted with the president. Tillerson and Pompeo were first two secretaries of state during Trump's presidency. Tillerson resisted against Trump's viewpoints while Pompeo has increased the effectiveness of foreign department, compared with Tillerson's short period of ministry, through being in harmony with Trump's viewpoints. Tillerson fundamentally disagreed with Trump about most strategic issues of foreign policy such as Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, diplomatic dialogs with North Korea, Qatar crisis, Paris Climate Agreement, and how to deal with Venezuela etc. In a general approach, Tillerson believed in flexibility and use of diplomacy while Trump was inflexible and aggressive. Tillerson sought to follow diplomatic path in dealing with Venezuela and North Korea and tried to make America have a neutral position on Qatar crisis, which was nullified by Trump's will (Kranz, 2017). These differences led to relative marginality of Tillerson's role compared with other bureaucratic institutions of foreign policy so that Pentagon, for instance, took the responsibility of some essential missions of department of state such as making the arrangements of Trump's trip to Saudi Arabia.



Finally, these differences made Trump to dismiss Tillerson immediately after the latter's trip to Africa on March, 13 and replace Mike Pompeo in his twitter page, which was an unconventional diplomatic behavior. Contrary to Tillerson, Pompeo is regarded as strong supporter of Trump's viewpoints, who reflects the latter's personal views in foreign policy (Pillar, 2018).



**Figure 2. Tillerson's dismissal was announced through twitter, which was unconventional**

### 2.2.2. Department of Defense

Affected by relative marginality of Department of State during Tillerson, the Department of Defense had a progressive role in U.S. foreign policy. In Michael O'Hanlon's words, an analyzer in Brookings think tank, in his interview with VOA<sup>ii</sup>, weakening diplomacy apparatus provided the ground for strengthening other institutions so that Department of Defense showed meaningful diplomatic moves in this period. The trip by the chairmen of Pentagon (Mattis) to Middle East before Secretary of State and his visit with Egypt's president and Libya's prime minister showed that Department of Defense foreran the Department of State in U.S. foreign policy.<sup>iii</sup> Mattis also made a trip to United Arab Emirates and Iraq before secretary of state. His second Middle East trip was to Saudi Arabia and Qatar to arrange Donald Trump's trip, a role which is principally a natural duty of secretary of state.<sup>iv</sup> No doubt, this relative success does not mean complete harmony between Trump and Mattis. Contrary to Trump, Mattis sought to preserve Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action and Paris Climate Agreement, and disagreed with moving U.S embassy to Jerusalem. He could convince Trump to raise U.S troops in Afghanistan, avoid fierce clash with North Korea, and remain in NATO (Seligman, 2018). Mattis's minimal success resulted from Trump's relative interest in armies and, more importantly, from Mattis's cautious treatment with unexceptionable and narcissist Trump. In other words, Mattis could relatively endure because he did not criticize the president in public circles and concentrated on assigned duties, while Trump was harshly discontent with Tillerson's interactions with media, who criticized him openly (Johnson, 218). Over time, however, disagreements between Pentagon and White House on foreign policy increased to the extent that Mattis's maneuver power was greatly limited. Trump desired to form space force, vamp the army on Mexico borders, prohibit bisexuals' presence in the army, and not to conduct military maneuver with South Korea, Mattis disagreed with him in these issues. Finally, Mattis's presence in the cabinet ended with Trump decision to withdraw American troops from Syria.

### 2.2.3. The White House and National Security Council

National Security Council is responsible for foreign policy in the White House as the executive office of U.S. president. Vice president, advisor of national security, and secretary of energy are legal members of the council. The president's preferences determine how and how much foreign policy advisors are used (in Kegley and Wittkof, 2003, pp. 485-497-499).

#### A. Vice President

<sup>ii</sup> <https://ir.voanews.com/a/mattis-expanded-role/4146478.html>

<sup>iii</sup> <https://dod.defense.gov/News/Transcripts/Transcript-View/Article/1386231/media-availability-with-secretary-mattis-en-route-to-egypt/>

<sup>iv</sup> <http://iuvmpress.com/fa/15130#>



Despite his differences with the president, Mike Pence, Trump's vice president, is considerably influential in White House. His influence provided the ground for radical republicans including Dan Coats, director of national intelligence, Nikki Haley, and Mike Pompeo to enter the White House (Rogin, 2017). Furthermore, Pence can be regarded as the moderator and interpreter of Trump's viewpoints. Pence insisted on supporting NATO despite Trump's criticisms, moderated his words about military attack to Venezuela and interpreted them as diplomatic actions and economic sanctions, which can be evaluated in this line. He is also considerably independent in foreign policy. His trips to Latin America and Asia-Pacific region, and leading the trade negotiations with Japan shows his powers is expanding in the White House.

Mike Pence is an experienced politician and was a congressman for a long time. Thus he has a strong relation with Congress and knows congressmen well (O'Sullivan, 2017). Furthermore, lobbyists frequently visit his office, so that *Washington post* called his office the "lobbyists' gateway". In 2017, about twice as many companies and other interest groups hired lobbyists (236) to contact the vice president's office in Pence's first year than in any single year during the tenures of Vice Presidents Joe Biden (120) (Scherer, Dawsey and Narayanswamy, 2018).

### **B. National Security Advisor**

National security advisor has a determinant role in U.S. policy making, decisions on foreign policy, and military strategy. General Michael Flynn was the first national security advisor of Trump's administration, who resigned during the scandal of Russia's 2016 meddling in U.S elections and its controversies. General H. R. McMaster replaced Flynn. He disagreed with Trump on many issues of foreign policy. These differences including different views on Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, Russia's meddling in U.S. elections and how to deal with North Korea made him to leave the White House (Sanger and Erlanger, 2018). After McMaster, John Bolton who was U.S. ex-ambassador to UN was appointed as national security advisor. Bolton is among the supporters of military action against Iran and North Korea. He repeatedly proposed war with Iran and its regime change. He is famous for his radical positions against Islamic Republic of Iran (BBC Persian, 2018).

### **C. Rick Perry, the Secretary of Energy**

Rick Perry, secretary of energy, is another legal member of U.S. National Security Council. Like other conservatives, Perry has an apostolic view about U.S foreign policy and believes that America should pioneer democracy expansion in the world (Pavgi, 2011). In two past years, Perry tried to be in complete harmony with Trump. Initially, he disagreed with U.S. withdrawal from Paris Agreement but finally went along with Trump (Irfan, 2017). Perry is among the supporters of preemptive war against Islamic Republic of Iran and wanted U.S. and Israel cooperation if the latter attacked Iran.

#### **2.2.4. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)**

Despite, its particular function in intelligence activities, CIA had a more profound role than Secretary of State (during Tillerson's period) in the realm of foreign policy in Trump's administration. Initially, Mike Pompeo was appointed as its director. He played a considerable role as the director of CIA because he was in harmony with Trump. He described Trump's way of dealing with the issues of national security and foreign policy issues as "thoughtful" and "professional" (Harris, 2018). For example, Pompeo initially regarded North Korea as a threat to U.S national security and wanted its regime change (Watkins, 2017). However, when Trump decided to have direct dialog with Kin Jung Un (North Korea's leader), he secretly took a trip to North Korea to arrange their visit, which was seriously opposed by Senate Democrats, whose views were neglected (Gaudiano, 2018). Pompeo is famous for his hostile attitude towards Iran and regards it as threat like ISIS (Pillar, 2018). When he was a member of House of Representatives, he proposed military attack to Iran's nuclear facilities.

After Pompeo, Gina Haspel was introduced as CIA director. She was the first woman appointed as its director. In 2002, she directed a secret CIA prison in Thailand, where al-Qaeda prisoners were repeatedly and regularly tortured in different ways including waterboarding. Despite these controversial records in violence and torture, Trump insisted on his view and defended her.



**Figure 3. Trump strongly defended Haspel, despite increasing criticisms**

### 2.2.5. Secretary of Treasury

After WWII, the status of treasury in international economic policy making gradually promoted (in Kegley and Wittkof, 2003, p. 591). Since 1970s, the Secretary of Treasury put the establishment and streamlining anti-money laundering legal regime on its agenda. Given its pivotal role in designing and applying financial-economic sanctions, the Secretary of Treasury gradually became influential in U.S foreign policy after 9/11. International financial system's dependence on America's financial system, and globalization of anti-money laundering struggle and financing of terrorism allows the Secretary to force aimed actor to change its behavior through using economic pressures and financial isolation. The Secretary directs the financial isolation mechanism through banks and financial institutions. Today, the Secretary uses its capacity to confront the challenges of U.S. national security (Zarate, 2013, pp. IX-XII). In Trump's administration, Steven Mnuchin was appointed as Secretary of Treasury. After U.S. withdrawal from JCPOA in May 8, the president demanded hardest economic actions against Iran. Initially, Mnuchin tried to resist against the strategy of maximum pressure on Iran. For some time, he did not provide the relevant documents in order to insist on his view. However, the Treasury finally imposed financial-economic sanctions against vital sectors of Iran's economy, including energy, banking, insurance, shipping, aviation, etc. after Trump decided to withdraw from JCPOA.

### 2.2.6. Heritage Foundation

Influential groups, political think tanks and corporate media are the second to the president and executive institutions as bureaucratic sources affecting foreign policy making (Gharayagh Zandi et al. 1390 solar (2011) p. 37). The evidence shows that among many American think tanks Heritage Foundation has reached a considerable status in domestic and foreign policy making during Trump's presidency, so that "*Politico*" Journal described it as "Trump's shadow transition team" (Shepherd, 2017). Its previous seventy members were in the team and many of them entered the administration (Heritage Foundation, 2018). Betsy DeVos, Secretary of Education and the Foundation's greatest donor (Shepherd, 2017), Brett Kavanaugh, Trump's nominee for Supreme Court (Heritage Foundation, 2018), Scott Pruitt, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator, Mick Mulvaney, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Rick Perry, Secretary of Energy, and Attorney General, Jeff Sessions are among those introduced by the Foundation to Trump's administration. Furthermore, Edwin Feulner, the Foundation's ex-president and a member of its board of directors was the first who entered Trump's transition team (Mahler, 2018). Mark Esper, Secretary of Defense and new chairman of Pentagon who was introduced after Patrick Shanahan, was a member of the Foundation and its chief of staff.<sup>V</sup>

Since 1981, the Heritage Foundation has published a book entitled "Mandate of Leadership" in which it offers its own reforms and plans to the president. Its 7<sup>th</sup> version was published in three volumes after Trump's election to the presidency, where it mentions unaccomplished aims during Obama's presidency and provides the new administration with its proposed plans (Heritage Foundation, 2016).

<sup>V</sup><https://www.uschamber.com/press-release/us-chamber-bolsters-its-europe-eurasia-team>

Now after Trump's two years presidency, the Foundation reported that his administration fulfilled 64% of its 324 proposed policies on different economic, political and military issues. Some of the most important plans prescribed by the Foundation are invocation of Obama's health insurance called Obamacare, improving immunization strategies in U.S.-Mexico border (Shepherd, 2017), invocation of Internet neutrality Act, reducing protected areas, expanding natural resources and coal industry, downsizing the federal government, withdrawing from Paris Agreement, raising military budget and withdrawing from UNESCO (Heritage Foundation, 2018). Thus the Heritage Foundation, much more than any other institute, has affected the formation of the cabinet and macro-policies of Trump's administration, from economic policies to Trump's nominees for different positions.

### **3. The Output of Trump Administration's Foreign Policy**

More than any other parameters, Donald Trump's personality traits have directly and indirectly affected (through appointing favorable individuals) U.S. foreign policy in two past years. The above-mentioned findings of the research conducted by "Kellner" and "Visser et al" indicate that psychological traits of "authoritarianism", "extreme narcissism", "anti-sociality", "excessive disagreeableness", "Machiavellianism", and "populism" has made Trump to lead all foreign policy issues according to his own desires and election slogans. The most important and fundamental result of such individualistic approach in foreign policy is that it threatens existing international order and arrangements. In Richard Haass words, Trump's revisionist approach and "Withdrawal Doctrine" act as a catalyst in eroding the existing international order along with structural challenges of current international order including the rise of China, ever-increasing failure of international organizations, and the rise of deconstructive governmental and non-governmental actors (Haass, 2018, pp.316-317).

In the realm of foreign policy, Trump explicitly rejects supporting U.S. allies, free trade, the role of America as the defender of democracy-human rights, environmental considerations, and most of fundamental principles of U.S. foreign policy. He is the first American president after WWII that says the cost of leading the world for America is much more than its benefits. Thus U.S. role as "the backer of existing order" has changed into "the threat of existing conditions". Trump's personal approach makes America to withdraw from many international conventions and organizations and threatens the existing international order and arrangements by moving towards excessive nationalism. This trend has worried many politicians and analysts so that Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany<sup>vi</sup>, believes that "Washington can no longer deliver world order" and "EU can no longer rely on U.S. to establish world order".<sup>vii</sup> Richard Haass, a prominent diplomat and theorist of international relations, states, "The future of Liberal World Order is in doubt" and believes that "the U.S led by Trump accelerates the fall of Liberalism" (Haass, Liberal World Order, R.I.P. 2018). This trend began exactly when Trump entered the White House and declared the strategy of "First America" and the executive order of "Buy American and Hire American". Haass adds Trump's approach to international conventions and institutions made public opinion to cast doubt on "America's reliability" and showed that Washington no longer tended to lead the world order (Haass, 2018, pp.309-317). The following section elaborates on the most important international conventions, institutions and regimes threatened by Trump, which are divided into two groups: "withdrawn conventions" and "conventions the U.S. is about to withdraw".

#### **3.1. Withdrawn Conventions**

##### **1. Nuclear Agreement with Iran (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action)**

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), signed in 23, Tir, 1394 solar (14, January, 2015) was the result of 12 years negotiations between Iran and world powers. From the beginning, Trump strongly disagreed with JCPOA and demanded a new agreement. He would always criticize Obama during his election campaign for such agreement and promise to seek a new agreement if elected as president. He regarded no agreement better than JCPOA (Trump, 2015). Finally, he fulfilled his promise on May 2018 after many fluctuations and withdrew the U.S. from JCPOA.

---

<sup>vi</sup> <https://fa.euronews.com/2018/07/20/angela-merkel-washington-no-longer-deliver-world-order-transatlantic-relationship>

<sup>vii</sup> <https://fa.euronews.com/2018/07/16/we-can-no-longer-completely-rely-on-the-white-house>

## **2. Paris Climate Agreement**

Trump withdrew from this agreement on the ground that he wanted to support America's economic interests and promote coal industry. He held that America's obligations under the agreement were unfair and threatened America's employment and gross domestic product.<sup>VIII</sup>

## **3. UN Human Rights Council**

Washington withdrew from the Council as claimed that human rights were violated in such countries as Iran and Venezuela, they are anti-Israel and did not implement reforms intended by America, and that U.S allies' efforts were insufficient in siding with U.S. (Iran International, 1397 (2018).

## **4. North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**

Trump held that NAFTA threatened America's economy, employment and production. He threatened to withdraw from the agreement unless it was reformed fundamentally. Finally, G20 accepted Trump's reforms in Buenos Aires Summit, and presidents of America, Canada, and Mexico signed an alternative agreement called USMCA (U.S-Mexico-Canada Agreement) (Kirby, 2018).

## **5. Confrontation with NATO**

Trump criticized NATO on economic grounds (Zandee 2018, p. 2). Already in 2014 summit in Wales, NATO members prescribed to allocate 2% of their gross domestic product to its defense expenditures. Trump has repeatedly mentioned the allocation unfulfillment and his discontent with NATO. In 2018 summit, he even proposed to allocate 4% of GDP to NATO, which was rejected by its members.

## **6. TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership)**

Before presidential elections, Trump had said that he would withdraw from the agreement. It is the first agreement that Trump signed America's withdrawal from it<sup>IX</sup>. Trump administration withdrew from the agreement to promote American industry, protect American workers, and raise American wages.<sup>X</sup>

## **7. UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization)**

In October 2017, Washington declared its will to withdraw from UNESCO on the ground that it is anti-Israel. This dates back to 2011 when UNESCO granted Palestine with its membership, which was highly and widely criticized. In fact, U.S. demanded its fundamental reforms, which were not implemented. So America and Israel officially withdrew from UNESCO in 1, January, 2019 (Adamson, 2018).

## **8. INF Treaty (The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty)**

Trump held that Russia's investment on research about intermediate range missiles violated the treaty (Hennigan, 2018). Despite Trump's threatening to withdraw from the treaty, Mike Pompeo, in 2018 summit in Brussels, gave a 60- day ultimatum to Russia to end the violation; otherwise America would withdraw from the treaty (Birnbaum & Hudson, 2018). Finally in 1, February, 2019, Trump officially declared America's withdrawal from the treaty, citing Russia's violation of 1987 Missile Treaty as it expanded the new generation of Cruz missiles capable of carrying nuclear warhead.<sup>XI</sup>

## **9. ATT (UN Arms Trade Treaty)**

---

<sup>VIII</sup> <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-trump-paris-climate-accord/>

<sup>IX</sup> Presidential memorandum 82 FR 8497

<sup>X</sup> <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/presidential-memorandum-regarding-withdrawal-united-states-trans-pacific-partnership-negotiations-agreement/>

<sup>XI</sup> <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-withdraw-united-states-intermediate-range-nuclear-forces-inf-treaty/>

ATT is a multilateral treaty that regulates the international trade in conventional weapons. In 2013, UN General Assembly enacted the treaty with 154 approval votes. In April 2019, Donald Trump declared in his speech in "National Rifle Associations" that Washington would withdraw from ATT signed by Obama's administration in 2013 (Ryan & Hudson, 2019).

## **10. GCM (Global Compact for Migration)**

Trump held that the compact is ambitious and violates U.S. sovereignty and emigration policies. Nikki Haley, U.S. ambassador to UN, declared America's withdrawal from the compact some time before international migration conference began in Mexico (Wintour, 2017).

## **11. Treaty of Amity with Iran**

The treaty was signed between Iran's then-administration and U.S in 1334 solar (1955). After Islamic Revolution, Iran has filed three lawsuits against U.S. in International Court of Justice, citing the treaty. The first was when U.S. warship struck Iranian airliner; the second was after U.S. seized two billion Dollars of Iranian Central Bank's properties; and finally the last was when U.S. withdrew from JCPOA, for which ICJ temporarily ruled the limitation of sanctions imposed on Iran. Citing the fact that Iran has misused ICJ to attack America, Mike Pompeo declared the end of treaty and his country's withdrawal (Khoshnoudiparast, 2018).

## **3.2. Conventions and Institutions That U.S. Is About to Withdraw in Near Future**

### **1. (CTBT) Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty**

The treaty was enacted in UN General Assembly in 10, September, 1996. It bans all countries from any nuclear explosion. It is very likely that Trump's administration withdraws from the treaty because:

- Although American administration signed the treaty in 24, September, 1996, the Congress which is mostly dominated by Republicans has not signed it yet. The congressmen held that the enactment of such treaties will limit the expansion of America's power. Therefore, Trump has no obstacle to withdraw from the treaty.
- In his election campaign, American president insisted on expansion and updating America's nuclear capabilities and now he tries hard to do so. Trump thinks that other countries are getting stronger by violating nuclear treaties and U.S. should prevent it.
- The U.S. needs to do nuclear weapons testing to expand its nuclear capabilities and assess their abilities and weaknesses, which is difficult due to limitations imposed by the treaty.
- U.S. claims that Russia does not adhere to CTBT. Such accusation is important because some similar ones provided the ground for America's withdrawal from INF.
- U.S. administration will insist that Russia is violating CTBT due to reports on a nuclear explosion there in 2019 (Strategic Council of Foreign Relations, 2019).

### **2. United Nations**

Trump has even criticized UN as the most important underlying basis of international order after WWII. He believes that its function does not correspond with its potentials. He also thinks that America's responsibility to provide 22% of UN 2018 budget (5.4 billion dollars)<sup>xii</sup> is unfair and cut 285 million dollars from U.S. share. Of course, he holds that such "unfair share" worth investigation if UN structure is modified (Gladstone, 2017).

### **3. International Court of Justice**

John Bolton, U.S. national security advisor, declared that America will withdraw from optional protocol of compulsory settlement of disputes attached to "1961 Convention on Diplomatic Relations" because Palestine brought a lawsuit to International Court of Justice against America's decision to move its Embassy to Jerusalem (Sputnik Persian, 2018).

---

<sup>xii</sup> <https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/gaab4270.doc.htm>

#### **4. World Trade Organization**

Trump calls World Trade Organization Agreement the worst trade agreement, such that America has gained no economic profits of the agreement. He believes that the organization needs to change basically (Micklethwait, 2018).

#### **5. New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty)**

Trump regards the treaty unilateral and very bad. It will end in 2021. Russia wants to extend it, while John Bolton rejected the possibility of negotiation about its extension (Mehta, 2018).

#### **6. Universal Postal Union**

Trump believes that Universal Postal Union convention allows China to import good to America in low and unfair prices. As a result, American companies and Postal Service Company have greatly lost (The Guardian, 2018). America hopes that the conditions will be created for a better agreement if it declares its withdrawal.

#### **7. Defense Treaty with Japan**

The Treaty was signed between America and Japan after WWII and Japan's surrender in order to defend the latter. During his visit with Shinzō Abe, Japanese prime minister, Trump criticized the 70 years old treaty and said that the treaty is unilateral and against U.S. interests, because Japanese Army has no commitment to defend America. Furthermore, Japan allowed America to build its military bases according to the treaty. In the meantime, Trump mentioned that Tokyo should pay reparation for movement of its base in Okinawa (Gallagher, et al. 2019).

#### **Conclusion**

The present paper sought to provide a proper analysis of why U.S. foreign policy has changed tremendously during Trump's presidency and his presence in White House. To this end, it used James's Rosenau's "Continuity Theory" or five variables of analyzing foreign policy, and the finding of researches conducted by Douglas Kellner, Beth Visser, Angela Book, and Anthony Volk, experts in political psychology, on Donald Trump's personality traits. It concluded that the forty fifth president of America has the personality traits of "populism", "narcissism", "anti-sociality", and "Machiavellianism". The second part studied how these traits have affected institutions responsible for U.S. foreign policy and its consequences. Trump's two years presence in White House has led to superiority of "egocentrism" in U.S foreign policy. He has directed U.S. administration towards his own preferences and aims by appointing "favorable" individuals in decision and foreign policy making institutions. In fact, Trump's viewpoints have directly and indirectly affected U.S. foreign policy due to his effort to implement his personal views and harmonize bureaucratic institution by dismissing unfavorable politicians and replacing them with favorable ones. The final part of the paper dealt with the outcomes of such trend and the resultant imbalance between the five variables affecting foreign policy. The paper concludes that U.S tries to gradually decrease its international commitments in line with Trump's viewpoints and criticisms. This has led to U.S. withdrawal from a wide range of international treaties, regimes, and organizations. Furthermore, there are many treaties described by U.S. president as "ineffective, unfavorable and harmful". Therefore, it is likely that U.S. withdraws from or challenges them during the last two years of Trump's presidency. The fundamental and less known outcome of such trend which has worried some world's leaders and analysts is the fact that Washington's revisionist approach threatens existing world order and accelerates its regress. In other words, America as the main founder and leader of "Liberal World Order" after WWII and cold war has now changed into a state "challenging the existing order and arrangements" and unprecedentedly weakens it by withdrawing from international regimes which are the basis of such structure.

## Bibliography

- Adamson, T. (2019, January 1). U.S. and Israel officially withdraw from UNESCO. Retrieved from <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/u-s-and-israel-officially-withdraw-from-unesco>
- BBC Persian. (2018, March 22). John Bolton replaces Herbert McMaster, chairman of the US National Security Council (In Persian). Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/persian/43509753>
- Birnbaum, M., & Hudson, J. (2018, December 4). Trump administration gives Russia an ultimatum on Cold War-era arms treaty. Retrieved from The Washington Post Newspaper: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/trump-administration-gives-russia-60-days-to-comply-with-inf-treaty-or-the-us-will-move-to-withdraw/2018/12/04/64c5bec2-f74a-11e8-8642-c9718a256cbd\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.2671b9d73aee](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/trump-administration-gives-russia-60-days-to-comply-with-inf-treaty-or-the-us-will-move-to-withdraw/2018/12/04/64c5bec2-f74a-11e8-8642-c9718a256cbd_story.html?utm_term=.2671b9d73aee)
- Blaikie, N. (1389 (Solar)). *Designing Social Research*. (H. Chavoshian, Trans.) Tehran: Nashr e Ney.
- Borchers, C. (2017, January 9). Meryl Streep was right. Donald Trump did mock a disabled reporter. Retrieved from The Washington Post: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/01/09/meryl-streep-was-right-donald-trump-did-mock-a-disabled-reporter/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.8a5c9b01e228](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/01/09/meryl-streep-was-right-donald-trump-did-mock-a-disabled-reporter/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.8a5c9b01e228)
- Dehghani Firouz Abadi, S. (1391 (Solar)). *The Foreign Policy of Islamic Republic of Iran* (In Persian). Tehran: SAMT.
- Fuchs, C. (2017). Donald Trump: A Critical Theory-Perspective on Authoritarian Capitalism. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, 15(1), 1-72. doi:<https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v15i1.835>
- Gallagher, C., Rampton, R., Ando, R., Foster, M., & Fernandez, C. (2019, June 29). Trump says 'unfair' defense treaty with Japan needs to be changed. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-g20-japan-trump/trump-says-unfair-defense-treaty-with-japan-needs-to-be-changed-idUSKCN1TU0AJ>
- Gaudiano, N. (2018, June 12). Democrats blast Trump for concessions he granted in U.S.-North Korea summit. Retrieved from <https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/06/12/democrats-blast-trump-concessions-he-granted-u-s-north-korea-summit/694516002/>
- Gharayagh Zandi, D., Yazdanfam, M., Khosravi, G., & Poursaeid, F. (1390 (Solar)). *US foreign policy towards the Islamic Republic of Iran* (In Persian). Tehran : Strategic Studies Quarterly.
- Gladstone, R. (2017, December 25). Taking Credit for U.N. Budget Cut, Trump's Envoy Hints at More to Come. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/25/world/americas/trump-united-nations-budget.html>
- Graham, P. (2017). *Strategic Communication, Corporatism, and Eternal Crisis: The Creel Century*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Haass, R. (2018). *A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Old Order*. Penguin Group USA.
- Haass, R. (2018, March 21). Liberal World Order, R.I.P. Retrieved from [https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/end-of-liberal-world-order-by-richard-n--haass-2018-03?utm\\_source=tw&utm\\_medium=social\\_earned](https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/end-of-liberal-world-order-by-richard-n--haass-2018-03?utm_source=tw&utm_medium=social_earned)
- Harris, S. (2018, April 18). CIA Director Pompeo met with North Korean leader Kim Jong Un over Easter weekend. Retrieved from The Washington Post Newspaper: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/us-china-trade-dispute-looms-over-trump-summit-with-japans-abe/2018/04/17/2c94cb02-424f-11e8-bba2-0976a82b05a2\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.7ced971251b5](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/us-china-trade-dispute-looms-over-trump-summit-with-japans-abe/2018/04/17/2c94cb02-424f-11e8-bba2-0976a82b05a2_story.html?utm_term=.7ced971251b5)
- Hennigan, W. (2018, October 21). Trump Plans to Tear Up a 31-Year-Old Nuclear Weapons Treaty. Now What? Retrieved from Time-American weekly news magazine: <http://time.com/5430388/donald-trump-nuclear-weapons-treaty-inf-withdrawal/>
- Heritage Foundation. (2018, August 31). Supreme Court Nominee Brett Kavanaugh Was Included on the List The Heritage Foundation Helped Compile. Retrieved from The Heritage Foundation Wwebsite: <https://www.heritage.org/impact/supreme-court-nominee-brett-kavanaugh-was-included-the-list-the-heritage-foundation-helped>
- Heritage Foundation. (2018, January 23). Trump Administration Embraces Heritage Foundation Policy Recommendations. Retrieved from The Heritage Foundation: <https://www.heritage.org/impact/trump-administration-embraces-heritage-foundation-policy-recommendations>



- Iran International. (2018, June 20). US withdraws from UN Human Rights Council (In Persian). Retrieved from Iran International News Website: <https://iranintl.com/سازمان-ب-شهر-فوق-ی-شورا-از-ک-ای-آمر-خروج/جهان-م-تحد-مل>
- Irfan, U. (2017, June 13). Energy Secretary Perry Pulls a U-Turn on Climate. Retrieved from Scientific American: Science News, Articles, and Information: <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/energy-secretary-perry-pulls-a-u-turn-on-climate/>
- Johnson, E. (2018, March 23). Why Trump Hasn't Fired Mattis. Retrieved from The Politico: <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2018/03/23/james-mattis-defense-secretary-how-to-succeed-in-trump-cabinet-without-getting-fired-217699>
- Kelner, D. (2016). American Nightmare Donald Trump, Media Spectacle, and Authoritarian Populism. AW Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Khoshnoudiparast, F. (2018, October 26). The one Iran deal the US should keep. Retrieved from <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/one-iran-deal-us-should-keep>
- Kirby, J. (2018, December 4). Trump has threatened to withdraw from NAFTA. What's next? Retrieved from Vox Media Website: <https://www.vox.com/2018/12/4/18123809/usmca-trump-nafta-withdrawal-congress>
- Kranz, M. (2017, October 5). Tillerson says he and Trump act as 'one team' — Here are 8 big issues on which they totally disagree. Retrieved from Business Insider American financial and business news website: <https://www.businessinsider.com/here-are-8-issues-on-which-trump-and-tillerson-totally-disagree-2017-10>
- Lapsley, D., & Stey, P. (2011). Id, Ego, and Superego. Encyclopedia of Human Behavior, 2nd Edition. Ramachandran VS (ed): Elsevier, 1-9.
- Lee, K., & Ashton, M. (2010). Psychometric Properties of the HEXACO Personality Inventory. Multivariate behavioral research, 39(2), 329-358. doi:10.1207/s15327906mbr3902\_8
- Lopez, G. (2016, March 12). Don't believe Donald Trump has incited violence at rallies? Retrieved from <https://www.vox.com/2016/3/12/11211846/donald-trump-violence-rallies>
- Mahler, J. (2018, June 20). How One Conservative Think Tank Is Stocking Trump's Government. Retrieved from The New York Time Magazine: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/20/magazine/trump-government-heritage-foundation-think-tank.html>
- McAdams, D. (2016, June 05). The Mind of Donald Trump. Retrieved from The Atlantic: <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/06/the-mind-of-donald-trump/480771/>
- Mehta, A. (2018, October 23). One nuclear treaty is dead. Is New START next? Retrieved from Defense News (Magazine): <https://www.defensenews.com/pentagon/2018/10/23/one-nuclear-treaty-is-dead-is-new-start-next/>
- Micklethwait, J. (2018, August 31). Trump Threatens to Pull U.S. Out of WTO If It Doesn't 'Shape Up'. Retrieved from Bloomberg media company: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-08-30/trump-says-he-will-pull-u-s-out-of-wto-if-they-don-t-shape-up>
- O'Sullivan, M. (2017, December 31). Pence Carving a Role as Presidential Envoy. Retrieved from VOA News Website: <https://www.voanews.com/a/pence-role-presidential-envoy/4186257.html>
- Pavgi, K. (2011, November 17). Rick Perry's Foreign Policy Governor of Texas. Retrieved from Foreign Policy – the Global Magazine of News and Ideas: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/11/17/rick-perrys-foreign-policy/>
- Pillar, P. (2018, March 13). Where Does Mike Pompeo Stand on the Issues? Too Close to Trump. Retrieved from The New York Times Website: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/13/opinion/mike-pompeo-issues-trump.html>
- Rogin, J. (2017, March 6). Commentary: Mike Pence is quietly becoming a foreign policy power player. Retrieved from Chicago Tribune daily newspaper: <https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/commentary/ct-mike-pence-foreign-policy-president-20170306-story.html>
- Ryan, M., & Hudson, J. (2019, April 26). During NRA speech, Trump drops out of another global arms treaty . Retrieved from <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/during-nra-speech-trump-revokes-another-global-arms-treaty/ar-BBWjL4J>
- Sanger, D., & Erlanger, S. (2018, May 7). Trump Is Expected to Leave Iran Deal, Allies Say. Retrieved from The New York Times Newspaper: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/07/us/politics/trump-announce-withdraw-us-iran-deal.html>

- Scherer, M., Dawsey, J., & Narayanswamy, A. (2018, June 15). Pence turns VP's office into gateway for lobbyists to influence the Trump administration. Retrieved from The Washington Post Newspaper: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/pence-turns-vps-office-into-gateway-for-lobbyists-to-influence-the-trump-administration/2018/06/14/75675bfa-6424-11e8-a69c-b944de66d9e7\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.3c982d746684](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/pence-turns-vps-office-into-gateway-for-lobbyists-to-influence-the-trump-administration/2018/06/14/75675bfa-6424-11e8-a69c-b944de66d9e7_story.html?utm_term=.3c982d746684)
- Seifzadeh, H. (1385 (Solar)). Principles of International Relations (In Persian). Tehran: Mizan.
- Seligman, L. (2018, August 27). The Incredible Shrinking Defense Secretary. Retrieved from Foreign Policy the Global Magazine of News and Ideas: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/08/27/the-incredible-shrinking-defense-secretary-james-mattis-jim-trump-pentagon/>
- Shephard, A. (2017, February 22). The D.C. Think Tank Behind Donald Trump. Retrieved from THE NEWS REPUBLIC MAGAZINE: <https://newrepublic.com/article/140271/dc-think-tank-behind-donald-trump>
- Strategic Council on Foreign Relations. (2019, September 7). Likelihood of U.S withdraw from CTBT (In Persian). Retrieved from <https://www.scfr.ir/fa/300/30101/111085/جامع-م-ن-ع-مان-ی-پ-از-ک-ای-أمر-خروج-ش-ی-آز-ما/>
- The Gaurdian. (2018, October 17). Trump pulls US out of UN postal scheme on China price concerns. Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/oct/17/trump-universal-postal-union-withdraw-foreign-postal-rates>
- The Hritage Foundation. (2016, August 26). Mandate for Leadership: A Comprehensive Policy Agenda for a New Administration. Retrieved from The Hritage Foundation Website: <https://www.heritage.org/budget-and-spending/report/mandate-leadership-comprehensive-policy-agenda-new-administration>
- Trump, D. (2015, September 8). Donald Trump: Amateur hour with the Iran nuclear deal. Retrieved from USA Today: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2015/09/08/donald-trump-amateur-hour-iran-nuclear-deal-column/71884090/>
- Visser, B., Book, A., & Volk, A. (2017). Is Hillary dishonest and Donald narcissistic? A HEXACO analysis of the presidential candidates' public personas. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 106, 281-286. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2016.10.053
- Watkins, E. (2017, July 21). CIA chief signals desire for regime change in North Korea. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/07/20/politics/cia-mike-pompeo-north-korea/index.html>
- Wintour, P. (2017, December 3). Donald Trump pulls US out of UN global compact on migration. Retrieved from The Gaurdian Newspaper: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/03/donald-trump-pulls-us-out-of-un-global-compact-on-migration>
- Wittkopf, E., & Kegley, J. (1382 (Solar)). *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*. (A. Dastmalchi, Trans.) Tehran: Office for Political and International Studies, Iranian State Department.
- Wolf, R. (2017). Donald Trump's Status-Driven Foreign Policy. *Survival Global Politics and Strategy*, 59(5), 99-115. doi:10.1080/00396338.2017.1375260
- Yazdanfam, M. (1395 (Solar)). Trump foreign policy and Islamic Republic of Iran (In Persian). *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, 74(19), 139-164.
- Zandee, D. (2018). *NATO in the Trump era: surviving the crisis*. Clingendael: Clingendael – the Netherlands Institute of International Relations.
- Zarate, J. (2013). *Treasury's War: The Unleashing of a New Era of Financial Warfare*. New York: PublicAffairs.