

Donald Trump and the Policies of Individualism in the United States, the Roots and Consequences

Zahra Hossein Pour^{1*}, Hamid Soleimani Souchelmaei², Abdolreza Alishahi³

¹Master's degree in Executive Master of Business Administration at Tehran University, Tehran, Iran

²Graduate Master of Public Administration, Islamic Azad University, Sari, Iran

³PhD Student in Political Science at Allameh Tabataba'i University, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Tehran, Iran

*Corresponding Author: Zahra Hossein Pour, Master's degree in Executive Master of Business Administration at Tehran University, Tehran, Iran

ABSTRACT

Two years have passed since Donald Trump's presidency of the US government, two years that Washington has exhibited a tumultuous foreign policy; every day news of Trump's new decisions has become media that describes the "unpredictable" US foreign policy. The progressive article seeks to understand the underlying causes of such changes, so the main question is what is the most important variable influencing recent US foreign policy? In response to James Rosen's theory of foreign policy, the findings of Trump's two personality studies, evaluating foreign policy positions, analyzing how he interacts with foreign policy makers, and their internal developments, argue that Trump's personality traits enhance his position. The "individual variable" has been the systemic, bureaucratic, social, and role variable of other influential factors in US foreign policy. "Authoritarian populism", "narcissism", "revenge" and "incompatibility" are prominent features of Trump's personality that reveal his hidden "self-centeredness"; these individual traits of Trump influence the weight and relation between bureaucratic foreign policy institutions and Institutions are now fully aligned with the views of the President

Keywords: Donald Trump, Foreign Policy, James Rosen's Affiliation Theory, Hexaco's Personality Model, Authoritarian Populism's Personality Analysis Framework

INTRODUCTION

Donald Trump began his four-year term as president on January 9 after winning the 2016 Democratic presidential election against Hillary Clinton. Prior to his arrival at the White House Oval Office, during election campaigns, it was perceived that Donald Trump's less-than-expected stances and views on individuals, organizations, and some countries were merely electoral propaganda, a phenomenon that is common throughout the world; Halfway through his presidency, foreign policy in the United States seems to have become somewhat different and relatively unpredictable, with the announcement of White House positions and decisions on current foreign policy issues surprising to governments, politicians, experts, and even ordinary people. And more or less everyone It has influenced decisions such as the unprecedented withdrawal of a range of international treaties, organizations and regimes, as well as the unfriendly behavior of Washington's close allies that has significantly differentiated Trump's foreign policy behavior

from former presidents. In this regard, the present study seeks to find the main element of US foreign policy orientation during the forty-fifth presidency. In order to answer this question, given the results of the psychological research by Clenner, Weisser, and colleagues in the form of the hexaco personality model as well as by Eric Forum's authoritarian populist theory, it is argued that US foreign policy is based on Donald Trump's presidency has been deeply influenced by his personal motivations, beliefs, and characteristics, and has ultimately brought about the "individual variable" over other influential variables in US foreign policy making.

As an analytical framework for the paper, James Rosen's theory of continuity in foreign policy analysis is briefly outlined. In this theory, the variables of "international environment", "bureaucratic or governmental", "social", "role" and "individual" are mentioned as the five factors influencing foreign policy orientation. Therefore, while assuming the "international", "social" and "role" variables, the developments

related to the two "individual" and "bureaucratic" variables are analyzed and analyzed. To this end, Donald Trump's results of two separate studies of Clenner and Weisser et al. Are identified as "authoritarian populist", "revenge", "narcissistic" and "highly incompatible". The overflow of these Trump personality traits in the context of "individual variables" over US foreign policy resources undermines the relationship and balance between "resources and variables influencing US foreign policy" and, in the new arrangement of resources, individual variables over other structural, social, and role variables. It is bureaucratic. This process has come about through two channels: first, the direct application of Trump's personal views on US foreign policy; and, second, the indirect effects of the choice of associates in the bureaucratic institutions of the federal government. As a result of Trump's "self-centeredness" and "appeasement", a wide range of existing international regimes, particularly the treaties, institutions and collective mechanisms, have been adversely affected by the approach of the President of the United States. In this space, we see Trump-led America out of sight or out of any malicious regime, treaty, or organization. While the United States, as the victor of the Cold War and the only superpower at the beginning of the 21st century, had its greatest influence on the formation, preservation and continuation of the existing international order.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF JAMES ROSENA'S THEORY OF CONNECTIVITY; THE FIVE SOURCES OF FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

Rosena presented the "theory" and "contingency plan" model to combine the two levels of micro and macro analysis in foreign policy analysis and sought to bring together the individual, role, government, social and international factors, the extent of each influence. Consider these five factors in shaping foreign policy. Here is a brief definition of the five variables:

Individual variables, including psychological, genetic, and biological characteristics, beliefs, perceptions, and worldviews of leaders and policymakers;

The role variable encompasses the specific function of each structure; in other words, it encompasses the pros and cons of a given role;

The government variable shapes the nature of a political system (democratic, authoritarian, or totalitarian) along with the characteristics of the bureaucracy that governs that state variable;

Social variables are the non-governmental characteristics of a society such as political culture, ideology, international status and the like;

Variables in the international environment include the structure of the international system and the values that govern it (liberalism, human rights and more recently environmental issues).

With regard to US foreign policy, Rosena's theory assumes that each of the five factors is capable of being considered a causal factor. It should be noted that the influence of these five variables is not the same and in each period one or more factors may play a more prominent role than the other variables. Trump's presence in the White House has influenced each other's relative weight and position and has made significant changes in US foreign policy. Because environmental (structural), social, and role variables are relatively stable sources. Writers on US foreign policy have held this view for the past two years as well, while the individual variable has undergone a dramatic shift and has directly affected the bureaucratic institutions affecting foreign policy so that, after much cohesion, they are now in harmony. They are entirely in the person of the President, so it seems that the influence of the "individual variable", influenced by Trump's personal characteristics, has been greatly enhanced, and over other sources and variables influencing US foreign policy.

INDIVIDUAL AND BUREAUCRATIC VARIABLES IN US FOREIGN POLICY

Individual Variable

According to the definitions provided in the theoretical section, this level of analysis emphasizes the ideologies, motives, aspirations, perceptions, values, and ethical characteristics of political leaders and how these attributes influence foreign policy behavior. In this section, based on two personality models, Donald Trump's psychological characteristics will be examined. The hexaco linguistic analysis framework will first be used and then the character analysis framework of "Eric Forum's authoritarian populist".

Hexaco Personality Assessment Model

Hexaco's model as defined by Lee and Ashton explores the main dimensions of personality through vocabulary analysis. In this method, the vocabulary used by the individuals is analyzed and the results are presented in the form of quantitative data. The output of this model is based on the six main factors of "honesty-humility",

"excitement", "extraversion", "adaptability", "conscience" and "empathy", each of which has four subtypes. In this section, the results of the research by Beth Weisser, Angela Bock, and Anthony Walk will be used by psychological researchers who have analyzed Trump's personality using the Hexaco model:

Honesty-Humility

In the Honesty-Humility Index, Trump scored 1.32, which is much lower than the normal level of 3.18. The lower score indicates "control, exploitation, and exploitation of others", which they consider to be "deserving and important and tend to violate rules for personal gain".

Accuracy

In the Accuracy Index, Donald Trump scored 2.29, which is below the normal level of 3.31. A low score on the index means inattention, carelessness, and a very low degree of sympathy for others, making one less concerned about the consequences and effects of their behavior on others.

Extraversion

Trump scored 4.21 on this index while his normal level was 3.51. A high score on this index indicates a high level of self-confidence, charisma and socialization. Also, other key features of extroverted personality are reward-oriented behavior. Such people are constantly seeking positive emotional experiences through social acceptance, fame, or wealth, and make the process of achieving the goal more attractive than the goal itself. Consequently, the extraversion factor has a direct relationship with the tendency to adventure and risk.

Adaptation

The adaptation index is related to one's ability to tolerate, cooperate, and reconcile with others. The index consists of four sub-indices of forgiveness, gratitude, flexibility, and tolerance. A low score on this index is interpreted as having a revengeful, stubborn, and prone to angry reaction. Donald Trump has a low score of 1.45 in this section, which is well below the normal level and is exceptional in its kind. The normal value for this index is 3.05.

Conscience or Conscientiousness

Another feature of the hexaco model is conscience or conscientiousness. The high score on this index is defined as rational organization, order and decision making. The low score also indicates personality and quirkiness. Such a

person decides without prior thought and immediate motivation; for such people, the quality of the outcome is of little importance. The overall trump average in this index is 2.73 while the normal level is 3.41. Overall, according to the results of this study, Donald Trump has a "societal", "narcissistic" and "Machiavellian" personality.

According to Douglas Keller, a critical theory thinker, Erik Forum's personality analysis model is well able to explain Trump's personality traits. In this theoretical framework of personality analysis, there are five basic characteristics that can be used to describe a person's personality. These five cases include "narcissism", "sadism", "invasion or malicious aggression", "revenge destruction" and "necrophilia."

Narcissism or Narcissism

From the perspective of narcissistic people, there is only one reality, which is their own thoughts, feelings and events. In fact, there is no unbiased experience and understanding of the outside world in the minds of narcissists. Kellner believes that Trump, as a narcissistic person, is only fascinated by his own desires, thoughts, and desires and always talks about his views; the outside world and individuals are important to him as long as they serve Trump's wishes (Kelner). , 2016: 31). As evidence of Trump's "extreme attention to self" claim, one can point to the fact that viewing and viewing self-related news is one of Trump's daily occupations (R. Wolf, 2017: 101). Other essential features of narcissistic individuals are the extreme propaganda of the 'self' in order to identify the greatness of the 'self' to others (McAdams, 2016.) Howard Gardner, professor of psychology at Harvard University, putting Trump's name on anything related to him, from the tower And from college to steak and casino, he sees excessive use of the words "I" and "mine" as narcissistic self-indulgence, as illustrated by Trump's book *The Way to Success*. This text contains nineteen sentences in which the subject pronoun "I" is sixteen times the property adjective. "Five times and accusative pronoun" I "is repeated three times. The average first-person singular pronoun in each sentence, used 2.3 times (Fuchs, 2017: 49).

“When I start something, I know there is a lot to learn. For me, every new application is like a blank page that I am eager to fill. I am so excited because I am so interested in exploring and exploring new realms to bring new information together and to gain a profound new understanding of the phenomenon. I've had this feeling throughout

my life; it's been my way of starting every successful program. For me, this is a sign that if I do not get the thrill of doing something, I will abandon it in spite of the material benefits. There is also a passion for learning within me. Everything I teach gives me more control. My knowledge and lessons help me not to repeat my mistakes. For example, I read a lot about this before I started the Travel Agency project. I've also done a lot of research and research before entering the fashion industry, apparel and even the Trump University”.

Sadism

Before entering this topic, it is necessary to provide a brief definition of the character division from Sigmund Freud's perspective. According to this theory, the personality of the individual consists of three elements: "entity," "self," "self," or "self." The most elemental entity (Id) is the triple element of the human personality. The entity has been present with the individual since birth and is the instigator of the individual for the attainment of material pleasure. As a result, the entity's contact with the outside world is shaped by its evolution, or Ego, which forms the basis of rational thinking. Finally, the super-ego is responsible for moral judgment and conscience and is associated with one's ideals and perfection (Lapsley and Stey, 2011: 1). According to Clenner, Trump is just like fascist leaders in the past. , Has an unfinished "self". But Trump's "self" is an evolved "self" because of the material success of wealth and power. The authenticity of this can be deduced from his personal relationships. Unsuccessful marriages and a strong desire to control, harm, humiliate, destroy extremist enemies and rivals are examples of sadism that Trump has repeatedly demonstrated. Examples include encouraging supporters to attack critics, inclining critics (Lopez, 2016), encouraging supporters to boycott CNN (Graham, 2017: 85), and mocking a disabled reporter (Borchers, 2017). From Trump's point. As a result of these propositions, Clenner views Trump as the greatest and most indispensable "self" in the American political sphere, with his presence culminating in aggression, narcissism and anger as essential elements of American politics.

Aggression

Offensive and humiliating literature by critics and dissenters shows his resemblance to the character of classical authoritarian leaders. During the primaries, even his party rivals were not spared the rhetoric of attacking him because

not only was victory not enough for such a person, he wanted the rivals to ruin. Trump called many of these people insulting. "Ted Liar" and "Hillary Tuck" are just a few examples of these ridiculous titles [22] (Kelner, 2016: 33-34). This ambitious violence and tendency can be seen in his daily life as well, where former Trump associate and Deputy Barbara Rice views the main element of his personality as anger. McAdams also believes that Trump's bold, cruel, and aggressive mentality makes him a politician who seeks the most surprising outcome, regardless of its consequences (McAdams, 2016).

Revenge Destruction

Revenge destruction is another of the main indicators of authoritarian populism. In this situation, the individual, if not successful, no matter who is right, will destroy the other party in order to avenge his defeat. The accusation of Mexican judge Gonzalo Coryl in the Trump University case is an example of Trump's vindictive behavior. Judge Kurill rejected Trump's lawyers' motion to dismiss the case and ultimately sentenced Trump to pay damages. Trump has accused the judge of bias in his lawsuit against his university for being of Mexican descent. As another case in point, Trump spoke of his supporters calling for a street revolt when his Republican nomination was rejected. He also said in the final election that if Clinton wins the election, she will bring her supporters to the streets because such an event is only possible with fraud. For all of this, according to Clenner, Trump has justified himself and asserted his right to take revenge (Kelner, 2016: 34-36).

Necrophilia

The last indicator of authoritarian populism is the necrophilic or "dead" character. Such a person is emptied of personality and needs to make up for the existing vacuum by gaining dominance, victory, and possession. The necrophilic personality is full of anger and hatred, racist and pro-war and even prone to self-destruction (Kelner, 2016: 37-38-39). 'Racism' can be clearly seen in Trump's stances against Mexican, Chinese, Muslim, and of course critics and political dissenters (Fuchs, 2017: 64). Trump's obsession with obsessive-compulsive numbers is another example of this disorder. Incorrect figures from the presidential inauguration and claiming more votes than Hillary Clinton are examples of this obsession. The root of Trump's obsession lies in the spirit

of his extreme competitiveness (R. Wolf, 2017: 103-101). Observing the above personality traits in Trump's behaviors, Keller believes that he is repeating the phenomenon of "authoritarian populism"; his main characteristic is "intolerance of freedom" and "popular attention." Trump's behavioral traits have demonstrated his loyalty to the ideals of authoritarian movements (Kelner, 2016: 27)

Bureaucratic or Government Variables in US Foreign Policy

Bureaucratic sources in US foreign policy include institutions such as the State Department, the Department of Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Council, and the Treasury Department for the past two decades. Observing the developments over the past two years, these institutions show that Trump's "self-centeredness", "inclination to control" and "incompatibility" have had a significant impact on the bureaucratic structure and its senior officials, with some observers finding Trump to be accepted by American political structures and principles. The foreign policy of this country is of little value (Yazdan Fam, 1395: 143-144). As a person of low "compatibility" and "empathy", Trump needs the presence of coherent people in the cabinet to enable him to advance his views while being safe from criticism. These personality traits have shaped the nature and fate of Trump's interactions with those of the President in the form of two patterns: first to align and align with the President's views; second, to curtail cooperation or resignation. The result has been that the balance and equilibrium between the "five resources and variables of US foreign policy" has been disrupted over the past two years, and in the new arrangement of resources, individual variables over other structural, social, role variables (while being fixed), It has become bureaucratic and has had less of an impact than other sources, while having a direct and indirect impact on them.

State Department

Unlike Trump's presidency, where the State Department had considerable independence in policymaking and foreign policy direction, this position in the Trump administration was influenced by Trump's personality traits. The State Department in the Trump administration has so far had two general periods, depending on the personality of each minister and how he interacts with the President, the weight and proportion of the entity compared to other

entities; Tillerson and Pompeo; Resisting Trump's views, Pompeo, through his association with Trump's views, added to the influence of the institution over the short Tillerson era. Trump and Tillerson differed substantially on most strategic foreign policy issues such as Brigham, diplomatic talks with North Korea, the Qatar crisis, the Paris climate agreement, how they interacted with Venezuela, and so on; in general, Tillerson had flexibility Trump was inflexible and aggressive. Tillerson wanted to pursue a diplomatic course in the face of Venezuela and North Korea, and tried to get the United States into a neutral Qatar crisis in a way that Trump did not want (Kranz, 2017). The disagreements led to the relative decline in the role of Tillerson's State Department compared to other bureaucratic foreign policy institutions, where the Pentagon, for example, took on some of the State Department's intrinsic missions, such as preparing Trump's trip to Saudi Arabia. Eventually the disagreement prompted Trump to replace Tillerson on his Twitter page, which is a far cry from diplomatic rituals, shortly after returning from a March 13 trip to Africa and replacing Mike Pompeo. Someone who, unlike Tillerson, is a staunch defender of Trump's positions and a reflection of his personal views on foreign policy (Pillar, 2018).

Department of Defense

Influenced by the relative margin of the State Department under Tillerson, the US Department of Defense under Matthews has a leading role in US foreign policy. In the interview with Voice of America, the weakening of the diplomatic apparatus paved the way for strengthening the role of other institutions, as the Department of Defense showed significant diplomatic momentum, according to Michael O'Hanlon. The Pentagon's visit to the Middle East before the Secretary of State and meeting with the Egyptian President and Prime Minister Libya highlighted the State Department's defense of the State Department in US foreign policy. Matisse also traveled to the Emirates and Iraq before the Secretary of State. Matisse's second Middle East trip was to Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Qatar to prepare for Donald Trump's trip, a role that is essentially part of the Secretary of State's intrinsic duties. [31] Of course, this relative success did not mean that Trump and Matthews fully shared their views; unlike Trump, he advocated for preservation of the brothel, the Paris climate agreement and the non-transfer of the US embassy to Jerusalem. Convincing Trump of increasing troop levels in Afghanistan,

refusing to deal harshly with North Korea and continuing to stay in NATO was a result of his efforts (Seligman, 2018). Mattis's minimal success was the result of Trump's relative interest in the military, and more importantly, Mattis's cautious attitude toward Trump was narcissistic and critical; in other words, criticism of the president in public circles and focus on affairs were the reason for Secretary of Defense's relative stability, while Trump's interactions He was extremely unhappy with the media and public criticism (Johnson, 2018). Over time, however, the divergence of foreign policy views between the Pentagon and the White House came to a point where it severely limited Matthews's maneuverability. Trump called for the deployment of a space force, the presence of armed forces at the border with Mexico, a ban on the presence of two genders in the military, and no military maneuvers with South Korea, which Matthews did not accompany the president. Finally, Trump's decision to withdraw US troops from Syria was the end point for Matthews in the cabinet.

White House and National Security Council

In the White House as the executive office of the President of the United States, the National Security Council is responsible for foreign policy. The vice president, national security adviser and energy minister are legal members of the council. The president's preferences determine how and to what extent foreign policy advisers are used.

Vice President

Despite some differences of opinion with the President himself, Vice President Mike Pence has significant influence in the White House. The arrival of hard-line Republicans, including National Intelligence Director Dan Coates, Nicky Haley and Mike Pompeo has been the result of his influence (Rogin 2017). Pence is also a moderator and interpreter of Trump's positions. Pence's emphasis on supporting NATO, despite Trump's criticism and modification of his remarks on the military invasion of Venezuela and its interpretation of diplomatic measures and economic sanctions, can be appreciated. Pence also enjoys considerable independence in foreign policy. Trips to Latin America, the Asia-Pacific region, and the leadership of trade negotiations with Japan illustrate the expansion of his powers at the White House.

Pence is an experienced politician and has long served as a member of Congress. For this reason,

he has a significant relationship and knowledge of members of Congress (O'Sullivan, 2017). In addition, Pence's office is one of Lobbyists' favorite targets, with the Washington Post newspaper likening his office to the "lobby entrance gate." The number of people reporting to the Office of the Vice President for influence in 2017 was 236, more than double that of Vice President Barack Obama with 120 in the first year, according to Joe Biden. Indicates the increase (Scherer, Dawsey and Narayanswamy, 2018).

National Security Adviser

National Security Adviser plays a decisive role in US foreign policy and military policy making and decisions. General Michael Flynn was the first national security adviser to the Trump administration to resign in the wake of Russia's electoral interference. After Flynn, he was replaced by General Herbert McMaster. McMaster disagreed with Trump on many foreign policy issues. Eventually, the White House left the White House because of these divergences, including Russia's electoral interference and the way North Korea interacted (Sanger and Erlanger, 2018). Following McMaster, John Bolton, a former US envoy to the United Nations, was appointed national security adviser. Bolton is among the supporters of military action against Iran and North Korea. He has repeatedly called for a war with Iran or a change of government, and is known for having extreme positions against the Islamic Republic.

Energy Secretary Rick Perry

Energy Secretary Rick Perry is another member of the National Security Council of the United States who, like other conservatives, has a visionary view of foreign policy and believes that the United States should be the leader in expanding democracy worldwide (Pavgi, 2011). For the past two years, Perry has been trying to bring Trump in full harmony. He initially opposed the cancellation of the Paris climate agreement, but eventually sided with Trump (Irfan, 2017). Perry is a supporter of the pre-emptive strike against the Islamic Republic and calls for US support for Israel in the event of any military strike against Iran.

Central Intelligence Agency

Despite its specific role in intelligence activities, in the CIA Trump administration has played a more prominent role than the State Department (under the Tillerson Department) in foreign policy. Mike Pompeo first took over as head of the organization. Trump's synchronicity can be

attributed to Pompeo's remarkable role in this role. He describes Trump's approach to national security and foreign policy as "thoughtful" and "professional" (Harris, 2018). As for North Korea, for example, Pompeo initially viewed the country as a threat to US national security and demanded its regime change (Watkins, 2017); North Korea seeks to meet the leaders of the two countries. This policy was carried out in spite of the strong opposition of the Senate Democrats and disregard of their views (Gaudiano, 2018). In relation to Iran, Pompeo is known for its hostile approach and poses Iran as a threat to IS (Pillar, 2018). Pompeo had proposed a military invasion of Iran's nuclear facilities when he joined the House of Representatives.

After Pompeo, Gina Hespell was named CIA chief. She is the first woman to take charge of the organization. Haspel was in charge of one of the secret CIA prisons in Thailand, under which he has been subjected to repeated and repeatedly tortured acts of "artificial drowning" against al-Qaeda inmates. Despite these controversial records of torture and violence, Trump defended Haspel's insistence on his view.

Treasury

The promotion of the Treasury's position in international economic policymaking began shortly after the end of World War II. Since the 1970s, it has been on the ministry's agenda to create and operationalize the anti-money laundering legal regime. Given its pivotal role in the design and implementation of economic-financial sanctions, it gradually emerged as an influential foreign policy organization in the United States following the 9/11 events. The dependence of the international financial system on the US financial system and the globalization of the anti-money laundering and terrorism financing system have enabled the Treasury to force the actor to change behavior by applying economic pressures and financial isolation. The Treasury manages the mechanism of financial isolation of disparate actors through banks and financial institutions. Today, this capability has become an effective tool in combating US national security challenges. (Zarate, 2013: IX-XIII). In the Trump administration, the Treasury Department has been given the responsibility of Steve Manuchin. After leaving the United States on May 8, the president called for the most severe economic measures against Iran. At first, Manouchin tried to resist the plan of maximum Trump pressure on Iran. He insisted on his request for some time by failing to provide the

relevant documents. Ultimately, however, with Trump's decision to withdraw, the Treasury applied economic-financial sanctions against vital sectors of Iran's economy, including energy, banking, insurance, shipping, air transport, and more.

Heritage Foundation

After the president and the executive bodies as influential bureaucratic resources in determining foreign policy, the next position is given to influential groups, political thinkers and the mass media. Evidence suggests that among the growing number of American think-tanks, the Heritage Foundation's Trump era has gained considerable prominence in US domestic and foreign policy, where Politico Magazine describes it as a "shadow transition team" (Shephard, 2017) 70 former members of the center have joined the Trump transition team and many have joined the government (Heritage Foundation, 2018). Trump's Secretary of Education Betsy Doas and one of the Foundation's largest donors (Shephard, 2017), Bert Bran Kavanaugh, her nominee to the Supreme Court, (Heritage Foundation, 2018) Scott Prout, Environmental Agency President, Mick Molyne Head of the Budget and Management Organization, Energy Secretary Rick Perry and Justice Secretary Jeff Sessions are among those nominated by the Heritage Foundation to the Trump administration. Former Chairman and Board Member Ed Fowler was the first person to join the Donald Trump Transition Team (Mahler, 2018).

The Heritage Foundation has been publishing a book entitled "The Decree of Leadership" since 1981 proposing reforms and programs to the head of government. The seventh edition of this book was published in 2016 in three volumes after Donald Trump was selected. In this edition, while reminding of the unfulfilled goals of the Obama era, the program proposes a new government (The Hritage Foundation, 2016). Now, two years after the Trump administration took office, the report found that the Trump administration adhered to 64 percent of its 334 proposed policies on various economic, political and military issues. Obama health insurance cancellation plan called ObamaCare and Mexico border security (Shephard, 2017), abolition of internet neutrality law, reduction of protected lands, development of natural resources and coal, government downsizing, tax reform, abandonment of Paris climate agreement and budget increase Leaving UNESCO are some of the most prominent programs of the Institute (Heritage Foundation, 2018). Heritage has, more

than any other institution, from economic policies to Trump's proposed options for various positions, influenced the formation of the cabinet and the grand policies of the Trump administration.

OUTPUT OF THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY

Donald Trump's personality traits have, more than any other factor, directly or indirectly (from the conduit of appointees) influenced US foreign policy in the past two years. The findings of Ciner and Weisser et al.'s earlier research indicate that the psychological characteristics of "authoritarianism", "extreme narcissism", "anti-sociality", "extreme incompatibility", "Machiavellism" and "populism" It has led Trump to push all foreign policy issues in line with his election wishes and slogans. The most important and underlying consequence of this individualistic approach to foreign policy is the threat of international order and arrangements. According to Richard Hass, alongside the structural challenges of the current international order, including the emergence of China, the growing failure of international organizations, the emergence of destructive state and nongovernmental actors, the revisionist approach and Trump's "exit doctrine" as a catalyst for interdisciplinary action. (Haass, 2018: 316-317)

In the area of foreign policy, Trump has clearly rejected the support of allies, free trade, the role of defender of democracy and human rights, environmental considerations, and many of the fundamental tenets of US foreign policy. He is the first US president since World War II to declare that the cost of leading the world has been far greater than the benefits to America. The role of the United States during the Trump era has thus changed from "patron of the existing order" to "threatening the status quo." As a result of Trump's personal approach, the United States under his leadership has withdrawn from many international treaties and organizations and is threatening the existing international order and movement by moving to extremist nationalism. This has been a source of concern to many politicians and analysts, as German Chancellor Angela Merkel believes "Washington can no longer establish world order" and "the EU can no longer rely on the United States to restore order in the world". Richard Hass, a prominent diplomat and international relations theorist, has also stated that "the future of the liberal order of the world is in vain" and, in his view, "America is headed

by the accelerating Trump of liberalism" (Haass, Liberal World Order, RIP, 2018). The process began immediately with Trump's entry into the White House and the announcement of the First American strategy and the "executive order to buy American goods and hire American workers." Hass adds that Trump's approach to international allies and institutions has cast doubt on the general notion of "American dependability" and has shown that Washington is no longer willing to lead the world order (Haass, 2018: 309-317). Below, we outline the most important international treaties, institutions and regimes threatened by Trump, in two sections: "Exit Treaties" and "Exit Treaties;"

Exited treaties

The Nuclear Agreement with Iran (Brigham)

JCPOA's Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) on July 9, according to July 6, was the result of over 12 years of negotiations with world powers. From the beginning, Trump was firmly opposed to Bram and demanded a new deal. In the campaign, he has repeatedly criticized Obama for brokering the deal, promising that if he becomes president, he will seek a new deal by negotiating. He considered disagreement better than Bridget (Trump, 2015). Eventually, after a series of ups and downs, Trump made his promise in May 2018 and withdrew the United States from the Comprehensive Plan of Action.

The Paris

Trump Treaty announces the withdrawal of the agreement in support of US economic interests and the strengthening of the coal industry. Trump viewed the United States' commitments to the agreement as unjust and a threat to US employment and GDP.

United Nations Human Rights Council

Claims of human rights abuses in countries such as Iran and Venezuela, anti-Israeli approach, failure to implement US reforms, and inadequate efforts by allies to align with the United States have been cited as reasons for Washington's withdrawal. .

NAFTA Agreement

Trump viewed Naphtha as a threat to the US economy, employment, and production, and threatened to make substantial reforms to the treaty by threatening to withdraw from the treaty. Finally, with the acceptance of Trump's proposed reforms at the G20 summit in Buenos Aires, US, Canadian, and Mexican heads of

state signed an alternative agreement under the United States-Mexico-Canada (USMCA) agreement (Kirby, 2018).

Opposition to NATO

Trump's criticisms of NATO focus on economic aspects (Zandee, 2018: 2). Earlier at the 2014 NATO summit in Wales, member states were required to allocate 2% of GDP to defense spending. Trump has repeatedly voiced discontent with the treaty, noting that this has not happened. Even at the 2018 NATO summit, he raised 4% of GDP, which was not accepted by the members. Trans-Pacific or Pacific Trade Agreement (TPP); he had said he would withdraw from the treaty before the election. It was the first treaty to be signed by Donald Trump. The Trump administration withdrew from the treaty to cut spending and promote American domestic G.industries, support American workers, and raise wages.

UNESCO

In October 2017, the United States of America announced its intention to withdraw from membership of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Washington has cited UNESCO's opposition to Palestinian Israel as the reason for the decision. This goes back to 2011 and the granting of membership to Palestine, which has received much criticism. The United States was in fact calling for a major reform of the organization, but eventually failed to do so, with the United States and Israel formally leaving the organization in early January 2019 (Adamson, 2019).

In Short-Sighted or Short-Lived Nuclear Weapons Treaty (INF Treaty)

Trump has accused Russia of investing in long-range missile research (Hennigan, 2018). Despite Trump's threat of a definitive withdrawal from the pact, Mike Pompeo gave Russia 60 days to terminate the pact at the 2018 NATO summit in Brussels and then withdraw from the pact if Russia fails to comply (Bimbaum and Hudson, 2018). Finally, on February 1, 2019, Trump announced a formal withdrawal of the United States from Russia in violation of the 1987 Missile Treaty as a result of the development of a new generation of nuclear warhead-capable cruise missiles.

The International Covenant on Immigration (GCM)

Trump calls the treaty an ambitious role in which participation in the United States is a sovereign and immigration policy. Nicki Haley, the

US ambassador to the United Nations, announced the withdrawal of the United States from the Covenant shortly before the International Conference on Migration in Mexico (Wintour, 2017).

Treaty of Mawdat with Iran

This treaty was signed in the year 6 between the United States and the Iranian government at the time. Since the revolution, the Iranian government has sued the International Court of Justice against the United States three times, citing the treaty. First, following the US Navy raid on the Iranian passenger aircraft, the second, after seizing \$ 2 billion from Central Bank property and finally after the United States withdrew from Brajam, which, in the latter case, the Tribunal in its interim order called for restrictions on the sanctions. Foreign Minister Mike Pompeo has announced the termination of the Mutat Treaty and the US withdrawal from the treaty (Khoshnoudiparast, 2018), citing Iran's abuses by the International Court of Justice.

Pacts and Institutions with a Possible Exit in the Near Future

- The United Nations - even the United Nations, as the most important cornerstone of international order after World War II, has not been shunned by Trump's criticism; he believes the UN's performance does not meet its potential. Trump also described US responsibility for financing 5% of the \$ 5.4 billion [58] budget of the United Nations in 2018 and reduced it to \$ 285 million. Of course, Trump believes that this "unequal share" would be worth the investment if it were to reform its structure (Gladstone, 2017).
- The International Court of Justice; John Bolton, US national security adviser, declared that the United States had adopted an optional protocol on the compulsory settlement of disputes in the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, on the Palestinian Authority's request to the International Court of Justice to transfer its embassy to Jerusalem, It will go out.
- The World Trade Organization - Trump has called the agreement the worst trade agreement possible because the US has so far received no economic benefits. From Trump's point of view, this organization needs major changes (Micklethwait, 2018).
- The New START Treaty - Donald Trump has called the treaty a one-way, very bad deal. The treaty expires in 2021; while Moscow seeks

to extend it, National Security Adviser John Bolton has ruled out talks on extending it (Mehta, 2018).

- The World Trade Union-Trump Post believes the mailing agreement will allow China to ship goods to the United States at unjust and low prices, as a result of which US companies and the United States Postal Service are badly damaged (The Gaurdian, 2018). The United States hopes that announcing the withdrawal will create the conditions for a better deal.

CONCLUSION

This article attempts to analyze the causes of the dramatic changes in US foreign policy during Donald Trump's tenure at the White House. To this end, we use the "theory of continuity" or the five variables of James Rosena's foreign policy analysis, and then utilize the results of the studies of political scientists in the fields of political science, Douglas Keller, Beth Weisser, Angela Bock, and Anthony Welk. Concerning the psychological traits of Donald Trump, we conclude that the forty-fifth US president has the personality traits of "populism," "authoritarianism," "narcissism," "incompatibility," "anti-socialism," and "machiolism." The second section then examines the effect of Trump's personality traits and their consequences on the institutions of American foreign policy. The result of this process during his two years in the White House has been the "individualistic" dominance of US foreign policy. He has directed the United States government to pursue its desired goals and preferences by appointing "matching" individuals to foreign decision-making and policy-making bodies.

In fact, Donald Trump has directly and indirectly influenced American foreign policy through his personal views and the alignment of bureaucratic institutions through the removal of incongruous statesmen and their replacement with aligned figures. In the final section, the implications of this process and the balance between the five variables involved in foreign policy are discussed; in line with Trump's own criticisms and views, the United States seeks to gradually diminish its international obligations and, consequently, a wide range of treaties. , Has left international regimes and organizations. In addition, there are many treaties and organizations described by the president himself as "dysfunctional, undesirable, and detrimental" that the likelihood of the US withdrawing from these arrangements, or a serious challenge, is to be expected in the years following Trump's tenure. The fundamental and less obvious

consequence of the process, which has raised the concern of some world leaders and prominent analysts, is that Washington's revisionist approach has threatened the existing world order and has accelerated its regress. In other words, the United States, as the main founder and leader of the post-World War I and Cold War liberal world order, has now emerged as a "challenger to the existing order and arrangement" that has left international regimes underlying this structure, it is undermining its record.

REFERENCES

- [1] Adamson, Thomas. 2019. U.S. and Israel officially withdraw from UNESCO. January 1. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/u-s-and-israel-officially-withdraw-from-unesco>.
- [2] Birnbaum, Michael, and John Hudson. 2018. Trump administration gives Russia an ultimatum on Cold War-era arms treaty. December 4. 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.
- [3] Borchers, Callum. 2017. Meryl Streep was right. Donald Trump did mock a disabled reporter. January 9. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/>
- [4] Fuchs, Christian. 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>.
- [5] Gaudiano, Nicole. 2018. Democrats blast Trump for concessions he granted in U.S.-North Korea summit. June 12. <https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/06/12/democrats-blast-trump-concessions-he-granted-u-s-north-korea-summit/694516002/>
- [6] Gladstone, Rick. 2017. Taking Credit for U.N. Budget Cut, Trump's Envoy Hints at More to Come. December 25. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/25/world/americas/trump-united-nations-budget.html>.
- [7] Graham, Phil. 2017. *Strategic Communication, Corporatism, and Eternal Crisis: The Creel Century*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- [8] Haass, Richard N. 2018. *A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Old Order*. Penguin Group USA.
- [9] --- 2018 .Liberal World Order, R.I.P. March 21. https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/end-of-liberal-world-order-by-richard-n-haass-2018-03?utm_source=tw&utm_medium=social_earned.
- [10] Harris, Shane. 2018. CIA Director Pompeo met with North Korean leader Kim Jong Un over

- Easter weekend. April 18. 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.
- [11] Hennigan, W.J. 2018. Trump Plans to Tear Up a 31-Year-Old Nuclear Weapons Treaty. Now What? October 21. <http://time.com/5430388/donald-trump-nuclear-weapons-treaty-inf-withdraw-wal/>.
- [12] Heritage Foundation. 2018. Supreme Court Nominee Brett Kavanaugh Was Included on the List The Heritage Foundation Helped Compile. August 31. <https://www.heritage.org/impact/supreme-court-nominee-brett-kavanaugh-was-included-the-list-the-heritage-foundation-helped>.
- [13] --2018 .Trump Administration Embraces Heritage Foundation Policy Recommendations. January 23. <https://www.heritage.org/impact/trump-administration-embraces-heritage-foundation-policy-recommendations>.
- [14] Irfan, Umair. 2017. Energy Secretary Perry Pulls a U-Turn on Climate. June 13. <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/energy-secretary-perry-pulls-a-u-turn-on-climate/>.
- [15] Johnson, Eliana. 2018. Why Trump Hasn't Fired Mattis. March 23. <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2018/03/23/james-mattis-defense-secretary-how-to-succeed-in-trump-cabinet-without-getting-fired-217699>.
- [16] Kelner, Douglas. 2016. American Nightmare Donald Trump, Media Spectacle, and Authoritarian Populism. AW Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- [17] Khoshnoudiparast, Firouzeh. 2018. The one Iran deal the US should keep. October 26. <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpretor/one-iran-deal-us-should-keep>.
- [18] Kirby, Jen. 2018. Trump has threatened to withdraw from NAFTA. What's next? December 4. <https://www.vox.com/2018/12/4/18123809/usmca-trump-nafta-withdrawal-congress>.
- [19] Kranz, Michal. 2017. Tillerson says he and Trump act as 'one team' — Here are 8 big issues on which they totally disagree. October 5. <https://www.businessinsider.com/here-are-8-issues-on-which-trump-and-tillerson-totally-disagree-2017-10>.
- [20] Lapsley, Daniel K., and Paul C. Stey. 2011. "Id, Ego, and Superego." Encyclopedia of Human Behavior, 2nd Edition. Ramachandran VS (ed): Elsevier 1-9.
- [21] Lee, Kibeom, and Michael C. Ashton. 2010. "Psychometric Properties of the HEXACO Personality Inventory." Multivariate behavioral research 39 (2): 329-358. doi:10.1207/s15327906mbr3902_8.
- [22] Lopez, German. 2016. Don't believe Donald Trump has incited violence at rallies? March 12. <https://www.vox.com/2016/3/12/11211846/donald-trump-violence-rallies>.
- [23] Mahler, Jonathan. 2018. How One Conservative Think Tank Is Stocking Trump's Government. June 20. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/20/magazine/trump-government-heritage-foundation-think-tank.html>.
- [24] McAdams, Dan P. 2016. The Mind of Donald Trump. June 05. <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/06/the-mind-of-donald-trump/480771/>.
- [25] Mehta, Aaron. 2018. One nuclear treaty is dead. Is New START next? October 23. <https://www.defensenews.com/pentagon/2018/10/23/one-nuclear-treaty-is-dead-is-new-start-next/>.
- [26] Micklethwait, John. 2018. Trump Threatens to Pull U.S. Out of WTO If It Doesn't 'Shape Up'. August 31. <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>.
- [27] O'Sullivan, Mike. 2017. Pence Carving a Role as Presidential Envoy. December 31. <https://www.voanews.com/a/pence-role-presidential-envoy/4186257.html>.
- [28] Pavgi, Kedar. 2011. Rick Perry's Foreign Policy Governor of Texas. November 17. <https://foreign-policy.com/2011/11/17/rick-perrys-foreign-policy/>.
- [29] Pillar, Paul R. 2018. Where Does Mike Pompeo Stand on the Issues? Too Close to Trump. March 13. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/13/opinion/mike-pompeo-issues-trump.html>.
- [30] Rogin, Josh. 2017. Commentary: Mike Pence is quietly becoming a foreign policy power player. March 6. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/commentary/ct-mike-pence-foreign-policy-president-20170306-story.html>.
- [31] Sanger, David E., and Steven Erlanger. 2018. Trump Is Expected to Leave Iran Deal, Allies Say. May 7. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/07/us/politics/trump-announce-withdraw-us-iran-deal.html>.
- [32] Scherer, Michael, Josh Dawsey, and Ana Narayanswamy. 2018. Pence turns VP's office into gateway for lobbyists to influence the Trump administration. June 15. 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.
- [33] Seligman, Lara. 2018. The Incredible Shrinking Defense Secretary. August 27. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/08/27/the-incredible-shrinking-defense-secretary-james-mattis-jim-trump-pentagon/>.
- [34] Shephard, Alex. 2017. The D.C. Think Tank Behind Donald Trump. February 22. <https://newrepublic.com/article/140271/dc-think-tank-behind-donald-trump>.

- [35] The Gaurdian. 2018. Trump pulls US out of UN postal scheme on China price concerns. October 17. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/oct/17/trump-universal-postal-union-withdraw-foreign-postal-rates>.
- [36] The Hritage Foundation. 2016. Mandate for Leadership: A Comprehensive Policy Agenda for a New Administration. August 26. <https://www.heritage.org/budget-and-spending/report/mandate-leadership-comprehensive-policy-agenda-new-administration>.
- [37] Trump, Donald. 2015. Donald Trump: Amateur hour with the Iran nuclear deal. September 8. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2015/09/08/donald-trump-amateur-hour-iran-nuclear-deal-column/71884090/>
- [38] Visser, Beth A., Angela S. Book, and Anthony A. Volk. 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.
- [39] Watkins, Eli. 2017. CIA chief signals desire for regime change in North Korea. July 21. <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/07/20/politics/cia-mike-pompeo-north-korea/index.html>.
- [40] Wintour, Patrick. 2017. Donald Trump pulls US out of UN global compact on migration. December 3. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/03/donald-trump-pulls-us-out-of-un-global-compact-on-migration>.
- [41] Wolf, Reinhard. 2017. "Donald Trump's Status-Driven Foreign Policy." *Survival Global Politics and Strategy* 59 (5): 99-115. doi:10.1080/00396338.2017.1375260.
- [42] Zandee, Dick. 2018. NATO in the Trump era: surviving the crisis. Brief Essay, Clingendael: Clingendael – the Netherlands Institute of International Relations, 1-5.
- [43] Zarate, Juan C. 2013. *Treasury's War: The Unleashing of a New Era of Financial Warfare*. New York: Public Affairs.

Citation: Zahra Hossein Pour, Hamid Soleimani Souchelmaei, Abdolreza Alishahi, "Donald Trump and the Policies of Individualism in the United States, the Roots and Consequences", *Journal of International Politics* 2020, 2(3), pp. 9-20.

Copyright: © 2020 Zahra Hossein Pour. This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.