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TRUMP'S ADMINISTRATION TOUGH APPROACH: USA AT EDGE OF FOREIGN POLICY TRANSFORMATION

Abstract:

After inauguration of new President of the USA Donald Trump have been passed more than three months and some assumptions could be considered how the Administration completes its foreign policy and national security missions. Donald Trump has purported in his first days of his presidency to prepare new version of National Security Strategy. However due to incompleteness for key positions for foreign policy and national defence in the Administration – as President Donald Trump at his initial phase of his presidency in 2016-17, managed to drag on the positions of State Department and Defense Department his personalities – like Rex Tillerson and James Mattis as well as John Kelly as Homeland Security Chief. All these personalities have very decisive influence on formulating goals and missions of national security and foreign policy at global levels. The team is to be labelled "tough hawks" and the hawks have already demonstrated their claws and the Russian "hawks" in name of authoritarian authority of the Kremlin Administration in Moscow have been blundered in declamation pre-emptive delight for having elected Donald Trump against Hillary Clinton. At his first part of the presidency and as soon as he was elected as the president. D. Trump made no secret of his admiration for the military, and former and current brass feature prominently in his national security team: Mattis, and Homeland Security Secretary John Kelly, are both retired Marine generals, and Army Lt. Gen. H. R. McMaster is his national security adviser. This was his first team after his fascinated election. Certainly the Kremlin has contributed it's pare in forwarding anti-Democrat challenger's to Presidential race and with usage of cyber-warfare capabilities almost has reached its mission. The Syrian tragic event – gas attack in Khan-Sheikhun where more than 78 children died and many injured and the genocide had been done by the Moscow supported Assad regime troops with the Russian jets participation indicated international criminality and cruelty, it was imagination

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that no any power could counter-weight the genocide. It was suspicious story that the chemical attack had been conducted by the Russian military contingent in Syria in order to crack down resistance of anti-Assad rebel forces in Idlib province next to Aleppo in order to reinforce its political-military presence in the Middle East. The Russians caused of feeling full and complete dominance at the regional level and with Iranian engagement were in mind to boost up their presence even beyond the regional scope, notable in Maghreb (in Libya and in Egypt).

Keywords:

Trump, foreign policy making, USA, hawks, National Security Strategy, NAFTA, Neocons, pivotal nations, selective engagement, global engagement

New 45th President of USA: New Challenger in White House

The election of 45th President of the USA Donald Trump, a national tycoon and inexperienced politician, dramatized the situation in the country. First time since Declaration of Independence in 1776 and since election of first President in the country, well-known tycoon or representative from oligarchy, business community person took over the position to the highest political level. The USA is very strong presidential type of governance, where the President has quite strong leverages in domestic and moreover in defence and foreign policymaking provisions. The characteristic points of political system in USA makes from one point this country vulnerable to challenges perceived in nearest future at any level of politics. Certainly Donald Trump was elected by the minority, but with 288 electoral votes enables him to increase his social prestigious. Trump has planned his pre-election campaign quite eligible action and he wittingly opted for middle class and local provincial state population whose economic and social background had been deteriorated drastically. Having faced with \$25 trillion foreign debt and envisaged more than 15 trillion domestic debt (it makes roughly 45% of the GDP rate), due to three massive economic crisis waves (2002, 2008 and 2012) when unemployment reached its most highest point and average income to ordinary American citizen barely made of 2000 per month, makes the possibility of Trump's victory very high². 6 days before the elections, in one of the Georgian TV political show-program, I have predicted the elections outcome – Trump vs. Clinton and with concrete arguments forwarded explained why it could be happened. From Georgian local perspective, having no idea what and how the American economy is being ruled and governed, it could be difficult to predict the final stage of the elections. D. Trump has achieved victory two times - first when he defeated his

² V. Maisaia, *Donald Trump, 45th President of USA: Who is He?*, "The Georgian Times" No. 11, November 28, 2016, p. 11.

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challengers at the Republican Party primary Congress elections and second time when defeated his Democratic Party challenger at national level. His unbelievable and bumper-sticker slogans as "America First", detailed plan and his very locally oriented political preferences made his campaign very successful. His neo-liberal conceptual approaches and his neo-mercantilist orientation attract America's population, especially those 30 million citizens who never came to voter poll stations before. Trump unlike rest of politician is a very well-known businessman and he knows the value of promised words and statements. It means that he is going to fulfil and realize what he had put forwarded and by doing so, his policy mostly foreign affairs and security could be contradictory with geopolitical realms of the contemporary world politics. During his pre-election campaign, D. Trump as challenger put emphasis on foreign political problems, which in that time concerned USA (for instance, war in Syria and in Iraq, Russia's case with Vladimir Putin, Ukraine's security dilemma, North Korea nuclear gambling, USA-EU strategic cooperation, etc.). He did not pay a great attention to global politics and security affairs in contrary to Hillary Clinton. His international program focus on few basic points: in economy on trade problems with China and Mexico; in security on demanding that allies like Japan and the EU member-states increased their defence budget, diminishing American defence burden on Trans-Atlantic solidarity with downsizing 20% of the national contribution to the NATO defence budget and promote the American business elite interests at international arena (with recalling American industrial mergers to back to the country and produce more goods and merchandizes, like automobiles - socalled "Detroit Crisis" resolution)³. However, Donald Trump as a charismatic leader will formulate its own version of foreign policy and will be very pragmatic in pursuing its on proper manner. Some of his already outlined concrete missions in short-run perspective, which his Administration might execute:

- to renegotiate trade pacts such as NAFTA with Mexico and Canada (and even threatening to leave the organization);
- to suspend future trade agreement in aegis of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) between the USA and 11 other Asia-Pacific countries;
- to renegotiate conditions for Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) with the EU. Certainly this step could lead toward so-called "Trade War";
- to change relations with World Trade Organization (WTO) as new Administration would be seeking to pursue protectionist policy at international level;
- to foster trend for pulling out of the Paris climate agreement and abrogate Obama's deal with China on that matters.

³ Ibidem.

- Maintain USA-China relations, which can be worsened due to many reasons, including geopolitical ones;
- to pursue multilateralism foreign policy and accept multipolar world order⁴.

These are only some elements of Donald Trump program, which he has declared officially and want to achieve. In that aspect whether he agrees to a Yalta-style order that would recognize a Russian sphere of influence in its "near abroad" is key question for Post-Soviet space nations, including Georgia.

Trump's Administration Tough Approach: USA at the edge of Foreign Policy Transformation

After inauguration of new President of the USA some assumptions could be considered how the Administration completes its foreign policy and national security missions. D. Trump has purported in his first days of his presidency to prepare new version of National Security Strategy. However due to incompleteness on key positions in the Administration, the President managed to fill the positions of State Department and Defense Department with his personalities like Rex Tillerson and James Mattis as well as John Kelly as Homeland Security Chief, later all of them get retired due to some circumstances. All these personalities have a decisive role in process of formulating goals and missions of national security and foreign policy at global level⁵.

Trump Administration reaction to brutality which took place in Syria was tough enough with 59 sea-ballistic cruise missile attack on Shairat Air Force Base of the Syrian Armed Forces led by Bashir Assad. By doing so, Trump has reiterated of prevalence of the American supremacy over the Middle East regional security. Also underscored the unipolarity status of the USA in current world order. Russian incumbent authority lost its face whilst Korean crisis when the Trump Administration demonstrated its military power against North Korea last totalitarian Communist regime and the Kremlin sluggish reaction on the American Naval strike grouping from the US 3rd Fleet clearly demonstrated what Russia can do when real true power is against its geopolitical weak ambitions. Having gained support from the Communist China leadership for counter-strike to North Korean ambitions to grip with nuclear weapon holder positions and reiterated with renewed China-USA strategic partnership case from 70s in last century during the Cold War period, Russia has been sweeping

⁴ X. Wickett, *Trump's Foreign Policy Is Looking Very Predictable*, Chatham House-The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2017, (17.09.2018).

⁵ A. Bezrukov, O. Rebro, A. Sushentzov, *Donald Trump: Professionalnyy Profil Novogo Prezidenta SA*, Valdai, International Discussion Club: analytical report, January 2017, p. 3.

off the international political processes and only became outsider in the game. China is also trying demonstrate its approaches in its strategic zone of influence. Notable, Chinese air force land-attack, cruise-missile-capable bombers were put "on high alert" in 2016 as the US sees evidence that the Chinese military is preparing to respond to a potential situation in North Korea. According to CNN, it's estimated that some 85% of North Korea's economic trade is dependent on China. Given those close economic links, US military officials have said that Beijing is critical to solving the North Korean situation. The Trump Administration in Syria and in North Korea actually geopolitically humiliated the Putin's regime and has demonstrated coldness approaches in promoting national survival interests at any place of the globe. Indeed from one point of view position of the Trump Administration at initial stage in tackling foreign policy challenges and military vulnerabilities latently transformed in much more coercive reflection against Russia's bluff geopolitics in the Middle and Far East regions.

The USA current Administration has been rising its stances in Central Asia and is seeking to strengthen its position in Afghanistan. The US military lately dropped a GBU-43B on a tunnel complex used by ISIS in Afghanistan. The strike was the first time the US used its "mother of all bombs" in combat. The Afghan government estimated that the weapon killed more than 90 ISIS militants. No civilians died in the attack, it said. These very tough approaches in Afghanistan has precluded that USA remains strong positions whenever it reaches its possibilities. Trump Administration showed up its teeth even in Arabic peninsula - Yemen's deteriorating security situation has drawn increasing attention from the US military. Last month, US warplanes conducted 20 airstrikes against al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, a terrorist group with designs on American and western targets. Late in January, a US special operations raid against the militants resulted in the death of Navy SEAL William "Ryan" Owens. Yemen's geostrategy is aiming at flattering Iranian's ambiguity missions and hegemonic goals in the whole Middle East area and demonstrated who is a real master of the game. It means that the Trump Administration changes its priorities but not principles in its foreign policymaking[.]

After election of new President of the USA, main key problem for the American policy-makers have become how to formulate current foreign policy. First few months after elections new Administration done nothing in case of formulating foreign policy agenda. Before coming to power, Donald Trump manipulated with controversial priorities in pushing ahead foreign policy, like saying at first that NATO is non-effective security organization and later that NATO is still crucial instrument for strengthening Euro-Atlantic security. By and large, since January 20, 2017 when he gave oath as the President, he outline key elements of his foreign policy priorities. Including few good starting points: making NATO and Europe the centrepiece of global relationships in Eurasia; strengthening relationships with Japan and South

Korea; replacing the defunct Trans-Pacific Partnership with a web of bilateral relationships; working to bring the Sunni Arab world and the Israelis closer together in creating a bulwark against Iran: improving our increasingly fraught relationship with Mexico and building ties with Colombia (an emerging powerhouse in Latin America); focusing on India as a potential long range partner and counterweight to China; and confronting Russian aggression with international pressure. In addition to that Trump Administration is forging and requesting intensively to NATO European allies to increase their defence expenses up to 2% of GDP and share responsibilities for military burden in further promoting Euro-Atlantic security. President Trump has also talked about combating terrorism issue. He introduced new idea how to confront terrorism and what concrete tools should be taken to minimalize this global threat. The idea is associated with so-called "disengagement strategy". The strategy envisages confronting terrorism primarily through non-military means⁶. Internally United States would focus on intelligence and law enforcement. Abroad, it would focus on sharing intelligence with other countries securing diplomatic cooperation on counterterrorism. and Disengagement might involve some limited development assistance to Middle Eastern countries, but US policy is focusing on fundamentally remake them. The logic of disengagement is simple: US military involvement in the Muslim world cannot fix the problem of terrorism; in fact, it exacerbates it by sowing anger at US involvement. Pulling back could therefore minimize the terrorist threat. At least, disengagement would remove a tempting target the US military — from the terrorists' backvard and reduce the blowback that occurs when US forces accidentally kill innocent people or act in other heavyhanded ways. It would also deprive extremists of crucial propaganda material: US "occupation" of the Holy Land. More optimistically, it might redirect the anger of Islamists militant away from the United States and toward their own repressive governments and prevent more moderates from radicalizing. Whatever terrorist threat remained, the argument runs, could best be handled by learning to live with occasional small attacks rather than by overreacting to them. Disengagement would mean, its proponents claim, that the United States would save billions of dollars annually by conducting fewer operations and marginally reducing the size of its military. Here is very evident case that the strategy has been already performing – on 24-25 February 2017 jointly Russian-American military forces launched strike to liberate Mosul from ISIS forces and this counter-terrorist operation indicates where the Trump Administration stands for. It is interesting to mention that at the beginning, national security advisor Lt. General H. R. McMaster directly indicated who real enemies of USA were. In one of his comments, he claimed that "geopolitics has returned, as hostile, revisionist powers – Russia, China, North Korea and Iran – annex territory, intimidate our allies, develop nuclear

⁶ US National Security Strategy, December 2017, pp.10-12.

weapons, and use proxies⁷". He also undermined that in the post 11th September era, enemies include terrorists organizations, as well as states that leverage less overt tools, including propaganda, political subversion, and espionage, against America. These are real indications how Trump Administration sees it future perspectives dealing with national security challenges and promoting USA new geopolitical missions at global level. However he reserves his neo-Isoliacionalist rhetoric and slogan: "American interests at first" and still pending on confronting with China for economic expansion to the American economy⁸.

However, the main vulnerable point remains stiff relations between Russia and USA. The recent processes in global politics have been slipped off the Georgian society sphere of interests and all interested daily news are only stuffed with peculiarities of local politics. That is why Georgia is being disappeared from so-called "international radar" or "area-denial" (AD in accord to NATO classification). However, around Georgia and nearby areas that are to be sought as vitally important from national security perspectives, notable in Black Sea geopolitical area is developing new type of geostrategic "tsunami". Lately ultimately deterioration of relations between Russia and USA are really indicating how stalemate is international relations processes and how it could effect to Georgia's foreign policy provisions. In accordance to international law perspective and definition: "War is a legal sense, when two or more states officially declare that a condition of hostilities exists between them"⁹. Certainly if one analyses the condition of two great powers at time being, one can easily determine that Russia and USA have already declared a condition with full of hostilities of geopolitical, geoeconomic and even at this stage, geostrategic origin. As for legal sense, the war is a clear indication and explanation of such relations between the Russia and USA. The war was declared as a legal sense what is paradox not in land, navy and even air space dimensions but in virtual, in space. Everything happened when the Kremlin decided to behave in aegis of pre-emptive strike strategy and ordered its cyber-warfare special destination units to attack the official sites and webpages of the USA governmental and political parties. In 2016 the President of Russian Federation Vladimir Putin authorized to newly endorse and create mega-special service - National Guard Service led by Putin's personal body-guard Colonel-General Victor Zolotov, the most loyal personally to Putin, setting up special cyber-warfare Department to coordinate and execute information warfare against the Western community.

⁷ A. Lockie, *Trump's new national security adviser is hawkish on Russia – a big reversal from Michel Flynn*, "Business Insider", 2017, http://www.businessinsider.com/mcmaster-reversal-michael-flynn-national-security-coucil-russia-hawk-2017-2 (17.09.2018).

⁸ J. Harney, J. Stearns, *Trump Faults China's Economic Policy as Threat to US Security*, "Bloomberg", June 20, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-06-20/trump-faults-china-s-economic-policy-as-threat-to-u-s-security (17.09.2018).

⁹ Ch. Greendwood, *The Concept of War in Modern International Law*, "The International and Comparative Law Quiartely" Vol. 36, No. 2 (April, 1987), pp. 283-306.

Hence, the Kremlin, by doing so, decided to create new type of the Armed Forces – Cyberwarfare Army with direct subordination to Zolotov's National Guard Service. It means that personally V. Putin will assume leadership and command on newly created Armed Forces formation. It seems so that the mission was reached its success as afterward American territories was targeted with highly sophisticated cyber-attacks from "unknown" and "strange" enemy. Nevertheless, as soon as it occurred the official USA governmental special services – CIA, NSA and Cyberwarfare Strategic Command blamed the Russian for this conduit.

Donald Trump between option being Good "Cowboy" or Magic "Enigma": Neo-Isolationism vs. Global Engagement

It is suffice to say that the elections results were done by the political minority - Electoral College which is keen Constitutional principle guarantee protection of minority rights. Hence, D. Trump is sought to be minority protection guarantee and it's elected President. Nevertheless having more clarified in his domestic politics with priorities and his intentions making him more like as neoliberal¹⁰ whose representative first time won the elections, at the same time being very unclear what kind of foreign policy and national security he intends pursuing further on. Having encircled around himself as a team for national security and foreign policy planning and execution of socalled "Neocons" (Neo-conservative trend supporters¹¹). D. Trump's foreign and national security policy implications are less radical and hawkish than someone could imagine. Therefore, in order to boost up his foreign, security and defence policies and set up new ones, he neatly changed his administration team and reinforced it with more "hawks", like he has appointed ex-head of the US Diplomatic Mission at the UN, John Bolton as his National Security Advisor replaced McMaster. Regarding reinforcing his internal security conditions at the national level, mostly in conjunction with illegal migration

 $^{^{10}}$ Like liberalize hard taxation burden for business community, mainly for low and middle business community representatives, change medical insurance and social protection policy, increase wealthy tax rate, keep for stimulation national industry – so-called "protectionalism" strategic line as well as promoting policy toward hard backing with illegal migration and endorsing an idea to expel more than 3 million immigrants came to the country without legal provisions

¹¹ Like Newt Gingrich, ex-Republican leader, former Defense Department inspector general Joe Schmitz, Alabama Sen. Jeff Sessions, energy consultant George Papadopoulos, as Vice-President he opted for Mike Pence, Indiana Governor, Michael Flynn, ex-Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, retired Lt. General (it means that at first time USA military intelligence service would be more influential and dominant rather than CIA).

challenge, he made interesting castling appointed Kirstjen Nielsen, leading expert on national security, as new Secretary of Homeland Security¹².

His presidential campaign was used to be more balanced and milder with intentions for supporting idea of modern type of Neo-Isolationism trend in future country's foreign policy. For instance, in his pre-election campaign Trump told Blitzer that "there has to be at least a change in philosophy and there also has to be a change in the cut up, the money, the spread" of NATO's budget. He added that he didn't want the US to decrease its role, but certainly decrease its spending in NATO, which marks its 67th anniversary in April 2016¹³. As it is known, the US is NATO's main contributor, providing about 22% of the organization's budget. Germany is second, contributing 14.5%, followed by France, which gives 11% of the budget, and then the UK at 10.5%¹⁴. All members agree to spend at least 2% of GDP on their defence budget, but some don't meet that threshold¹⁵.

Hence, his delicate stance on NATO future perspectives really presuppose of such foreign policy inclination provision. In addition to that was interesting to whom elected President Trump called and debated moreover international political and geopolitical affairs - among first two selected "priority" figures were Prime-minister of Great Britain - Theresa May and Russian Federation President Vladimir Putin. Who is to be next after these two leaders is still unknown. It is less probable that D. Trump and his new administration would pay less attention to its closest allies or so-called "pivotal nations" where Georgia is being considered (backed on strategic partnership charter signed up by Georgian and American high-level diplomats in January 2009 in Tbilisi). The trend could be more increased as he as a Presidential challenger promised Israel, but Trump's approach is very pragmatic and well sorted out in retrospect of new foreign policy direction – Multilateralism. By the way, pivots are the states that have valuable political, economic, military cost for Great Actors. They are located in the in the centre of the places that equally attract grate power's interest¹⁶. They connect strategic plans and goals of the great powers. However, let's see and wait whether the scenario is to be real and false.

¹² J. Blitzer, *Why Trump Is So Angry At His Homeland Security Adviser*, "New Yorker", May 17, 2018, https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/why-trump-is-so-angry-at-his-homeland-security-secretary (17.09.2018).

¹³ J. Diamond, N. Gaouette, *Donald Trump unveils foreign policy advisers*, "CNN politics", https://edition.cnn.com/2016/03/21/politics/donald-trump-foreign-policy-team/index.html (17.08.2018).

¹⁴ P. Shelter-Jones, *Does Europe contribute enough to NATO? The truth about defence spending*, "World Economic Forum", https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/03/nato-defence-spending-europe-america/> (15.09.2018).

¹⁵ *Trump:* NATO states to increase defence funding, "The Georgian Times", ">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.ge/index.php?m=5&news_id=57805&cat_id=17&lng=eng>">http://geotimes.geotimes"">http://geotimes.geotimes.geotimes"">http://geotimes.geotimes"">http://geotimes.geotimes.geotimes"

¹⁶ T. Sweijs, *Why are Pivot States so Pivotal?*, the Hague Centre for Strategic Studies (HCSS), Hague, 2014.

Some Peculiar Aspects of the Foreign-Policy Making Provisions in the Trump Administration: Georgia's Case-Study

However, key issue of the Trump Administration foreign policy has been transformed into different manner as it was before. The so-called "state-centric realism" when the state, rather than any other international actor is regarded as the foreign policy-making unit¹⁷ completely changed into more flexible modality. In case of the "state-centric realism", a foreign policy decision is reflected and predefined by the following actors as it is depicted in Figure 1.

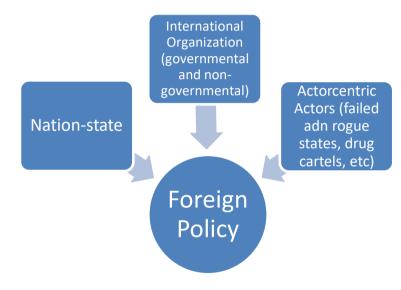


Fig. 1. Foreign policy.

Source: own work

The above-mentioned scheme is applicable to realm of "extra" puzzles of foreign policy fluctuations, more generally, pattern in domestic structure. One version of this view is to argue that "open" or democratic societies tend to have one kind of foreign policy, while "closed" or authoritarian societies have a different kind of foreign policy¹⁸.

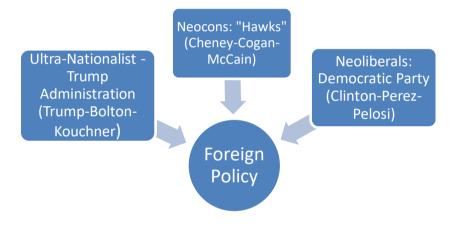
This provision stands with concrete democratic nation, but the global dimension also makes its input in reflecting foreign policy-making even in such nation as the USA. In this respect is interesting underscoring that some scholars imagines of declining of the American hegemony at global level. Respectively,

¹⁷ New Dimensions in World Politics, J.S. Nye, G.L. Goodwin, A. Linklater, [ed.], London, Croom Helm, 1975, p. 36.

¹⁸ M. Clarke, B. White, *Understanding Foreign Policy: The Foreign Policy Systems Approach*, Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, England, 1989, p. 88.

Richard Haas believes that the world has entered an era of so-called "nonpolarity" or "apolarity" with globalization forcing an era of interdependence, particularly as America experiences chronic fiscal deficits and military overstretch¹⁹. In due process when the USA global domination is being declined and officially President Trump declared of withstanding from the Global Engagement policy of previous Administrations and only pretend on prevailing the America's primary interests. Unfortunately, the Russian special services meddled in the American elections in 2016 has also contributed in changing preface and background of making foreign policy. It means that homogeneity or "state-centric realism" in the USA political system has been ruined and no any holistic state-centric institution can achieve the decision on that stance. Currently, due to the occasion the American foreign policy-making is varied in and among three actors competition groupings, like in Figure 2.





Source: own work

This is real configuration how the current American foreign policy making process is and how many "insider"-political lobbyist groups (having two "layer" approaches: executive and legislative branch group-members). Regarding the Georgian case, it is clear that the "Neocons" are ruling and directing the whole implications of foreign policy making toward the Georgia. Unfortunately the "Ultra-Nationalist" (with their slogan: "American is the first") - Trump Administration has less interests and implications not only toward Georgia (President Trump's extraordinary statement on unpreparedness

¹⁹ R. Haas, *The Age of Nonpolarity*, "Foreign Affairs", vol. 87, no. 3, May/June 2008, pp.44-56.

of Georgia for the NATO membership partially confirmed the hypothesis)²⁰ but also toward the Caucasus-Caspian region in general²¹. "Neo-liberals" Democratic Party wing dissuaded its foreign policy interests since Obama Administration who had imposed on M. Saakashvili authoritarian regime informal sanctions (political and economic) in 2009-2012 period. The only "Neocons" have their leverages and tools to influence on Georgia's politics via the USA Embassy in Tbilisi. A competition among three wings is directly influenced on nomination and appointment of new USA Ambassador in Tbilisi, yet has to be selected since the previous one - Jan Kelly left Georgia in February of 2018²². Moreover, just recently the rival competition and fierce battling among these groupings, mainly "Neocons" and "Ultra-Nationalists" forced the incumbent Georgian government refrained of sending high-level official delegation and neither the President George Margvelashvili, nor lately elected Prime-minister Mamuka Bakhtadze and even nor the Speaker of the Parliament Irakli Kobakhidze did not go to attend the funeral of passed away of one of the leaders of the "Neocons", Senator John McCain. General saying, the one of the probable reasons of failure attending the funeral was not to confront with President Donald Trump and his team. The funeral process was attended by the Georgian Parliamentary delegation with two MPs²³, including Vice-Chairman Tamar Chugoshvili who is main lobbyist of the US interests in Georgia. This is a reason why the incumbent USA foreign policy is fluctuated at least at regional levels.

Conclusion

In summary, Trump Administration is seeking to figure out new outlines and drives in the national foreign policy decision making. Recently held NATO Brussels and USA-Russia Helsinki Summits have demonstrated why the policy-making is still plausible game and determines that whilst analyzing the American foreign policy is possible to use one approaches – psychobiography, events data, integrated explanations, leader assessment frameworks, etc.²⁴ The

²⁰ S. Guthrie, *Trump Says "No Right Now" to Georgia's Aspirations*, "Georgia Today", http://georgiatoday.ge/news/11325/Trump-Says-%E2%80%9CNot-Right-Now%E2%80%9D-to-Georgia%E2%80%99s-NATO-Aspirations (25.08.2018).

²¹ US National Security Strategy, December 2017: "The Strategy in A Regional Context", pp.45-52

 ²² S. Zurabiani, US Ambassador completes three-year mission in Georgia – Kelly urges ruling party to restraint, "Rustavi-2 TV", <http://rustavi2.ge/en/news/97419> (22.02.2018).
 ²³ John McCain's funeral will be attended the Georgian delegation, "IMEDI" TV, <https://imedinews.ge/ge/saqartvelo/75532/jon-makkeinis-dakrdzalvas-qartuli-delegatsia-

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²⁴ V. Hudson, Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations, "Foreign Policy Analysis" 2005, https://edisciplinas.usp.br/

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personality, presumable Donald Trump is more affiliated with those challenges faced up with modern American geopolitics and realization of the national interests. However, his recent dialogue with Vladimir Putin in Helsinki and his quite cautious reference on his political activities at global political level indicates that Donald Trump is seeking to keep respect Russia's global hegemony geopolitical mission temptation and more inclined to have new provision of world order based on Multilateralism modality. However, Donald Trump as highest business community representatives is more independent and is inclined to keep his promises and words that make him different of being professional politician position and he would be opting for pursuing more pragmatic foreign policy missions and backed on principle of so-called engagement" contradicting principle of so-called "selective "global engagement"²⁵. The Georgian Case-Study mentioned above reflects, how different is foreign policy approaches toward the strategic partners. Donald Trump's "No" for the Georgian membership in NATO has demonstrated cardinal shifts toward more pragmatic stance in formulating the foreign policy missions and goals. Probable more alike he will introduce new version of Monroe Doctrine relevant to globalized world politics and will be pending to promote concept "cooperative security" with equal participation of other Great Powers. Hence, Trump Administration is still limbo and how it handles it foreign policy challenges is still puzzle.

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