

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Writing Objectives

Interesting, when we try to analyze the most unique phenomenon in the United States after the September 11, 2001 destruction of the World Trade Center building and the Pentagon. That phenomenon, prominently showed by the re-emergence of “one of the most influential and quite controversial group- which called neoconservatives”<sup>1</sup> on the U.S. political stages “*(they are called neoconservatives because many of them are started off anti-Stalinist left or Liberals before moving to the far right).*” This fact is exemplified by the hard-line new doctrine<sup>2</sup> and several principles within the United States foreign policy establishment under George W. Bush administration. Neoconservative’s apparently has strong commitment in foreign policy in order to preserve U.S. national interest. It is inescapable phenomenon, considering of the existence of the America’s status as a superpower echo around the globe after the cropper of the ideological warfare upheaval in the Cold War.

Ideological warfare can be defined as a psychological tactic used by the communist and free worlds blocs in the Cold War. Each side sought to achieve ideological conformity among its own people while trying to convert the large masses of

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<sup>1</sup> Neoconservatives (accessed June 11, 2006); available from <http://www.antiwar.com/orig/ind1.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Any explicit set of beliefs that purport to explain reality and usually prescribes goals for political action. [K.J. Holsti, International Politics, A Framework for Analysis, New Delhi, Prentice Hall of India Private Limited, 1981, p. 373 ]

humankind outside its borders to its basic values and "way of life."<sup>3</sup> It's a war of nerves between the communism-socialism versus democracy-capitalism, to have an effect on the world which propagates tenseness.

United States rose as a predominant state-actor throughout the world over the past century. United States also act as a predominate country overwhelming and there has not been any country- that ever has had such kind of power like it does. America's hegemony is not only in the robust of economically and the advance of science and technology but also the most strong and an enormous military power. Furthermore, it also has the widespread influence whether it's come from prodigious cultural infiltration, intellectuality, values, ideology or any other else.

All of those determinant factors make the world society awarding 'a big regards' for America as-not only the sole superpower but larger than that- as a hyper-power. Hence, American government- no matter right or wrong- realized that those kind of situation provide the best legacy for them to led and dominate the world as a shape of responsibility and all at once- authority.

Responsibility it self, defined as a United States leadership in the entire world which is conduct America into unilateralism foreign policy. Responses to the unilateral U.S. withdrawal were muted, probably it's because terrorism was the defining feature of the international agenda and many allies had just pledged to join a U.S. led coalition to fight it. Paul Wolfowitz cited according to the 'new world order': "*Our first objective is to prevent the reemergence of new rival.*"

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<sup>3</sup> Jack C. Plano and Milton Greenberg, The American Political Dictionary, Florida, Harcourt College Publishers, 2002, p. 587.

Subsequently, the General Assembly (GA) of the United Nations could not prepare a form of prohibition in case of United States invasion to Iraq, which is precisely brainwashed as U.S. countermeasure against terrorism- but in what people say as "*crimes against humanity*" and undoubtedly, that the U.N. is not be able to avoid the war and with the result that United States government with his allies create a limp war, which almost unhindered by the international coalition opponents.

The society doubt that although United Nations is the higher organization or even it has a great authority to organize the international community, it would not be able to restrain the U.S. fight against terrorism engagement. Bush and his advisers believed terrorism was "*a sort of evil that you could manage but you couldn't eliminate*".<sup>4</sup> Richard Perle—often dubbed as "the prince of darkness"—wrote in *The Guardian* (21<sup>st</sup> March 2003) in title: Thank God for the death of the U.N. and he asserted "*Its abject failure gave us only anarchy. The world needs order*".<sup>5</sup> The supporters of the America's unilateralism and the so-called "Bush Doctrine" of pre-emptive strike also point to the past failures of the United Nations.

In a part of it, the neoconservative's elite act as a judge- as the authorities- who have the peculiar right to maintain moral clarity all over the world based on their beliefs and certainly, their interest. In many ways, the revolution within U.S. foreign policy in the reign had already brought it into America's assertive behavior in the global society. The remarkable vigor in Washington that sustains the preservation of the 'American Empire' is the neoconservatives. These groups which consist of intellectual figures were

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<sup>4</sup> Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, Washington D.C., Brookings Institution Press, 2003, p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Perle: Thank God for the Death of the U.N. (accessed June 12, 2006); available from <http://eurolegal.org/neocons/usneocon3.htm>.

temporizing to provoke the misleading circumstances so that they could validate several wars with any plausible reason, by virtue of democracy establishment.

Treating democracy as a divine revelation—and Washington as its prophet and global enforcer—simply does not square with the historical record of this form of government, nor with the geopolitical realities of the modern world. As Winston Churchill said, “*democracy is the worst form of government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.*”<sup>6</sup>

United States President George W. Bush’s second inaugural address, delivered on January, 20, 2005, asserted that “*The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands,*” and that “*it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world.*”<sup>7</sup> The George Walker Bush elite mobilize every nation to support America’s misleading mission for regime change in the Middle East. They misrepresent about weapons of mass destruction, hostile elements abroad, terrorism and about the rogue states likewise mislaid the essence of democracy that proclaimed by the American Republic Founding Fathers a long time ago. The neoconservative’s forget that the world is always fragile; there is neither perpetual glory nor enduring regimes anywhere in this world.

Democracy sacred values deeply exist within America’s foreign policy establishment since the first time, became the pried of Americans and an ideology that accomplish others around the world. It was lamentable, when the small clique in the

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<sup>6</sup> Dimitri K. Simes, America’s Imperial Dilemma, Journal of Foreign Affairs, November/December 2003, p. 97.

<sup>7</sup> The Jakarta Post, Opinion, Francis Fukuyama, Bush administration aims high, but ends up shooting low, Tuesday July 11<sup>th</sup> 2006, p. 7.

White House successfully enforce the biggest war in this early century, vigorously in the name of democracy. Where is the American elite's fidelity toward quintessential values and principles of democracy? It was merely groundless without any excuse.

Neoconservative dominance role and its carte blanche on U.S. foreign policy and administrative recently has touched the writer sense of interest to try to analyze in what basic values that this group hold the reins of its foreign policy, steer the United States into unilateralism and political realism. Afterwards, the writer objectively, aims to explain the neoconservative's manner to preserve United States national interest through the foreign policy also illustrate their excellent capabilities and influences in the United States social and political realms, particularly in Bush administration.

## **B. Writing Purposes**

The research aims to:

❖ Specific :

1. The basic purpose is to explore every detail about neoconservatives. Include its core views and beliefs, missions and their networks.
2. Started from that logic in point one, the writer aims to scrutinize their influence, dominance and ideas to the U.S. foreign policy decision making process in G.W. Bush administration.
3. Apply the theories to understand the neoconservative's behavior in G.W. Bush administration and its impact to the United States foreign policy establishment.
4. Indicate the foreign policy revolution objective toward the preservation of the United States national interest and its dominance all over the world.

❖ General :

1. As an International Relations scholar, the writer found something attractive when analyzing every phenomenon in the constellation of social politics in the world. So, within this thesis, the writer intends to persuade people to analyzing this affair together.
2. The most unforgettable purpose is that, as an academic requisite in order to graduate from University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

### **C. Problem Background**

Diversities are basically logic in our world since prehistoric time. God creatures live in different ways and condition on every continent, in each inch of places. Culture, religion, customs, race, ethnics, and prosperity are all some differences among others. Above all, every human being obviously has the same right with no exception- is to hold self freedoms and self determination and also to feel secure- from war or perhaps genocide (a regular annihilation of a nation or an ethnic cleansing).

The collapsed of the Twin Towers in lower Manhattan, New York at about 10:05 am in the morning of September 11, 2001 as if a turning point in the configuration of global order at the early of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The people of the United States could only speculate on the magnitude of lives lost. At that time, the people could do nothing but wait, watch and brace for more attacks.

September, 12 at 1:04 pm, the president made a televised announcement from Barksdale, declaring that the military had been put on high alert worldwide and vowing

*acts*".<sup>8</sup> That statement will be the key point which changed the hemisphere situation; the world will not be the same as it was. During this early century, people aren't talk about the Cold War or the former World War. We are now having a discussion about particular political actors and their movements which steer United States foreign policy revolution.

The government of the United States declared that Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda were responsible for the September, 11 disaster. It was not only a notion, but an accusation. The four aircraft hijacked by terrorist on suicide missions and in the days following September,11, U.S. military forces were deployed to strategic positions from which they could attack Afghanistan in which Al Qaeda sited. U.S. government describes it as "*a war against terrorism*". Having identified the enemy, the President issued an ultimatum: And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of Al Qaeda who hide in your land.

- i. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country.
  - ii. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities. Give the United States full Access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.
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iii. These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate.<sup>9</sup>

Neoconservative became very outstanding in accordance the global issue of “*war against terrorism*”. Neoconservative’s proposing military forces, unilateral action and an offensive strategy which is used to address international conflicts. This extraordinary group forces the United States to use military functions in order to induce collective action, particularly from its western European allies. Meanwhile, they ignored international consensus and treaties; collide with other nation sovereignty and a distortion toward global values and norms.

Neoconservatives itself refers to *the political movement, ideology, and public policy goals of “new conservatives” in the United States, that are relatively unopposed to “big-government” principles and restriction on social spending, when compared with other American conservatives such as traditional or paleoconservatives*. In the context of United States foreign policy, neoconservative’s has another, narrower definition. Critics define it as *an advocating the use of military force, unilaterally if necessary, to replace autocratic regime with democratic ones*.<sup>10</sup> Military forces as they did to Saddam Hussein, the one whose they wanted to topple.

However, according to Kevin MacDonald (Professor of Psychology, California State University) thesis, *neo-conservatism also presents several problems to any*

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<sup>9</sup> Op Cit, p. 519.

<sup>10</sup> Neoconservatism in the United States (accessed July 7, 2006); available from



*analysis, the main one being that the history of neo-conservatism is relatively convoluted and complex compared to other Jewish intellectual and political movements.<sup>11</sup>*

Michael Lind in the “New Statesmen”, the Neoconservatives were: *“products of the largely Jewish-American Trotskyist movement of the 1930s and 1940s, which morphed into anti-communist liberalism between the 1950s and 1970s, and finally into a kind of militaristic and imperial right.”* James Zogby, the President of the Arab American Institute, defines neo-conservatism thus: *“Neo-conservatism is the secular political philosophy that defined the reaction of a group of former liberals to what they felt was the Democratic party’s policy of appeasement toward the Soviet Union—most especially the USSR’s treatment of its Jewish population and its relations with the Arab world. They were a small but influential group of writers, commentators and government officials.”<sup>12</sup>*

Reinforcement of neoconservative’s position in all the branches and bureaucracies of the government is the initial stride toward policy making positions in the defense and foreign policy establishment. Deeply concerning on their passion to maintain American Empire, it has been a long journey for this group to reach those position among complexities and multiplicity of its members.

What is exactly neo-conservatism; the historical roots, the adherents and prominent actors, their core views and beliefs, and their quintessential missions and purposes toward the America’s foreign policy, are going to explain in the next chapter. The writer will assert neoconservative’s prominent mission to preserve United States national interest as the logic consequences of the U.S. foreign policy revolution.

<sup>11</sup> Understanding Jewish Influence III: Neoconservatism as a Jewish Movement, Kevin MacDonald (accessed July 3, 2006); available from <http://theoccidentalquarterly.com/vol4no2/km-understandIII.html>.

<sup>12</sup> Introduction (accessed July 3, 2006); available from <http://eurolegal.org/neoconservatives.shtml>.

Republican Party became the “home” for neoconservative’s teamwork, which is supported by entrepreneurs and professionals. Other supporters are the intellectual schools and also the Protestant community. In the political realm, Republican support military superiority.<sup>13</sup> Most of Republican is closely related to several academic institutions, think tanks and corporation.

Think tanks hold important roles as the party partners. Initially, they were neutral groups while focuses on scientific studies, separate from political realm. But, at the end of 1970s its images as neutral groups began shaky. Political party necessity for advices and scientific supports demand think tanks to determine their position and turn into partisan. Several conservative’s groups of think tanks are the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), the Cato Institute (moderate) and the Heritage Foundation (aggressive).<sup>14</sup>

The writer try to achieve logic explanations about current United States foreign policy associated with neoconservatives as the new elites group. Foreign policy define as *a goals that a nations officials seek to attain abroad, the values that give rise to those objectives and the means or instruments used to pursue them.*<sup>15</sup> United States foreign policy is collaboration between idealism and realism philosophy, it is content several moral viewpoints and ethics, based on thought that the United States will bring benevolent hegemony throughout the world. And, on the other side, its self interest also dominates and fully influenced the U.S. foreign policy and in it each making process, observes two sides, morality and reality.

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<sup>13</sup> Dr. Bambang Cipto, *Politik dan Pemerintahan Amerika*, Yogyakarta, Lingkar, 2003, p.59-60.

<sup>14</sup> *Op Cit*, p. 92-93.

<sup>15</sup> Charles W. Kegley and Eugene R. Wittkopf, *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed, New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1996, p. 620.

Jimmy Carter, Woodrow Wilson, and John Foster Dulles are the most noted figure that represents moral principles. On the contrary the former minister of foreign affairs, Henry Kissinger, Hans J. Morgenthau and George Kennan symbolize the power of realists. Realists are those who argue that the distribution of power in the international system are more than anything else, influences how its nation-members act. Realists stress of the external sources category in foreign policy making)<sup>16</sup>

Lively debate on both outstanding idealism (a body of thought that believes fundamental reforms of the system of international relation are possible)<sup>17</sup> and realism with its each argument has been following the statesmen contradiction for many years. It is ingrained in the official preliminary performances of the United States in international forum. Nevertheless, idealists and realists divide has been most visible and apparent in the conduct of American foreign policy and affair. Indeed, America's values and principles emphasizing in the support of Human Rights and Democracy. But, frankly none of those both ideas have completely successful in struggling oppose genocide that even still occurs, apparently in the Middle East.

In the writer opinion, moreover, there is no eminent and majority of one to the others, because it's not about the measurement of better or worst, but how to give shape of a peaceful world, and it's not an obligation of major power only but every nations and on the top of human possible could form.

Conflict in state of nature is avoidable between all mankind, within undesirable wish in every human soul and instinct to exist. However, some people, in some manner, in some circumstances and happenstances likely to get into a conflict over one thing or

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<sup>16</sup> Op Cit, p. 626.

<sup>17</sup> Op Cit, p. 621.

another. Good force mingles with self interest and individual objectives. I'm not a doubting Thomas that could not believe in human manifest of goodness among disparities, but goodness exist when evil is occurs. How darkness of a shadow, it would not any shadow without light. That's a law of nature.

Unavoidably conflict repeatedly often conceives anarchism, primarily, as a solution. September 11, 2001 lamentable debacle became a starting point and established as an underpinning of wage war against terrorism, even forcible and the world will be morass. The United States government adopts Hobbes philosophy as logic consequences of their proclamation of global war against all terrorist groups and every government that supports them.

America as the cradle of Democracy got the privilege to disperse its core values throughout the world. United Nations headquarters which located in New York confirming that America is the leaders over any nations. United States as a hyper-power absolutely not a 'wrongdoing', but it turns false if that status misused. Apparently, it is conceive an 'allowance' for America to obtain whatever they want, in the name of Democracy and Humanitarianism. At the same time, it's also permitted United States to reject international consensus and treaties and disobedience ampersand disrespect of humankind opinions.

Still based on the writer dispassionately, I have an opinion that United States government under Bush and neoconservative's behavior can be detrimental and cause chaos circumstances, because of its belligerent foreign policy. Afghanistan was wasteland and geo-political nothing, though at least it's gave America a victory in the battle. Iraq was the prize and the key to the Middle East- if America could conquer

Saddam Hussein- because of his strategic positions in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, which surely represents a more potent challenge to the United States on its interest and principles.

To be alive to the United States policy in Bush administration brought us to delve what elements is the most essential for America's superpower. It is transcendental; within the elite strong ideology constitute some motives of the wealthy and authority preservation. However, neoconservative's prove to us that a nation liability is to protect its existence when it is adjacent with other nation interest. Notwithstanding, the world has its own rule and the authorities: peaceful coexistence and the United Nations.

The writer do not try to make a prophecy or any speculation, but according to the United States foreign policy revolution, it could alter the world situation and indicate signs that bizarre story in this world does not end there. Uncover the possibility that Iran and North Korea will become the next target of war against terrorism ampersand Democracy dispersion unstable mission and bellicose ambition of neoconservatives.

The writer argumentation in this chapter became only preliminary point on this whole thesis. And to avoid premature analysis, the writer has already collected every data whether its came from internet, books, journals or others. The writer explanations in this chapter meant to give an illustration about what we're going to talk about. And for further explanations will be discuss in the next chapter.

#### **D. Research Question**

By giving illustrations above, the main problem of analysis: what is the impact of

## **E. Theoretical Framework**

Neoconservatives thriving role on U.S foreign policy is the most attractive phenomenon that became conspicuous after the September 11, 2001 catastrophe. This right wing group show eminent feature on every action. Neoconservatives became very outstanding related to their policy on the devastating war toward Afghanistan and Iraq. Most of the politicians and analysts argue that their thoughtlessness policy was based on false pretense and premature notion, terrorism and weapons of mass destruction (WMD). However, the writer try to implement the most appropriate theory in accordance to give explanations through analysis, to the nearest theory that could explain neoconservative's behavior on U.S foreign policy making. The writer will apply two theories and a concept of power, as follows:

### **1. The Concept of Power**

Concept of Power is the quintessential one in the political study of International Relation. Power is the main element in the political behavior. Power defines as "*the ability in politics to control or change the behavior of human beings in a way favored by the power wielder.*" Some political analysts link influence and force with power, whereas others regard them as distinct techniques employed in the pursuit of objectives. Power can be viewed as a means, an end, or both and as actual or potential. In international affairs, actions related to the national interest are almost always deeply involved in power politics. Thus, power politics is universally utilized in the foreign policy actions undertaken by states. The exercise of political power typically involves a

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or controlled by it.<sup>18</sup> Neoconservative is strongly supported by financial foundation, some mega corporation, academic institution and several think tanks with tremendous influence in the United States government foreign policy decision making. Basically, foreign policy decision making is based on any rational process so that this concept tightly related with the Rational Actors theory which I will use in this research.

Most decision reflects the power and influence of those individuals and groups most directly affected. Some scholars and ideologues have regarded political and military power as subservient to the dictates of an economic class or elite. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Niccolo Machiavelli, often regarded as the first political scientist because of his practical approach to politics, advised his prince to win and keep power by whatever means were needed and not to be limited by moral and ethical considerations.<sup>19</sup>

Based on this concept of power, neoconservative elite ability to coerce certain policies in the U.S. government could be defined as the neoconservative influence in all the branches and bureaucracies. The current United States foreign policy tendencies closely related with the neoconservative group principles and ideas which embodied in the "Statement of Principles, 3 June 1997" also in the "Bush Doctrine". The shift in the American foreign policy from idealistic-multilateralism to realistic-unilateralism implicitly cause by the neoconservative elite roles in the foreign policy decision making process. Neoconservative power is essentially hold by their several figureheads and by their relation with institutions, mass media and big companies. United States realist-unilateralism foreign policy could be defined as the neoconservative elite principles embodiment and their vision of international affairs.

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Concept of power also has a close relation with realist tradition in general. Political realism theory formulate on the states as the main actor in the international system. States are motivated and ought to be motivated, by their own interests and the search for 'power', realist option also implicitly stimulates unilateralism in the foreign policy direction. Power becomes the keyword in the explanation of political behavior. Neoconservative elite use their power to influence the United States policy decision making process to gain more power and to secure their advantaged position and interest. Neoconservative existence in the administration depends on their ability to influence the policy direction and their ability depends on academic institutions, think tanks, mass media, and corporations support besides also depend on its figurehead's ability to play the political game.

Offensive realist (one of many realists variant) paradigm also holds that anarchy provides strong incentives for expansion. All states strive to maximize their relative power because only the strongest states can guarantee their survival. This paradigm gives any significant contribution to neoconservative group for how they should act in the international affairs.

## **2. The New Elite Theory**

The writer will use the new elite theory which contributes by several noted political thought such as Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto, and Robert Michels. Their ideas in general contrast to classical democratic theory likewise to other political philosopher like Aristotle and Karl Marx.

Majority rule, they insisted, are impossible. Every society is divided into those who rule and those who are ruled; and the rulers constitute only a small minority of any



society. It is the few under any political system, who exercise effective control. Analysts of elites, who generally focus on the distribution of power rather than on the allocation of values, or on property and other wealth forms, differ somewhat over the degree of participation in government or, more generally, the political process that is necessary for a member of what Mosca characterizes as "the ruling class." A society's elite is usually thought to be a stable entity, self-sustaining and constant over time. Yet the actual group that is in office can change markedly and very quickly. A "new elite paradigm," building on the work of Mosca and other classical theorists emerged in the 1980s and 1990s among comparative political sociologists. It drew attention to the occurrence, and the importance effects, of divisions that may arise within the elite of a society.<sup>20</sup>

In this thesis the writer identified the neoconservative group as the elite who hold the privilege to control over the United States foreign policy direction and influence the decision making process for preserving their advantaged positions. Realist-unilateralism foreign policy is more beneficial for them rather than idealistic-multilateralism. These preferences were made based on their principles and vision of international affairs especially which related to the Middle East geopolitics circumstances. Neoconservative principles that America should lead the world with assertive and realistic action embodied in its foreign policy which is provoke misleading happenstances in the international affairs. As the privileged elite, this group takes any measures although it's contradicted with the dictates of the masses conscience because basically, the government policy is a reflection of the elite opinions and ambitions, not just the opposite. The government of any state will produce any policies which reflect its elite

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<sup>20</sup> Alexander DeConde and Richard Dean Burns, *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 2002, p. 18

interest and values. A kind of assertive current United States foreign policy is could only possibly create when the government is conduct by any kind of elite like neoconservative. According to the realism definition that the national interest disguised moral concerns, it's only the elite could have an access to the national interest. They have privilege to determine the states policy direction whit or out the people supports.

Elite political theoretician argue that the government policy reflect opinions, wishes, and core values that adhered by the elite who's govern. The masses are apathetic, while the small group of elite holds the reins of state policy. Elite played the predominant role in the formulation and enactment of foreign policy. Elite under George W. Bush administration urged a foreign policy that both protected the nation's self interests and abetted democratic prospects abroad.

War on terrorism is a public policy goal that interpreted elite neoconservative's ambition beyond humankind wishes of a secure world. The masses are unable to interference elite policy decision making process. Policy prudence flows from elite through the masses. Furthermore, they have generally come from predominantly White, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant (WASP) backgrounds; a disproportionate number have been trained in law; and many have had extensive experience in big business. "In essence, the existence of these governing elite makes popular sovereignty fictional- a myth that served to legitimate the rule not of the people, but of small and privileged elite."<sup>21</sup>

Elite political theory contains several features. First, the citizen divides in to two groups. The small one is a school with no delimitation access to authority and power

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<sup>21</sup> Charles W. Kegley and Eugene R. Wittkopf, *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1996, p. 296.

(elite). Large one, those who does not has any authority and power (masses). Second, the small group of elite has characteristics and privilege rather than the masses. Third, transformation from lower to upper class is possible with such of several terms. And the main one is that the non-elite (masses) should capable to respect basic consensus of elite. Fourth, the government policy is not a reflection of masses opinions. The last one, elite are much more being able to predispose the masses rather than just the opposite.<sup>22</sup>

In the foreign policy decision making process, elite hold a great authority to determine the policy direction is to take multilateral or unilateral one is to launch a war or to perform a peace-treaty. Preferences to act like a warlike-school or prefer to be a peace-maker. The choices are already given and the answer is on their hand. Apparently, in Iraq and Afghanistan cases, American masses could only perform any objection on the government policy through demonstrations, movements and campaigns. The masses have no power to change the elite policy but construct any discourse as a form of the society rejection on war and human rights abuses.

### **3. The Rational Actors Theory**

Explanations about neoconservatives in the United States as a policy makers in the foreign policy decisions making process has already simply illustrate in the previous, although it has not yet the whole story. Nevertheless, it can be imagined that neoconservatives is a rational actors and act based on advantages consideration and concerning on maximum results that could reach. Nowadays, this most influential group holds every decisions making process. It would not difficult for them, indeed. Bush government comprising members of neoconservatives in large amount, and most of them

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<sup>22</sup> Mohtar Mas'oed, *Studi Hubungan Internasional, Tingkat Analisis dan Teorisasi*, Yogyakarta, Pusat Antar Universitas-Studi Sosial Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1989, p. 56-57.

are the prominent actors. They are educated people with intellect, acuity, polemical skills and a strong political commitment. In that strategic positions, they could always take any kind of decisions although it's a controversial and hard one, instance the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan. Information in adequate is needed in decisions making process. Rational actors are professedly linked to an 'informational sources' from which they could investigate all of the submitted policy alternatives choices and all at once in order to reach their goals. The rational actor's model treats the nation-state as a unitary-actor, a single, homogenous entity, and presumes that all policymakers go through the same rational thought processes to make value maximizing choices defining national interests and options.<sup>23</sup> And for further explanations the writer will mentioned a sequence of decision-making activities that involve the following intellectual steps:

1. Problem recognition and definition. The necessity for choice begins when policymakers perceive an external problem with which they must deal and attempt to define objectively its distinguishing characteristics. Objectively requires full information about the actions, motivations, and capabilities of other actors as well as the state of the international environment and trends within it. The search for information must be exhaustive, and all the facts relevant to the problem must be gathered.
2. Goal selection. Next, those responsible for making foreign policy choices must determine what they want to accomplish. This disarmingly simple requirement is often difficult. It requires the identification and ranking of all

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<sup>23</sup> Charles W. Kegley & Eugene R. Wittkopf, *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1996, p. 466.

- values (such as security, democracy, freedom, and economic well-being) in a hierarchy from most- to least-preferred.
3. Identification of alternatives. Rationality also requires the compilation of an exhaustive list of all available policy options and an estimation of the costs associated with each alternative course of action as it relates to the goals and values decision makers hope to realize.
  4. Choice. Finally, rationalist requires selecting from competing options the single alternative with the best chance of achieving the desired goal(s). For this purpose, policymakers must conduct a rigorous means-end, cost-benefit analysis, one guided by an accurate prediction of the probable success of each option.<sup>24</sup>

Neoconservative's decision for invade Iraq and Afghanistan lies on any rational choices is to gain more oil resources and to hold the reins of the Middle East geopolitical strategy. Neoconservative's as an Imperial right political group minutely construct their plan of economically, politically, and culturally hegemony of the world which start from the Middle East region. As a rational actor, their actions begin with accurate calculation and prediction of the results. This theory could be implemented for the third hypothesis particularly. President Bush emphasizing his government policy in security particularly the geopolitical circumstances in the Middle East and financial or economic well-being especially oil. Oil and security become the rational choices based on benefit calculation and any advantages consideration to maximize results.

Unilateralism foreign policy choice also reflects the neoconservative as a rational actor which performs the rational foreign policy decision making process. Unilateralism

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<sup>24</sup> Op Cit, p. 467.

foreign policy is much more beneficial to enforce rather than multilateralism option for the United States national security in order to treat its potential external threats and for America's hegemony existence with any other possibility to cope with the re-emergence of an old rivals (communist states) and to prevent the emergence of a new rivals (Islamic world). As Wolfowitz statement according to the 'new world order': "*Our first objective is to prevent the re-emergence of new rival.*"<sup>25</sup>

Moreover, offensive realists pursue expansionist policies when and where benefits of doing so outweigh the costs. These principles reflect the neoconservative rational choices in policy decision making process. In order to cope with any external threats, neoconservative chooses to improve their relative power positions through arms build-ups, unilateral diplomacy, mercantile foreign economic policies and opportunistic expansion. In fact all of the realist's tradition reflects any rational choices.

#### **F. Hypothesis**

The writer will try to present several key answers as a hypothesis in order to explain the neoconservative's influence toward the United States foreign policy and closely implementing the sequence of theoretical framework above. Even though the hypothesis is one of a unity, the writer will exclusively divide it into three phrases, as follows:

1. Neoconservative influences the United States foreign policy to realism.
2. Neoconservative strongly forces the United States to implement unilateralism foreign policy.

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<sup>25</sup> Log Cit p. 2.

3. Foreign oil policy as the hidden motive of the United States Foreign Policy direction.

### **G. Range of Research**

The main period of research in this thesis is at G.W. Bush administrations, the first and the second term. But in the first, the writer will give limitation, that is in the late of 2001, precisely after the September, 11. Thus, it will start circa 2001 up to 2005.

The limitation needed to preserve the research focuses on track, and also to avoid an involved explanation. Although the writer start the research from 2001, but in chapter II, particularly the writer need to scrutinize the neoconservative's biography briefly which is started circa 1970s, in order to accomplish the whole explanation about neoconservative's. Whereas, neoconservative's is a "today's phenomenon", that's the reason why the discussion should reach the 2005 term.

### **H. Method of Research**

The writer uses a qualitative method of research, a common and simply one. Thus, to take account of the method, all of the matter will collect from secondary sources such as library research, internet media, and couple of journals, several books, newspapers, and some periodicals.

### **I. System of Writing**

**Title: "The Impact of Neoconservative Power on the United States Foreign Policy"**

## Chapter of I. Introduction

- A. Writing Objectives
- B. Writing Purposes
- C. Problem Background
- D. Research Question
- E. Theoretical Framework
- F. Hypothesis
- G. Range of Research
- H. Method of Research
- I. System of Writing

## Chapter of II. Biography of Neo-conservative

- A. Neoconservative Basic Tenets
- B. Historical Roots of Neo-conservative
  - B.1. Stories from 1950s Until 1980s
  - B.2. The Risen of Conservatism in Reagan Era
- C. Thriving Neo-conservative
  - C.1. Neoconservative's in Post Reagan Era (1988 - 2000)
  - C.2. Neoconservative's under George Walker Bush

## Chapter of III. Neoconservative Elite Influence and Its Networks

- A. The Perspicacious Elite of Neoconservative
- B. Neoconservative Networks
  - B.1. Academic Institutions and Think Tanks
  - B.2. Media Sources



**B.3. Financial Foundations**

**Chapter of IV. Rationalization on United States Foreign Policy**

**A. The Victory of Offensive Realism Paradigm**

**B. United States Unilateralism**

**C. Foreign Oil Policy**

**Chapter of V. Conclusion**