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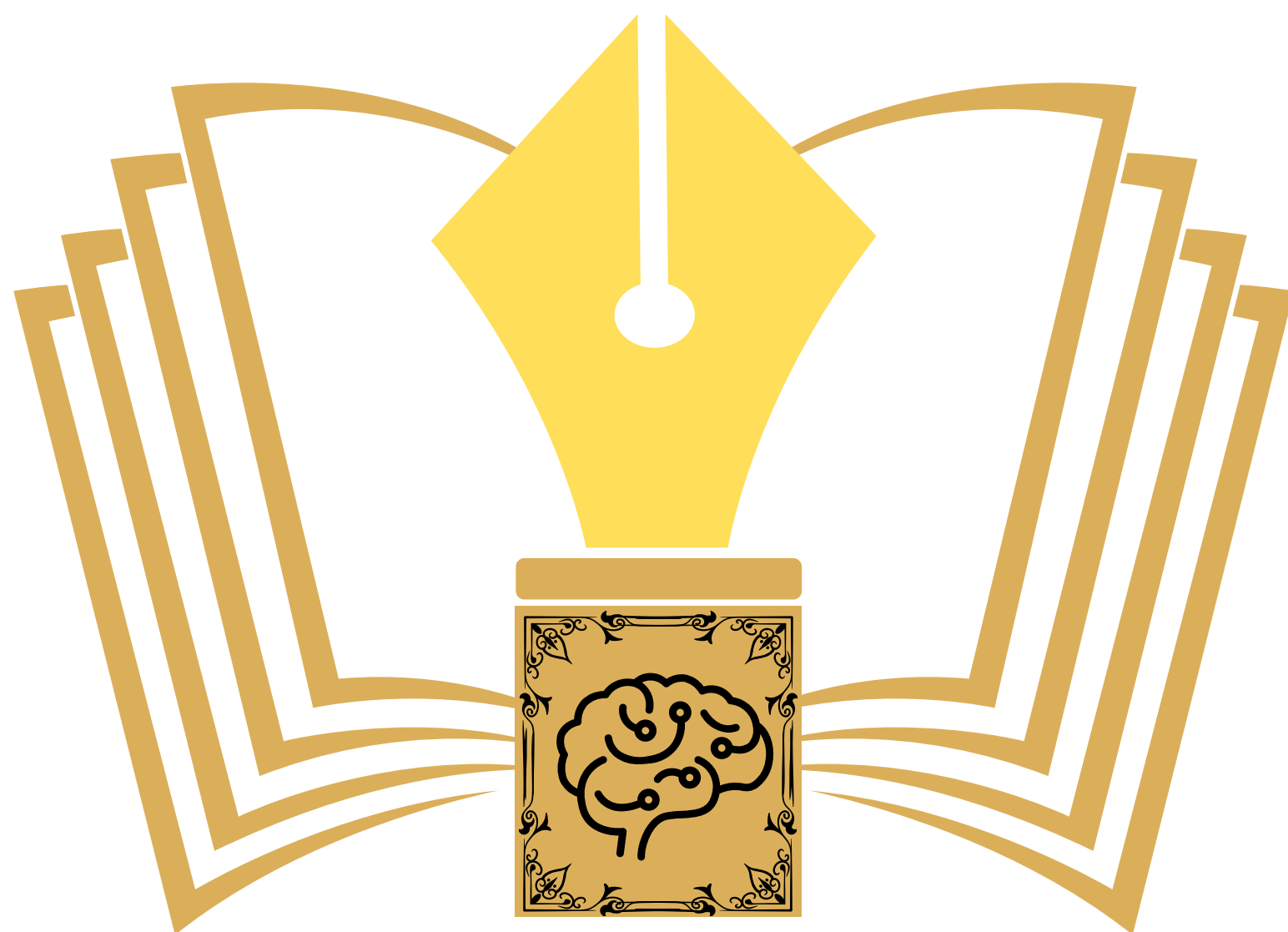
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- مسئولية الباحث:

- الالتزام بمبادئ ومعايير أخلاقيات البحث والنشر.
- تقديم أبحاث أصلية خالصة، مع مراعاة الاقتباس والتوثيق
- توفير قائمة بالمراجع في نهاية البحث التي تمّ الرُّجوع إليها أثناء كتابة البحث.
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- إذا اجتمع عدة باحثين في بحث واحد يجب ذكر إسهام الآخرين في البحث بشكل صحيح وترتيب أسماء الباحثين حسب ما جاء بالبحث على أن تكون الأسماء مذكورة بالتسلسل حسب الإسهام العلمي لكل منهم في البحث.
- تقديم الشكر والتّقدير للذين أسهموا في البحث ولم يتم ذكر أسماؤهم ضمن الباحثين.
- تجنب السلوك غير الأخلاقي بتقديم البحث نفسه إلى أكثر من مجلة واحدة في الوقت نفسه وإذا قرر الباحث تقديم البحث إلى مجلة أخرى؛ فيجب عليه سحبه من المجلة.
- الابتعاد عن جميع أنواع السلوك غير الأخلاقي مثل الانتحال والافتعال والتزوير.
- إذا اكتشف الباحث خطأ فادحًا في بحثه المنشور يجب عليه إبلاغ هيئة التحرير بالمجلة بحذف الخطأ أو تصويبه.
- في حال عدم موافقة الباحث على الأخذ بالتعديلات المقترحة من قبل تحكيم المجلة؛ يجب عليه تقديم تبريرٍ منطقيٍّ بذلك، وفي حالة عدم تقديم أسباب مقنعة تحتفظ المجلة بالحق في رفض النشر.

- مسئولية المحكم:
تَعُدُّ عمليّة تحكيم البحث العلميّ مرحلةً رئيسةً من مراحل النّشر العلميّ، ومن سياسة وحدة النشر العلمي؛
لذا يجب على المحكم:

- الالتزام كليًّا بمعايير لجنة أخلاقيات النشر العالمية للمحكمين عند تحكيم البحوث.
- إعلام مدير التحرير حال عدم استعداده لتحكيم البحث المقدم وينسحب من عملية التحكيم.
- النّأيّ بنفسه عن المصالح الشّخصيّة كأن يستخدم معلومات حصل عليها من البحث الذي تم تحكيمه لمصلحته الشخصية.
- ألا يقبل المحكّم بتحكيم البحوث التي يكون فيها تضارب مصالح نتيجة لعلاقات تنافسية أو غيرها مع المؤلف.
- التأكّد من خُلوّ الأبحاث منَ الانتحال أو السّرقات الأدبيّة، كما يجب على المحكّم أن يُعلم رئيس التحرير بأي تشابه بين البحث الذي تم تحكيمه وأي أعمال أخرى منشورة يعرفها.
- الالتزام بمعايير السريّة المتعلقة بعملية التحكيم فيجب عليه معاملة الأبحاث التي تسلمها للتحكيم كوثائق سرية. ويجب عليه عدم الكشف عنها أو مناقشتها مع الآخرين لحين نشرها، باستثناء ما يأذن به رئيس التحرير.
- تحرّي الموضوعيّة في الأحكام والنّتائج الصّادرة عن عمليّة التّحكيم.
- التعبير عن رأيه بنزاهة ووضوح مع ذكر الحجج الداعمة.
- الالتزام بالوقت المخصّص لعمليّة التّحكيم.

- مسئولية مدير التّحرير:

- يتولّى مدير تحرير المجلة بالتعاون مع هيئة التحرير مسئولية اختيار المحكّمين المناسبين وَفْقا لموضوع البحث واختصاص المحكّم بسرّية تامة.
- يتحمل مدير التحرير مسؤولية التصرف النهائي في جميع عمليات التقديم للنشر
- يستند قرار النشر أو عدم النشر على تقارير المحكّمين وملاحظاتهم والقيمة العلمية للبحث وأصالته وصلته بمجال تخصص المجلة. ويجب على المحررين:
- التأكد من الحفاظ على سرّية عمليّة التّحكيم والمعلومات الواردة من المحكّمين.
- التأكد من أن الأبحاث المقدمة للتحكيم تتفق مع أخلاقيات النشر العلمي ومبادئه.
- عدم التمييز ضد المؤلفين على أساس الجنس، الأصل، الاعتقاد الديني، المواطنة أو الانتماء السياسي للمؤلف.
- معالجة شكاوى المؤلفين والاحتفاظ بأية مستندات ذات صلة بالشكاوى.
- التأكد من مراجعة الأبحاث بطريقة سرية.

كلمة العدد

هذه المرة نضع أمامكم عددا جديدا ومميزا، يحمل الرقم الثاني، يصدر عن مجلتنا مجلة (أكسفورد إنترناشونال) للبحوث؛ وهو يُعبر عن هويتنا الثقافية والعلمية، التي تخدم طريق العلم ونشر الثقافة ومواكبة التكنولوجيا بهدف خدمة الباحثين وطلبة الدراسات العليا لمرحلتي الماجستير والدكتوراه.

وهنا لا يفوتني أن أتقدم بوافر الشكر ومزيد التقدير لكل هيئة مجلتنا الموقرة على ما بذلوه وما يبذلونه من جهد عظيم؛ وكذلك تحية لكل باحث يحرص على نشر بحثه في مجلتنا ...

رئيس التحرير
د/ أحمد حسن سليمان

Donald Trump and the Use of Machiavelli's Principle in Foreign
Policy: An Analysis of Power Strategies and Pragmatism

Mayda Anwar Abdulhai
international and diplomatic relations

Introduction:

The foreign policy of great powers has always been a fertile field for analyzing the strategies pursued by leaders in managing international relations, especially when these policies are characterized by sharp pragmatism and a realist approach based on power and interest.

Donald Trump's political approach, often described as practical and pragmatic, has long been likened to various historical and philosophical frameworks. However, a deeper analysis reveals that his ideology closely aligns with the principles of Niccolò Machiavelli, the 16th-century Italian philosopher. Known for his pioneering works "The Prince" and "Lectures on Levi". Machiavelli's political philosophy remains infamous for its unjustified embrace of power as an end in itself, disregarding moral considerations. By focusing exclusively on gaining and maintaining power, Machiavelli provides a perspective through which to understand Trump's "America First" doctrine and political tactics.

This research aims to analyze Donald Trump's foreign policy from a Machiavellian perspective, by understanding and analyzing how he employs principles such as force, political cunning, and manipulation of opponents to achieve U.S. goals.
The study seeks to provide insight into the extent to which Machiavellian thought is deeply ingrained in Trump's foreign policy, and whether this approach has led to diplomatic successes or isolated the United States from its traditional partners.

The importance of this research stems from the fact that it sheds light on one of the most prominent transformations in American foreign policy in the modern era, and places it within a philosophical framework through which the dynamics of power and influence pursued by Trump during his term in office (2017-2021) can be understood. This includes the possibility of predicting the broad outlines that will govern his foreign policy during his current presidential term.

Search divisions:

The research will be divided into three sections, each of which will include two requirements, as follows:

Chapter One: Machiavelli's Theoretical Foundations and Their Impact on Trump's Policy

- **The first requirement:** The concept of Machiavellian thought and its basic principles

- **The second requirement:** Pragmatism and political realism as the basis of Trump's policy

Chapter Two: Practical Applications of Machiavellian Thought in Trump's Foreign Policy

- **The first requirement:** dealing with opponents according to the principle of threat and negotiation

- **The second demand:** withdrawing from the Iranian nuclear agreement and the maximum pressure strategy.

Section Three: Predicting Donald Trump's Foreign Policy During His Current Presidential Term

- **The first requirement:** relations with major powers

- **The second requirement:** Policy towards the Middle East.

Chapter One

Machiavelli's Theoretical Foundations and Their Impact on Trump's Policy

Machiavelli's The Prince is a guide for rulers on how to attain and retain power, emphasizing political realism rather than idealism. Machiavelli's main argument is that the effective exercise of power requires pragmatism, adaptability, and often ruthlessness. While traditional political and philosophical theories of the time were based on moral or religious frameworks, Machiavelli deliberately excluded moral considerations from the political decision-making process. In his famous statement, he declared that rulers must be prepared to act immorally if it serves the interests of the state, arguing that "the end justifies the means".

First requirement:

The concept of Machiavellian thought and its basic principles:

Niccolo Machiavelli (870-934 AH/1469-1527 AD) is considered one of the most famous political thinkers known to modern times. His fame is due primarily to his adoption of a different approach than that which was prevalent in political writings in the Middle Ages and earlier. His fundamental point of difference is that he was the first European thinker to raise, in an unambiguous and clear manner, the issue of the separation between politics and morality. Machiavelli devoted most of his writings to producing a new concept of politics as a positive science separate from religion and morality. He was simply inclined to rid politics of any external consideration. and to make it an independent science in its own right. Therefore, Machiavelli is considered the father of modern political thought, having had an incredibly profound influence on modern Western civilization. Many political thinkers believe that Machiavelli played an important role in the development of thought, as he established a new approach to politics, with ideas that heralded attempts to transcend religious thought. This turning point in transcending religious authority that was prevalent in European political thought in the Middle Ages was followed by other more serious transformations by Voltaire, Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and other liberal Enlightenment thinkers.

This is why Machiavelli is considered an important turning point in the history of political thought. Below we review the basic principles of his thought:

- The basic principles of Machiavelli's thought:

The end justifies the means: This principle is considered one of Machiavelli's most prominent ideas. He believes that the ruler must strive to achieve his goals and maintain his power by any means necessary, even if these means are immoral.

- Separating politics from morality: Machiavelli called for dealing with politics as a science independent of morality and religion. Stressing the need to make decisions based on reality and interest, rather than morality.

- Using religion as a political tool: Machiavelli believed that religion could be an effective means of uniting the people and strengthening the ruler's authority, and not an end in itself.

The importance of history and practical experience: Machiavelli emphasized the necessity for rulers to benefit from the lessons of history and past experiences in making political decisions, believing that events recur and that learning from the past helps in understanding the present and planning for the future.

Second requirement:

Pragmatism and political realism as the basis of Trump's policy

Machiavellianism, pragmatism, and political realism are overlapping concepts in the field of political thought, but each has unique characteristics and principles:

Machiavellianism:

Definition: Derived from the ideas of Niccolò Machiavelli, particularly in his book The Prince, it focuses on using any means necessary to achieve political goals, regardless of moral considerations.

- The basic principle: "The end justifies the means," meaning that achieving the goal justifies the use of any means, even if unethical.

- Traits: Emphasis on force, deception, and cunning as tools for maintaining and expanding power.

Pragmatism:

- Definition: A philosophy that focuses on results and process, where the validity of an idea or policy is linked to its practical success.

- The basic principle: "Knowledge is measured by its practical results," meaning that ideas are evaluated based on their effectiveness in practical application.

- Traits: Flexibility, focus on practical solutions, and avoiding adherence to theoretical principles if they hinder achieving the desired results.

Political realism:

- **Definition: A theory of international relations that focuses on the concept of power and national interest as decisive factors in international politics.**

- **The basic principle: "Politics is about power and interest," where states are seen as actors pursuing their national interests in an anarchic international system.**

- **Features: Emphasis on the importance of military and economic power, recognition of the selfish nature of states, and expectation of conflict as a natural part of international relations.**

- **Donald Trump's policies can be considered a blend of political realism, pragmatism, and Machiavellianism, as reflected in the practices and approaches he has adopted during his presidency. Here's an explanation of how each of these philosophies is embodied in his policies:**

Political realism:

- **Focus on national interests: Trump has adopted the slogan "America First," reflecting his focus on promoting American national interests in his domestic and foreign policies.**

- **Dealing with major powers: Trump has pursued pragmatic policies toward countries like Russia and China, seeking to achieve balances that serve American interests without focusing on ideologies.**

Pragmatism:

- **Focus on practical results: Trump's policies focused on achieving tangible results, such as improving the economy and reducing unemployment rates, regardless of the means used.**

- **Flexibility in Negotiation: Trump has demonstrated a willingness to negotiate with various parties, even traditional adversaries, if it benefits the United States.**

Machiavellianism:

- **Using unconventional means: Trump has not hesitated to use controversial means, such as imposing severe economic sanctions or withdrawing from international agreements, to achieve his political goals.**

- **Ignoring ethical considerations: At times, Trump's policies have seemed to ignore traditional ethical standards, focusing on achieving goals by any means possible.**

- **Ignoring ethical considerations: At times, Trump's policies have seemed to ignore traditional ethical standards, focusing on achieving goals by any means possible**

- **This combination of the three philosophies reflects a political approach focused on achieving American national interests in practical and effective ways, with a willingness to use unconventional means and ignore some traditional moral considerations when necessary.**

Chapter Two

Practical Applications of Machiavellian Thought in Trump's Foreign Policy

Donald Trump's application of principles is evident in his domestic and foreign policies. By prioritizing results over morality, Trump echoes Niccolò Machiavelli's advice to rulers: Focus on achieving practical results and consolidating power, even if it means undermining traditional norms, institutions, or values.

Trump's foreign policy decisions embody Machiavelli's argument that a leader's primary obligation is to secure the state's power and interests, regardless of moral considerations or international criticism.

First requirement:

dealing with opponents according to the principle of threat and negotiation

Machiavelli wrote in his book "The Prince" that alliances should only remain as long as they serve the interests of the ruler. Trump's approach to long-standing alliances, such as NATO, reflects This principle. His request for member states to increase their financial contributions to the organization was not formulated as a moral obligation to collective security, but rather as a contractual arrangement: The United States will not fulfill its obligations unless others pay what it considers their fair share.

Likewise, Trump's withdrawal from the Paris climate agreement in 2017 confirmed his prioritization of national economic interests over his global environmental responsibilities.

While many world leaders viewed the agreement as a moral imperative to combat climate change, Trump portrayed it as a deal that harmed the American economy. His decision reflected Machiavelli's advice that rulers should be prepared to sacrifice moral considerations when they conflict with the interests of the state. Trump's negotiations with foreign leaders, especially authoritarian figures such as North Korea's Kim Jong Un and Russia's Vladimir Putin, reveal a similar willingness to break with traditional diplomatic norms. For example, his summit with Kim focused on showcasing negotiations at the expense of tangible results, allowing Trump to project power and control without securing substantive commitments to denuclearization. By engaging with authoritarian leaders and ignoring human rights concerns, Trump has demonstrated Machiavellian pragmatism: He prioritized short-term geopolitical gains and the appearance of strength over moral consistency. This approach earned him criticism from his traditional allies, but it strengthened his reputation among his supporters as a leader who puts "America First".

Machiavelli believed that a ruler must control public opinion and maintain his strong grip on power through deliberate actions. Trump's domestic policies and political strategies reflect these principles, often undermining traditional democratic norms to achieve his goals.

The second demand:

withdrawing from the Iranian nuclear agreement and the maximum pressure strategy.

On May 8, 2018, US President Donald Trump announced the United States' withdrawal from the Iran nuclear agreement and the reimposition of economic sanctions on Iran. The agreement lifted some sanctions on Tehran in exchange for its commitment not to possess nuclear weapons. After the United States announced 12 more stringent conditions for reaching a new agreement, it reimposed them in August of the same year and then in November, Harsh economic sanctions, particularly on the oil and financial sectors, have forced major international companies to end their activities or projects in Iran. Trump decided to end, as of May 2019, Exemptions that allowed eight countries to purchase Iranian oil without exposing themselves to US sanctions. Trump stated at the time that the main reasons for his withdrawal from this agreement were:

- The Iranian regime's export of violence, terrorism, and chaos, confirming the existence of evidence that Iran is developing ballistic missiles and deploying them throughout the Middle East.

- He considers the Iranian regime to be the largest sponsor of terrorism and a fomenter of conflict in the region, and that this Iranian regime must not be allowed to possess nuclear weapons.

- The agreement was described as biased, enabling Iran to continue on its path to a nuclear bomb and giving the Iranian regime a financial lifeline.

- Iran is exploiting the agreement to support terrorists and build missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads.

Section Three:

Predicting Donald Trump's Foreign Policy During His Current Presidential Term

With the start of Donald Trump's second presidential term in January 2025, Questions arise about the direction of US foreign policy under his leadership. During his first term, Trump's policies were defined by the slogan "America First," focusing on national interests and sometimes adopting a unilateral approach. In his second term, he is expected to continue this approach while strengthening some previous policies and modifying others to keep pace with changing global challenges.

Trump's foreign policy is expected to shift toward increased economic protectionism, with new tariffs imposed to protect American industries, particularly against China.

In addition, relationships with traditional allies in Europe and Asia may be reevaluated, with an emphasis on more equitable defense burden-sharing.

In the Middle East, Trump may seek to strengthen alliances with regional partners and continue counterterrorism efforts, with a focus on containing Iranian influence.

These trends point to a foreign policy that blends political realism and pragmatism, with a focus on achieving immediate American interests and adapting strategies to meet emerging global challenges.

First requirement:

relations with major powers

This section will focus on the relations between the United States and Russia on the one hand, and China on the other.

- Relationship with Russia:

- Based on recent developments in the US-Russian relationship, it appears that the Trump administration is seeking to improve relations with Russia by adopting more flexible and pragmatic policies. With a focus on achieving regional stability and resolving existing conflicts through negotiation and mutual understanding, this became evident through several changes, namely:

Peace initiatives in Ukraine:

- On March 11, 2025, US National Security Advisor Mike Waltz proposed, The division of Ukrainian territory as part of negotiations to end the war with Russia, indicating a shift in the traditional American position.

- 2. Direct communications between the two leaderships:

On March 18, 2025, Presidents Trump and Putin held a phone call during which they discussed ways to end the conflict in Ukraine and agreed to halt attacks on energy infrastructure, reflecting an improvement in bilateral relations.

3. Russian praise for the new US policy

- Russia praised the major shift in US foreign policy under Trump's leadership, considering that this shift is largely in line with its vision.

- Relationship with China: In general, the relationship between the two countries is tense due to the Trump administration's strict trade policies.

While diplomatic attempts are underway to calm the situation and reach common solutions, the following are the main reasons that have led to the tension in this relationship:

- Trade Tensions:

- Tariffs: In February 2025, the Trump administration imposed 25% tariffs on steel and aluminum imports, primarily targeting China.

- Threats of Tariff Increases: On February 28, 2025, President Trump threatened to impose an additional 10% tariff on Chinese imports, prompting a firm refusal from Beijing and threats of countermeasures.

- Negotiation and calming efforts:

Diplomatic Visits: On March 22, 2025, US Senator Steve Daines, known for his support of Trump, visited Beijing and met with Chinese Vice Premier He Lifeng to discuss trade issues and the flow of fentanyl into the United States.

High-Level Contacts: On March 21, 2025, Trump announced plans for talks between the US Trade Representative, Jameson Greer and his Chinese counterpart, in preparation for a possible meeting between Trump and Chinese President Xi Jinping.

3. Other influential issues:

Drug Control: The flow of fentanyl from China to the United States is a contentious issue, with Washington accusing Beijing of not doing enough to stop the phenomenon.

The second requirement:

Policy towards the Middle East

Here we will talk about the relationship with Iran and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

- The relationship with Iran:

- In general, US-Iranian relations under the current Trump administration are characterized by increasing tensions. With economic and military pressures continuing, and mutual diplomatic attempts to resolve outstanding issues, this is due to several reasons, including:

- Strengthening the US military presence in the Middle East: On March 22, 2025, President Trump has ordered the deployment of the second aircraft carrier, the USS Carl Vinson, to the Middle East. Extending the stay of the USS Harry S. Truman carrier strike group in response to escalating attacks on shipping in the Red Sea by the Iranian-backed Houthis.

- Direct Threats to Iran: Trump issued public warnings to Iran, emphasizing that any attack by the Houthis would be considered an Iranian act, potentially triggering strong US responses.

2. The nuclear file and negotiations:

* Trump's Letter to Khamenei: On March 19, 2025, Trump sent a letter to Iran's Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, Demanding a new nuclear agreement within two months, and threatening to resort to "other options" if diplomacy fails.

Iranian reactions: Khamenei rejected the American offer, describing it as a deception. However, The Iranian mission to the United Nations expressed a willingness to discuss some concerns regarding its nuclear program, but refused to fully dismantle it.

Economic sanctions:

Continuation of the "maximum pressure" policy: Since the United States withdrew from the nuclear agreement in 2018, The Trump administration has imposed strict economic sanctions on Iran, aiming to reduce its regional influence and limit its nuclear program.

4. Positions of the new Iranian administration:

Managing Disagreements: The government of Iranian President Masoud Pezeshkian is seeking to "manage differences" with Washington and attempt to reach an understanding on contentious issues with the aim of lifting economic sanctions.

- The Arab-Israeli conflict:

During the current presidential term of President Donald Trump, the Arab-Israeli conflict has witnessed rapid developments It significantly impacted the course of the Palestinian issue and regional relations. The most notable of these developments are:

Resumption of military operations in Gaza:

On March 18, 2025, Israel resumed its attacks on the Gaza Strip after a period of calm, resulting in hundreds of casualties The United States confirmed that Israel had consulted with it prior to these operations, expressing its full support for Israel's actions in Gaza.

2. Trump's plan to rebuild Gaza:

In February 2025, President Trump announced a plan to rebuild the Gaza Strip, which includes displacing the Palestinian population and redeveloping the area into an "international coastal resort". Under US control, this plan was widely criticized, with some describing it as an attempt at ethnic cleansing, while the United Nations rejected it as a violation of international law.

3. Tension in relations with Arab countries:

Trump's plan to rebuild Gaza has sparked angry reactions from Arab countries, especially Egypt and Jordan. Both expressed their absolute rejection of any attempts to displace Palestinians to their lands.

4. Suspending normalization agreements:

In light of the recent escalation and displacement plans, some Arab countries that previously signed normalization agreements with Israel have announced a re-evaluation of their relations. Expressing concern about the growing tensions and their impact on the stability of the region.

5. Positions of Palestinian factions:

Palestinian factions, led by Hamas, rejected the proposed displacement and reconstruction plans. Considering them an attempt to liquidate the Palestinian cause, it also vowed to respond to any Israeli military escalation in the Gaza Strip.

Conclusion of the research:

After analyzing Donald Trump's foreign policies from the perspective of Machiavellian and pragmatic thought, It is clear that his strategies were based on an approach that blended political realism and Machiavellianism.

He employed force, economic pressure, and sharp negotiations as tools to achieve American interests. Through his policies towards China, Iran, Russia, and the Arab-Israeli conflict, The features of an approach based on absolute pragmatism emerged, whereby American interests were always prioritized, without adhering to the rules of traditional diplomacy or ethical considerations. Trump's experience demonstrates that Machiavellianism is not just a historical political theory, but remains a practical approach that modern leaders can embrace. However, the implications of this approach remain controversial. While it has succeeded in achieving some strategic and economic gains, However, his methods have created internal and external divisions that may affect the future of American foreign policy.

In the end, it can be said that Trump's policies represented a unique experiment in employing Machiavellian principles in international relations. Where he used force, deception and self-interest as a basis for decision-making, This calls for a deeper study into the effectiveness of this approach in achieving sustainable global stability.

The European Union in the Post-US Withdrawal Era: Between Military Cooperation and Defense Independence

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Abstract :

Following the US withdrawal from traditional Defense commitments in Europe, the European Union faced significant challenges in strengthening its own Defense capabilities and reducing its dependence on the United States. This shift prompted European countries to reevaluate their Defense strategies and work toward achieving strategic independence.

In this context, EU and NATO Defense and foreign ministers met separately to discuss ways to enhance European Defense capabilities and reduce dependence on US military support, especially considering growing tensions with Russia. The focus was on identifying gaps in military capabilities, such as air defense and missile systems, to guide future investments.

In addition, the European Defense sector faces significant challenges due to its historical dependence on US technology and capabilities. These challenges include areas such as air surveillance, electronic warfare, and missile defense, where European technologies are either non-existent or underdeveloped compared to US standards. To overcome these gaps, efforts are being made to enhance domestic capabilities, with significant increases in defense investments expected. As part of these efforts, the European Commission has proposed increasing military spending and pooling resources for joint defense projects under the ReArm Europe plan. This could limit the opportunities for non-European companies, including American ones, to participate in military tenders. This trend has raised concerns among US officials, who have expressed their objection to EU attempts to restrict the participation of US companies in arms deals, believing this could negatively impact defense relations between the two sides.

Despite these challenges, European countries are seeking to strengthen defense cooperation and reduce dependence on US support, with a focus on developing domestic capabilities and local manufacturing of military equipment. However, challenges remain regarding the coordination of defense policies among member states and striking a balance between defense autonomy and maintaining strategic relations with the United States.

Keywords:

European Union, defense autonomy, military cooperation, US withdrawal, defense capabilities, NATO, defense industries, ReArm Europe plan, US-EU relations.

Introduction:

In light of the developments witnessed by the international system, Especially with regard to the reordering of the balance of power and the decline of the role of the United States in its defense commitments to its traditional allies, There is an urgent need to study the legal and constitutional framework governing the European Union's approach to building an independent defence system. The withdrawal of the United States, whether directly or by reducing its security commitments, raises fundamental issues related to the legitimacy of The independence of collective defence action within the European Union, in accordance with its founding treaties, In particular, the Lisbon Treaty, which established the provisions for advanced defence cooperation between member states.

The right to legitimate defense, as stipulated in Article (51) of the United Nations Charter, It authorizes states, individually or collectively, to take the necessary measures to maintain their security and sovereignty. Provided that these measures are consistent with the rules of public international law and compatible with its treaty obligations. In this context, The European Union's move towards developing a common security and defence policy requires consideration of the legal dimensions that regulate this policy. Especially with regard to the principle of national sovereignty, the distribution of powers between the Union and member states, and the limits of cooperation with external parties, most notably the United States of America.

Engaging in independent defense cooperation also raises legal questions regarding the nature of the relationship between the European Union and NATO, as The overwhelming majority of EU member states are also parties to the Washington Treaty establishing NATO, which imposes reciprocal contractual obligations that cannot be ignored or breached. Hence, any attempt to establish a European defence system must take place within a framework of legal consistency and institutional harmony with the commitments of those countries in the alliance. Without this leading to a conflict in international obligations. Moreover, expanding the scope of defense industries within the European Union, and restricting the access of American companies to European markets in the field of armaments, It may raise the legal responsibility of the EU countries, both from the perspective of competition rules and transparency in public contracts, Or from the perspective of WTO obligations, which requires a precise legal approach to govern this approach in a manner consistent with international standards.

Research questions:

Main question:

- **To what extent is the European Union able to achieve effective defense independence in the post-US withdrawal phase, while maintaining a balance of military cooperation with the United States?**

Sub-questions:

- **How compatible is the EU's development of an independent defence policy with its legal obligations within NATO?**

- **What legal frameworks govern the participation of non-EU countries in European defence initiatives, such as Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO)?**

- **How can the EU ensure that its independent defence policies are consistent with the principles of international law, particularly with regard to the use of force and human rights?**

- **How can the EU reconcile its legal sovereignty and executive powers in the field of defence while respecting the sovereignty and constitutional rights of member states?**

Research objectives:

Analyzing the legal and political impacts of the US withdrawal from defense commitments on the European Union in terms of studying changes in US commitments Towards its European allies and its impact on regional security, and an analysis of the challenges and opportunities facing EU countries in the face of new security threats.

- Exploring EU strategies for enhancing military cooperation among Member States by analyzing joint initiatives such as "European rearmament" to enhance defense capabilities, and assess the effectiveness of cooperation mechanisms such as the "Permanent Military Cooperation" in promoting military integration.

- Evaluating the EU's efforts towards achieving defence independence and reducing dependence on external powers by studying strategies Strengthening European defense industries, strengthening the local manufacturing base, and analyzing policies aimed at reducing dependence on military suppliers outside the EU.

The importance of research:

This research is of particular importance in light of current geopolitical transformations, as the European Union seeks to enhance its defense independence and reduce its dependence on American protection. The research aims to analyze the repercussions of the United States' withdrawal from defense commitments on European security. To explore military cooperation strategies among member states, and to evaluate efforts to achieve effective defence independence, It also contributes to understanding the legal and political challenges associated with developing an independent defence policy, and provides practical recommendations for enhancing military cooperation and defence independence for the European Union.

Research methodology:

This research aims to study the impact of the United States' withdrawal from its defense commitments on the European Union, Analyzing ways to enhance military cooperation and defense independence among EU countries. To achieve this, a multifaceted research methodology will be followed:

- Descriptive-analytical approach: Data and information related to the defense policies of the European Union and the United States will be collected and analyzed.

- Focusing on the changes that occurred after the latter withdrew from some of its commitments.

- Comparative approach: The defense strategies and security policies of EU countries will be compared, and the impact of the US withdrawal on these policies will be assessed.

- Legal approach: The legal frameworks governing military cooperation and defence autonomy within the European Union will be studied, And analyze its compatibility with the obligations of NATO member states.

- Historical approach: The historical developments of defence relations between the European Union and the United States will be reviewed, To understand the current context and future challenges.

Terminology:

The European Union: is an economic and political bloc comprising 27 member states in Europe, It aims to achieve economic and political integration among its members and enhance cooperation in various fields, Including security and defense, the European Union was established by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, It seeks to enhance internal stability and joint foreign relations, including security and defense policy.

Military cooperation: is joint work between countries in military fields through the exchange of information, Joint training, development of military systems, and implementation of joint military operations, Within the European Union, military cooperation is part of the Common Security and Defence Policy, It aims to improve military capabilities and coordinate efforts to confront common threats.

Defensive independence:

The term defensive independence refers to the ability of a state or group of states to protect their regional security and internationally, without complete reliance on external allies or superpowers, In the context of the European Union, this means strengthening the self-defense capacity of members By building strong defense industries and implementing independent security and military policies.

American withdrawal:

It refers to changes in US foreign policy, particularly with regard to reducing defence commitments to its European allies, In some cases, the US withdrawal began after a period of close cooperation between the EU and the US in NATO, Recent years have seen a decline in some US military commitments, prompting the European Union to consider strengthening its defense independence.

Theoretical framework

First: The reasons for the European move to build a new system and to move in search of a new international system

The global order that has been stable since the end of World War II in 1945 is suffering, From ongoing attempts at dismantling by emerging countries such as Russia and China, Which seek to achieve economic, political and geopolitical ambitions, in contrast, This system began to shake due to the decline of the leading countries, especially the United States of America, whose new president, Trump, has embarked on a new strategy that leans more towards isolationism rather than openness, Defending its allies and sharing visions and plans, Germany is, Along with other countries such as Italy, and somewhat France, One of the most prominent European powers seeking to find a new framework for the international system, They also want to ensure that they remain within the new system that is taking shape, So that they do not find themselves outside the equation, as happened with Türkiye in World War I and Japan in World War II, There are a number of reasons that have prompted some European countries to search for a new international system: (Hussein Talal Muqalled, 2011).

• American decline

Since coming to power, Donald Trump has raised the slogan "America First." Some thought it was just an election slogan and would not turn into an isolation strategy Which the United States followed for long periods until its involvement in World War II alongside the Allied powers, but Trump has begun to follow many of the mechanisms of this policy. As for the security and military aspect, He called on NATO countries to rely on themselves and bear part of the military spending, most of which is borne by the United States.

Many NATO member states, especially European countries, see this as a threat to their security, Even if the US demand to increase the military budget of each NATO country to 7% of its gross national income is met, American protection is no longer guaranteed, even in pre-Trump times Washington has not intervened sufficiently to stop Russia's military intervention in Ukraine and annexation of Crimea, which poses a clear threat to European security.

The Trump administration not only threatened to reduce military support, but also used economic and environmental strategies that affect its allies, One of these strategies was withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement, In addition to imposing additional taxes on iron imports of 25% and aluminum imports of 10%, These measures will particularly affect EU countries, Trump also warned the European Union against imposing a heavy tax on its products due to poor trade relations with the United States.

The Trump administration has also contributed to undermining the shared European-American vision for dealing with international and regional crises, Like the nuclear agreement with Iran, which he withdrew from this month, after major powers helped to reach it, Not content with this, he is imposing further sanctions on Tehran, targeting European companies, causing them huge losses, and threatening them with sanctions if they do not halt their dealings with Iran. (Muhammad Omar, 2018).

- **Growing Russian influence**

Russia has been able to clearly and tangibly increase its military, political and security involvement in Europe, This was most evident in its military intervention in Ukraine in 2014 and its support for the secession of the Lugansk and Donetsk regions, Where each of them declared its independence in preparation for joining Russia, and Russia also annexed the Crimean Peninsula, and in this context, Igor Plotnytsky, leader of the so-called Lugansk People's Republic, confirmed that Lugansk will not return to Ukraine, but will join Russia, similar to the status of Crimea. The matter did not stop there, but Moscow interfered in the crucial elections held in Europe, Such as the accusations against her of interfering to influence the choices of the British people in the referendum to leave the European Union in June 2016, In addition to her media interventions in support of far-right trends, she has been accused of supporting Marine Le Pen, the far-right candidate in the last French elections, which Macron won in 2017, Russian activities in Europe did not stop at this point, Britain and its allies were accused of trying to kill Russian double agent Sergei Skripal and his daughter in London using a chemical substance in March 2018, Most EU countries, along with Washington and other countries, responded by expelling Russian diplomats, prompting Moscow to respond in kind, and tensions remain high. (Philip Gordon, 2008).

- **Britain's exit from the European Union**

Just as Britain's departure from the European Union was a huge shock to Europeans, London is considered an important military, economic and nuclear power that the Union relies on, alongside the United States, to protect its security and confront challenges from Russia, Now, after Britain's exit, the European Union has only one nuclear power left: France, which will not be able to face any future conflict with Russia alone, in addition, The Kingdom's exit from the European Union represents a severe blow to the European unity project, This could herald the withdrawal of other countries from the EU and the beginning of its disintegration, making European countries more vulnerable to Russia in light of declining US support and doubts about the intentions of the current administration.

Second: European action mechanisms:

Europe should be aware that it cannot completely rely on the United States and Britain now, Especially after the election of Donald Trump and the British exit from the European Union, according to German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Europe must pursue its destiny, and I have expressed my vision of how Europe's future strategy should be shaped in order to adapt and succeed in a new, evolving order, They should be active and shapers of the features of this system, rather than being subservient to what is agreed upon by other competing powers, Therefore, the European Union has begun to take steps in the areas of politics, security, defense, and the economy to confront this change:

- ## Building a unified military force

In November 2017, twenty-three European Union countries signed a defence cooperation agreement aimed at strengthening military integration in Europe, In preparation for the creation of a unified army, the member states are small and have limited military capabilities, Which calls for their cooperation together, especially with the lack of security from the United States and Britain, during the signing of the agreement, Federica Mogherini, the EU's foreign policy chief, explained that this is a historic moment for European defense, This new tool will enhance our military capabilities and increase our strategic independence, a matter that has particularly worried the United States, Because it effectively means ending the role of NATO, since most of its members are Europeans, If they formed an independent military force, NATO would not have the importance it had, which would mean a decline in American influence in Europe, It was relying on its security and military aspects that it offers to the continent, but due to the Trump administration in the White House and Britain's exit from the European Union, Europe has no options due to the escalation of Russian interventions in the continent's countries. (Ahmed Ajaj, 2009).
Strengthening economic relations between EU countries
Economic policies and motivations were among the factors that led to Britain's decision to leave the European Union, In this context, influential countries on the continent, especially France and Germany, are seeking to establish new agreements, both among themselves and with other countries, In order to address the problems resulting from Brexit, the trade balance between Britain and the EU is tilted in favour of the EU, With a trade surplus of up to £56 billion, EU growth is likely to be negatively impacted after Britain leaves, For this reason, alternative economic agreements are currently being negotiated to avoid any major disruptions to the economies of member states, Moreover, the EU member states are focusing on concluding new agreements among themselves, As with the military agreement, on May 25, EU finance ministers reached an agreement on reforming bank capital rules, This is to enhance the financial stability of the European Union to face any financial crises such as the one that occurred in 2008.

- ## Pursuing policies independent of the United States

EU member states have not agreed to follow the new policies that Trump has begun to implement, including the US withdrawal from the Paris Climate Agreement, I refrained from following his position or amending the agreement, as the environmental challenges that threaten the security of the continent led to reaching this agreement due to global warming caused by the increase in Carbon dioxide levels from some heavy and polluting industries such as coal, which America uses heavily, in addition, European countries have taken a different path from Trump's approach on refugees and many issues in the Middle East, Including the nuclear agreement with Iran, where Trump's steps were rejected and countries declared their commitment to the agreement.

So, Europe has resorted to means to protect its trade with Iran from US sanctions, for example, On May 18, the European Commission began formal steps to implement the "blocking statute" to limit the impact of US sanctions on European companies wishing to invest in Iran, This legislation, passed in 1996, allows European companies and courts to avoid compliance with sanctions laws imposed by other countries, The law also prohibits the enforcement of any foreign court rulings based on these sanctions within the European Union. This is the first time Europe has used this law against the United States.

Third: The legal and political framework for enhancing military cooperation and defense independence in the European Union:

The legal and political framework for enhancing military cooperation and defence autonomy in the European Union reflects the challenges facing the Union in developing its defence capabilities following geopolitical changes, Especially the withdrawal of the United States from some of its defense commitments, in this context, The European Union needs to strengthen cooperation among member states and achieve defensive autonomy to ensure collective security in the face of growing threats.

• Legal framework

The European Union, as an international legal entity, relies on a set of treaties and agreements that define how member states cooperate in military and defence affairs, The most prominent of these treaties is the Treaty on European Union (TEU), which includes provisions for a common security and defence policy, It is a policy aimed at strengthening the Union's defence capabilities while respecting the sovereignty of member states, This policy includes a number of legal mechanisms that help develop and coordinate defense activities, such as: (Ahmed Jalal Mahmoud Abdo, 2022).

Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO): It is a legal mechanism established under the Lisbon Treaty, which allows European Union countries to commit to joint defense projects, PESCO, It aims to improve defence cooperation among member states through joint projects, including improving military capabilities and standardising defence equipment.

European Peace Facility (EPF): It is a mechanism established to finance defence activities that include measures such as military aid and peacekeeping, Through this mechanism, the European Union aims to enhance military independence and reduce dependence on external military forces.

European Union White Paper 2025: As part of the European Union's quest to achieve defensive independence, This book was prepared with the aim of identifying strategies to strengthen the defence industry and enhance European military capabilities by coordinating efforts among member states and providing logistical and technical support.

Political framework: Politically, coordination among EU countries is essential to ensure defence independence and enhance joint military cooperation, This coordination is represented by several political initiatives aimed at raising the level of cooperation between member states, such as:

The European Common Security and Defence Strategy is the cornerstone of military cooperation between member states, Where security policies are determined and responses to common threats are addressed, It is based on the principles of close cooperation in the field of defense and military policies through mechanisms such as the European Council for Security and Defense Policy (Abdulwahab bin Khalifa, 2023). Cooperation with NATO, despite the European Union's pursuit of defensive independence, The EU still relies on NATO in many areas, so EU-NATO cooperation remains a key tool in strengthening defence capabilities, EU member states seek to improve military integration with NATO through coordination in the areas of joint training and military operations.

European institutions and bodies: The European Union includes a group of institutions that work to promote defence policies, Like the European Commission and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, These institutions contribute to the development of unified defense strategies by adopting projects that enhance military cooperation among member states and ensure effective coordination of defense policies.

Fourth: European Union strategies for building independent defense capabilities and enhancing joint military cooperation:

In light of geopolitical shifts and increasing security threats, The European Union seeks to develop strategies aimed at building independent defence capabilities and enhancing military cooperation among member states, These strategies are embodied in several legal and scientific aspects that affect the Union's ability to confront future security challenges.

The European Union, through its treaties and institutions, seeks to achieve a balance between defence independence and joint cooperation in the areas of military defence, A key focus of these strategies is developing the ability to make independent military decisions, In line with European security requirements and the challenges of the modern era, the Union aims to become more capable of independently responding to military and terrorist crises, Without total dependence on traditional allies such as the United States or NATO.

The European Union's strategies in this area are based on creating a multidimensional defence structure that enhances integration among member states, This can be seen through the development of legal mechanisms that enable member states to cooperate militarily more effectively, such as Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), Which allows member states to commit to joint defense projects that raise the level of military readiness, This initiative aims to better coordinate military activities and integrate defence capabilities.

An important dimension of these strategies is to enhance cooperation between member states regarding the development of the defense industry. The European Union is working to finance joint projects in the field of military technology and the development of military equipment, This contributes to reducing dependence on non-EU member states such as the United States. Thus, EU countries can position themselves in a position of strength, through their independent defense production capacity.

But this trend does not mean isolation from international alliances. In fact, cooperation with allies such as NATO remains necessary to enhance defensive capabilities, Therefore, the EU's strategies for building independent defence capabilities are part of an integrated defence policy based on cooperation with allies, Simultaneously with the development of military autonomy, within this framework, the European Union is strengthening its role as a political and military actor in the international system, In addition, the European Union seeks to coordinate defence policies among member states to reduce defence gaps between countries with varying military capabilities.

This also includes achieving integration between the defence policies of the European Union and NATO member states, Ensuring a rapid and effective response to regional and international security challenges. (Malcolm Chalmers, 2017).


Search results:

- Strengthening military cooperation between member states, as 23 EU countries signed the "Permanent Military Cooperation" document, Aiming to unify military financial and logistical resources, this cooperation enables member states to carry out military operations and training missions in the European neighborhood, thus enhancing military integration among states.

- Developing independent defense strategies: Facing the possibility of the United States withdrawing from NATO, EU countries have begun developing their own defense capabilities, This includes establishing an independent intelligence system and strengthening nuclear deterrence, with the aim of planning for an independent security future that reduces dependence on external powers.

- Affirming European sovereignty in the field of defense: The European Union, led by countries such as France, seeks to strengthen its defense independence by supporting domestic defense industries, And reducing dependence on external suppliers, especially in light of escalating geopolitical tensions.

Recommendations:

To further strengthen military cooperation and defence independence, the EU recommends the following steps:

- Deepening military integration, increasing joint investments in military research and development, and unifying military standards and training among member states, to enhance joint readiness and coordination.

- Strengthening independent intelligence capabilities: Developing a unified European intelligence system that ensures effective information exchange among member states, enhancing the ability to confront common security threats.

- Strengthening cooperation with traditional allies: As we strive for defense independence, we must maintain strong relationships with allies like the United States and NATO to ensure comprehensive deterrence and effective crisis response.
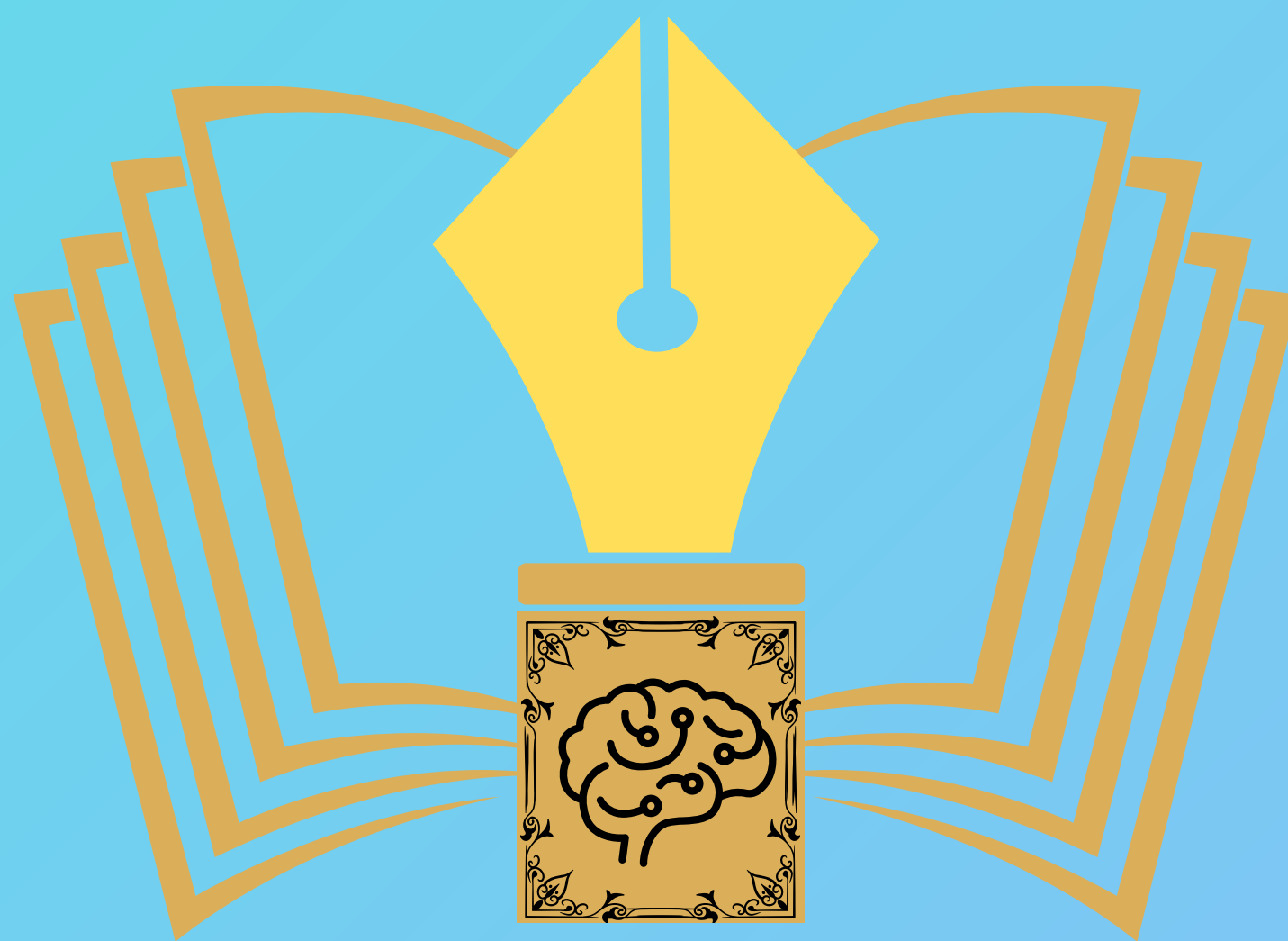
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