

Permanent Wars, The Neocons, and East-West Relations

The Ukraine and
Gaza Wars in Context

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Series in Politics



VERNON PRESS

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www.vernonpress.com

In the Americas:

Vernon Press
1000 N West Street, Suite 1200,
Wilmington, Delaware 19801
United States

In the rest of the world:

Vernon Press
C/Sancti Espiritu 17,
Malaga, 29006
Spain

Series in Politics

Library of Congress Control Number: 2026931521

ISBN: 979-8-8819-0423-4

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Abstract

This book discusses war-driven policies in the United States and their catastrophic impacts on peace, international law, and the welfare of people both in the United States and abroad. Two scenarios are selected as case studies because of their trajectories within the Neocons' foreign policy: the proxy war in Ukraine and the war in Gaza. These two scenarios uncover the Neocons' disregard for the rule of law and international relations, their indifference to human suffering, and the allocation of U.S. resources for advancing the Neocons' political and economic interests.

Although the specifics in each scenario differ, the overall approach is the same, which is the drive for global hegemony based on a debunked political theory that stemmed from the failed Trotskyite ideology of the early twentieth century, and the manipulation of the political system in the United States to advance such discredited political ideology.

On the surface, the common theme between the two events is the strive for security and land. The involved actors on the stage are the Russian and Ukrainian politicians and armed forces, the Israeli politicians and armed forces, and the Palestinian militants. The victims, however, are the Ukrainian, Russians, Israeli, and Palestinian peoples, as well as world peace.

The book is a qualitative study seeking to explain the dichotomy between hegemony and real politics in international relations. The observation is organized in nine chapters of literature review, case studies, and content analyses. The subject of the book has an international appeal since it covers issues of importance to global peace. The strength of the book is demonstrated in its examination of two important issues in international relations within the context of the proper function of laws and international relations. The book can be conceived as a reference volume aimed at professionals in the field of international relations. It can also be used as an excellent addition to many academic libraries with exceptional appeal for adoption as either a primary or supplementary reading for upper undergraduate and graduate courses in peace studies and conflict resolution in international affairs.

Keywords: Neocons, Ukraine, Gaza, War, Rules-Based International Order, Hegemony, Neoliberalism.¹

This book examines recent U.S. foreign policy under the Neoconservative (Neocons)'s direction that is geared toward imposing American interests on other nations through wars and conflicts, treating allies as subordinates, adversaries as eternal enemies, and geopolitics as an arena for hegemony and world dominance. Such direction departs from realism that distinguished U.S. foreign policy in the past and established the United States as a world power since WWII. Instead, it uses tools such as economic sanctions, proxy wars, militarism, and coups abroad, as well as censorship and the curtail of civil liberties at home, in order to bolster the Neocons' interests. To illustrate such direction, two events are selected in order to closely examine the Neocons' approach:

1. The Proxy-War in Ukraine that started on February 24, 2022, and continues to date.
2. The War in Gaza that started on October 8, 2023, and continues to date.

¹ There is a difference between liberalism and neoliberalism. Liberalism (also known as classic liberalism) is a political principle designed for the protection of individual freedom, which includes freedom of speech, assembly, religion, and the right to due process. The U.S. Bill of Rights is a good example of such a doctrine. Liberalism believes that government is a necessity to protect individuals from being harmed by others. However, it places a check on the government in order not to abuse its power or pose a threat to freedom.

Liberalism also refers to countries with free and fair elections, the rule of law and protected civil liberties. In international relations, however, liberalism is concerned with how international institutions or countries behave according to realist IR theory (Meiser, 2018. "Introducing Liberalism in International Relations Theory." *E-International Relations*. Accessed 5/12/2020. <https://www.e-ir.info/2018/02/18/introducing-liberalism-in-international-relations-theory/>).

Neoliberalism, on the other hand, refers to concepts linked to laissez-faire economy, which include practices such as the privatization of practically every industry, in addition to fiscal austerity, the commercialization of culture, deregulation, free trade, increasing the cost of education, healthcare, housing, transportation, and goods with profits going to the top executives in the private sector. Neoliberalism also advocates a strong state to lead social engineering and bring about reforms in society. It is responsible for ongoing wars and foreign intervention to maintain hegemony of the world and benefit the arms industry (Phelan et al., 2018. Liberalism and Neoliberalism. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia*. Accessed 9/17/2021. <https://oxfordre.com/communication/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228613-e-176>).

On the surface, the common theme between the two events is the strive for security and land. The involved actors on the stage are the Russian and Ukrainian politicians and armed forces, the Israeli politicians and armed forces, and the Palestinian militants. The victims in both wars are the Ukrainian, Russians, Israeli, and Palestinian peoples, as well as world peace. The real beneficiaries, however, are those who are controlling the trajectories through continuous weapon supplies, intelligence, media coverage, and massive funding in billions of dollars for the sole purpose of supporting the Military Industrial Complex, promoting their own economic and political interests, and maintaining a unipolar global order through domination through hegemony and a Rules-Based International Order. These beneficiaries are the Neocons in Washington.

The events expose efforts by the Neocons and their globalist neoliberal political class in the West to manufacture consent, applying double standards in dealing with international law as well as media coverage, and hypocrisy. Through amplifying such trends, two worldviews are emerging as a consequence, which the book illustrates. One that represents perspectives based on power manipulation through conflicts on the world stage. The other is real politics based on cooperation, coexistence, diplomacy, and mutual interests. The nexus between the two perspectives is not simple differences of outlook toward international affairs. Rather, it is a contrast between hurt, suffering, and indifference, and that of peace, justice, fairness, and a hope for a better future without wars and conflicts.

The book is a qualitative study seeking to explain the nature of the Neoconservative-Real Politics dichotomy through selected observations in international relations. It builds on the kernel understanding of the dichotomy through meanings as experienced by people. The observations are organized in nine chapters (including an introduction and conclusion), involving descriptive analyses of the events in Ukraine and Gaza as well as the tools that are employed during these events to justify the continuation of the conflicts as a translation of the Neocons' Trotskyites concept of "Permanent Wars." Key research questions include the following:

- What is the genesis and ideological base for the Neocons' war-driven foreign policy in the United States?
- Why are the Neocons persisting on world domination through hegemony and a Rules-Based International Order?
- Why the Neocons' foreign policy do not change, especially after repeated failures?
- How did the Neocons arrive at political power in the United States?

- How to rescue U.S. foreign policy and world peace from the Neocons' war-driven agendas?

The book uses qualitative research in examining the literature that involves the Neocons' rise to power in the United States and its treatment of conflicts on the world stage. The events of the Ukraine and Gaza Wars are employed to illustrate such an interconnected direction. Content analysis is used to observe the behavior of selected concepts in driving the literature, as well as the emerging themes that steer the data. A codebook of 56 selected concepts is fed to Ethnograph 7 in order to quantify the conceptual behavior in the dataset and illustrate which groups of concepts are driving the literature. The Complexity Sciences' S-Matrix Theory is then used to interpret the conceptual behavior and the seven emerging themes.

The selection of the literature is conducted through multiple steps. The first step is screening the data on topics of "U.S. Foreign Policy," "Neocons," "Ukraine," and "Gaza." This screening resulted in 215 documents (including articles, books, and studies both in print and online, offered by scholars, researchers, thinktanks, and news media organizations).

The selected database is further filtered by selecting English as the only language for the studies in the fields of Public Policy and Political Science between 2022 and 2025. This step resulted in the reduction of the total number of published articles and books to 65 from 215. Then, each of these 65 published articles and books are further examined to ensure relevancy. The result was a sample comprised of 50 articles and books, addressing a variety of issues on war, conflicts (with focus on Ukraine and Gaza), and the Neocons' policies' impact on world peace.

In order to present an analytical approach to the literature, the examination of the sample published articles and books in the literature resulted in themes and issues of the U.S. foreign policy toward Ukraine and Gaza, while under the Neocons' direction, which has guided the analysis. Based on the analysis as explained in Chapter Eight, a set of policy recommendations is suggested in the concluding Chapter Nine.

The reason for these selected published articles and books to be coded while using Ethnograph 7 is to produce a grounded approach in the qualitative research in order to uncover a pattern in the dataset. Ethnograph 7 is a software program designed to support content analysis in a qualitative research. The tool enables researchers to generate quantified charts that can illustrate the number of selected concepts in the dataset, their frequencies, and relevance. Then, these concepts are subsequently grouped based on similarities to form the emerging themes within the data.

The analysis of the literature, as such, contributes to the study of U.S. foreign policy in relation to the Ukraine and Gaza conflicts as a connective continuum

that reflects policy directives. The selected concepts and their illustrated frequencies through Ethnography 7 resulted in 84 concepts. These 84 concepts are then grouped together based on their frequencies and similarities to generate ten emerging themes. Chapter Nine in the book explains this process.

The book is the result of research, observations, investigations, field trips, and analysis. It is an original monograph that draws on previously published peer-reviewed journals as well as newspaper articles by the author, conference presentations, course teachings, workshops, and interviews. The purpose of the book not only observing the gulf between Neoconservatism and real politics but also offering remedies that can promote progress based on peace and conflict resolution. The main themes in the book are the assessments of public policy orientation in international relations as influenced by the Neocons in the United States, the rules of the mainstream media and social networks, and the impact of global institutions on peace, conflicts, militarism, interventions, sanctions, and regime change scenarios. Although the Neocons' recycled failures in U.S. foreign policy extend beyond the Ukraine and Gaza Wars, chief among them are the Afghan and Iraq Wars, the book, however, maintains its observations to the current conflicts in Ukraine and Gaza in order to maintain a contemporary focus on foreign policy as it plays in international affairs.

Key findings include the persistent disparities in the interpretations of global dynamics, the emergence of new alliances and world order, and the need for new ways of thinking in international relations. The emerging trajectories are moving toward peace, reducing suffering, and offering opportunities for genuine applications of human rights regardless of the political power dynamics of war-driven policies.

Chapter Two discusses loops and relationships in complex adaptive systems. A shift from inertia, gravitation and predictability to a matrix (nexus) of networks (loops), synergy, uncertainty, emergence and forecast paradigms can help international relations in real politics to focus resources, energy, and efforts on development, conflict resolution, and progress. Such a shift toward regional loops of cooperation within a nexus can be an evolution in global dynamics to meet both internal and external challenges while offsetting threats posed by conflict-driven trajectories.

Despite the repeated errors and catastrophic results caused by the Neocons and their conflicts, a new approach based on networks and mutual causality is emerging that can better serve the understanding of power dynamics, remedying flaws, and moving forward toward new possibilities. In doing so, new models in coordination and international relations that reject manipulations and conflict-fusion can provide the world with directions toward shifting the focus from building blocks to networks of inclusion and interactive dynamics.

Chapter Two builds on contributions by complexity representations in the dynamics of interplay agents within a network to entertain possibilities for a matrix (nexus) that can construct models of loops to operate based on concepts such as interconnectedness, self-organization, collapse, and emergence. In doing so, such a nexus of loops can depart from the recycled setbacks caused by both external and internal challenges and envision new possibilities for a better future free of ongoing traumas and their side effects.

Chapter Three offers new complex models for peace and inclusion in the world. Building on Newton's third law of motion regarding "every action having an equal and opposite reaction," and benefiting from complexity sciences' contributions, regions in the world can create cooperatives among themselves while connected with one another in a nexus of relations to promote peace and prosperity. These cooperatives can offset the tools of war and bridge the divides in international relations.

Chapter Three looks at the commonalities and shared interests between regions in the world to form cooperative networks (loops) operating within a matrix (nexus) in each region that can minimize divisions, address challenges, and utilize opportunities for peace and coexistence. The chapter surveys existing models in the world and the lessons to learn in support of the emerging future nexus of cooperative loops. The examined current models include the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and the Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa cooperative alliance (BRICS).

Chapter Three also explains the reasons for the widening gulf between Western neoliberalism and people in the developing nations (known as the Global South). The chapter surveys attributes that are contributing to the divide, such as the mistreatment of people in the Global South, the indifference toward them by neoliberal policies, ongoing prejudice, double standards, and hypocrisy, as well as the impacts of wars, sanctions, regime change strategies, coups, economic exploitation, internal conflicts, and corruption.

Chapter Four examines the history and ideological basis of the Neocons in the United States. It traces the Neocons' origin to the Trotskyists' ideology and observes the neoliberal political class in the West as well. The chapter examines how the Neocons advanced their political agenda in order to push their debunked political doctrines of domination and hegemony on the world stage, while aided by the neoliberal political class in the West. The chapter also explores the concept of "orientalism" as an embedded portrayal of the Global South through hidden meaning as represented in the East-West dichotomy.

Chapter Five discusses the tools employed by the Neocons in the United States to advance their political and economic interests in the world through maintaining hegemony on the world stage and the exercise of both soft and

hard powers. These tools include NATO, the Military Industrial Complex, the Security State, the Petro-Dollar, Predatory Capitalism, and the misuse of subcultures. Each tool is explained in historic contexts with its implications and impacts.

Chapter Six examines the conflict in Ukraine as of 2022, its historic background, the involved players, and the conflict's trajectories. The chapter surveys the role of the mainstream media in the West and the neoliberal political class in applying double standards in international laws and the disparities between the neoliberal perspectives regarding Ukraine versus others in the world (especially the developing nations in the Global South). Finally, the chapter concludes with remedies for resolving the conflict and a way out of the Neocons' doctrine of "Permanent Wars."

Chapter Seven is a survey of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that led to the current War in Gaza. It includes a brief background history of the conflict, elements that contributed to its prolonging, challenges and opportunities for lasting resolutions, and models for consideration for such resolutions. The chapter places the conflict within the overall East-West relations, the impact of neoliberal politicians on the trajectories (especially policies by the Neocons in the United States), and the ramifications for the continuation of the conflict on regional stability and world peace.

Chapter Eight offers an analysis of the literature based on content analysis, emerging themes, and discussions while guided by complexity theory.

Chapter Nine is the conclusion of the book. It presents a summary of the book that outlines the East-West dichotomy with a focus on the impact of manufacturing consent, the legality of wars and their consequences, and the challenge of double standards in applying international laws. It also discusses the backlash of decades of wars on people yearning for freedom, equality, and justice. The chapter surveys challenges to neoliberalism as well as windows of opportunity for a new beginning. Finally, the chapter outlines the relation and impacts on policy, lessons learned, and then offers recommendations for policy and network developments, and suggestions for moving toward a world without wars and conflicts.

Collectively, these nine chapters offer in-depth perspectives on the East-West relations that better explain the causalities of ongoing wars (especially in Ukraine and Gaza) than the simplistic answers given by neoliberal politicians and their mouthpieces in the Western mainstream media. Instead of reducing complex issues such as wars and conflicts to personality issues, the vilification of groups, countries, nationalities, cultures, and persons in leadership positions, these chapters provide a synthesis that involves history, culture, causality, and

meanings as understood by people outside the Western mainstream media and neoliberalism's lexicon.

The book also introduces complexity as an innovative approach in assessing public policy in international relations, departing from the failed practices of reducing a whole to parts, flattening a complex issue to a simplistic perspective, or the mantras of "you are either with us or against us" and "one-size-fits-all." Instead, it celebrates flexibility, coordination, fluidity, openness, adaptability, collapse dynamics, and emergence as a path forward.

Significance and Uniqueness

The strength of this book lies in its prospective and forthcoming analysis of the issue of political power as exercised by major players in global affairs and international relations, while focusing attention on the systemic structure of power dynamics that are driving these players, including political ideologies, self-interests, and security. The two wars selected for the focus are used as a platform (or petri-dish) to illustrate not only the threat to world peace, rule of law, and justice but also to underline the incapability of international institutions that emerged post-WWII in neutralizing these threats, establishing accountability, and upholding universal protocols, laws, and agreements. This includes positioning the so-called "Rules-Based International Order" in its proper perspective, exposing hypocrisy and double-standards as exercised by the political elites and their tools within the major political players, the alienation of the populous and their increased lack of participation in the decision-making process within the arena of public policy, and the threat to the very systemic practices of democracy in governance.

This book not only highlights the tools used in advancing hegemonial policies in international relations but also provides a glimpse of the negative side effects of these policies on the public forum and citizenry in a balanced and objective way. Examples of these negative side-effects include censorship, omission, silencing dissent, emptying the opposition of meaningful content and turning them into shadow forces of Faustian nature, as well as the harmful impacts of economic deprivation on the middle and working class.

With the increased trajectories of war-profiteering, political hegemony, land grabbing, and predatory acquisition of natural resources regardless of cost to peace and public welfare, the analysis in this book focuses attention on the endemic and systemic corruption in the political system and governance that allowed for hegemony and self-interest to materialize and take hold. This is especially apparent in the West, and particularly in the United States. Although, the Global South is also not completely immune from such endemics and its major players are demonstrating similar tendencies and practices, the situation,

nevertheless, fails in comparison, especially when most of the ills in the Global South are symptoms of decades-long of Western colonialism, exploitation, economic deprivation, sanctions, violence, assassinations, manufacturing terrorism and dispensing intelligence-trained terrorist groups, collaborations with narco-trafficking, supporting dictators and tyrannical regimes, creating failed states, theft of natural resources, toxic dumping, regime changes, coups, indiscriminate bombings of civilians, military invasions and occupations, and wars.

The study also outlines the East-West divide and the rise of the Global South (despite its continued internal conflicts and challenges) outside the political calculus of the Neocons in the United States and the Neoliberal political elites in the West. A significant importance of the book rests on its utilization of perspectives and observation of public policy outside the mainstream trajectories in the West and by adapting evidence-based analysis in understanding political power dynamics in global affairs than subscribing to the established perspectives that dominate most media outlets, thinktanks, and public policy institutions. It also challenges the shortcomings and vulnerabilities of counter-media outlets and public policy analysis in the Global South.

Scholars ought to look at Neocon-Real Politics for two reasons: The first reason is that the Neocons' hegemonial policies are primarily motivated by self-interest. The second reason is that real politics is mainly focused on examining policies on the international level as dictated and applied by each nation-state's interests. These two reasons are connected, which make real politics the best-suited theory in interpreting the Neocons' policies. Through content analysis of evidence-based data, the Neocons' policies of continuous wars can be best interrupted in light of real politics. Guided by complexity theories, such perspectives can then be placed in a proper context. Other theories in international relations, such as constructivism or a linear analysis, cannot adequately capture the nature, scope, and dimensions of Neocons' self-interest policies.

By analyzing the wars in Gaza and Ukraine through the lens of Realism in a straightforward approach to international relations as dictated by national self-interest, self-preservation, and raw power, security concerns, and prioritizing survival in gaining or holding on to political power, the study explores social, economic, and political imperatives that formulate the hegemonial tendencies and applications of the Neocons in deriving public policy, even at the expense of world peace and the rules of law. The aim of the study is not only to shed light on these two wars and the roots of their cause, but also to map out the political consequences associated with these events and the forces that produced them, as well as the most feasible scenarios in remedying these ongoing tragedies.

The purpose of the book is to observe the gulf and divisions in international relations while assessing the policy-making process, the role of the media, and global institutions in addressing these relations, issues of peace, militarism, interventions, sanctions, and regime change scenarios, as well as the various conditions that contributed to the dichotomy and divide. The study builds on the kernel understanding of dichotomy through meanings experienced by people while utilizing descriptive analysis and case studies in phenomenology relevant to the two main events explored by the study. Given that the research and literature in this area is scarce, particularly when contrasted with the rising interest in peace and conflict resolution in the world, the book can be a useful guide in observing international relations and a relevant study in understanding public policy and the decision-making process that impacts international relations and global affairs.

The examples used in the study, although thoroughly examined and addressed, are not, nevertheless, comprehensive illustrations that can present an overall picture of the Neocons' policies. However, the specific examples are selected because they can capture the main themes of the study and provide an overall flavor and examination of the content. They, in essence, can provide a precise, interconnected, and multi-dimensional approach to the Neocons' policies that can adequately explain the scopes of these policies while observing their trajectories on the global stage as well as serving the purpose of the study in debunking war-driven policies and bolstering the attempts toward an interconnected world of mutual interests, cooperation, and coexistence.

Challenges and Limitations

The main challenge to the book is that it undertakes an observation of two ongoing wars while attempting to explain issues of political power, hegemonic policies, wars, and international relations. When a phenomenon, such as war, is ongoing, the trajectories are often fluid and in a state of flux. This fluidity presents a challenge in capturing an overall trend and focused observation, and forces multiple cross-sectional observations of an ongoing phenomenology. To address such a challenge, a comprehensive analysis grounded in complexity sciences (especially system theories) is needed to observe these two events as flux, chaotic, and continually changing dynamics. This is why the study utilizes the S-Matrix theory in complexity science to guide the analysis and offers two chapters to explain perspectives on a complexity approach to events in the state of flux while utilizing networking, interconnectedness, and emergence. However and despite the use of complexity, content-analysis (due to its linear nature) is incapable of capturing the complex analysis of the flux events, as is the case with most Newtonian science models in social sciences. These linear

models are best suited to explaining past events while failing to adequately assess ongoing trajectories.

The other limitation of the study is that it does not fully explain the challenges to the Global South itself from within, especially weaknesses posed by authoritarianism, corruption, division, and power struggles between the various nation-states. It also does not expand into the undertaking of the full scope of limitations and challenges within emerging networks in the Global South, such as BRICS, the Shanghai Conference, and various alliances.

The third challenge to the study is that it does not look further into the impact of corruption and compromised politicians (due to the impact of corporate and campaign finance) on elections, and the threat of these elements on the democratic process in the West. Perhaps future research can undertake such a task. The fourth and final challenge to the study is the limited data source and objective studies that are not constrained by the established normative approaches to international relations, especially those that are not influenced by the status quo. As a result, the search for reliable data that can satisfy the purpose of the study or be included in the sample was difficult and challenging.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study utilizes real politics in interpreting dichotomies in international relations, especially in relations to issues of war. It does so by focusing on the Neocons' perspectives and political trajectory of self-interest both in the United States and abroad, while supported by neoliberal political agendas and policies in the West. A suggestion for future research is to observe such a dichotomy and the overall international relations through systems theory.

Systems theory can view international relations as "organisms." Such organisms are living entities in an environment that can provide energy and to which they can return output as public policies, while surrounded by a permeable boundary that allows for the exchange of inputs (as resources) within global affairs. The organisms can be viewed, according to systems theory, as structured so that they can efficiently and effectively turn inputs (resources) into outputs (public policies) and adapt to changes in the environment of international relations. If inputs are restricted or the internal processes of the organisms are not functioning properly, the organisms (policies) begin to deteriorate (as is the case with the apparent demise and fatigue of hegemonic policies on the world stage, especially within the public forum). Further examination of these tendencies can be useful.

Although systems theory itself is not a theory of international relations, such as real politics, feminism, critical theory, and constructivism, it does, nevertheless, provide a new way of conceptualizing nation-states' political dynamics within

international relations. The promises of systems theory can be outlined as (Modaff 2021):

- *It is designed to deal with complexity.* The complexity comes from a model with many interdependent elements and an understanding of the multiple levels of associations.
- *It attempts to do so with precision.* Despite the complexities, systems theory seeks to specify relationships between elements and levels.
- *It takes a holistic view.* Systems theory looks outside the boundaries to see the bigger picture of how all aspects are interrelated.
- *It is a theory of emergence.* Systems theory demonstrates how actions and outcomes at the collective level emerge from the actions and interactions of the individuals who make up the collective. In this way, systems theory combines individual nation-state behavior with broader environmental (international-level) issues.

Another theory that can be utilized for future studies is constructivism, especially in focusing on the role of ideas, norms, and social interactions in shaping nation-state behavior and the international system. Constructivists can highlight identities and interests in interpreting events and structures in international relations over time.

Critical theory, which is based on the work of Karl Marx, is also another theory that can be used in future studies. The theory has its roots in the Frankfurt School. The school's philosophy is twofold. First, knowledge in society is not objective. Rather, it is tied to the participants and influenced by their interests and the power structure. Second, the difficulty of researchers in involving themselves with the societal and communal functions can disclose the paradoxes connected with the inequality of power, and offer a critique that will permit a remedy of these particulars as a follow-up.

For critical theorists, insight into policy effectiveness is insufficient. Rather, they also engage in consciousness-raising within the public forum. They view a policy as a form of domination where the interests of the overriding group (such as the Neocons) are raised above the interests of others, such as the middle and working classes. A focal issue in critical theory is that power is concentrated with the elites rather than being equally disseminated (Modaff 2021). The challenge to Critical Theory is that it asks policy-makers to examine their own policy in order to reveal occurrences of control and coercion. Such a task may not be easily achievable since the power-dominating groups (who influence the policy decision-makers) would not be willing to examine their behaviors and risk losing power and control.

Another possible theory for future studies in reexamining this study is Feminism Theory. This theory examines oppression in the political process caused by masculinity, while associated with paradigms such as rationality. It also includes bounded emotionality, a concept that refers to emphasizing care, nurturing, community, supportiveness, and interrelatedness. Reexamining this study in future research can benefit greatly from such perspectives, especially when both this particular study and feminist theory celebrate subjectivity, intuition, and emotions (which are also associated with complexity), while criticizing rationality and its link with reason, logic, and objective judgment, all of which are stereotypically considered to be masculine qualities (Ashcraft 2013).

Another focus in future research can be on citizen alienation, disempowerment, the impact of corruption, lobbying, donors and corporate money, campaign financing, and the intimidation of compromised politicians. Such threats can be further explored as they impact the very nature of legitimacy and democratic governance itself.

Finally, a significant aspect of future study can be devoted to the paralyzing impacts of neoliberalism (both as ideology and institutions), not only on bolstering the political systems, institutions, and ideologies in the West but also on public policy and institutions in the Global South. By emphasizing such an impact, the challenges to public policy both in the West and the Global South can be better understood and feasible scenarios for future remedies can be entertained.

Resources

- Ashcraft, Karen Lee. 2013. "Feminist Theory." In Linda L. Putnam and Dennis K. Mumby (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Communication: Advances in Theory, Research, and Methods*, pp. 127-150. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
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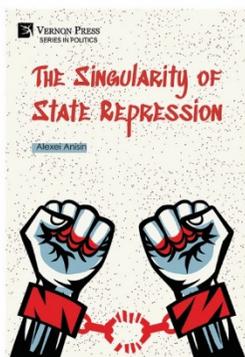
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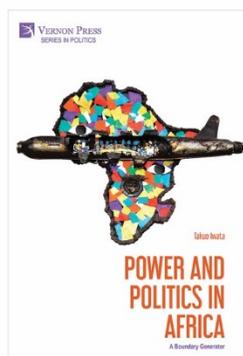
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