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The Comparison of United States's National Security Strategy Documents, Released in 2015 in Obama-Period and Released in 2017 in Trump-Period

Mehmet Ali KILIÇ

Ph.D.Student

Girne American University

Faculty of Political Sciences, Girne.

E mail: mehmetali.kilic@std.gau.edu.tr

Orchid: 0000-0001-6113-7340

Ersoy ÖNDER

Asst.Prof.Dr.

Girne American University

Faculty of Political Sciences

Political Science and Public Administration HoD and Doctorate Supervisor, Girne.

E mail: ersoyonder@gau.edu.tr

Orcid: 0000-0002-2873-2700

Abstract

The aim of the study was to understand and compare the National Security Strategy Documents of President Obama released in 2015 and NSSD of President Trump released in 2017. The study was formed by literature surveys. In this study; information is given about NSSD of USA, Obama's 2015 and Trump's 2017, NSSD's are examined, basic principles are revealed, foreign policy priorities are explained, two document are compared according to four main national interests of USA as "security, prosperity, values and international order" and issues related with Turkey are mentioned.

In conclusion section, issues featured and differences in two documents are summarized.

Keywords: National Security Strategy Document, Prosperity, Values, International Order, Turkey

Introduction

Governments produce policies through certain strategies and targets to ensure their security in the international system, shape their foreign policies according to these strategies. When we talk about the concept of security, the first thing that comes to mind is protection from military threats but, under the influence of globalization, many issues, including immigration, population growth, increasing energy demand, global warming and climate change and health are included in the security concept (Yalçın, 2017: 53, 70).

With changing security perceptions, each state needs a National Security Strategy Document (NSSD) in order to realize her national interests by minimizing uncertainties (Küçükşahin and Uyar, 2008: 7-38). The NSSD can be expressed as a programmatic concept map of the country's foreign policy. The USA determined its world policy according to its national security strategy and showed its effectiveness in the international arena with the World War 2. It became the only superpower in the world with the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union (Aydın and Ereker, 2014: 127-156).

Every newly elected US President reorganized his national security strategy and published the NSSD. National Security Strategy (NSS) is the planning of a government to ensure the security of its country in the long term. It also shows that how the US's foreign policy will be for the next three years of this administration. This document describes what elements a state considers as a threat and what measures to take against these threats (Yalçın, 2017: 18-46).

NSSD's were officially published for the first time in 1987 under President Reagan. When looked at NSS archive ("National Security Strategy Archive", 2020), it can be seen that a total of 17 strategy documents were published: In period of Reagan administration two (1987, 1988), George W.H.Bush administration three (1990, 1991, 1993), Clinton administration seven (1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2001), George W.Bush administration two (2002, 2006), Obama administration two (2010, 2015) and Donald Trump administration one (2017). These documents are based on the preservation of the basic principles of the US, as well as the values, prosperity, freedom, peace and security of the American people.

Although the government has changed, its basic principles are preserved at all times. These basic principles; the protection of the US territorial integrity, national identity and social values, the continuation of American leadership and supremacy in the international system and ensuring that it is accepted by the international community and defense and deterrence of the US together with its economic, scientific, technological and military power.

General comparison of Obama's 2015 and Trump's 2017 NSSD is seen in Table-1.

The 2015 NSSD was the second document (2010 and 2015) released by Obama administration. The Obama's NSSD dated 2015 (National Security Strategy, 2015: 1-29) has maintained the basic principles mentioned above. It was published on February 06, 2015, consists of 29 pages and explains the Obama administration's foreign policy priorities between 2015-2017. It was based on the protection of American interests by re-leadership as the global superpower. Accordingly, the document states that the US will adopt a strategic approach to realizing its four permanent and inseparable national interests which are based on "security, prosperity, values and international order", but there is no pillar in Obama's NSS document. Obama adopts a foreign policy approach that sees the US as the world's leader, does not interfere with world problems and remains distant. It is possible to call this approach as shaping and abstain approach (Önder, 2020: 27-39).

Trump was the first US president to publish the NSSD before completing his first year in office. The Trump Administration's NSSD dated December 18, 2017 (National Security Strategy of The United States of America, 2017: 1-55) is more comprehensive than Obama's NSSD of 2015, consists of 55 pages and is structured into a four-pillar structure followed by a different strategy called "principled realism" or fussy realism as mentioned by Önder (Önder, 2020: 27-39):

Pillar I: Protect the American People, the Homeland, and the American Way of Life,

Pillar II: Promote American Prosperity,

Pillar III: Preserve Peace through Strength,

Pillar IV: Advance American Influence. This four-column structure is called "principled realism".

"Principled realism"(principles-knowledge-reality) is explained that relying on American principles based on the spread of peace and prosperity around the world, accepting that knowledge has central role of power in international politics, confirming that sovereign states are necessary for a peaceful world and being a reality that expresses US national interests clearly. It is guided by not ideology but, outcomes.

Along with Trump, the US foreign policy has also changed. Unlike its predecessor Obama, the Trump era has been a period of controlling, shaping and abstain policies. (Önder, 2020: 27-39)

In Obama-period NSSD, there are six chapters: Introduction, security, welfare, values, international order and conclusion. The Trump period NSSD consists of six chapters, with different titles and contents: Introduction, protect the American people, the homeland, and the American way of life, promote American prosperity, preserve peace through strength, advance American influence, the strategy in a regional context and conclusion.

Obama's document begins with a 2-page introduction of the views of Obama and his administration. Obama builds NSS of the US on "security, prosperity, values and the maintenance of international order" issues basing the global leadership of the US. However, Trump's document gives more importance to internal affairs than to foreign affairs.

The main purpose of Obama's NSSD published in 2015 is to safeguard the US's national interests through strong and sustainable leadership but the US's role in the international system become uncertain. The question is not whether but how America will lead into the future. The main purpose of Trump's NSSD published in 2017 is to maintain the US leadership and American hegemony in the world and to make America great again.

In the introduction part of the Obama-period strategy document; it is stated that strong and lasting leadership based on economic and technological power and values of American people will protect American interests and constructive relations can be established with new emerging powers.

The potential threat of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) expansion is a huge risk, Al-Qaeda, ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) and the terrorist groups affiliated with them threaten the American people, interests, allies, and partners, that radicalism based on violence is reviving in the Middle East and North Africa, India's potential, the rise of China and the aggression of Russia are stated and it is emphasized the global effort to counter Russian aggression, defeat ISIS and prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

In the introduction section of the Trump-period strategy document; it is stated that it is American government's duty to place America first and it is foundation of the US leadership in the world. A strong America is vital not only to the American people, but also to those who need and wish to partner with the US for their common interests, aspirations from all over the world. It can be said that The National Security Strategy puts "America first". In order to make America the first, result-based the "Principle Realism" strategy will be the basis.

It is stated that China and Russia are challenging American power, influence and interests by trying to erode American security and prosperity, The North Korean and Iranian dictatorships are determined to destabilize the regions, threaten the Americans and their allies and savagery of their own people, North Korea's incitement increases risk in the region and there is a possibility of conflict, transnational threat groups from jihadist terrorists to transnational crime organizations are actively trying to harm Americans. American army will remain the most powerful in the world and America has unique political, economical, military and technological advantages.

Subsequently four main responsibilities (four-pillar) are counted and shown how to achieve it.

Security

The concept of security (*securitas*) is thought to be used for the first time in Ancient Greece (*Ataraksia*) Cicero (KDGM, 2017: 255-257). Most academicians defines security as being free from threats to core values (Baylis, 2008: 69-85). However, the main difference between the analysis of academicians is; whether security is individual, national or international security. By that, concept of security, national security and human security appeared.

In update, we can explain the concept of security as "all kinds of active, passive, protective, preventive and electronic precaution against any possible dangers and threats in order to prevent possible damage to people and nature, to protect order, to ensure the safety of property and life and to enable people to live without fear" (KDGM, 2017: 255-257). According to David Baldwin; "Security is the preservation of the values owned" (Baldwin, 1997: 5-26).

The concept of National Security can be expressed as protecting national rights and interests against threats that may come from outside and inside of country (KDGM, 2017: 509-510).

There are those who base the concept of "Human Security" on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as those based on the UN Development Program's "Human Development Program" in 1994 (KDGM, 2017: 318-319). Since after the Cold War, the state-oriented security approach could not respond to new threats and crises, it was brought to the agenda that the threats and crises were overcome with the concept of human security. In human security; it is based on protecting the lives and rights of people who are citizens or not against all kinds of threats by taking people instead of the state to the center. In the Human

Development Report published by the UN Development Program in 1994; human security has been defined as meeting human needs and ensuring sustainability, and it is stated that this is possible with the provision of seven main topics: Economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, individual security, social security and political security (KDGGM, 2017: 318-319).

Below, under the title of security, NSSDs of the Obama period and Trump period is examined, and then a comparison is made.

Obama's NSSD

The first priority of the American government is to protect American citizens. The US provides global and international security, it has the responsibility to provide strong defense and security in the homeland and it will be meticulous and selective in the use of force.

Security is described in eight subheadings: Strengthen our national defense, reinforce homeland security, combat the persistent threat of terrorism, build capacity to prevent conflict, prevent the spread and use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), confront climate change, assure access to shared spaces and increase global health security.

In terms of showing the order of threat and priority; economy repeated 97 times, terrorists 37, nuclear 33, trade 32, cyber 19, competition 15, Russia 15, Iraq 15, Afghanistan 13, China 12, Korea 8, Syria 8, Ukraine 5, biological 3 times and Turkey once in Obama's NSSD.

The proliferation of Weapon of Mass Destructions (WMDs) (particularly nuclear but also biological and chemical) and their capture by radical terrorists is highlighted as the most dangerous and urgent threat. Enhancement of pandemic preparedness in US and the threat arising from drug-resistant microbes and biological agents are mentioned. It is stated that America is the world leader in fighting against pandemics and the US is strengthening its ability to prevent and respond outbreaks and manage biological incidents. As an external threat; collective action against al-Qaeda, ISIS and the terrorist threats and state-sponsored terrorism within this scope is given priority.

The primary external threat is Iran and North Korea. The Korean peninsula and North Korea should be free of nuclear weapons. Syria and Libya should be free of WMD. Iran is stated to continue negotiations that be prevented the proliferation of nuclear weapons and be limited the nuclear program for peaceful purposes. It is stated that the main responsibility within the scope of national security is to protect against terrorism. Although the threat of terrorism against the homeland has diminished, it is still ongoing, targeted counterterrorism operations are the priorities of the fight against violence-based radicalism. The US and its allies are lying and rejecting "the War with Islam" and terrorism is being fought in Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq. Great effort was made to reduce and defeat ISIS's power and the PYD (Democratic Union Party)/YPG (People's Protection Units), which the US see as Syrian resistance to fight against the terrorists and the cruel Assad regime, has been trained and armed by the US. In addition to terrorism, "natural disasters, massive cyber attacks and epidemics" are considered as internal threats.

NATO is the world's supreme, multinational alliance, the security of the US's allies in Asia should be ensured, Israel is the US's security partner and the development of interests is very important.

Trump's NSSD

The economy was repeated 178 times, competition 86, terrorist 82, nuclear 57, trade 47, cyber 45, China 33, Russia 25, Korea 21, biological 9, Syria 7, Afghanistan 7, Iraq 7 and Ukraine once in terms of threat and priority ranking. Turkey does not appear on this document.

Economy and security are seen as the main elements of national security and a great priority is given. Trump puts emphasis on internal security. It is pointed out the ISIS as a radical Islamic terrorist organization, the dictatorship of North Korea and Iran as rogue regimes and China and Russia as revisionist powers.

Trump draws attention to anti-Islamism with its emphasis on radical Islamic terrorist organization. In the NSSD of Obama, however, it is clearly stated that the US and its allies are not in the “War on Islam”, and they refuse it. This document does not include Turkey which is thought-provoking. When looked at a general assessment of Turkish interests, it can be seen that there are many convergent, divergent and conflict areas with the US. When we look at the Turkey’s converging interests with the US; Turkey is solidare to threats against Turkish territorial integrity, main player as European energy supply chain, big military and civil role in Afghanistan, have concerns about domination of Russia in Black Sea region. As diverging interests, it can be said that, Turkey’s approach to Russia, breaking the Iranian sanctions, approach to foreign fighters and Islamist groups in Syria, restriction on Incirlik air base, playing wider role in the region and Muslim world and Turkey’s desire for self-sufficient increased defense industrial. Turkey’s conflicting interests with U.S. can be said that Syria policy, accepting the YPG, the PYD and Syrian Democratic Forces as terrorist affiliations, Turkey’s acquisition of non-NATO Russia’s S-400 air defence system. In spite of all these above-mentioned, it is very strange that Turkey was not mentioned in NSSD (Flanagan, et al., 2020: 179-207).

Comparison

While the Obama administration emphasizing that they would work with the talented allies and partners, other states, non-state and private actors, international organizations, in particular the UN and international financial institutions, and key regional organizations, the Trump administration defines the US as a lonely but directing actor in the international arena. It adopts a security-oriented approach where competition is at the forefront. Soft power elements have lost their importance. The idea of increasing the US military power at a global level comes to the fore.

Trump’s administration listed threats in three categories: rogue states, revisionist actors, and transnational threat organizations. Rogue states; North Korea (trying to make a deal) and Iran (seeing terrorism as the world’s leading state sponsor, trying to make an agreement on more difficult and favorable term), revisionist actors challenging the global interests of the US, being dissatisfied with the current situation, trying to change its current status by turning the climate of regional conflict into an opportunity; Russia (in the area of nuclear armament) and China (in the economic area) and jihadist terrorist groups as transnational threat organizations.

Although there is no priority among the threats, the type of struggle is not specified and radical jihadist terrorist groups in the Middle East are seen the easiest targets. Not diplomacy but power will be used as a means, but diplomacy will be used where power is not enough. Where and when necessary, instead of the international allies that act as intermediaries in the solution of international problems such as the classical allies, the UN and NATO, instant multilateral partnerships will be established and the partnership will be terminated upon reaching its objective. It will be possible to act illegally in the international arena. The method will be used to combat threats, that is, how it will behave in foreign policy, is not clearly defined. However, it is thought that Trump can use aggressive methods instead of defense.

While joint action with allies and partners and solving problems with organizations such as the UN and NATO is on the agenda in the Obama administration, the Trump administration has given the impression that it can ignore its commitments and responsibilities arising from NATO and UN membership if necessary, and leave the role of being the party that undertakes the most spending. Therefore, he defines the US as a lonely but directing actor in the international arena and he thinks about the solution of the problems with the instant multi-participation partners. With the US President Donald Trump’s statement on July 12, 2018, “NATO countries should pay more for NATO, and the US should pay less”, he stated that the US can no longer continue to give full military assurance to NATO, that EU countries are not fulfilling their commitments to NATO and that they should provide the necessary support.

Both governments see “terrorists” and “state-sponsored terrorism after WMD as a threat. North Korea and Iran, Russia and China are considered a threat to the global interests of the United States.

When we look at the both documents about biological incidents or agent; they both see it as a rising threat, pandemic preparedness must be enhance in the US and combat biotreats and pandemics.

Coronavirus occurred for the first time in Wuhan, China in December 2019. It has been stated that a significant portion of patients have a history of contact with China's Wuhan seafood wholesale market. A global epidemic was declared by WHO on 12 March 2020. Related with COVID-19 coronavirus epidemic, no exact source has been identified so far, and theories exist. The lack of a source increases the likelihood that this epidemic will be a biological weapon produced in the laboratory. Indeed, the existence of laboratories that can produce biological weapons in the USA, Israel, Canada, China and some other countries confirms this possibility.

The US President Trump says "Chinese virus", which implies that the virus is produced in China, and says it threatens the US. These discourses seem to affect the US attitude towards China and relations between states in the upcoming period.

Obama sees climate change as an urgent and growing threat to national security. However, Trump did not consider climate change as a threat to national security, and the Paris Climate Change Treaty was not addressed. Roughly the importance of protecting the environment is mentioned.

Prosperity

Prosperity means in short being successful and having a lot of money. When we look at the NSSDs, prosperity was dealt with economical perspective, energy security, global economical order and ending extreme poverty.

Below, under the title of prosperity, NSSDs of the Obama era and Trump era is examined, and then a comparison is made.

Obama's NSSD

The US economy is the largest, most open and innovative economy in the world. The US will try to maintain the US leadership and shape the global economic order with trade and investment policies. Policies will ensure that tomorrow's global trade system is consistent with the US interests and values, eliminating extreme poverty and reducing inequality will be pursued.

Prosperity section is described in five subheadings: Put our economy to work, advance our energy security, lead in science, technology and innovation, shape the global economic order and end extreme poverty.

The American economy is an engine for global economic growth and a source of stability for the international system and will continue to work with the Financial Action Task Force and G-20 to preserve the integrity of the global financial system.

In this respect, protection of the US's leadership in the world, diversification of energy resources, to ensure energy supply and route security, to establish a competitive market order in the field of energy, to prevent conflicts that may arise in terms of energy policies, to strengthen the global financial system, while removing the barriers to US exports with Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (T-TIP) and Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) moves, maintaining the economic order by placing the US at the center of the free trade zone and ending the extreme poverty in the world are important American targets.

Trump's NSSD

It focuses on increasing American welfare with the aim of "Making America great again" with the slogan "America first", examining economic relations, free trade, science, technology, innovation and energy fields and "economic security" is located first time as national security issue.

Trump has signaled that international trade relations are against the US and economic measures will be taken. He has implemented the measures in the following period. The fact that the economy in Trump's security and deterrence strategy compared to the Obama period shows us that global economic wars will continue to be experienced (Posen, 2018: 28-30).

Fair and mutual trade is emphasized. It does not support the liberal world order. The Trump administration is based on a competitive approach. The fact that the word “competition” is repeated 86 times in the document, supports this issue. Instead of developing economic and commercial cooperation, economic rivalry and competition among global powers are emphasized. Trump’s NSSD does not mention Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP).

Another point is energy. Unlike his predecessors, Trump did not address the issue of climate security, but stated that the environment should be protected. He has decided to withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement, as it is an obstacle to global growth (Saad, 2018: 47-51). The rhetoric of a leading “producer” country in the global energy system coincides with Trump’s recent statement during an Oct.23 2019 press conference that “We’ve secured the oil and, therefore, a small number of US troops will remain in the area (Syria) where they have the oil” (Carlisse, 2019). Like Obama, he avoids confronting Russia and Iran in Syria.

Comparison

For the first time, “economic security” is the main element of national security in Trump’s administration. While Obama supports the liberal world order, Trump emphasizes fair and mutual trade.

While there should have explanations on foreign policy in the NSSD, the Trump administration includes statements on domestic policy and the local political agenda (tax reform, etc.).

In terms of showing the order of threat and priority; in the NSSD of Obama economy is repeated 97 times, trade 32, competition 15 times. In Trump's document; economy is repeated 178, competition 86, trade 47 times.

While the Obama administration desires co-operation with China, the Trump administration considers China, which is constantly growing economically, as a revisionist force and sees it as a possible threat. Russia and China pose a threat to the US economy and prosperity, and it is stated that these countries will never be tolerated.

Values

There has been a lot of study and definition made about the concept “value”. One of the researchers who have done research on this subject is Schwartz. Schwartz (2010: 19-45) explains the value as “the desired goals for situations that serve as a guiding principle for the life of the person or other social formations, on situations where their importance varies”(Schwartz, 2010: 19-45).

In NSSDs, American and universal values, freedom, equality, human rights, democracy and accountable institutions are mentioned.

Below, under the title of values, NSSDs of the Obama era and Trump era is examined, and then a comparison is made.

Obama’s NSSD

Within the scope of values, in Obama period NSSD; democracy, equality, human rights, freedom of thought and expression and support for emerging democracies are mentioned. Defending democracy and human rights is about America's lasting national interests. It will be tried to develop democracy and human rights in global norms. While the US promotes universal values abroad, it must live its own values in its country and many people from Guantanamo have been evacuated. Most of the threats to American security have been caused by the recent attempts by authoritarian states to oppose democratic forces - the Russian aggression in Ukraine and the crisis that led to the rise of ISIS in the Syrian civil war.

America supports peaceful democratic transition in Syria. It will help countries consolidate their gains and move to more democratic and representative management systems. Change is inevitable in North Africa and the Middle East.

Trump's NSSD

During the Trump period, some norms seem to have changed. There is no emphasis on the spread of democracy. Trump, criticizes the Obama's immigration policy. It is stated that immigrants from some neighboring countries such as Mexico are problems and illegal crossings should be prevented.

Comparison

There are differences between the two administrations. Trump defined the values which are central to the American people clearly. Obama didn't define the values but emphasized the need to support American values at home and abroad.

While Obama administration stated that the US supports peaceful democratic change and will help countries consolidate their gains and move to more democratic and representative management systems, Trump administration did not emphasize the spread of democracy in the document.

Unlike the Obama period, Trump criticizes and attaches special importance to the immigration policy of the Obama period, arguing that immigrants from some neighboring countries, such as Mexico, are problems and that the US-Mexico border needs to be built wall to prevent these illegal crossings.

International Order

Nowadays, international system depends on international law, rules, norms, institutions, alliances and partnerships for keeping and reinforcing peace, security and protection of all rights.

In NSSDs, American administration sees itself as having the responsibility for protection of international order in the world.

Below, under the title of international order, NSSDs of the Obama era and Trump era is examined and then a comparison is made.

Obama's NSSD

Within the scope of the international order, in the Obama's NSSD, the responsibility for the protection of international order worldwide belongs to the US, the restructuring of the UN would be wrong and countries that do not respect the values can be punished through sanction mechanisms.

North Korea's danger is mentioned and China's military modernization is closely monitored. With reference to the Cuban initiative, it is mentioned to continue to transform relations with Turkey.

In the 21st century, the US has the opportunity and the obligation to create, strengthen and shape the rules, norms and institutions that form the basis of human rights protection, peace, security and prosperity. The US and other multinational organizations and member states will work intensively, those who violate the rules will be paid for it, and economic sanctions will be imposed against irresponsible actors who make military aggression or threaten peace. However, it is emphasized that it will act alone if necessary. It can be said that Obama does not favor military interventions. On the other hand, it is understood that the Trump Administration will use power instead of diplomacy as a means of combating threats and that diplomacy will be used where power is not enough. But it is not clear how and under which conditions the power will be used.

Trump's NSSD

In Trump's NSSD, there is a final chapter titled "Strategy in a Regional Context" which includes information and assessments of regional strategies. In this section, it is explained that the US has developed regional strategies in order to protect its national interests in the global arena with the aims and objectives adopted in different geographies of the world.

It is understood that the Trump Administration will use power instead of diplomacy as a means of combating threats and that diplomacy will be used where power is not enough. But it is not clear how and under which conditions the power will be used.

Conclusion

The Obama administration ultimately aims to advance American interests and values strongly. Enemies that threaten national and allies's security will be defeated, cooperation with established and developing forces will be continued in order to develop common security and defend humanity and all this and more will be done with the assurance of the international system.

The Trump administration emphasizes that the safety and prosperity of the American people will come first and foremost, that a safe, prosperous and free America will be strong, ready to become an outside leader to protect their interests and lifestyle and the strategy for this will be guided by "principled realism".

We can summarize the issues that stand out and differ in both documents as follows:

a. Both governments see "terrorists" and "state-sponsored terrorism" after WMD as a threat. North Korea and Iran, and Russia and China are considered to be a threat to the global interests of the US.

b. Obama administration stressed that a comprehensive agreement with Iran, which alleviates concerns about Iran's nuclear program, and "Joint Comprehensive Action Plan", which restricts Iran's nuclear activities and in turn lifts certain economic sanctions imposed on Iran. Trump administration emphasizes that Iran is the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism, enhances its influence through proliferation and funding through partners and proxies by taking advantage of instability, developing ballistic missiles and intelligence capabilities, conducting malicious cyber activities and shaking the Middle East issues. The unilateral withdrawal from the agreement, made in 2015, was arguing that the agreement was made under unfavorable conditions and did not address concerns about Iran's nuclear program.

c. While Obama administration does not favor military interventions, Trump administration will use power instead of diplomacy as a means of combating threats and that diplomacy will be used where power is not enough. But it is not clear how and under which conditions the power will be used.

d. The Iranian general Qassem Soleimani was killed by US forces on Jan.03 2020. He was believed to be involved in the Iranian-supported militias attack in Iraq against the US interests and the attack on the US Embassy in Baghdad. While it was said that there was no evidence that Soleimani was involved in this. The Trump administration claimed that they were planning a military operations to the US interests (Hashim, 2020: 1-4). So, the US forces killed General Soleimani because they see him as a threat for the US policy and interests in the region. This is an example of preemptive attack and use of un-conventional forces of the US against threats. If needed, the US can make an operation to kill anybody without law according to the US preemptive attack doctrine.

e. The Obama administration emphasizes that the US welcomes the rise of a stable, peaceful and prosperous China, and works to develop a constructive relationship with China. Whereas Trump administration emphasized that China is using economic incentives and penalties, implying military threats to persuade other states to consider China's political and security agenda, and will compete with China in the following period.

f. The Obama administration believes that Russia violates Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity, jeopardizes international norms, and the US will continue to pay significant costs to Russia through sanctions and other means against Russian threat and expansionism, but also the US will be open to greater cooperation in Russia in common interests. On the other hand, the Trump administration emphasizes that Russia is challenging American power, influence and interests by trying to erode American security and prosperity, using destructive measures to render NATO dysfunctional and weakening Europe.

g. Both Obama and Trump administration speaks of North Korea as a danger, it is needed to be deprived of nuclear weapons, destabilizing the region, threatening the Americans and their allies.

h. Obama administration mentions the conversion of relations with Turkey but does not clarify how to convert. Trump administration did not directly mention about Turkey.

In the NSSD of Trump administration, “Turkey” expression is not taking place. This shows that the Turkey does not take place as a priority in the US’s new strategy. Nevertheless, both the European and the Middle East, South and Central Asia strategy does not seem possible to consider Turkey separately.

Moreover, NATO membership, approach to foreign fighters and Islamist groups in Syria, fighting with ISIS in Syria, issues of international terrorism and the problem of Syrian refugees, wider Turkish role in the region and Muslim world, Turkey’s role as energy supplier to Europe, are directly related to Turkey. Therefore, it is not possible to think Levant, Syria, Iran sanctions and Russia policy of the US for political, economical and military matters, without Turkey.

As can be seen in “Turkey’s Nationalist Course”, there are some diverging and converging interests to be solved. How Turkey will take place in the coming period in NSSD of 2017 will become clear in near future (Flanagan, et al., 2020: 179-207).

Table-1: Comparison of Obama’s 2015 and Trump’s 2017 NSSD

President/Issues	2015 Obama’s NSSD	2017 Trump’s NSSD
Pages	29	55
Chapters	6	6 but with different name.
Main Purpose	To safeguard our national interests through strong and sustainable leadership.	To maintain US leadership and American hegemony in the world and to make America great again.
Foreign Policy	Multi-sided foreign policy. Shaping and abstrain approach.	Multi-sided and variable foreign policy. Make America great again. Controlling, shaping and abstrain approach.
Strategic Approach	To achieve the “four national interests” of the US.	Four-pillar structure strategy described as “Principled Realism”.
National Interests	Four national interests; “security, prosperity, values and international order”. Protection of American interests by re-leadership as the global superpower.	Make America great again.
Pillars	No pillar. 4 Main section.	Four-pillar structure strategy. Pillar I: Protect the American People, the Homeland, and the American Way of Life, Pillar II: Promote American Prosperity, Pillar III: Preserve Peace through Strength, Pillar IV: Advance American Influence.
Threats	The primary external threat is Iran and North Korea. The main responsibility within the scope of national security is to protect U.S. against terrorism.	Rogue states (North Korea and Iran), revisionist actors (Russia and China), and transnational threat organizations (Jihadist terrorist groups like ISIS, Al-Qaeda and their affiliators). No priority among threats.
Allies	The UN and NATO are main allies.	Instant multilateral partnerships will be established and will be terminated upon reaching its objective.

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