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THE CODES OF COLD PEACE **(By Analyzing United States National Security Strategic Document, Published 2017)**

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

In November 2017, the US National Security Strategy document, written by the US president Donald Trump and accepted as a kind of Trump doctrine, is one of the most important sources that provide a better understanding of the events after this date.

The main policy of the US was the fight against terrorism just after 9/11. Now, it changes to the fight some states together with terrorism. With the Arab spring and the Syrian crisis that began in 2011, the fight against terrorism has turned into a struggle using terrorism entirely. The United States, in particular, has begun to use all the terrorist structures that it can use against ISIS in the power of attorney, regardless of whether there are groups that harm the interests of its allies.

According to the crisis and the situation of the regions, even the countries that are in the same alliance cannot agree with each other and there is a risk of strategic conflict between the partners. It was precisely in this environment that Trump chose the way to go to the fire with wood instead of extinguishing the fire with the National Security Strategy, which is accepted as his doctrine. This document, and therefore the Trump doctrine, introduced the world to a new order.

At the beginning of the 2020s, the world has experienced a cold peace. Countries do not directly fight each other, but even countries in the same alliance can face each other at any time and can harm economically or politically even if they are not military. The new world order is cold peace now.

Key Words: National Security Strategy of US, World Order, Cold Peace

Introduction

The US National Security Strategy(National Security Strategy of The United States of America, 2017: 1-55)published by US President Trump in December 2017, is an important document showing how to shape US domestic and foreign policy under Trump's presidency.

This 55-page document covers the policies of perception management, marginalization, enemy antagonism and consolidation of its supporters in autocracy-governed countries. The document includes an introductory section and four main other sections with a conclusion section. The introductory part of the document describes the threats the US faces and the strategies to be followed against them. The first chapter is about the protection of American people, homeland and lifestyle; the second part is the promotion of American welfare; the third is to maintain peace by being strong, and the fourth is to increase America's influence. In the final section, the leadership of the USA is emphasized in order to realize the subjects in the four sections.

Significant points in this strategic document can be summarized as follows:

1. According to Trump, the US faces a very dangerous world. The US has two major enemies, North Korea and Iran, which are seen as threats. The most important feature that makes Iran an enemy is not the desire to become a nuclear power, as it is believed, but the fact that it is the world's terrorist supporter.

North Korea, on the other hand, was defined as a country that could use weapons of mass destruction against the United States. Trump, with his strategy of antagonizing his rival, and increasing spending on security and protection, show his people why he has to implement more security policies and try to be re-elected as the president who protects his people from enemies. It should be kept in mind that politicians in all imperialist, pragmatist and expansionist states need to create enemies in domestic and foreign public opinion to implement their own policies.

2. Millions of Americans, both in the two world wars and during the Cold War, struggling for freedom and as it fights against fascism, imperialism and Soviet communism together with its allies; Trump appeals to the patronage feelings of its people. What he really wants is to create an infrastructure that will enable the Americans to support the principle of Americans first.
3. China and Russia are not categorized as “hostile countries”, but they are categorized as “rival countries” that cause harm to the security and wealth of the USA. They are categorized as rival countries as they are competing in every field by increasing their military power of these countries and they control their communities' access to information through oppression, thus expanding their scope of influence with their policies.
4. Trump stated that the USA is advantageous and leader compared to other countries in four titles. Political, economic, military and technological. These headings are the parameters of power and meet one-to-one elements for measuring the power of a country and determining whether it can achieve the superpower position. In fact, in this way, the emphasis on the advantages and leadership of the United States is a closed expression of demonstrating to the friend that the only superpower in the world is the US.
5. The requirements for the continuation of the US leadership are also to protect the US people, to increase the wealth of the US, to maintain peace by restructuring the army and to increase the effectiveness of the US in order to make the US a richer and more secure country.
6. Bush's preemptive attack doctrine after the September 11 attacks is seen as intent, though not explicitly written in Trump's strategy paper. The statement “we must keep potential threats away and destroy them before they reach the United States,” confirms this view.
7. He sees the most important problem in the Middle East as the Palestinian-Israel issue. Interestingly, however, it does not see Israel, as one of the sides of this problem, and source of the problems in the region, and therefore emphasizes the two sources of the Middle East problems as “Palestinians and Iran”
8. In partners and new entities “are used instead of “states or allies”. What is meant by these terms, is not fully explained the Syrian civil war (the term civil war, as if used in particular), he mentioned about the efforts to return refugees to their homes and rebuild their lives and said, “We will support our partners and new organizations that help improve security”. It is not a coincidence that the words “anywhere in the document. What formations Trump's caste is, will become clearer over time. Other terrorist organizations that he supports against terrorist organizations that he describes as a jihadist.

As can be seen from the above, it is necessary to examine the US National Security Strategy published in details by Trump in order to understand what happened after 2017 and what might happen in the Middle East, especially in the context of the Syrian crisis.

If there are two points of broad foreign policy consensus among Republicans and Democrats today, they are these: The United States should not fight any more wars like Iraq, and the United States must shift to a strategy of great power competition in light of China's rise and Russia's rising aggression (Singh, 2020). Therefore, the main policy of the USA, no matter who the president is, the majority in the congress regardless of which party, does not change. The world's number one superpower will do all kinds of political, economic, military and technological interventions to all countries trying to approach him, regardless of being friend-enemy, in order not to change this ranking.

We can divide the US foreign policy approaches into three main groups, whose main goal in foreign policy is not to lose any state at any cost, even though they have rivals in the world rankings, military, economic and technological criteria, and their rivals.

1. Control Fans: According to this school, the US is the world's only superpower and a kind of gendarmerie. Every event in the world, the United States, should be involved. The most important force to be used for this intervention is the US military power, and it should not be hesitated to use it. The world needs a boss, and that boss, though, might be the US. Called the Neo-Con, the neo-conservative segment, and strategists like Father / Son Bush's and Zbigniew Brzezinski, are the leading proponents of this idea, claiming that the US is the master and boss of the world.

2. Shaping Fans: Unlike the controllers, they argue that the US should be the leader, not the world's boss. Leadership refers to the need to intervene in crises and events, not unilaterally, but with their allies. The main force to be used for this intervention is economic and cultural power, not military power, as the controllers argue. Soft forces are preferred over hard power. Democrats, Clinton and to a certain extent, Obama and theoretician Joseph Nye are the main actors of this idea.
3. Abstrain Fans: The third school is the idea that dates back to the 1823 Monroe doctrine that does not interfere with world problems, remains distant and recessive, thus isolating the US from the world. Marketers such as Thomas Friedman, conservatives like Pat Buchanan, and to a certain extent Obama's supporters believe that every external intervention by the United States is hurting them with the boomerang effect. It is not in the US interest to deal with problems that are miles away from the US.

When we examine these main US foreign policy approaches historically, we will observe that the doctrines were referred to by the names of the US presidents of the periods they governed the United States. These doctrines have implemented policies to shape the world order. When we examine the doctrines of the names of the presidents of the USA with the main events of the period, it will be more clearly understood how the current President Trump is implementing his doctrine, and with what future strategies and policies he could be using

Let us examine the titles of the document after this main political understanding that will not change, even if the president changes.

First Dimension of Security: Protecting the American People

The first part of the document is about the protection of the American people, homeland and lifestyle. This protection idea has been explained in a wide range from the protection of the borders, the increase of American power, the arrangements in the immigration policy, the protection of the critical infrastructure from the cyber threats, the defense of the US homeland with the missile defense system and the stopping of jihadist terrorists before they reach the US borders. According to Trump, there are three main themes to be preserved here: they are classified as the American people, the American people's way of life and the interests of the American people. What draws the most attention here is that Trump often uses the expression American people rather than the United States. With this statement, it is clear that he is trying to create American nationalism, to keep it alive and to consolidate its people through this concept.

In the concept of terrorism and counter-terrorism, the notion of pre-emptive assault expressed by former President Bush, although not directly used by Trump, speaks of destroying them in his resources, indicating that a similar strategy would be implemented. It is precisely this strategy that Trump said in a statement from the White House on October 27, 2019, that ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, who had been sought for years, was killed by a suicide vest during an US operation. Looking at the time of this election, it can be seen that through the use of success in the fight against terrorism, Trump tried to free himself from the clamp in the debating process and created the infrastructure for re-nomination in future elections.

In the meantime, particular attention is drawn to the statements of terrorism and counter-terrorism in the document. With the Trump era, we see that the definition of terrorism has changed. Namely:

Only jihadist terrorists highlighted as terror threat and nowhere else in the text, with the threat of global terrorism, separatist or ideological origin terrorist organizations have not been mentioned as a danger to the American people. For example, in the 2006 US National Security Strategy signed by Bush, it was evaluated that war on terror is not a war with religion that terrorists are targeting all religions, and that terrorist organizations of ethnic and religious origin are the most damaging to their communities. The Obama National Security Strategy of 2015 also pointed out that terrorism as a whole and accepted as a threat that would be the basis of continuous struggle against terrorism with allies and responsible partners to protect against the radicalism and violence of terrorism. Trump's strategy states that terrorism, which is now likely to harm the Americans, is only jihadist terror. More importantly, the non-jihadist of the sixty-one terrorist organization on the list of terrorist organizations in the United States, although regarded as a terrorist organization, appears to be unaffected by the sanctions imposed on terrorist organizations under US law. The amendment to Article 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) (Immigration and Nationality Act, 1952) is just below the list of foreign terrorist organizations on the US Department of Defense website; "The activities of terrorist organizations must threaten US citizens or US national security".

In this case, if a foreign terrorist organization serves the interests of the United States, it may leave the terrorist organization as soon as it changes its name or acts with another organization that is not listed. Thus, a terrorist organization made the definition of the strategy document for the United States; on the basis of honesty, reciprocity and commitment to loyalty, it will be among the partners who agree with the US principles and accept the rules as mandatory. In other words, the US is very opposite and incomprehensible to the world as it is turning it as a requirement of the US National Security Strategy to provide weapons, tools, equipment and training support to the YPG / PYD terrorist organizations, whose affiliation with the PKK, which is on the terror list, is now confirmed (Biçer, 2018).

The Upgrade The American Welfare

The second chapter, namely the promotion of American welfare, is the section where Trump considers economic security as synonymous with national security. In this section, the economic power of the United States is emphasized, emphasizing the necessity of a strong economy for the protection of the American people, it will also support the lifestyle of the people and ensure the continuity of the power of the United States. Justice, equality and reciprocity in the economic relations of the USA with other states have been determined as three main principles and it is stated that the economic relations based on these principles should be established or those that are established should be reviewed within the framework of these principles. The point to be considered here is to emphasize the strengthening of relations with the United States and the partners who think economically in the same way and fulfill the requirements of capitalism. Another important emphasis is the accusation of China, who has been pushing the US economically and taking a look at the economic leadership of the US for years, and accusing them of stealing technology from the United States and those measures will be taken to prevent these illegal methods. We understand that, even though these measures are not explicitly explained, the economic sanctions imposed against China will increase and any measures that may harm the Chinese economy will be taken. In the last 20 years, especially in the economic sense, it is emphasized in the document that China, which is the only force that forces the USA, should somehow be stopped.

Preserve Peace Through Strength

In this episode, where Trump approaches his army with honour and declares that he will always support them, Russia and China, which he sees as rivals, and North Korea and Iran, which he sees as enemies, come to the fore. In this section, which can be explained as “Being Strong to Protect Peace”, three main rivals competing with the USA and its allies are mentioned. The first of these is Russia and China, which Trump does not describe as an enemy, but sees that they can change his hegemony.

The second group is North Korea and Iran, which it considers as enemy states and uses the term rogue states. The last but not least group is expressed as jihadist terrorist organizations. The fact that Trump does not treat terrorism and terrorist organizations as a whole and only uses the term “Jihadist Terrorist Organizations” is a clear indication that the USA does not act distantly with other terrorist organizations and even acts together with them for their interests. Trump emphasized the necessity of the USA to develop new concepts and new capabilities in order to defend the US homeland, increase the level of welfare and maintain peace against these threats. Military capabilities to be developed; modernization to meet the need at all times, new arrangements in purchases, increasing the existing capacity and military power, increasing the readiness of the armed forces to the war, and keeping the current and full-scale military power available at all times.

In the strategy documents of the USA, people living in the Islamic geography are grouped into four groups (Arıboğan, 2013)

1. Radical Islamists, (also called terrorists)
2. Traditionalists, (although it is not considered a terrorist, it is seen as the enemy of the USA)
3. Moderate Islamists (associated with global networks, considered to be accommodating and respectful of beliefs) and
4. Secularists and non-Muslims.

For the United States, the most favorable model for forming an alliance and with the potential to spread to a wider audience was the group defined as moderate Islamists. Secularists, yes, they have the Western life style, but also show an anti-American attitudes in the Islamic world and they were only the dominant situation in Turkey. In all of the Islamic world, it was difficult to find acceptance of Turkey as a model secular, also did not seem well suited to the interests of the United States. However, moderate Islam was a group that was more acceptable, feasible and could be shaped according to US interests. Which Islam will be supported? USA's answer to this question was moderate.

The main reason for the support of the USA to all groups, organizations and parties that it sees and evaluates as Moderate Islam is due to the fact that these US interests and policies can be applied together. U.S. support is cut to all political actors who have begun to implement national interests against these interests and policies, regardless of whether they are moderate Islamists or secularists. Even attempts are made to return to US policies through coup attempts, economic sanctions and support for countries' enemy formations. Since the beginning of the 21st century, this is the reason for the support of the United States to the moderate Islamists in Turkey. The same US, after 2016, have conducted some economic sanctions against Turkey and begun to increase its support to some terrorist organizations that Turkey had struggled for years. The reason for the change in US policy is some national policies that Turkey has recently been started to implement and these policies contrary to US interests.

Increasing The American Effect

The fourth chapter discusses how to increase American influence. It is considered that “America First” foreign policy will provide the force for the peace and prosperity of the developing societies.

However, Trump's slogan of "America First" shows that it has brought the interests of its nation before common interests. Withdrawing Trump from the UN Human Rights Commission in June 2018 and the Trans-Pacific Partnership in January 2017 is a requirement of this policy. Trump's steps to make the NAFTA (The North American Free Trade Agreement) meaningless between America, Canada and Mexico, then 3 countries signed a free trade agreement to replace NAFTA, the free trade agreement negotiations between the US and the EU, and withdraw from the World Trade Organization threats are other examples. In the political arena, withdrew from signed by five permanent members of the UN Security Council and Germany with Iranian treaty, which restricted Iran's nuclear program, declaring that it was not enough, and finally withdrew from the Paris Climate Treaty, which was considered a very important cornerstone on the environment reveals, that it creates brand new conditions in the international arena (Öymen, 2018).

It is emphasized that the US will be the protector of the rights and interests of all mankind and will encourage its partners who do not have any objections about the goals, principles and methods of the USA and that development assistance will be provided. What draws attention here is that the most important criterion in these grants is that the recipients should support the US national interests, be in harmony with US interests and be willing to receive assistance. These partners were not necessarily needed to be a state or a legal organization recognized by international law and the community. It is understood and seen that according to the doctrine that whether terrorist or illegal, serves the interests of the United States, will be supported. This unhealthy and unreasonable understanding that ignores the rest of the world and produces policies only in the interests of the United States cannot bring peace, freedom and democracy to the world.

Strategy to Be Applied By Regions

In this section, where the national interests, aspirations and expectations of the US are handled regionally and it is not as a slice but written as a separate piece, the regions are categorized as Indo-Pacific, Europe, Middle-East, South and Central Asia, Western Hemisphere and Africa.

In the Indo-Pacific region, betting on developments in the North Korean regime in cyber, nuclear and ballistic missile programs, it is underlined the danger that the North Korean regime may spread these terrible and destructive weapons, not only in the Indo-Pacific region, but also in the rest of the world. South Korea, Japan, Australia and New Zealand are considered as partners who advocate common interests in the region and contribute to peace and security. Considering India as a global power and strategic defense partner, Trump says that the United States will continue its efforts to establish a four-way cooperation mechanism with Japan, Australia and India. India, acting with Brazil, Russia, China and South Africa (BRICS), attracts the attention of the United States because of its technological attacks in recent years, its large economic market due to its population density and ultimately its nuclear power. Based on the fact that surrounded and controlled by China and Russia and the relations of these two states with India will pose a great risk for the US, the US is trying to attract India to its side. It is seen that India is the key country in this region.

In the European chapter, which began with the phrase “Strong and free Europe is very important for the United States”, Trump makes it clear that the US will remain loyal to NATO's Article 5 commitments for the security of this region.

On the other hand, in order for this to be achieved and for NATO to become a strong alliance, it is emphasized that all members must remain loyal to their shared commitments, particularly the payment of their financial contributions. Criticizing Russia's occupation in Ukraine and Georgia and the use of violence against independent states in the region, Trump says that even though Soviet communism is over, Russia will continue to threaten its neighbors. He stressed that jihadist groups are taking action in Spain, France, Belgium, England and other countries and that their European partners continue to face a serious threat, as another threat to Europe is the pro-violent Islamist extremists. Turkey is almost the only country struggling with its armed forces against these terrorist organizations. Thus, no mention of Turkey is quite remarkable. Not only in this section, no part of this document, when referring to many countries, allies, partners, good, bad, whatsoever, no mention of Turkey, is an indication apparent that there is not Turkey in the United States's and Trump's priorities.

When we come to the Middle East, we come across Iran, which is claimed to be responsible for everything that destabilizes the region. Iran is portrayed as the world's leader in supporting terrorism. Since the nuclear agreement between Iran and the P5 + 1 (Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council; the US, China, France, Britain and Russia, plus Germany), it is mentioned that Iran's developing more capable ballistic missiles, increasing intelligent and cyber activity. While thus revealing the reasons for the withdrawal of the US from the agreement, it also criticizes the Obama administration that preceded it through Iran, and implies that Iran has strengthened due to the faulty agreement of that administration. For Israel, Trump says that, "Israel is not the source of problems in the region". The fact that Trump and ultimately the US see the Middle East through Israeli glasses, and shaping their policies in this way, causes the continuation of the chaotic environment, prevents the solution of the problems, increases the effectiveness of Russia in the region and causes this region to remain in blood, fire and tears.

Conclusion

The conclusion section of the document consists of only one page. It is mentioned that a strong America will lead the world in protecting American interests and American lifestyle. Trump says that during his rule, the security and welfare of the American people will always be taken into account first, and that all the advantages of the US will be exercised. With a realist approach, he stresses that power has a central role in international politics and that sovereign countries are the guarantee of a peaceful world. Therefore, he states that the US National Security Strategy clearly and openly defines the US national interests

As it can be seen that, the US National Strategy Paper, written by Trump, is a very important source in which it expresses the American national interests and new world order more clearly and in terms of content and applicability and furthermore in written form than ever before. With "America First" principle, the reasons for the US foreign policy to be sustained during the Trump period can be understood. Each country may encounter this policy directly or indirectly and tensions in relations may occur. Thus, it is understood with the Trump doctrine that, when the interests of the USA and the interests of another country are confronted, all kinds of opposing policies can be applied regardless of whether the other sides are friends or allies. Despite being allied with the United States, the main cause of exposure to hostile policy of Turkey, is required by this doctrine.

The most important problem facing today's development of democracy is that people who come to power with the favor of the people, to use democracy as a kind of tool, not to refrain from directing the perceptions of the people, separating them from the different opinions and making enemies against each other and the desire to create enemies inside and outside, in order to remain in power. With disaggregation, marginalization, enmity, perception management, and consolidation of your supporter, you can be in power and stay in power, but this political thought can neither benefit your country nor the world. Especially, if you are a world leader country, the most important criterion for maintaining your leadership is your level of development in democratic culture, as an example and leader to the world. The US National Security Strategy document, published by US President Trump in December 2017, will take its place in history as one of the obvious and written examples of this political acceleration that harms the development of democratic culture.

The 20th century began as a bipolar system where the United States intervened in any place and place of its choice, where other states were forced to obey the US hegemony willingly or unwillingly. Since the states did not want to be terrorists or at least to support terrorism, the US could not evaluate the fact that they were with the US and on the other hand, it did not hesitate to cooperate with terrorists in order to implement its imperialist policies.

Using the efforts of US terror understanding to formulate a new world order and to increase their effectiveness in re-global power countries such as Russia, Turkey and Iran who are in regional crisis, the misunderstanding of the US to such developments that those countries are confronted with real survival problems have changed to rebuild the world order, and thus the two polarities, has returned to multi polarity. The fact that the US has chosen allied terrorist organizations instead of allied states has caused problems with its allies and rivals.

In the changing world order, cold peace policies are a situation that almost every country can face. Therefore, making policies with different alliances and associations while in the same alliance without breaking the alliances is a natural result of the cold peace process. It is inevitable that every country will focus on its survivability measures during this cold peace period. After all, the state you are in the same alliance can also be the biggest threat to you.

Especially since the Arab Spring and Syria crisis, while United States started to implement and the “Cold Peace” what I call this new policy, what some countries such as Turkey needs to do can be summarized as follows:

1. The unconditional and without reserve, correction and improvement of relations which are deteriorated due to ethnic, religious, sectarian and administrative differences, especially with neighbors and other states, in line with mutual interests and gains,
2. Adhering to the principle of “Peace at home, peace in the world”, one of Atatürk's most important terse, and respecting the territorial integrity of other states,
3. Accelerating the increasing domestic and national technological development, especially in the defense industry, and taking measures that will not be condemned to any state, including allied countries,
4. Taking the necessary measures immediately to reduce the economic fragility and to save from dependence on foreign countries and to increase the savings and production economy in order to avoid the threat that the economy will be ruined in every crisis situation,
5. What is done in situations where relations such as the Johnson letter, the embargo and sanctions after the Cyprus Peace Operation are similarly fragile and tense, which are important in Turkish Political History, which policies are more effective on the United States, taking political lessons and different policies in domestic politics and to provide an environment of reconciliation in foreign policy due to the importance of the threat with those of political views and thoughts,
6. Personal having information and manner and being able to tell Turkey's thesis and policy should be appointed to representation duties in accordance with merit and not political and affect the effective transmitter lobby and decision makers, especially the United States, other countries.
7. 2023, 2053 and 2071 targets of Turkey to be met confidently with rather democracy, freedom and transparency; policies of less marginalization, hostilizing and perception management.

With this simple, but important measures that are being taken and will be taken, Turkey, great nation that the war of liberation won by the struggle altogether and his army come from his bosom with, will not have difficulty in fending this biased, wrong and the date of unfair policies which it has faced and will be faced in the future, by means of the features from the culture and gene.

Moving back to cold peace; If Trump is re-elected in the November 2020 election, he will issue a new national security strategy document. In this document, it will be more clearly understood that the new world order is cold peace. The transformation of cold peace into cold or hot war will be the curiosity of the new Trump era. With the Trump administration, it is not possible for the world to catch warm peace.

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