

US GRAND STRATEGY AND 21st CENTURY'S DETERIORATING LIBERAL ORDER IN MILIEU OF FAR- RIGHT POLITICS

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***Abstract:** The thriving international order endeavored by security guarantees, international trade and global commitments towards non-communist world laid down the foundation for the grand strategy in the new age of U.S supremacy. Today, when the international order has about to reach to its new globalized nuancing point, when the influence of U.S foreign policies are much more heated and in-debate than ever before and when the U.S President Donald Trump has inoculated great level of uncertainties, it has become worth considering to research what insights America tends to have for the world now. There is a need to realize the very main fact that “tit for tat “tactics sometimes can prove to be necessary, but it is rarely effective and will only lead to destruction in the name of “War on Terror” or so called economic policy of “True Reciprocity Act of 2020” to find common platform for avoiding any further conflict. U.S. cannot solve 21st-century strategic problems with both the 19th-century views of economic statecraft strategies and 20th century’s narrowed view of great-power relations. The United States must find resourceful ways in order to compete with China for an influence within the region of Asia-Pacific, specifically through economic, diplomatic, technological and informational tools along with re-balancing international strategies to address the solutions for ongoing Covid 19 pandemic issue, civil turbulence and for persistent economic recession. In this paper, various predictions have been made based on the methodology of descriptive and qualitative research, that today’s conservative and suppressed strategies of America will last for a short period of time and will not be able to sustain in the long run due to significant impact of global ideological*

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competition which cannot out the virtues of a “Centralized control” easily. In the end, the paper has made recommendations that the vision for an effective grand strategy of a superpower should be to strengthen the international institutions and it should balance the foreign policy with perilous domestic problems like public health, economic security, and a growing sense of social injustice.

Keywords: Trumpplomacy, Liberal Order, Far-Right Politics, Covid19, Centralized Control, War on Terror

1. Introduction

A grand strategy is neither a road-map nor ensures a cure for the complex global issues. In reality, a grand strategy consists of assessment of change in global environment, country’s core objectives, prominent threats and important opportunities and last but not the least how limited resources should be deployed to avoid the socio-economic failure. In the post-Cold war era, America sworn global prosperity, to create stability in the important regions from Europe to Middle East and to East Asia both economically, geo-politically, and to protect these regions from hostile influence and interference. In the unipolar era, the most prominent strategy U.S did follow is the practice of military intervention on humanitarian grounds especially in countries from Somalia to Libya. However, after 9/11, this assertiveness of intervention rose towards aggressive hegemonic policies which can be seen in the case of Iraq war 2003 by going rogue from the orders given by United Nations not to intervene. When John Mearsheimer quoted:” we will soon miss the Cold War”, he warned the whole world that the prospects of worst crisis will dramatically increase in post-Cold war as he predicted “revanchism” from Japan and Germany, rampant increase in nuclear proliferation threats, and the emergence of vehement security concerns in East Asia, Europe and Middle East. This paper has focused on the research question if America still enjoys the primacy of being a hegemon policy maker in the world and will it sustain this privilege in future or not? The role of independent variable of America’s grand strategy on the dependent variable of liberal order in 21st century has been analyzed with the buffering intervening variable of conservative far right politics and nationalism under Trump’s regime and with the economic rise of China which has proved to be a major threat to U.S. in maintaining a power balance in the world. This paper has made recommendations by keeping in focus Winston Churchill when he said that “it is better to jaw-jaw than to war-war”. His proposal exhibits great importance in today’s

increasing threat of global issues like endemic diseases, global warming, environmental degradation, uncontrollable cyber network penetrations, political role of intergovernmental organizations which works across borders, and the domino-effect of destabilization from one country to another; American supremacy is vanishing fast. The long-standing challenge of handling the rogue states of North Korea and Iran has become more difficult now, as North Korea is rapidly developing an intercontinental strike capability and Iran is fighting its own battle of stability due to international sanctions along with fighting multiple proxy wars in the region. Moreover, with the inclusion of presence of ISIS, the capacity of non-state actors to be able to sow seeds of chaos across the borders has increased drastically.¹

The debates has been going on under President Donald Trump regime in the world of politics that even under all these global issues, his grand strategy which is based on nationalism and far right conservative politics, America will gain its hegemonic powers back or will it deteriorates both the image and economy of the country in future? In this paper, various predictions have been made based on the methodology of descriptive and qualitative research, that today's conservative and suppressed strategies of America will last for a short period of time and will not be able to sustain in the long run due to significant impact of global ideological competition which can tout the virtues of a "Centralized control" easily. United States being the protector for sovereignty of other countries and being a symbol of peace and a guardian of human rights, should follow the principles of "limit and humility". Many strategic scholars have affirmed that U.S should dramatically decrease its network of security commitments overseas as it has squandered limited resources of country while generating more problems than mutually agreed resolutions. This research paper has concluded with the fact that U.S should recognize the limitation of using military force as a contrivance of political and societal transformation. United States should accept the fact that there are injustices and problems which even a superpower may not able to solve. The country should realizes that over-extension can be dangerous as it leads to counter-productivity and Great Powers should be rationed in order to endure strategic policies for a longer period.

¹ Fuchs, Michael H. *Foreign policy.com*. July 28. 2019.<https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/28/america-doesnt-need-a-grand-strategy-big-think-trump/>.

2. Literature Review

Brands Hal discussed in his work titled ‘*American Grand Strategy in the age of Trump*’ that there are two opposite views from political scholars Job Bolton and Strobe Talbott. Talbott, who also served deputy secretary of the state for President Clinton strongly endorsed global governance as a way towards future and the individual states will increasingly started to see their interests on their own in order to sustain in a cohesive international system. However, Talbot is of the view that the role of international organization of United Nations needs to be incorporated in a wide variety of collaborated networks such as in private sector, NGO’s and in civil society as well. Bolton on the other hand is of the view that United States should made the preferences to be followed in the “norms” for international world order and strongly endorses administration of George W. Bush for hegemonic grand strategy in post 9/11. However, even in current regime of Trump, U.S is focusing on grand strategy of unilateralism and predominant usage of force and military when it comes to cooperating with alliances or waging a war against terrorism in countries of Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and even Kashmir where it is not playing an effective strong role of being a supreme power in the world as it was supposed to play against the brutal RSS suppressive actions led by Prime Minister Modi of India in order to occupy Kashmir by force. Hence, the author is of the view to expand the role of International humanitarian organization in order to steer the wheel of U.S grand strategy towards creating peace and stability in the war torn countries².

It has been explained by Fuchs Michael in magazin “Foreign Policy” that a true grand strategy needs to sustain in a longer run by achieving state’s interests and by transcending the security pronouncements for effective administrative structure.³ However, in today’s era, with an emerging non-traditional threats of cyber-crime, increase in presence of weapons of mass destruction (chemical, biological, or radiological weapons) in the hands of non-state actors, with the rise of international terrorism, global warming issue, illegal immigration, threats of endemic diseases, environmental degradation, and organized crime even with the inclusion of multinational corporations or NGO’s, it has become difficult for United States to manage the sustainability of

² Brands, Hal. 2018. *American Grand Strategy in the age of Trump*. New York: Brookings Institution Press.

³ Fuchs, Michael H. *Foreign policy.com*. July 28.2019. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/28/america-doesnt-need-a-grand-strategy-big-think-trump/>.

grand strategy of economic interdependence with a focus on liberalism and democracy. The main reason for this difficulty is because of the constant ongoing wars in post 9/11 in the name of combating terrorism such as, in the countries of Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Afghanistan. In a multipolar world, where other countries like China and Russia have become an economic competitor and a threat to the economy of United States, the far right regime of Donald Trump today has deviated from the post-Cold war grand strategy towards forceful usage of military such as in Iran and Afghanistan, towards aggressive economic and conservative regional integration policies such as with Canada and Mexico, and towards a biased humanitarian policies which has been seen in the case of Kashmir, where India has still not be taken into consideration for its brutal conduction of forceful attempt to occupy Kashmir on the basis of killing thousands of Kashmiri citizens by implementing a curfew in the region since three months. The question of research is that “what does all these complex globalized issues portend for U.S. grand strategy?”

As it is explained by Layne, Christophe in his work "Rethinking American Grand Strategy: Hegemony or Balance of Power in the 21st Century" that today, in absolute terms, there is no doubt that the world is safer due to the mutually agreed destruction of nuclear disarmament pacts which ensures the relegation for the possibility of world wars. Yet, most countries still feels insecure, where constant instability persists such as countries like Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia's conflict with Iran and Yemen wracked by Sunni-Shia division, Indo-Pak territorial conflict especially over disputed territory of Kashmir, territorial conflict of Israel and Palestine, North Korea as a threat to nuclear arms, and many other countries where ethnic, social or economic conflict has become a never-ending phenomenon with no possibility of peaceful resolutions. Moreover, apart from these state actor conflicts, the inclusion of non-state actors due to globalization, inter-connected global communication network, and information revolution is an inevitable threat for countries to manage.⁴

Porter, Patrick is of the view that conservative regime of Donald Trump has rejected the bipartisan consensus and his slogan of “America First, and that it should be the one to rule the world” has evoked the possibility of interwar isolationism. He has also threatened to shred the alliances, and to abandon commitments with them. When U.S. rose as a hegemon after WW2, its

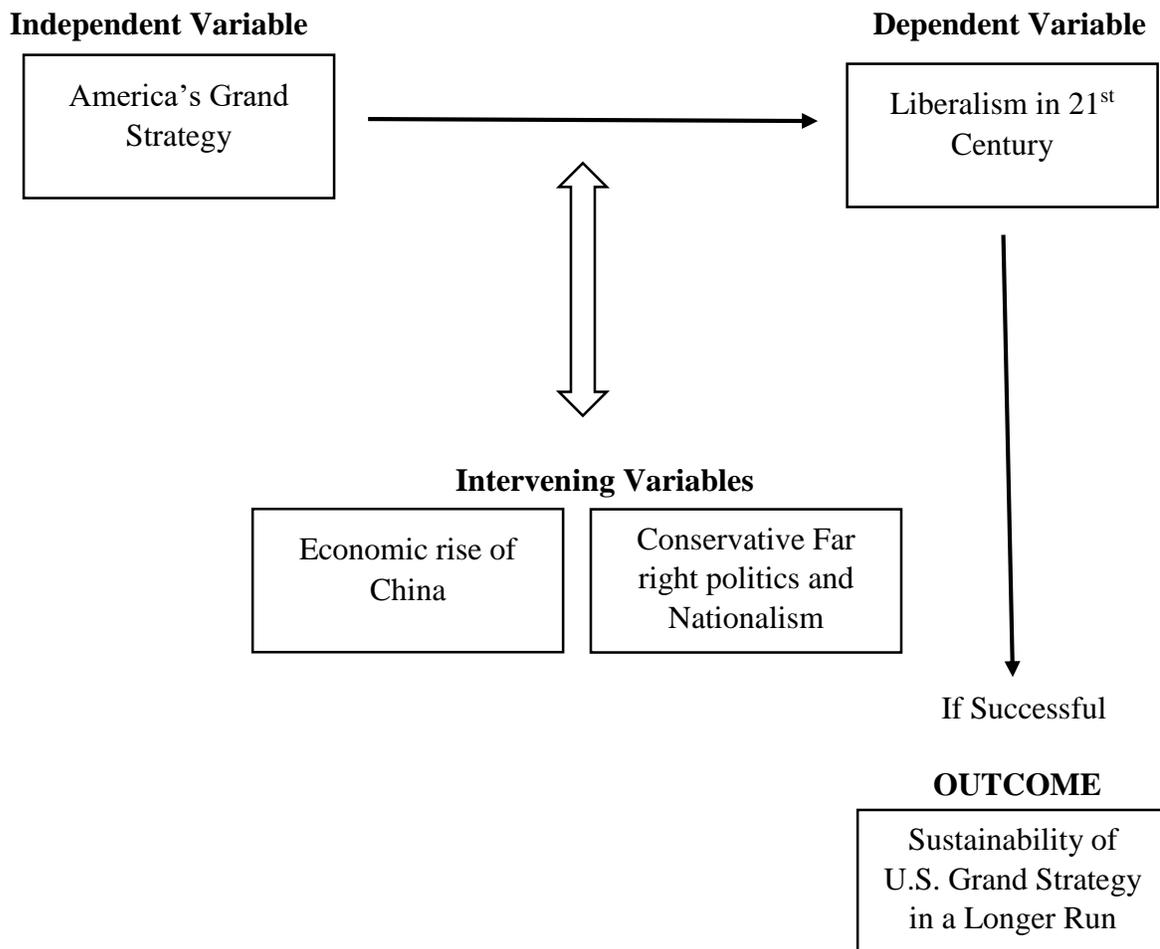
⁴ Layne, Christophe. "Rethinking American Grand Strategy: Hegemony or Balance of Power in the 21st Century." *World Policy Journal*, 2011, pp:22-40.

grand strategy was based on “an open and equal U.S. access to the foreign markets”. Then under President Nixon, many prominent changes happened due to oil embargo crisis and Vietnam War which was eroding the supremacy of United States in the world. Hence, he decided to open the doors for China, sometimes abandoning non-proliferation for nuclear weapons as a priority concern, by issuing public explanations by making these shift legitimate which ultimately led towards strong political opposition.

Later on, President Clinton changed the grand strategy from containment to enlargement, focusing more on geo-economics and NATO expansion which faced criticism disrupting balance of power. Hence, there is no doubt that a change in grand strategy is very rare and hardwired beliefs often face resistance to any kind of a new change.⁵

⁵ Porter, Patrick, "Why America's Grand Strategy has not changed: Power, Habit, and the U.S. Foreign Policy Establishment." *International Security*, 2018. pp:9-46.

3. Theoretical Framework



4. A Road map of America's grand Strategy and its influence on world order

4.1. United States as the protector of Liberalism and economic interdependence; implication on rise of China:

After the success of Cold war during which U.S. followed the policy of containment in which the goal was to divide the world that would have been not available for communism, U.S. is still striving for a sustainable grand strategy. It has become important to present solution to the research question while making a grand strategy that "what are the operative behaviors to attain the certain specific ends and how military and economic means allows to accomplish those ends?" Since the end of the cold war, United States has pursued a liberal hegemonic model as its grand strategy. According to Christophe Layne in his journal stated that", "a grand strategy is a process by which the state tries to match ends and means in the pursuit of ensuring security." However, with the passage of time and with inclusion of complex issues brought by globalization, the grand

strategy based on liberal ideology started to change and transform towards “real politik” in which U.S. started to focus on its own interests first and then exhibiting its forceful measures in order to show its supremacy towards developing and rogue countries especially Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Syria and North Korea. Whatever grand strategy President Bush might have formulated after he was elected, it was eroded away with the incident of 9/11, and hence U.S started to focus on the grand strategy of a muscular “offensive Liberalism” to fight the wars against terrorism and intervene directly in a sovereign country by denying to follow the orders given by International peace formulating organization of United Nations. Its focus was more on eliminating threats from the world than to gain global consensus in order to manage world affairs peacefully and with cooperation.⁶

U.S. is facing various challenges in a multipolar globalized world, which includes complex issues like endemic diseases of which cure is difficult to attain such as Corona virus, ebola virus, zika virus etc., global warming concern of depletion of ozone layer which has brought danger to the natural world and severe weather uncertainties, environmental degradation concerns, uncontrollable cyber network penetrations from one country to another, political role of intergovernmental organizations which works across the borders, and the domino-effect of destabilization from one country to another, and especially with the presence of non-state actors and the availability of weapons of mass destruction in their hands is the biggest security concern for not only U.S. but for the rest of the countries as well. Due to all these factors, the phenomenon over distribution and balance of power along with the supremacy of America is eroding abruptly. Hence, according to the recent research, attempts in transforming a liberal strategy towards nationalistic rallying cries of “America first”, “War on Terrorism”, can prove to be harmful for United States in today’s unpredicted globalized theatre. Although U.S. publically declared its support with Syrian people after Arab Spring, and ensured humanitarian assistance through diplomacy, but according to realpolitik, U.S.’s full scale military intervention may create a vacuum for other non-state actors to fill and hence will not be in favor of U.S. interest goals.⁷

⁶ Layne, Christophe, "Rethinking American Grand Strategy: Hegemony or Balance of Power in the 21st Century." *World Policy Journal*, 2011. pp:22-40.

⁷ Fuchs, Michael H., *Foreign policy.com*. 2019 July 28. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/28/america-doesnt-need-a-grand-strategy-big-think-trump/>.

As the political scientist Samuel Huntington has proposed a “Lippmann gap” which has been named after Walter Lippmann who is a public opinion theorist, who believed that the gap between America’s specified goals and country’s capacity to deliver them always led the country to adopt dangerous policies. That is why it is important to always articulate aspirational goals, and in the case of Syria, a large gap between U.S. policy against country’s autocratic leader, and in what U.S has promised to deliver to the war-torn citizens can create serious problems for America eventually. President Barack Obama although rejected the strategy of global war on terrorism but he could not able to escape from it completely, as rise of ISIS in Iraq and Afghanistan pulled him back into these countries and persuaded him to stay. Today, President Donald Trump has also expanded the definition of terrorism and linked its traces with refugees and immigrants declaring them to be a terrorist threat to the country. According to Trump, it was because of Obama’s reset of diplomacy and a soft power approach which dumped the United States into more fear than ever from its rival countries like Iran, North Korea, China and Russia. There is a need for policy makers to not just simply look for ideological goals, but to understand and analyze the complexity of U.S. interests in all over the world and narrow them down under the light of the alarming issues today like climate change.⁸

Among all these challenges, the worst of all which U.S is currently facing is the economic rise of China which has endangered “Trumplomacy” and in turn has amplified the rivalry more than ever.

The policy of reciprocity was meant to wheedle both Beijing and U.S. to slacken the trading restrictions. But, a year later, the U.S. policy did nothing to ease down the restrictions both on U.S. diplomats in China and on Chinese diplomats in U.S. But, alarmingly, Trump’s reciprocity has degraded U.S. as President Donald Trump’s international policies has assaulted the country’s reputation as a “mainstay of liberalism” when he scolded the countries which engaged in economic protectionism and by limiting the access to foreign journalists within U.S. Such behavior negatively affected its alliances as well and created hurdles in its ability to work with its alliances to counteract any kind of external harm especially from China. Moreover, the abandonment of

⁸ Fuchs, Michael H, *Foreign policy.com*. July 28. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/28/america-doesnt-need-a-grand-strategy-big-think-trump/>.

liberal principles has further created question mark on “democratic liberal policies” which will make it more difficult to achieve a reciprocal relationship with China.⁹

4.2. Debates of deteriorating U.S supremacy

Questions have started to rise about the trajectory of America’s own grand strategy’s stability in the world as the country has experienced significant decline in military spending since 2011, along with the crisis of strategic affluence, especially with the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan which has created the pro-retrenchment sentiments among its own citizens. The most significant failure in U.S grand strategy is the country’s judgement in starting any war and then its ability to conclude such war successfully. The United States gotten into trouble with the reason of being an “undisciplined” in forming the foreign societies with the use of force and suppression; for example, in the case of Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan which ultimately eroded the superiority of U.S in the world.

There is a need for United States not to propose a new strategy, but to amend its liberal grand strategy in such a way, that the focus should be prosperity and security of not only American citizens but citizens of other countries as there is a need to shift its focus from state level to individual level. Over the years, United States has become a whirlpool between the democratic and republican administration system, from President Clinton’s grand strategy of engagement and enlargement to George W. Bush’s War against terrorism with direct intervention in sovereign countries to Donald Trump’s nationalism based slogan of America First. Among all these strategies, there is not a single strategy which could capture the totality of interests in favor of United States. According to the April 26 Pew poll, 57% of the Americans are openly questioning their country’s sustainable grand strategy and has agreed that the U.S. should deal with its own problems and let other countries deals with theirs the best way they can. The last quarter century has proved to be abysmal for United States. In Asia, India, Pakistan and North Korea are keep on expanding nuclear arsenals, while China challenging the regional waters, whereas in Europe, Russia has annexed Crimea and its intervention in Syria against U.S. has sunk its relations to the new lows with Moscow since Cold War. The Arab world has been devastated due to direct intervention policy by U.S. in Libya, Iraq, Iran and Syria. Moreover, with prolonged constant 20 year war of U.S. with Afghanistan with no victory nearby is another crucial question to its grand

⁹ Usher, Barbara Plett, *bbc.com*. 2020 May 1. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-52506073>.

strategy turmoil. Also, repeated U.S. attempts as a mediator between Israel-Palestine and Pakistan-India territorial conflict resulted in worst failure with not a single formulation of mutually agreed resolution since decades. All such failures have tarnished the image of United States as a protector of human rights and international law not only in its own soil, but in the world as well.¹⁰

4.2.1. U.S. and China's strategy over global convergence and regional divergence:

According to the analysts of Western countries, the new Silk Road, now also known as "One Belt, One Road," emphasizes the economic and domestic political propositions as a "win-win" logic of the Chinese government. But this Eurasia-focused project has increasingly created a competitive relation with Washington. The new Silk Road is known to be a further evidence of an assertive Chinese stance, which reflects its strategic agenda of offensive realism through consolidating its regional hegemony, and weakening America's global position eventually.

This \$900 billion economic project of China has extended its roots from Tibet, Xinjiang, and Taiwan, to South China Sea and East China Sea. This expansion has created a tension in the western world especially in U.S., but up-till now, China has not shown any clear signs of becoming a hegemon or to act as a dominant in liberal global order and has believed in basic principles of free trade in the world. However, according to various other researchers, a country as big and emergently powerful as China may likely seek to modify its system for its own self-interest. This, would be a potential source of stress between both the two powers of China and U.S.¹¹

As for U.S. economic interests, China's supremacy in Asian political, economic, and security environment means that its relationship with the United States is and will remain at the hinge of turbulence. This also presents a fundamental challenge in terms of developing any kind of harmonious strategy between the two countries. Although, both countries share common global interests of a stable unobstructed trade, the strengthening of multilateral institutions, avoidance of any kind of extremism, to ensure energy security, and control of nuclear weapons by ensuring proliferation strategies. However, U.S. is of the view that its ability to maintain its position in region of Asia will remain limited due to un-stoppable growing capabilities of China.

¹⁰ Porter, Patrick., "Why America's Grand Strategy has not changed:Power, Habit, and the U.S. Foreign Policy Establishment." *International Security*,2018. pp:9-46.

¹¹ Blackwill, Robert D. "U.S. Grand Strategy towards China." *Jstor: Council on foreign relations*,2020. 3-12.

4.3. America's grand strategy and a threat to ideology of Liberalism under Trump's Regime

After the success of Cold War, the grand strategy of liberalism and economic interdependence proved to be successful till 9/11. The world saw a success of democracy and free markets, supported the unity of Europe and the approach of regional economic integration, democratization in Russia and expanding free trade agreements with it, and making trade pacts with China and bringing it to the front in global community. However, today, many Americans are of the view that because of this grand strategy, U.S. itself has sown the seeds of challenges it is facing today, which includes, autocratic revanchist Russia with failed democratic transition, expansion of NATO militarism and criticism on balance of power, rise of an authoritarian China, and the growing problem inequality and populism due to rigorous free trade policies. Another reason for the failure of U.S. grand strategy's sustainability is the constant change in presidential administration; as young Bush rejected the previous grand strategy of more focus on liberal institutions, similarly, after Barrack Obama, Donald Trump has already dismantled Obama's successful strategies of Iran nuclear deal and Paris climate agreement.¹²

Donald Trump mainly focuses on zero-sum international politics especially in trading relations with country's alliances. According to him, U.S. itself has not gained enough benefits since the end of WW2 with economic interdependence and international norms. His focus is making a United States an ethno nationalist by showing hatred towards other ethnicities and abandoning the acceptance of refugees on U.S soil. His approach of implementing racist policies in the country can create significant damage. It has resulted into open declaration of Trump's support to authoritarian regimes of Russia and China while criticizing its own allies and has led to the deterioration of U.S. strategy of protection of human rights in the world. Even in large parts of Trump's national security strategy differs from his own formulated day-to-day policies. For example, he assured to have a great competition with Russia, but in reality, he seems to be always hard-pressed to criticize Vladimir Putin, similarly, his administration declared to create strong pressure on sanction against North Korea, but in contrast and without consulting his advisors, he agreed to the summit with Kim Jong Un. According to the research, voters elected Donald Trump on the basis of his stance on alliances and nuclear proliferation. But in actual he created assaults on free trading with allies, which created negative consequences in a global world. Moreover, his

¹² Brands, Hal, *American Grand Strategy in the age of Trump*. New York: Brookings Institution Press, 2018

aggressive stance to the allies for paying U.S. more has deteriorated the country's image especially with its commitment to Russia for giving it a freer geopolitical hand. Such threats has resulted into the erosion of U.S. supremacy eventually. He has created an open ban on Muslim immigrants along with the construction of great wall on Mexican border and rejected the postwar consensus of the U.S. statecraft.¹³

According to the recent Eurasia Group Foundation survey, democrats in United States are concerned with the rise of authoritarianism in the world, whereas Republicans are concerned with the impacts immigrants can create in country. But both the groups are having similar opinion when it comes to facing negative consequences of a trade war under Trump's regime. The survey also indicated the opinions of public that the U.S. should focus on building a new revitalized healthy democracy at home and avoid indulging in unnecessary foreign conflicts.¹⁴

5. Recommendations

There is a need for United States to focus more on its national security crisis, and should depend more on diplomatic and economic mechanism with its allies. Only this can re-balance the U.S. security partnerships with its allies in both Europe and Asia, rather insulting statements under Trump administration. This step will also require to establish the peaceful and meaningful relations with China and Russia, for creating pacts ranging from economic development to concerns of climate change, and for transforming the nuclear arms strategies which has suffered severe blows under Trump's regime. According to the research, the greatest threat to the grand strategy of United States is the formation of aggressive conduct by the hostile authoritarian powers. There is a need to have a shift from responding to extremism, or genocide occurring in other countries, and the U.S. needs to develop a strategy based on prosperity, democracy and free markets with a shared responsibility among other nations.

A grand strategy of U.S. can prove to be successful and agile only if it can have a support from both public and policy makers. The vision formulated in foreign policies must reflect the interest of societal essential values and interests. Today, policymakers tend to propose a strategy

¹³ Carter, Ash, *belfercenter.org*. 2018 October 1. <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/reflections-american-grand-strategy-asia>.

¹⁴Hartung, William, *Forbes.com*. 2019 November 26. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/williamhartung/2019/11/26/whos-afraid-of-china-rethinking-american-grand-strategy-for-a-new-era/#195980ea1370>.

with less hegemonic role and more humble demeanor in order to sustain in a longer period. There is a need to actively restrain the factors and forces that can create instability, insecurity and a chaotic situation in the country and should demonstrate an act of creating peaceful resolution in the war torn countries like Palestine, Kashmir, and to formulate solution for ending a 20 year war in Afghanistan.

United States should accept the fact that there are injustices and problems which even a superpower may not able to solve. The country should realizes that over-extension can be dangerous as it leads to counter-productivity and Great Powers should be rationed in order to endure strategic policies for a longer period.

There is a need to focus on the fragile uncertainties created by non-state actors that can threaten the peace and security measures of any country, that is why, it is essential to build such strong economic and military alliances in a grand strategy which should not undermine the peace and security of other nations which can become threat in future due to resentment for example as it happened in case of Afghanistan and unsuccessful mission of intervention in Iraq which created a vacuum to be filled by ISIS later on.

There is a need for U.S. to create a policy based on “better nationalism” rather “America First”. This can happen through a disciplined approach for asserting country’s interests through mutually agreed deals with other countries and through distributing burden and responsibility. Only this will be able to transform the failed zero-sum strategy of Trump to a positive-sum approach. An effective grand strategy can help in clarifying priorities in a complex world with global issues and can ensure the stability with both allies and adversaries. Hence, according to researchers, U.S. needs a strategy that can be preventive to its own national interests, a strategy that can be responsive to the climatic change, and a strategy that can refrain Russia to interfere in U.S. politics and which can stop China from becoming an economic-military hegemon in East Asia.

6. Conclusion

The United States gotten into trouble with the reason of being an “undisciplined” in forming the foreign societies with the use of force and suppression. Moreover, President Donald Trump is determined to aggressively reasserting the grand strategy of America’s primacy in the

world, which has actually put the country under the load of a spiraling debts and multiple conflicts within and outside the country and even with allies. The recent American sentiments are of the view that it is no longer United States' responsibility to always "do everything" and to carry other nations' burden alone. Hence, there is a need for U.S. to distribute the power towards international institutions for peaceful formulations and to its allies in order to solve global issues.

As history shows, the primary objective of United States being a supreme power since decades has always been to promote peace and security around the world. Trump's policies of zero-sum has endeavored the resentment among America's allies as he has stated clearly that gains for other countries represent the losses for United States. With his doubts on multilateralism, free trading policies, has ridiculed the core pillar of American internationalism in the world. He has constantly focused on foreign policy of protectionism, unilateralism and mercantilism which can led towards failure of U.S. grand strategy.

Keeping in context the complex global issues today, there is a need for United States to create a grand strategy that can ensure global security, which can create peaceful resolutions through a dialogue and mediation rather through full-scale military intervention and which can sustain for a longer period of time. The paper has concluded the research question which way will America go in future considering its grand strategy and under the conservative regime of Trump, America does confronts a start choice in how to proceed. The limitation of the research lies in the fundamental question whether American will politically prioritize the investments which could bring sustainability to its primacy or whether it will allow itself to slip into the strategic insolvency with complex dangers associated to create a global order. There is no doubt that the international environment for security will remain anarchic and uncertain due to globalization, with the state always mattering more than international organizations and the concept of implementing liberal policies will remain a falsified dilemma in reality. Worldwide conflicts will remain endemic based on ethnicity, and over limited resources. Hence, political strategists must consider and refine the methods and means by which both domestic and global collective interests may be defended at its best

An effective grand strategy is not fundamentally always about fighting through military force, but it is rather about a sustainability of a country's potential and capability, and how successfully it can mold the foreign policies of adversaries according to its own national interests.

To achieve this, the involvement of society and allies is essential. There is a need for United States to steer its grand strategy towards the collective security of other nations in order to sustain its global supremacy.