# Questioning the Kantian Propositions: Explaining the Role of the United States as Democratic Peace Model in 21st Century

*Hemalia Kusumadewi*<sup>1</sup> Universitas Brawijaya<sup>1</sup>

#### **ABSTRACT**

Theorizing and manifesting peace through democracy has always been connected with Kantian propositions, making a country's attempt in realizing those two not to be separated with Kantian theories also. The United States of America has been self-proclaimed as a 'role model and promoter of democracy and peace'. To some extent this might be true, as its foreign policy key objective includes 'promoting democracy and advocating human rights. However, the 'role model' also translates as an entity that needs to be 'the best', yet the 2021 Capital Riot reflects otherwise. This paper proposes the Kantian Peace Triangle as the framework to do the work, by breaking-down US's policy and activities particularly in the Post-Cold War period. The paper uses qualitative approach and literature review method in the research. This paper argues that the US has not been able to reach the 'ideal' essence as a 'role model of democracy and peace' in the global order, and that this role has become mostly irrelevant in the 21st century world.

Keywords: Democracy, Kant, Peace, US

# A. INTRODUCTION/BACKGROUND PROBLEMS

The dynamics of the international order are undeniably always full of conflicts and disputes between state and non-state actors. and non-state actors. In studying international order in the science of International Relations, war and peace have also become one of the central central study. The science of international relations itself was established after the World War with the aim of finding ways to to achieve peace. A German philosopher and pioneer of classical liberalism, Immanuel Kant, was an anti-war philosopher who advocated efforts to achieve peace. Immanuel Kant's essay titled 'Toward Perpetual Peace' initiated the definition, characteristics, and steps to achieve peace. The United States (US) then emerges and claims to be a promoter of democracy and peace as well as maintaining the security of the world. In the biggest wars of the 20th century, the US has always come out on top. Every victory has also strengthened its power, especially after the Cold War where the world entered the Unipolar era with the US as the superpower (Brands, 2016). Brands (2016) identifies this phenomenon as an interaction between world structure and the US proactive strategy. The post-war period was used by the US to spread its influence by 'claiming' leadership using propagandas such as; advancing the global economy, maintaining regional security, and emphasizing liberal values such as human rights and democracy (Brands, 2017). For more than 70 years, the US foreign policy has emphasized the fulfillment of 'stable, open, and integrating the global community', which can be referred to as 'American Internationalism' (Brands, 2017). In addition, there is the American Exceptionalism doctrine, a doctrine on how the US is a superior country and therefore deserves to have a special role in leading global and international politics (Volle, 2023).

This article will focus on the US's role as 'promoter and role model of democracy and peacekeeping'. The highlighted activities are the promotion of democracy and peacekeeping undertaken by the US. Carothers (2020) and Edwards (2018) identify a few kinds of such activities, among them are; strong support for countries that are entering the democratization process; assistance programs to build democracy; and the special role as 'the global policeman' towards a more democratic world order. The global policeman can be interpreted as a country that has the capacity, capability and power to dominate and influence any part of the world wherever and whenever it wants (Miller in Meiliana, 2019). The US was considered to have this role due to its foreign policy's characteristics which are global, externally oriented, and even tends to be invasive. The US's involvement can be seen in various regions, countries, and international issues. The fulfillment of these roles currently faces various challenges, especially given the two contexts of the current status quo two current status quo contexts; the instability of democracy globally and the US becoming more protectionist, protectionist.

In the Democracy Index 2022, The US ranked 30th place which is 4 ranks lower than the 2021's index and it is categorized as 'flawed democracy' (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2023). The US even received scathing criticism from the Chinese government with 'sickness and deterioration' of American democracy in the publication 'The State of Democracy in the US: 2022', published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs People's Republic of China in 2023. Therefore the US as a role model and promoter of democracy, as well as democratic elements in its foreign policy policy, needs to be evaluated further. This article intends to dissect and elaborate on the fulfillment of the role of the US as a model of democratic order and global peace especially in the 21st century whereas the US grew into a 'super power in the Unipolar order', through the lens of Immanuel Kant's Peace Triangle. Past research on this topic has been conducted by Nursita & Surwandono (2017), however the research did not specifically details the three elements inside Kantian Peace Triangle, directly engage to the US's democratic and peace role, and has not elaborated the influence of the 2021 Capital Riot on the US's position. Thus this article found the gap on unexplored factors above and emphasizes those elements further on the importance of this research.

#### B. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The analysis in this paper will use the Kantian Peace Triangle concept. The Kantian Triangle explains how peace can be achieved through three interconnected components, namely Democratic Peace Theory, or the components of democracy; economic interdependence; and international law, or in the current context, international organizations. Kant views the current condition of the international order as a 'lawless state of savagery', or the condition of an international order that is immoral, full of savagery, and does not reflect the human aspect in humans (Dunne, 2005 in Nursitas & Suwandono, 2017). Democratic Peace Theory (DPT) is a theory rooted in Immanuel Kant's idea that democracy is the key to creating international and global peace (Alfiansyah et al, 2022). In general, there are two ways of the theory's, namely Monadic and Dyadic explanations. The Dyadic explanation explains that DPT assumes democratic countries will not go to war with other democratic countries, while Monadic explains that overall democratic countries have more peaceful and stable international relations than authoritarian countries (Mello, 2014). The analysis on this paper leans more to the Monadic thinking, as the assumption is the US as a democratic country would

Global Focus [171]

serve more peace. Second, the economic interdependence assumes that countries will depend on each other to fulfill economic needs. The existence of interdependence is meant to balance the anarchic characteristics of the international system. This is also the premise of commercial liberalism, where states are assumed to cooperate and try to maintain stable relations due to economic interdependence which is directly related to the survival of the statehood. Lastly, The international organization in question is an institution that can be an agent of peace as well as a medium for unifying and preventing conflicts between countries. The basis of the international organization component is the cosmopolitanism component to achieve peace. Cosmopolitanism is a global civil condition where there is an international federation/organization that is a combination of all countries to protect human rights, as well as a state where an individual must consider himself as a member of a comprehensive global community (Kleingled, 2016). Kant wanted to create a legal mechanism that could prevent states from going to war on their own accord and human rights could be universally protected. In the state, Kant argued that the state should adopt a 'Republican Constitution' to achieve peace and protect human rights (Alfiansyah et al, 2022). The Constitution of the Republic itself is a constitution that supports a confederation of sovereign and independent states, where international law has power over state sovereignty (Alfiansyah et al, 2022). This 'international law' then becomes the 'International Organization' in the Kantian Triangle. Tracing the analytical flow of the Kantian Triangle requires first understanding how the connections between the components work. The assumptions of Democratic Peace Theory (DPT) are based on the other two components, where democratic states are thought to prioritize economic interdependence because they have freer and more open markets, and have incentives to maintain stable relations with other states both bilaterally and through international organizations to maintain multilateral relations. Democratic countries are also considered to have a higher commitment to fulfill human rights and maintain relations between countries (Richardson, 2012 in Nursitas & Suwandono, 2017). The Kantian Triangle analysis in the article is carried out by looking at the variables in each component, namely;

1) Democratic Peace Theory: Using the framework proposed by Hegre, et al (2020) which analyzes the relationship between democracy and peace through three accountability structures, namely electoral accountability, horizontal accountability, and social accountability. Electoral accountability is an accountability mechanism in the form of a fair election to see if the democratic process is fair. leader/aspiring leader responsive to community problems society, especially in determination of warfare and conflict resolution (Hegre et al, 2020). The relationship of this accountability is with Kant's question that the society of a democratic society should ideally always think twice about going to war because they are aware of the great costs of war (Hegre et al, 2020). Leaders who are not sensitive to the wishes of the people will face consequences in the next election. Horizontal accountability is the existence of check and balance mechanism mechanism between government institutions that can supervise each other to fulfill their accountability their accountability, the emphasis here is on judicial and legislative checks and balances legislature against the executive to prevent authoritarian leaders. Social accountability is an accountability mechanism that is carried out by society to the political sphere in non-formal forms, such as advocacy, action, and protest both individually or through civil organizations, to ensure people's involvement in state

- affairs (Hegre et al, 2020). The purpose of the three accountability structures is to see how democratic a country is which will then determine as it allows the country to act in accordance with the assumptions in the DPT.
- 2) Economic Interdependence: the indicators involved in this variable is the frequency of economic disputes and problems of related countries in global trade. The indicator's involvement is based on the assumption that maintaining democratic element and peace in economic interdependence is based on a state's involvement in a dispute, as it would risk economic relations between states.
- 3) International Organizations: Involvement in International Organizations Organizations, behavior, and compliance with International Organizations International Organizations. These indicators are based on the assumption that involvement and compliance are parameters of a state's effort in participating to create a well-structured global order.

International Organizations Democracy Economic Interdependence

Figure 1. Kantian Peace Triangle

(Source, Year)

Source: lorem ipsum (2021)

This research is a descriptive qualitative research with a literature review method that uses secondary data. It is the research that is descriptive in nature and tends to use analysis which aims to examine the condition of natural objects (Mappasere & Suyuti, 2019). Qualitative-descriptive research can also be understood as an approach that done to understand various interactions between individuals and groups which includes various aspects in the order of human life (Prayogi, 2021). Meanwhile, literature review is the use of academic articles, books, and other relevant sources, which then provides a description, critical evaluation, and summary of these sources (Ramdhani et al, 2014). Secondary data sources are sources that theories, data, and information that are not obtained directly from the main source, namely books, documents, articles, validated internet sources, and other media (Aris & Khalifah, 2019). The purpose of using this method is to synthesize information and critical evaluation found by the author with the author's argumentation.

Global Focus [173]

## C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

# US' Foreign Policy Related to Democracy & Peace

There are several bases for the US claim as a 'promoter and role model' of democracy and peace, namely key foreign policy objectives foreign policy, the propaganda of internationalism, as well as the forms of foreign policy activities that tend to 'modeling' and 'controlling' individual countries as well as control the international order itself itself. According to The U.S. Department of State (n.d.), the U.S. has four objectives that have always underpinned its foreign policy foreign policy, namely;

- 1) Protecting the country and its people of the US;
- 2) Promoting democracy, human rights, and other global interest;
- 3) Promoting international-scale understanding of international understanding of the US's policies and values;
- 4) Supporting diplomats, government officials, government officials, and any personnel who are able to realize the objectives above.

The U.S. Department of State (n.d.) also officially states 'supporting democracy is not just promoting the basic and fundamental values of the US, but also fundamental values of the US, but also shaping a more developed and prosperous global order and prosperous global order so that the US can promote its national interest democracy to safeguard the security of many others'. While Lowi, et al (2021) mapped the essence of US foreign policy into three areas that are the main objectives, namely security, prosperity, and building a better world. In carrying out the security aspect, the US has always been proactive, where the US Govt, especially the administration in the 21st century, will attack a country or entity or entity first in order to prevent that entity from attacking the US (Lowi et al, 2021). This is reflected in the large number of wars in which the US is involved either directly deploying military personnel or indirectly by providing financial assistance and military supplies. In welfare, the US prioritizes the expansion of domestic enterprises, promoting foreign investment, and maintaining external energy supplies. In 'shaping a better world world', the US seeks to implement humanitarian agenda such as championing human rights and keeping the peace of other countries (Lowi et al, 2021). As explained above, the elements of US foreign policy foreign policy are reflective of its taking a voluntary role as a promoter and role as a voluntary 'promoter and role model' of democracy and peace. Some of the US measures that strongly reflect the promoter of democracy and democratization and democratization include: President George W. Bush who made democratization justification to fight authoritarian regimes, to provoke Gulf War 2 in 2003 (Nursita & Suwandono, 2017); President Bush's involvement in the trial of Saddam Hussein who was executed for crimes against humanity and genocide, and called as a 'fair trial' (George W. Bush White House Archives, 2006; AlJazeera, 2023); President George W. Bush established the Bush Doctrine, which is the doctrine that spreading liberal liberal values in accordance with US national principles and the pursuit of a peaceful and secure world a peaceful and secure world, must be carried out and dissemination through any medium is justified, including through military intervention (YETIM & YETIM, 2019). This doctrine is one of the manifestations of the neo-conservative ideology, which was proposed after the tragedy of September 11 or 9/11. This doctrine also emphasizes that conflict conflict prevention and security security problems can only be done through 'exporting democracy', or democratization through both diplomacy and war (YETİM & YETİM, 2019). President Bush

who initiated the Global War On Terror policy, or 'Global War On Terror(ism)', in the form of military and non-military activities that aim to prevent or combat (militarily) terrorist activities around the world (Record, 2004). Bush mentioned that this 'war' is 'a war like no unprecedented, where the enemy enemy is an organization - a globally connected terrorist organizations organizations', whose goal, of course, is to 'achieving a global peace free from terror'; President Barack Obama's intervention in the Libyan conflict in 2011 and the Syrian Conflict under the pretext of against authoritarian governments that are not in accordance with democracy. However, Obama's military intervention was claimed to be one of Obama's 'biggest administrative failures administration's 'biggest failure' because instead of democratizing Libya, it has instead made the chaos and instability in Libya even worse than before (Bandow, 2020; Nursita & Suwandono, 2017); Joe Biden's foreign policy which one of its main focuses is 'restoring democracy and rebuild international relations' (Soare, 2021).

Wright in Soare (2021) explains that Biden is trying to rebuild the domestic democra US by strengthening democratic activity outward and globally. globally. This policy was created in response to President Donald Trump's isolationist and protectionist policies. protectionist policies. The elaboration of this example reflects the execution of democratization and efforts to promote liberal and democratic values, so the examples above will also be the benchmark for analysis of the role of the US. The second basis for the US role to be seen as a 'selfproclamation as the world's policeman' is American internationalism propaganda. The propaganda states that for the good of the world and American society, the US must be an international leader in the areas of security, economy, and democratic values (Kyl & Lieberman, 2016). One of the claims is that when the US encourages a country to become more free and democratic, there will be a domino effect on other countries. The example presented was in 2000 after Poland received assistance from the US Agency for International Development (USAID), Poland became a country that provided assistance in the region and one of the promoters of democracy in Eastern Europe (Kyl & Lieberman, 2016). This propaganda can be summarized as the activity of foreign policy activities of the US that involves itself in various issues of other countries to prove that the involvement of the US will benefit the country, so that the US can deepen its influence both per country and in the international system. During the administration of President Donald Trump the propaganda took a set back and much reduced in intensity, but President Joe Biden re-initiated the prominence of US power in the international system with American internationalism (Engel & Hansen, 2022).

The final basis for this discussion is the political activities and political activities and policies of the US that involve themselves in other countries' issues on the justification of democracy and peace. Peace. Norton (2022) explains that according to the Congressional Research Service, the US has conducted 469 foreign military interventions since 1798, of which 251 were conducted after the end of the Cold War from 1991 to 2022. This means that in 30 years, the US conducted more than 250 military interventions into various countries and regions with increasing frequency each year.

Global Focus [175]

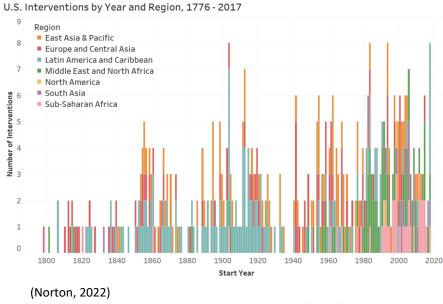


Figure 2. United States Military Interventions

Source: Norton (2022)

Norton also mentioned that countries that the US has intervened in constitute the majority of the world's countries, including most of Africa and almost all countries in Latin America. Latin America. However, of the 469 military interventions, the US has declared war only 11 times (Norton, 2022). The US also has 750 military bases spread across 80 countries (Hussein & Haddad, 2021). This figure is only direct military intervention only, not including interventions that are carried out through diplomacy or indirectly through other media, such as the economy. The involvement that will be taken into account is of course not only within the limits of military intervention but also various forms of intervention. Involvement - US involvement include conflict intervention in Syria and the Middle East in general, in the ASEAN Summit to discuss the South China Sea, in the Korean Peninsula rivalry, in the Russia-Ukraine conflict since the annexation of Crimea, in China (Mainland)-Taiwan relations, to the implementation of global policies such as the Global War On Terror which encourages intervention into various countries including Indonesia (Syahrin, 2018; Finaldin et al, 2019; Ayudhia et al, 2022).

The US often becomes an intrusive system, or a country that has influence in a region even though it is not geographically included in the region, in almost all regions of the world. One of the longest and most intense involvement of the US is in the Middle East region, where the US has been involved on a per-country basis as well as in overall regional dynamics for more than decades. In the Middle East there are two US agenda in the Middle East, namely encouraging democratization and maintaining oil and energy resources (Gause, 2019). (Gause, 2019). The US has more than 50 military bases only in the Middle East, with the most spread in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia with 10 military bases each (Hussein & Haddad, 2021). These two countries are also the largest oil import partners in the Middle East. However, all the policy dynamics that promote democratization, peace, and internationalism did decline during President Donald Trump's administration. Trump's policies were inward-looking, which focuses on the development and dynamics of domestic dynamics of the US. Trump has shaped

a protectionist and isolationist America with his controversial policies such as banning Muslim immigrants, building the Mexican Wall, and implementing protectionism in the domestic market (Sahide, 2021). The majority of Trump's policies were different from previous US presidents who prioritized international international influence and market openness. Trump has populist policies, or where Trump wants to show that Trump is a president who is on the side of the people and promises will focus on improving his country (Upaningtyas et al, 2022). Trump's foreign policy has similar orientation. Research conducted by Lacatur & Meibauer (2021) found that Trump's foreign policy rhetoric merely aims to advance his populist agenda, while the realization of foreign policy during his administration often contradicts with his rhetoric. While the solidification of protectionist and isolationist measures through the 'America First' and 'Make America Great Again' campaigns reduced the aggressiveness of US global global activities, some of Trump's policies have contributed to further failures in the representation of the US as a 'model of democracy and peace'. So in the second part of the discussion, this section will be re-explained in terms of the Kantian Triangle of Kantian Peace Triangle.

### **United States Through Kantian Lens**

The discussion in this subchapter must first be preceded by understanding of Kant's concept of Perpetual Peace concept to understand the essence of the author's arguments in this section. Perpetual peace is Kant's idea of wanting a world without armed conflict and war which is realized by each individual's awareness of individual consciousness of peace, a republican constitution, cosmopolitanism constitution, cosmopolitanism, and treaties. or 'world community', and international agreements of all countries of the world to stop war (Dunne, 2005 in Nursita & Suwandono, 2017). Peace was recognized by Kant as a very utopian idea, so Kant explained that humans do not have the capacity to establish an everlasting peace. Even if peace is achieved then that peace is only characterized by the absence of war (as the largest conflict) and is unstable (Molloy, 2017). Thus Kant explained that the only way to achieve a sustainable peace is through moral reforms overseen by the 'divine guidance' from God, religion, or a belief that can unite humanity, whereas the realization of peace is based on the believe in the 'divine guidance' instead of limited human capabilities (Molloy, 2017). On this basis, Kant believed that moral reform must prioritize the 'humanity' that resides within every human being, as humanity would be the most realistic 'divine guidance' to exist. Thus, humans have a moral responsibility to transform themselves from their 'state of nature', which is filled with lust and greed filled with lust and greed, towards someone who possesses the ideal humanity, with the parameters The 'ideal humanity' is that humans can maximize the use of rationality and 'treating humans not as a means, but as an end in themselves' (Sandel, 2010; Molloy, 2017). The use of rationality referred to here is that humans only act freely when the basis of their actions is rationality with principles that are created by human beings, not on the basis of the desire to avoid pain or pursue happiness, which is a nature that should not define human beings. Meanwhile, 'treating a person not as means but as an end' is treating another human being as one would treat oneself, because it is a form of respecting one's dignity, which also reflects aspects of humanity (Sandel, 2010).

Global Focus [177]

The relationship between Kant's propositions of morality with democracy and peace, is that peacebuilding is the implementation of rational and organized international society and democracy is the only system that can realize Kant's idealism (Molloy, 2017). Therefore Democracy that can realize 'rational freedom' is an important element as a manifestation of DPT. Thus the Kantian Peace Triangle will be the basis of analysis in this subchapter, using the analytical structure from Hegre, et al (2020).

The first analysis that will be conducted of the role of the US as a role model and promoter of democracy and peace is through the first component, Democratic Peace Theory (DPT).

In terms of Electoral accountability, the electoral system in the US at first glance appears to be organized and clearly visible segmentation and spectrum of political ideologies of each party and politicians. The Democracy Index 2022 also gave a score of 9.58 in the component 'electoral process and pluralism' which means 'electoral process and pluralism' (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2023). However, when compared with other western democracies countries, the US is one of the one of the worst democratic countries based on research by the Electoral Integrity Project (Norris, 2017). Looking back at the Democratic Index 2022 the US is one of the countries with the lowest democracy ranking among other western countries, and also earned the title of 'flawed democracy' or 'democracy with democracy'. Norris (2017) outlines several structural problems in US elections that have existed for a long time, but reached critical points in the 2016 election, and the impact, namely: First, Polarization in election procedures. Since 2000, the polarization between the Republican Party and the Democrats in determining the best best policies for election registration and ballot registration. The debate centers on whether the election policy should be more strict or should be more lenient. Disadvantages of politicizing the election process is the confusion and uncertainty perceived by the American public the US increased, which further encourages distrust of the political political election process. Second, the rise of claims of voting fraud. Claims of voting fraud are often made unilaterally by one of the candidates. one of the candidates, such as Trump's allegation in both 2016 and 2020 elections which also led to the 2021 Capital Riot. The 2021 Capital Riot event encompasses the state of democratic accountability in the US. That event was the manifestation of irrational support, negative campaign, and un-democratic behavior that disrupts the order of the country. The Capital Riot was an attack on the White House and the US Congress due to Trump's provocation of voter fraud allegations that led to his supporters' attack even amidst COVID-19 lockdown (Davidson & Kobayashi, 2021). Strawbridge & Lau (2022) found that this event divided the Republican Party, while Norgaard & Walbert (2023) found increasing polarization among Trump's supporters. This division of groups is one of the reasons why the US keeps getting lower democracy ranks, as these fragmentations were based on one side antagonizing another's politicians and supporters. Davidson & Kobayashi (2021) further specified the very undemocratic handling that happened, which revolves around elements such as intentionally spread-misleading information, false allegations, and support for the destruction of public property. This paper argues that the 2021 Capital Riot should be remarked as another step toward the US's democratic downfall, as the country continues to shoot its own shoes. Although what Trump says is mostly untrue, supporters of Trump supporters believe that the US electoral process is problematic. Trump is also famous for his political culture of lies, where Trump is recorded to have lied 2,140 times in just one year of his

administration (Sahide, 2021). This has caused many people who do not trust the electoral process, which has worsened the quality of American democracy.

Third, The risk of hacking. The existence of gaps in cybersecurity of election data causes a high risk of data manipulation. This leads to decrease in the quality and credibility of the quality and credibility of elections, as well as casting doubt on the legitimacy of the winning official of the election held. Fourth, deregulation of campaign funding, campaign funding causes business people and industry to be more free in spending as much money as they want for politicians who campaign. This has led to many special interests of interest groups that can donate funds alone are more attention and fulfillment by politicians. Fifth, there is a lack of professional standards in the management of electoral mechanisms. The US has a decentralized election system decentralized electoral system, where each state state can have a modified the system if it meets certain. This policy caused delays in entering ballots, incompatible voters that do not match between local and state, workers who are not professionally trained, and others. The result is that the quality of elections has always been questionable in the US. Although there is a fairly high index of the existence of US elections, observations of the structural problems of US elections suggest that disadvantages to the quality of US democracy are still large. Electoral accountability will be affected by poor erection quality, as people tend to not trust the legitimacy of elected leaders. This can jeopardize domestic political stability, which then does not reflect a leader who is responsive to the needs of society and a country that exemplifies a 'democratic democratic state. Thus, the electoral accountability of the US is still problematic.

Next is the horizontal accountability. The US applies the Trias Politica concept in its separation of powers into the executive (president and vice-president), the legislature (Congress which consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives); and the judiciary (the Supreme Court). The check and balance mechanism in the US is actually working, it's just that what often becomes a problem is the 'conflict' between the US executive, which is often called 'the White House', and the US legislature. LEGISLATURE. Burns (2021) explains disputes between the two bodies were often, especially on immigration policies, conflict intervention, and reproductive rights. reproductive rights. The debate is not really a problem because it is normal in a democracy, but it is the actions that are the problem. The problematic actions are those of US presidents who often use executive orders and other presidential powers to set policy when the legislature rejects the President's policy proposals from the President (Burns, 2021). This often results in demands between the legislature and the judiciary which then must be resolved in the US Supreme Court. An important event that had been jeopardized due to this misconduct is a conflict that occurred in 2011 when Congress sued President Obama for using military intervention to topple the Libyan dictator at the time, Muammar Khadafi, which the US Supreme Court rejected (Burns, 2011). The use of military force in intervention must be authorized by Congress and Obama knows this as a former constitutional law professor (Boaz, 2011). So the implications of the problem and the result of the Supreme Court's decision is that there is a loophole that can be utilized by the executive branch to eliminate the power of Congress, as well as there is an imbalance of power between governing bodies. Gearan (2020) shows another example, namely Donald Trump who uses executive orders more than Obama, Bush, and Clinton, with a record 193 executive orders by the end of 2020. One of the consequences of the US attacking Libya was the result that Libya

Global Focus [179]

became more devastated than before as explained in the previous section. Problems in horizontal accountability can lead to prolonged conflict both in the U.S. political sphere and in U.S. interventions by the US, so this mechanism is still problematic for the US.

Lastly in Social accountability, the US actually has the highest political participation index participation index in the world (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2023). This indicates that the mechanism balancing and civil accountability are up and running. It's just that in recent years, high civic engagement alone is not enough to sustain US democracy. Case in point on this issue is the overturning of Roe V. Wade, the constitutional right for people to have abortions, to be banned again (Nawaz et al, 2023). Protests were organized in many states in large waves, but the Supreme Court decision was implemented without any changes from the Supreme Court. So it can be concluded from the DPT component analysis components that have been described, the US still has structural problems in running its democracy, which has a negative impact not only within its domestic scope but also to other countries.

The second variable is the Economic Interdependence of the US, whereas the indicator is the frequency of global trade disputes. This indicator indicates whether the interdependence of the US economy truly reflects the value of democratic values that respect the rights of other countries in trade. Although it is a country that promotes open markets, the US is one of the world's countries with the most trade disputes, with a total of 281 trade disputes as of December 2022 (Schwarzenberg, 2023). Trade disputes with the European Union and China. The implication of many major US trade disputes are not not to the US domestic economy, but to international economic conditions. international economic conditions. An example is the ongoing Trade War between the US and China which has negatively impacted both countries by slowing down economic growth of both countries. In fact, the US lost as many as 300,000 jobs and lost 0.3% - 0.7% of the US Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Hass & Denmark, 2020). This implies that trade disputes with the trade disputes cause losses to US society and other countries with which the US is involved in disputes with the US. This also means that countries that have economic interdependence with the US tend to be vulnerable to problems and can be detrimental to other countries other countries, especially developing countries.



(Schwarzenberg, 2023)

Source: Schwarzenberg (2023)

The last variable is the International Organization. The US has a lot of involvement in international organizations. So that in participation in global democracy in international organizations international organizations, the US has a high participation rate. But the US's problem lies in non-compliance with some regimes and/or international organizations. One of the biggest forms of US non-compliance are with the World Trade Organization (WTO), or the world trade organization organization. There are several cases of US non-compliance with the WTO. However one example is the US-China Trade Trade War between the US and China where the US violated WTO regulations in subsidy regulations WTO subsidy regulations, and discriminated against trade discrimination against companies from China by including the company Huawei Technologies into the in violation of Article I of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) 1994. The implication of the US actions towards this variable are that the US shows an attitude of not respecting and complying with international law that exists in an international organization, which is not at all reflective of the country which is supposed to be an 'ideal' democratic state. Democracy on the global level involves respecting the existing global order, and the US has repeatedly disrespect and break it on its own initiative.

#### D. CONCLUSION

As a 'role model and promoter of democracy and peace', the US should have a good quality of democracy domestically, exhibiting behavior that reflects the principles of democracy to the international community, and be able to maintain world peace without causing further harm to other countries or the international community. However, after being examined through the Kantian Triangle Peace Triangle, the reality is that the US is still very far from the ideal 'role model and promoter' ideal. This ideal must be achieved, or at least close to achieved by the US, because a role model must be the best of the best. But this research has proven this is not the case. With AS which also inflicts harm to other countries, the author argues that the role of the US is no longer relevant in the world. The US needs to clean up itself and change its system structurally, if the US wants to be trusted again as the 'policeman of the world' as well as the 'promoter of democracy and peace'.

#### REFERENCES

- Alfiansyah, I. M., Latief, M., & Taslim, N. S. (2020). Perpetual Peace: An Analysis of Kant's Theory of Peace in Terms of The Islamic Worldview. Nalar: Jurnal Peradaban dan Pemikiran Islam, 6(2), 121-136. doi.org/10.23971/njppi.v6i2.3978McRae, D. (2014). Membaca Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia [Understanding Indonesia's Foreign Policy]. *Kompas*, 5 March, p. 7.
- Aris, & Khalifah, R. (2019). Hakikat Penelitian. In Metode Penelitian Sosial. Penerbit Gawe Buku.
- Ayudhia, L., Yuniarti, & Wirawan, R. (2022). Amerika Serikat dalam Rivalitas Ukraina-Rusia: Intervensi pada Konflik Krimea dan Laut Azov. Interdepence Journal of International Studies, 3(1), 29-42. https://doi.org/10.54144/ijis.v3i1.50

Global Focus [181]

Bandow, D. (2020, January 10). The Obama Administration Wrecked Libya for a Generation. Cato Institute. https://www.cato.org/commentary/oba ma-administration-wrecked-libya-gene ration

- Boaz, D. (2011, May 31). President Obama's Illegal War. Cato Institute. https://www.cato.org/commentary/president-obamas-illegal-war
- Brands, H. (2016). Making the Unipolar Moment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post-Cold War Order. Cornell University Press.
- Brands, H. (2017). U.S. Grand Strategy in an Age of nationalism: Fortress America and its Alternatives. The Washington Quarterly, 40(1), 73-94.
- Carothers. (2020). Rejuvenating Democracy Promotion. Journal of Democracy, 31(1), 114-123. doi.org/10.1353/jod.2020.0009
- Davidson, B. M., & Kobayashi, T. (2022). The effect of message modality on memory for political disinformation: Lessons from the 2021 US capitol riots. Computers in Human Behavior, 132, 107241. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2022.107241
- Diplomacy: The U.S. Department of State at Work. (n.d.). State Department. Retrieved June 24, 2023, from https://2009-2017.state.gov/r/pa/ei/rls/dos/107330.htm
- The Economist Intelligence Unit. (2023). Democracy Index 2022: Frontline democracy and the battle for Ukraine. The Economist.
- Edwards, J. A. (2018). Make America Great Again: Donald Trump and Redefining the U.S. Role in the World. Communication Quarterly, 66(2), 176-195. https://doi.org/10.1080/01463373.201 8.1438485
- Engel, R. C., & Hansen, T. (2022). The US: A Cautious Return to Internationalism. In Rewiring Globalization. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Finaldin, T., Agustina, I. A., & Undang, G. (2019). Persaingan Amerika Serikat dan Rusia Melalui Intervensi Militer dalam Konflik Suriah. Global Mind, 1(1), 1-13. doi.org/10.53675/jgm.v1i1.54
- Gearan, A. (2020, October 30). How Trump learned to embrace the executive order, which he once called an 'easy way out'. The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/polit ics/trump-executive-orders/2020/10/29/c2329162-17bd-11eb-aeec-b93bcc29a 01b\_story.html
- Hegre, H., Bernhard, M., & Teorell, J. (2020). Civil Society and the Democratic Peace. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 64(1), 32-62. https://doi.org/10.1177/002200271985 0620
- Hussein, M., & Haddad, M. (2021, September 10). Infographic: US military presence around the world | Infographic News. Al Jazeera. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/9/10/infographic-us-military-presence around-the-world-interactive
- Kleingeld, P. (2016). Kant's Moral and Political Cosmopolitanism. Philosophy Compass, 11(1), 14-23. doi.org/10.1111/phc3.12298
- Kyl, J., & Lieberman, J. (2016). The Catalyst The Case for American Internationalism. George W. Bush Presidential Center. Retrieved June 26, 2023, from https://www.bushcenter.org/catalyst/leadership/the-case-for-american-internationalism
- Lacatus, C., & Meibauer, G. (2021). Introduction to the special issue: Elections, rhetoric and American foreign policy in the age of Donald Trump. Politics, 41(1), 3-14. https://doi.org/10.1177/026339572093 5376

- Lowi, T. J., Ginsberg, B., Shepsle, K. A., & Ansolabehere, S. (2021). American Government: Power and Purpose, 16th Edition. W.W. Norton Incorporated.
- Mappasere, S. A., & Naila Suyuti. (2019). Pendekatan Kualitatif. In Metode Penelitian Sosial. Penerbit Gawe Buku.
- Meiliana, S. (2018). Literary Work in Revealing The Role of The US of America as A World Police. Dialektika, 8, 1-8.
- Nawaz, A., Barrón-López, L., Fecteau, M., Quran, L., & Buhre, M. L. (2023, June 23). The abortion legal landscape a year after overturn of Roe v. Wade. PBS. https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/the-abortion-legal-landscape-a-year-after-overturn-of-roe-v-wade
- Norgaard, J. R., & Walbert, H. (2023). Group polarization?: an analysis of Parler data in the wake of the capitol riot. Journal of Entrepreneurship and Public Policy.
- Norton, B. (2022, September 13). US launched 251 military interventions since 1991, and 469 since 1798. Geopolitical Economy Report. http://geopoliticaleconomy.com/2022/09/13/us-251-military-interventions-1991/
- Prayogi, A. (2021). Pendekatan Kualitatif dalam Ilmu Sejarah: Sebuah Telaah Konseptual. Jurnal Ilmu Sejarah, 5(2), 240-254. doi.org/10.15575/hm.v5i2.15050
- President Bush's Statement on Execution of Saddam Hussein. (n.d.). George W. Bush White House Archives. Retrieved June 26, 2023, from https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/12/20061229-15.html
- Ramdhani, A., Ramdhani, M. A., & Amin, A. S. (2014). Writing a Literature Review Research Paper: A step-by-step approach. International Journal of Basics and Applied Sciences, 3(1), 47-56.
- Record, J. (2004). Bounding the Global War on Terrorism. University Press of the Pacific.
- Saddam Hussein 'disposed of' near ex-PM's home post-execution. (2023, March 13). Al Jazeera. Accessed in 3rd July 2023 from https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/3/13/saddam-hussein-disposed-of-near-ex-pms-home-post-execution
- Sahide, A. (2021). Proteksionisme Trump dan Masa Depan Supremasi Politik AS. Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional, 17(1), 1-16. https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v17i1.357 0.1-16
- Sandel, M. J. (2010). Justice: What's the Right Thing to Do?. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Strawbridge, M., & Lau, R. (2022). House Republican Decision Making Following the Capitol Riot. PS: Political Science & Politics, 55(3), 484-489. doi:10.1017/S1049096521001931
- Schwarzenberg, A. B. (2023). U.S. Trade Debates: Select Disputes and Actions. Congressional Research Services: In Focus. https://crsreports.congress.gov/
- Soare, S. R. (2021). Biden's Security Policy: Democratic Security or Democratic Exceptionalism? Intereconomics, 56(1), 14-20. doi.org/10.1007/s10272-021-0945-1
- Syahrin, M. N. A. (2018). China versus Amerika Serikat: Interpretasi Rivalitas Keamanan Negara Adidaya Di Kawasan Asia Pasifik. Jurnal Global Strategis, 12(1), 145-160. https://doi.org/10.20473/jgs.12.1.2018. 145-163
- The Unstoppable Trade War: US' Non-compliance Against Discrimination Law In World Trade Organization (Wto). (2021, February 15). fkmhii. Retrieved June 26, 2023, from http://fkmhii.com/blog/the-unstoppabl e-trade-war--united-states-non-compli anceagainst-discrimination-law-in-wo rld-trade-organization--wto

Global Focus [183]

Upaningtyas, P. D. T., Putri, P. K., & Parameswari, A. A. A. I. (2022). Analisis Kebijakan Migrant Protection Protocol (MPP) Pada Era Donald Trump Tahun 2019. DIKSHI: Diskusi Ilmiah Komunitas Hubungan Internasional, 2(1), 104-117.

- The U.S. Department of State. (n.d.). Human Rights and Democracy US Department of State. State Department. Retrieved June 26, 2023, from https://www.state.gov/policy-issues/human-rights-and-democracy/
- Volle, A. (2023). American exceptionalism. Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved June 26, 2023, from https://www.britannica.com/topic/American-exceptionalism
- Yetim, M., & Yetim\*, H. T. (2019). Radical Period on The Use of Force: Bush Doctrine, Invasion of Iraq and Intensifying Just/Holy Waw Debates. Social Sciences Researches Journal, 14(1), 345-364.