

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
University of Amar Thelidji – Laghouat
Faculty of Letters and Languages
Department of English



**THE DOMESTIC VALUE AND GLOBAL
IMPACT OF DONALD TRUMP'S 'AMERICA
FIRST' POLICY**

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Requirements for the Degree of Master in English
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By

Mr. Khalil SERYAH

Board of examiners:

Mr. Sayeh KHALFA	Chairman
Mr. Brahim ARIBI	Supervisor
Mr. Ahmed MIHOUBI	Examiner

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the present work is my own, and that it contains no unstated previous work or publication. I also affirm that the work is the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Mr. Khalil SERYAH

12/05/2018

Dedications

To my beloved mother whose love always strengthens my will

To my lovely brother

To all my friends

*Khaled Belkak , Abdellah Hadji ,Oussama Ben Hana, Rabeh Ghezizat
and Anis Latrach*

Khalil

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Abstract

This work examines the nature and discusses the outcome of ‘America First’ policy that was issued by the American Republican President Donald J. Trump. The purpose of this research was to explore the new policy, and reflect on it at the domestic as well as the foreign level during the period of Trump’s first fifteen months in office. In other words, the research checks the impact of ‘America First’ policy on the domestic front and investigates its global consequences. To reach this purpose, the research relied on the observations of Trump’s speeches and declarations, international relations and economic experts’ analyses, and interviews that were conducted with them. Thus, the study revealed that Donald Trump’s new method favoured economic Nationalism, and showed that Trump’s ‘America First’ policy did not meet its optimistic expectations on the domestic front. The study has also revealed that the new policy shrank the position of the United States as an indispensable nation, alienated it from its allies and raised the tension in the Middle East demolishing any chance of peace in the region.

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List of Abbreviations

AFC: America First Committee

BLS: Bureau of Labor Statistics

DACA: Differed Action for Childhood Arrivals

EPA: Environmental Protection Agency

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

ISIS: Islamic State in Iraq and Sham

NAFTA: North American Free Trade Agreement

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

PCA: Paris Climate Accord

SNAP: Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program

TTP: Trans-Pacific Partnership

WTO: World Trade Organization

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General Introduction

The modern history of the United States has done much to support the impression that the promotion of the American national security and economic prosperity, along with idealism, is the top priority among all interests. Since the Cold War, U.S. foreign policy has taken a new direction; from containment that shaped U.S. foreign policy to the embrace of a new leading role and the launch of the war against terror. In 2016, the United States witnessed, as it used to do every four years, the presidential election of Donald J. Trump as the 45th president of the United States. The new president has outlined the major and overriding theme of his administration calling it ‘America First’ which will also direct the U.S. foreign policy.

Thus, many writers have tackled the issue of Trump’s new vision ‘America First’ and reflected on it in a broad context. The main available references that revolve around the present discussion can be seen in three major areas: first, reflecting the content of Trump’s new project in relation to his campaign declarations and National security strategy speech. In their article “President Trump Stresses ‘America First’ In National Security Strategy Speech”, Lemire and Yen have explored the project brought by President Donald Trump and classified it into four main themes: protecting the homeland through deportation and more restrictions on immigrants, promoting American prosperity, promoting strength through the modernization of the army’s arsenal by extending its budget, and advancing American influence in a competitive world especially when it comes to trade. Secondly, there is a reflection on the value of the project in relation to the American economy and trade as well as the local challenges that face the country. In her article “Donald Trump's Economic Plan,” Amadeo mentioned that Trump aims at making America “Great Again” through economic nationalism. His objectives revolve around protecting the U.S. industries from foreign

competition, reducing the trade deficit, and paving the way to bilateral trade agreements by ending free trade. She also pointed out how Trump's tax plan lowers income taxes despite the increase in the national debt, and how 'America First' Energy Plan revives the coal industry despite the increase in carbon emissions that would worsen the global warming, and how restricting immigration and ending some visa programs would cause companies to lose market share and valuable employees. Finally, writers provided the overall view of the implications and effects of the new policy in the international scale that would probably lead to profound changes in international relationships. In his article "What Trump's 'America First' Policy Could Mean for the World." Stoffer believes that the implementation of 'America First' theme on the ground through the restriction of immigration, the deportation of illegal immigrants, the withdrawal from multilateral agreements such as Paris Climate Accord and the nuclear treaty with Iran, and the reduction of troops in places including South Korea and Germany on the basis that they do not pay for their protection, will probably lead to consequences that are absolutely not good for America and the world. The United States has been playing an indispensable role in the contemporary global system especially when it comes to coordination with its allies. However, through President Trump's proclaimed agenda and renowned rhetoric, in addition to the unprecedented retreats and scepticism that have been clearly identified in the United States relations with its allies, we can be sure of a deviation in its traditional path that it used to follow in the world. That issue does not seem to have been fully examined for the identification of its the overall impact on both the domestic and foreign affairs. The new directions drawn by the new American administration need to be clearly understood, and its impact on the United States itself and the world needs to be investigated in order to arrive at the identification of its new position in the world.

In response to the stated problem, the study aims at underlining and highlighting the detailed elements of ‘America First’ vision through a careful analysis in the light of Donald Trump’s declarations, speeches and promises, and their implementation so far. The present research also aims to determine Trump’s ‘America First’ value on the domestic ground, especially when it comes to economy, healthcare, and preserving life and safety through deportation and closed borders against the undocumented and illegal aliens. The final objective would be a careful study of the current data concerning the international scene, in relation to the implementation of the new policy in order to come up with conclusions concerning the firm and inevitable global outcomes of Trump’s project. In this vein, this research is an attempt to answer the following research questions:

- What is the nature of ‘America First’ policy?
- What would ‘America First’ policy bring to the American people?
- How would this policy set, in the long term, the political international scene?

Thus, the research relies on the data based approach. The study will go through different views from researchers and experts in the economic, geopolitical, and the strategic field that are stated in their books and online articles. The study examines the reflections of political analysts and economists through interviews and depends on observations made on the continuous development concerning the implementation of the new American policy.

In order to reach the stated objectives and answer the research questions, the present work is divided into three main chapters. Donald Trump, as a candidate, has shed the light on his project to the American people, and revealed his plan to deal with different contemporary issues in his presidential campaign referring to the term ‘America First’ which he described as “the major and overriding theme” of his administration; thus, the first chapter will be concerned with the meaning of ‘America First’ from different angles. Then, it will view Trump’s plans and campaign promises concerning the local issues and international relations.

The second chapter will be concerned with the impact of Trump's plans on the domestic front in addition to his approach to trade and how it will contribute to the economy as well as the living conditions of the American people. This is mostly done through an analysis of data provided by different agencies using different indicators that reflect the current situation in the United States.

The third chapter will contain a careful study of the current situation in the world in relation to Trump's foreign policy, and subsequently draw conclusions and results that are witnessed due to Trump's moves and behaviours toward different international issues including the Middle East, the Iran deal, peace in the Korean peninsula and other issues concerning allies and rivals.

Chapter One

The Nature of ‘America First’ Policy

Introduction

This chapter will examine the historical background of ‘America First’ policy as well as the future plans drawn for it in Donald Trump’s presidential campaign. First, we will provide all the possible meanings that the term ‘America First’ could imply on the basis of its use in the United States over the past decades. Also, we will reveal the term’s new use in the light of Donald Trump’s declarations concerning the term itself, and the domestic as well as the foreign policy he has outlined as a candidate. Then, we will explore Trump’s presidential campaign promises and his overall declarations that are concerned with ‘America First’ in both the domestic field and the area of foreign affairs, as it is worth shedding light on the platform where we can base our research on the impact of Trump’s policy.

1.1. ‘America First’ as a Political Slogan

The slogan ‘America First’ has been used by the American President Donald Trump in his presidential campaign. He has declared that ‘America First’ will be the major theme of his administration. The slogan has historical roots and its meaning in the past may differ from that in the modern time.

1.1.1. Historical Background (1916 – 1996)

‘America first’ as a term, is not new. Actually, it has never been new in the last hundred years. In the field of politics, the slogan often referred to anti-interventionism, isolationism, and anti-expansionism. In some organizations, the term was also embraced to express attitudes that favour racism and support Nazism and anti-Semitism. (Emery)

Donald J. Trump, as a matter of fact, is not the first one to coin the term 'America First'; the term, actually, was either directly used or expressed in terms of its political meaning by former presidents. During WWI, when he was running for re-election in 1916, President Woodrow Wilson promised not to, under any condition, enter the war, using his campaign slogan "He kept us out of War, America First." Ironically, America entered the war in 1917 after two years of efforts made by President Wilson to remain neutral (Clack 205). Later, in his critique of Wilson's move towards the fierce European chaos, the newspaper Publisher William Randolph Hearst, used the slogan 'America First' stating: "Keep every dollar and every man and every weapon and all our supplies and stores at home, for the defense of our own land, our own people, our own freedom, until that defense has been made absolutely secure. After that, we can think of other nations' troubles, but until then, America first!" (Rubino). The treaty of Versailles that has been signed by Germany and the Allied Powers was rejected many times by the senate signalling the return to isolationism. (Clack 206)

In 1920, Another American president came to ensure the essence of 'America First'. Warren G. Harding won the presidency after he expressed his intentions to ensure, again, U.S. neutrality, national defence, and domestic economy calling for an "absolute control of the United States by the United States." In his inaugural address, President Warren G. Harding asserted that: "America can be a party to no permanent military alliance. It can enter into no political commitments, nor assume any economic obligations which will subject our decisions to any other than our own authority." Part of Trump's 'America First' policy expressed in his inauguration speech on January 20, 2017, is quite similar to that of Harding's, he said : "Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families." (Rubino). Economic nationalism and the tendency to limit immigration were also common between Trump and Harding.

In 1923, Harding's successor Calvin Coolidge continued with the same policy and expressed his own 'America First' notion as well, stating: "America must remain American" (Rubino). According to some of Trump's critics, 'America First' slogan was also used by the white supremacist group 'Ku Klux Klan' in one of their marches in 1920s; an organization which flourished from 1921 to 1926 and which exceeded millions of members including women, governors and political figures who wanted a pure nation out of blacks, Catholics and Jews (Hamby 236). 'America First' slogan was also engraved in one of the two faces of the Ku Klux Klan's token along with the slogan "Preserve Racial Purity". A KKK speaker quoted in the Binghamton, *New York Press and Sun-Bulletin* in 1923: "I stand for America first, last and always, I am opposed to any organization which tries to bring in foreign and alien ideals." (Emery)

In 1940, a non-interventionist group appeared in America opposing any attempt to participate in the European conflict, and in a way, it favoured making a peace deal with Nazi Germany as the group was characterized by fascism and anti-Semitism. The group was officially known as 'America First Committee' which was one of the largest anti-war organizations in American history. (Rubino)

America First Committee (AFC) was established on September 4, 1940; by R. Douglas Stuart who was a student at the law School of Yale University, in New Haven, Connecticut, along with other students, including future President Gerald Ford, future Peace Corps director Sargent Shriver, and future U.S. Supreme Court justice Potter Stewart. The committee claimed a membership of 800,000. It attracted many figures such as publishers, politicians, writers, journalists, historians, activists, Businessmen, and even Soldiers in the U.S. Army including the notable Aviator Charles A. Lindbergh who was the most noteworthy leader and spokesman of the organization. He is known for his expressions about his fear from the danger of Jews on the United States. (Encyclopaedia Britannica)

Although there were early tensions with Japan, America First Committee focused entirely on Europe, aiming to enforce the 1939 Neutrality Act and ensure President Franklin D. Roosevelt keeps America out of the war despite the notable Progress made by the axis powers, especially after the fall of France. The internal conflict between President Roosevelt and the non-interventionists revolved around Roosevelt's lend-lease bill (Clack 220). The act contained that the U.S. could ship weapons, food, and all equipments to all countries struggling with the Axis. Although it somehow violates the neutrality act of 1939, President Roosevelt claimed that the act would benefit the United States, as it will prove the strength of the United States' defence through observing how well the countries receiving the American ships do in the war. He stated: "That would be on the general theory that it may still prove true that the best defense of Great Britain is the best defense of the United States, and therefore that these materials would be more useful to the defense of the United States if they were used in Great Britain than if they were kept in storage here." President Roosevelt also put a paradigm of the act for more profound justification, describing it as "helping to put out the fire in your neighbor's house before your own house caught fire and burned down." (United States History)

America First Committee held basic principles that, for them, were crucial in reinforcing the United States' strength and position. First, The United States must build an impregnable defence for America as power can successfully attack a prepared America. Building an army that would stand against any threat from any power in the world, was a great necessity. This was highly influenced by the Aviator Charles A. Lindbergh who felt the need to improve and focus on the American defence especially after witnessing Hitler's revolutionary tactics and genius weapons that could ultimately conquer Europe. In this way, America does not bother with any foreign conflict with any possible outcome. Second, the organization believed in neutrality as the only way to preserve American democracy. America

does not need to involve itself in any foreign conflict whether through military intervention or even Roosevelt's 'Aid short of war' in order to spread democracy. (Duffy 76-77)

Although it has been refuted by some writers, America First Committee is highly believed to be racist, anti Semitic, and a Nazi sympathizer (Emery). The most noteworthy leader of the organization Charles Lindbergh asserted that although their persecution in Germany is unforgivable, Jewish people pose a great threat to The United States. In his speech to a rally in Des Moines, Iowa, on September 11, 1941, Lindbergh claimed:

No person with a sense of the dignity of mankind can condone the persecution the Jewish race suffered in Germany, but no person of honesty and vision can look on their pro-war policy here today without seeing the dangers involved in such a policy, both for us and for them . . . Their greatest danger to this country lies in their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio, and our government. (Cole 144)

However, When Japan attacked Pearl Harbour, tension grew and the tendency to make Japan pay back was enhanced and even America First Committee members, including Lindbergh, felt the need to enter the war as the devastating outcome of the Japanese assault was never to be disregarded or tolerated. (Schlup and Ryan)

For the United States of America, the attack on pearl harbour was the turning point that signalled the end of its isolationism, or at least the end of non-interventionism. The American public itself has fundamentally changed its views on international events and became non-isolationist. Berinsky referred to the American people as an isolationist force according to the World War II studies. Nevertheless, the Americans have deeply reacted to

the incident of pearl harbour that caused the loss of many lives, Berinsky stated: “with the attack on Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941, conventional wisdom tells us, the inward focus of the United States ended suddenly. To use the words of Michigan Senator Arthur Vandenberg, “That day ended isolationism.” (14-15) that turn was portrayed through a poll raised from December 31, 1944 until January 4, 1945. The poll’s matter was “If Hitler offered to make peace now and would give up all land he has conquered, should we try to work out a peace or should we go on fighting until the German army is completely defeated?” the result was surprising as 73 percent of the American people wanted to completely defeat Germany and greatly supported unconditional surrender. (8)

Conservative activist Patrick Joseph Buchanan who ran for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1992 and 1996, referred to the term ‘America First’, during his presidential announcement speech in 1992. He stated: “We call for a new patriotism, where Americans begin to put the needs of Americans first, for a new nationalism where in every negotiation, be it arms control or trade; the American side seeks advantage and victory for the United States”. Buchanan’s message is quite similar to Trump’s notion of nationalism. They both share the same principle that all what America should care about is what benefits America first. The slogan was clearly stated in 1996 when Buchanan declared again in his presidential nomination: “When I walk into that Oval Office, we start looking out for America first.” (Rubino)

There is no obvious proof that indicates the first one to use the slogan; however, there is no doubt that it has historical roots throughout the past century. During his presidential campaign, Trump reflected, in many occasions, on his catchphrase stressing that it has nothing to do with its historical use and it is, therefore, totally new.

1.1.2. The Modern Use

In his inauguration speech, President Donald Trump pointed out his administration's theme which will govern the land, and set the basis for every decision that will be taken. He declared: "from this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. From this day forward, it is going to be only America first, America first. Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families" (Trump, The Inauguration of the 45th President). Many observers and critics related Trump's use of 'America First' to isolationism justifying their claims by Trump's intentions and promises to withdraw from different pacts and alliances. (Emery)

In an interview with the *New York Times*, Donald Trump, as a Republican presidential candidate, has mentioned that he was not an "isolationist" but in fact, 'America First'. He explained the reason for using the term, saying: "I like the expression; I'm 'America First' (Rothman). Trump has explained that he embraced the idea in order to preserve the nation's interests. By using the slogan, he meant that America and the American people should be given the highest priority, and that America must prevent other nations from exploiting its money. It is, therefore, Trump's responsibility to put America first and above all. David E. Sanger, the chief Washington correspondent for *The New York Times*, questioned Trump about his use of the phrase, and whether it was related to its historical roots, Trump responded: "To me, America First is a brand-new modern term. I never related it to the past." When he was asked whether he knew about its historical roots, he said: "I was familiar, but it wasn't used for that reason. It was used as a brand-new, very modern term." (Nelson)

In the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting in Davos, Donald Trump expressed his commitment to always put America first, saying: "As president of the United States, I will always put America first just like the leaders of other countries should put their country first

also". He explained further saying: "but America First does not mean America alone!" (Trump, Donald Trump Speaks at Davos). This would be a refutation of the idea that America is heading toward Isolationism.

In his address to the UN general assembly, Trump stressed that America has to be put first, as all leaders everywhere have the responsibility to serve their nations and, at high levels, elevate the human condition. He clearly stated and insisted that his policy will never be an isolationist, and stated that promoting a better life for all people around the world must go through harmony, unity, and cooperation between all nations. He added: "the United States will forever be a great friend to the world and especially to its allies" (Trump, President Trump Addresses the United Nations). Here, again, Trump insists that America will never abandon its allies or refuse to participate in the world peace and prosperity in contrast to the different interpretations of his slogan; However, America has to always benefit and fulfil its interests and will not tolerate, as Trump indicated, any nation that takes advantage with nothing in return. He declared: "we can no longer be taken advantage of, or enter into a one sided deal where The United States gets nothing in return". 'America First' does not put America in a position of isolation, give up the United States' allies, retreat from preserving peace and prosperity or fail against whoever threatens them. This commitment was clearly stated by Trump who said: "As long as I hold this office I will defend America's interest above all else, but with fulfilling our obligations to all nations." (President Trump addresses the United Nations)

'America First' also takes the shape of the national security strategy made by Donald Trump. He delivered a speech highlighting his first national security strategy, and *NBC News* reflected on it as the speech that lays out Trump's administration's approach against all threats that face the nation, and reflects his 'America first' campaign promise. He pointed out that they must protect the homeland through a serious plan that involves securing borders, and

ending visa and lottery programs. They also must protect America from what he called 'Radical Islam' or whatever represents a threat to the American society. The economic security on the other hand is, as Trump emphasized, national security. He mentioned that the American strength and influence abroad, inevitably lies in its economic growth, based on the principle of fairness and further reforms. Trump also insisted on the idea that peace is preserved through strength, as there will be more emphasis on military modernizations through more reinforcements and more spending so that America will be always prepared, and always a prominent peace maker in the world. That goal will be achieved on the condition that allies pay their fair share to collective or mutual defence, as America should no longer taken advantage of by nations that neither pay their fair share nor pay the United States in return for their protection, however, if those nations maintain their commitments, America will cooperate with allies as well as all nations for common causes, and will never be isolated or acts alone. (Trump, President Donald Trump Delivers Remarks)

'America First,' on the basis of Donald Trump's presidential campaign, takes a whole new shape. It is modern and subsequently different from what it has meant in the past, whether it meant anti-Semitism, pro- Nazism, isolationism or non- interventionism.

1.2. 'America First' in Trump's Presidential Campaign

1.2.1. Domestic Issues

1.2.1.1. Taxes

"We are going to have the biggest tax cuts since Ronald Reagan," Said Donald Trump in his campaign rally in Delaware, Ohio, "we will eliminate any unnecessary job killing regulation" (Donald Trump Rally in Delaware Ohio). Tax cuts were the main focus of Trump during presidential campaign and which he believes are essential in proving Americans' life conditions as American workers will save more and the unemployed will be employed

without any remarkable side effect on economy. Trump's tax plan constitutes a significant part of his overall plan to grow U.S. economy.

Donald Trump promised to pass the Middle Class Tax Relief and Simplification Act under his overall tax plan that he called "common sense" proposal to simplify the tax code (Johnson, Here are 282 of Donald Trump's campaign promises). The act was a large plan that involved tax reduction and repealing restrictions, in addition to trade reforms and regulatory reliefs, that were made to promote the growth of the economy and create millions of jobs. (The Trump Early Warning Tracker)

Donald Trump has insisted, in more than one occasion, that growing economy is essential and should be put as the highest priority, because it represents the national security. When economy grows, tax cuts and reforms would benefit the America people without increasing the national debt. The tax plan will give raise to taxes on the rich and remove federal income taxes for single workers providing that they get less than 25,000 dollars a year and for couples who together earn less than \$50,000 per year. With This tax cuts and reforms, 31 million families are expected to save 1000 dollars a year. (Johnson, Here are 282 of Donald Trump's campaign promises)

Another important tax plan proposed by Trump was lowering the corporate tax rate for all companies to 15 percent. As Trump asserted, lowering the corporate tax rate will stimulate the economy (Johnson, Here are 282 of Donald Trump's campaign promises). The corporate tax is a tax imposed in the United States at most levels on the income of entities as corporations. The corporate and individual tax rates has been the key portion of the tax plan and main focus of Trump' talks about taxes (Jacobs and Kapur). The thing that made corporate tax cuts essential is that it provides more jobs which, in turn, will touch millions of people. Because of the present corporate tax rate which is at 35 %, some projects won't be funded by large corporations as that rate will make those projects unprofitable. Thus, lowering

the tax rate will probably push these corporations to reconsider the rejected projects; therefore, there will be more and more hiring. (Constable)

Trump has also expressed his intention to remove numerous penalties and fines such as "Marriage Penalty," "Death Tax" and other taxes due to the fact that they hurt middle class tax payers. He also expressed his will to remove or eliminate most deductions that are available to the very rich (Johnson, Here's what's in Donald Trump's tax plan). Eliminating penalties and reducing taxes will be effective to a large scale only when the economy goes well. The improvement in the economy, as Trumps sees it, will be inevitably accomplished through different measures including a trade war with China.

1.2.1.2. Trade

Donald Trump described several trade deals with other countries as the worst deals ever made in the history of the United States. He, therefore, promised to end some of them the moment he takes office and renegotiate the terms of others.

One of the old prominent trade pacts that were concerned with Trump's withdrawal was the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) which was signed on January 1, 1994 by the United States, Canada, and Mexico. It created a triple trade bloc in North America (NAFTANOW). In his article 'What would it take for Donald Trump to rip up NAFTA?' Gollom mentioned that Donald Trump described NAFTA as "the worst trade deal in history". For Trump, there must be a reconsideration of its terms for the purpose of getting a better deal for the American workers. He insisted on that, saying: "I don't mean just a little bit better, I mean a lot better." However, if negotiations don't come with benefits, Trump will immediately withdraw under article 2205 which states that "a Party may withdraw from this Agreement six months after it provides written notice of withdrawal to the other Parties."

On the other hand, Trump has promised to immediately end the Trans-pacific partnership (TPP) in the first day in office, without any negotiation of its terms. The deal is a trade agreement signed on February 4, 2016 between a number of countries including the United States, and it contained measures to lower both non-tariff and tariff barriers to trade (Electronic Frontier Foundation). Trump and his trade advisers say that the TPP is a bad deal for the United States, citing the large numbers of losses in the manufacturing industry and other sectors (Swanson). As 'America First' entails putting American workers first, Donald Trump's decisions on trade pacts were all justified on the basis of benefiting the American workers. At the moment of signing the executive order to withdraw from the TPP, Trump reminded the attendants saying "everyone knows what that means right? We have been talking about this for a long time". Then, he added "A great thing for the American worker, what we just did." (Trump Signs Executive Order to Withdraw From TPP)

After the proposition of the withdrawal from major trade agreements, it was highly expected from Donald Trump, as a matter of necessity, to provide alternative ways and strategies to follow in trade. In her article titled "Instead of blanket trade agreements, Donald Trump wants to negotiate one-on-one with countries", Johnson has mentioned that Donald Trump insisted on one-on-one negotiations with individual countries. That is to say, instead of dealing with a number of countries like in TPP and NAFTA, The United States will negotiate with each country aside. He said: "I don't mind making agreements, but we shouldn't make agreements with 12 countries, we should make agreements with one-on-one. One-on-one. One-on-one. And you know what? If they don't treat us right, we pull the agreement". He also asserted that when he becomes president, he will hire the most qualified negotiators assigned each one for one country. The clear reason for the one on one negotiation, according to Trump, and as Johnson mentioned, is that the multiple countries agreements or blanket

agreements are too complicated to escape in case a country member takes advantage of the United States. Therefore, the one-on-one pacts and deals are easy to give up.

That, once again, favours America to be first as Trump wanted. For him, preventing other nations from taking advantage of the United States and adopting only what benefits America best is an essential part of the new policy.

Other promises made by Trump revolve around proving the conditions of American workers inside and outside the United States, and fighting all kinds of foreign trade abuses. On October 2016, Donald Trump released his plan for the first 100 days in office in a rally in Gettysburg. He spoke about protecting the American workers saying: "I will direct the Secretary of Commerce and U.S. Trade Representative to identify all foreign trading abuses that unfairly impact American workers and direct them to use every tool under American and international law to end those abuses immediately"(Kelly and Sprunt). He delivered a message that he will act against any kind of abuse toward American workers, hinting the need to identify and subsequently subdue the sweatshops in Mexico, or in any other country that employs at very low wages for long hours and under poor conditions. (Here are 282 of Donald Trump's campaign promises)

In order to provide more protection to the American workers, and support the American companies against their foreign counterparts, Trump promised to initiate new taxes on foreign imports especially on those from China. In his article for *Politifact*, Jacobson gave an account to the tariffs that will be imposed on goods coming from countries such as China and Mexico, stating that although it may bring side effects, bigger tariffs will provide a remedy for the nation's international-trade illnesses as Trump always insists. Jacobson has also reported that in a Republican debate for presidential nomination, Trump expressed the need to do so, stating: "It has to be something because our country and our trade and our deals and most importantly our jobs are going to hell."

Trump has generally suggested 35 percent tariff except for Chinese products which will get 45 percent tariff. In his presidential announcement speech, Donald Trump expressed his will to increase tariffs, assuming that a company like Ford had a factory in Mexico. He said: "Every car and every truck and every part manufactured in this plant that comes across the border, we're going to charge you a 35-percent tax." In this way, according to Trump, the economy would grow as the American companies will be encouraged to become more competitive than the foreign companies which will subsequently lead to their prosperity, hence, there will be more hiring and better payments. All of this will get the workers to spend more and more, as a result, the economy will grow and prosper. (Jacobson)

1.2.1.3. HealthCare

One of the most significant aspects that received much criticism by Donald Trump was the Affordable Care Act, known as Obamacare. Since the passage of Medicare and Medicaid in 1965, Obamacare which was enacted by the congress and signed by president Barack Obama in 2010, is the most significant amendment in U.S. healthcare system. The act was intended to extend health coverage to millions of uninsured Americans through lowering healthcare costs, and removing the act of denial of coverage by health insurance companies, due to what is called 'pre-existing conditions' which are health conditions that came earlier to a person before taking advantage of any health benefit. (Healthinsurance)

Since the beginning of his campaign, Donald Trump has been calling to completely repeal Obamacare, describing it as "a total disaster." In the second presidential debate against Hilary Clinton, Trump reflected on his view of Obamacare and the need to its repeal, saying: "Obamacare is a disaster... it is going up at numbers that nobody has ever seen... it is only getting worse . . . there method of fixing it is to go back to congress and ask for more money . . . We have right now almost 20 trillion dollars of deb . . . Obamacare will never work . . . it

is very bad health insurance, Far too expensive”. Trump has also pointed out a possible alternative solution that suits best the American people in such a sensitive sector. He said: “we have to repeal it and replace it with something absolutely much less expensive and something that works . . . you will have the finest healthcare.” (The Second Presidential Debate)

In her article “Here are 282 of Donald Trump’s campaign promises,” Johnson listed a number of promises made by Donald Trump concerning healthcare as an attempt to provide better health conditions to all Americans. She mentioned that Trump has promised to remove the individual mandate, which requires every person to have or buy insurance; otherwise, they will be fined. Its main aim is to broaden coverage and raise premiums paid even by the healthy people and therefore gain enough money to cover the costs of those who get sick and at a lower price. Johnson has also mentioned that by eliminating the individual mandate, no person is obliged to pay for insurance if he does not want to.

Trump has also promised to provide every person with the ability to deduct health insurance premium payments from their income. Goldstein, a national reporter in the Washington Post, commented on Trump’s promise saying: “This would alter the bedrock of private insurance since the 1940s, in which employers are given tax benefits for providing health benefits, but individuals do not get tax deductions if they buy coverage on their own.” With Trump’s proposition, individuals will gain a direct tax help and employers’ insurance tax deductions will be reduced. She has also reported that Trump insisted that as companies and businesses have deductions, individuals should also have such exemptions, he said: “Allow individuals to fully deduct health insurance premium payments from their tax returns under the current tax system. Businesses are allowed to take these deductions so why wouldn’t Congress allow individuals the same exemptions?”

Trump has also promised, as Johnson has stated, to eliminate any regulatory separating lines between states as far as healthcare policies are concerned. That is to say, insurance companies are allowed to sell health plans nationally rather than just regionally; a privilege that will expand access to health insurance for people (Here are 282 of Donald Trump's campaign promises). The republican senator Rand Paul referred to the reform as "an effort that will allow millions of people to get insurance across state lines at inexpensive price... this will help people whose insurance is too expensive." (Paul)

Another plan, proposed by Trump and the Republicans, was to encourage states to establish high-risk pools, which is an insurance pool for all sick people. It is a separate pool made in order to keep premiums and pay for their own care by the states as well as the federal government. Actually, The idea was adapted after a considerable increase in insurance premiums caused by the individual mandate, by which every person is required to buy insurance, however, most of the healthy people did not do so; therefore, companies stopped offering coverage after losing money(Rovner and Ying). Medicare and Medicaid, on the other hand, did not receive much talk as Trump intends to keep them. He did not clearly reflect on Medicare; however, he offered to enhance and manage Medicaid in order to boost more help to low-income individuals through what is called block grants of Medicaid funds. That is to say, passing the control over the Medicaid program from the federal government to states, and provide them with its yearly budget. In this way, as Trump argues, it would be more efficient. (Luthra)

1.2.1.4. Immigration and Border Security

If there is a central point that represents Trump's overall sight of what every president should fulfil, it will absolutely be eliminating illegal immigration and keeping the minimum of flowing immigrants as well. It is the most noteworthy issue in Trump's doctrine, and which

is strongly intertwined with the American national security, because the principle of 'America First' implies securing the homeland. In his inauguration speech, Trump referred to that idea saying "we must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries, making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs." (The Inauguration of the 45th President)

Trump has made several commitments in order to secure the country and put the interests and benefits of the American people first. Probably, the most important decision that had an international echo in a prior time, is building the wall across the borders with Mexico. His plan involves a construction of an "impenetrable physical wall". Johnson described the shape of the wall that Trump wants, stating: "The wall will be one foot taller than the Great Wall of China and 'artistically beautiful,' constructed of hardened concrete, rebar and steel. The wall might cover only about 1,000 miles of the nearly 2,000-mile border because of natural barriers, and Trump is open to using fencing in some places". The payment for the wall was more controversial, as Trump imposed on Mexico to afford all of its cost, otherwise, Trump would follow up penal measures against Mexico especially on businessmen and diplomats entering the United States. The wall across the Mexican borders will be enhanced with further reinforcements such as towers and border patrols which will be increased through hiring more and more agents. (Here are 282 of Donald Trump's campaign promises)

In addition to the wall, Trump promised to establish more policies that generally revolve around repealing some previous administration's laws on immigration, deportation of undocumented immigrants or aliens, minimizing the number of legal immigrants, and reconsidering issues related to visas and the right to citizenship. In his immigration speech in Arizona during the presidential campaign, Trump outlined his immigration policy in details and expressed his strong commitment to end illegal immigration saying: "there will be no Amnesty... Illegal Immigration is Memory of the Past". He also reminded that all these

efforts are made to put America first, as it serves only the American needs, he said: “ we need a system that serves our needs not the needs of others, remember, under a Trump administration, it is called America first.” (Trump gives immigration speech)

Trump mentioned the need to reverse Obama’s immigration policies such as the protection of the children of undocumented immigrants. This will lead to the need to end and eliminate birthright citizenship by which babies born in the United States are considered Americans despite being born to an illegal immigrant couple. He has also expressed the need to repeal Obama’s executive orders that have further enhanced the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, which is an immigration law that allows individuals who entered the U.S. as minors to stay for a period of time without deportation and provides them with work permission (Noah and Schneier). Some of Obama’s initiatives for DACA that have been promised to be repealed were expanding the number of people meant with DACA through accepting any current age, improving visa programs for immigrants in order to encourage labour, and providing education and other privileges for the permanent residents (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services). Trump has also revealed his intention to establish a specialized force that will handle the process of deportation. The process will immediately target those who are undocumented immigrants and who unlawfully exist in the country, measurements will be harder especially for those who were caught committing a crime or participating in gang actions. Trump reflected on it saying: “zero tolerance for criminal aliens, zero tolerance” (Trump gives immigration speech). In her article “282 of Donald Trump’s campaign promises,” Johnson conveyed Trump’s overall vision of all immigration reforms and policies mentioning that such reforms, as Trump emphasizes, will be operated in an unprecedented amount of time; as a result, Trump says: “Crime will go down, border crossings will plummet, gangs will disappear, and welfare use will decrease.”

1.2.1.5. Energy and the Environment

Donald Trump revealed his views on the status of energy under Obama administration saying: “energy is under siege under Obama administration” (The Second Presidential Debate). He proposed a number of promises to withdraw from international treaties, in addition to other reforms that have been described as “America first, Earth second” environmental policy.

In the light of his environmental policy, Trump expressed his disturbance from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) which is an agency formed by president Richard Nixon in 1970 to protect the environment and human health. It attempts to reduce environmental risks and works to ensure clean land, air and water. It implements environmental laws made by congress, gives grants to environmental programs and raises Awareness around different issues in relation to environment (United States Environmental Protection Agency). In the second presidential debate with Hilary Clinton, Donald Trump pointed out the need to get rid of EPA saying: “the EPA is killing energy companies . . . We are killing our energy business in our country . . . the EPA is so restrictive that they are putting our energy companies out of business”. What Trump has pointed out is that there are some regulations made by Obama administration that are harmful and too restrictive on the economic growth.

Thus, Trump wanted to end and replace many laws including the Clean Power Plan which was a regulation for climate change made by Barack Obama. The plan generally lowers carbon emissions from power plants in the United States. Trump promised to end the plan and bring back coal mining jobs because he believed that the whole idea of climate change is just a trick, and responding to it by making regulations would be stupid, as the plan does not only force utilities to follow regulations to reduce emissions but also recommend them to take other measures such as building wind and solar farms; therefore, the republican and

administrator of EPA, Edward Scott Pruitt, stated that by repealing the “unnecessary” plan, the country would save 33 billion dollars (The New York Times). Actually, Obama’s clean power plan came to embrace the Paris Climate Agreement by which 196 signing countries agreed to reduce their gas emissions; thus, Trump pointed out the need to withdraw from the agreement in his first days in office.

In his presidential campaign, Donald Trump has stressed in many times the need to be a self-sufficient energy power as no longer should the Middle East monopolize world’s energy, because the United States has tremendous wealth especially clean coal, in addition to a great supply of fuel and natural gas.

1.2.1.6. National Defence and Security

Trump has been insisting on two main elements that serve as the main parts of the national security strategy, economy and military. Trump expressed his resentment towards the present status of defence as different military equipments are not updated and modernized especially when it comes to the nuclear arsenal. Trump insisted on the need to “preserve peace through strength” (Trump, Donald Trump Union). A strength that is achieved through building up military and increasing defence spending in order to ensure that America has the most powerful army.

In his campaign, Trump promised to enhance the national defence through applying different measures and reforms. First, select the best generals to be put in charge of the army and who must be totally unpredictable. He criticized the previous administration of being so predictable, as they often make clear statements about what they intend to do especially when it comes to fighting ISIS. Second, expand the military’s budget in order to gain modernized and powerful weaponry. In his article “Donald Trump promises 'historic' increase in US military budget,” Osborne mentioned that Trump has promised to make a considerable

increase in troops to achieve 540,000 active-duty soldiers instead of the current 480,000, 10000 more Marines, an increase in ships and submarines and more reinforcement to the air force, in addition to a highly advanced missile defence that would stand against any potential threat from any part of the world whether it was from Russia or North Korea.

Johnson pointed out Trump's will to increase the military presence in the Eastern and Southern Seas of China. Such effort along with many other efforts to improve the American strength, come to ensure the American supremacy that will guarantee its impact and influence in all regions of the world. Although Trump has severely criticized war in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as all kinds of interference, he raised his threatening tone that he won't hesitate to make deterrent actions when necessary, he said: "I will not hesitate to deploy military force when there is no alternative . . . if America fights, it must fight to win." (Here are 282 of Donald Trump's campaign promises)

1.2.2. Foreign Policy and International Relations

"My foreign policy will always put the interests of the American people and the American security above all else", said Donald Trump in his national policy speech in which he outlined his views on U.S. foreign policy, "it has to be first . . . that would be the foundation of every single decision that I would make, America first will be the major and overriding theme of my administration." (Donald Trump's entire foreign policy speech)

In the same speech, Trump has strictly emphasized that he will give the American interest the highest priority and work to maintain that interest in every part in the world, a fact that will be the essence of all measures and resolves that would be taken under Trump's administration. He gave an overall view on the former administrations' policies describing them as "a complete and total disaster". He gave an account of the present foreign policy saying that it began to make less sense, it was characterized by chaos, foolishness, and

randomness, as all mistakes came sequentially from mistakes in Iraq, to Iran, to Libya, and Syria in which they allowed ISIS, along with many other terrorist groups, to grow and expand.

Trump has also signalled what he believes the main five disastrous weaknesses in the American foreign policy; ones that should be covered and entirely eliminated during his term as a president so as to bring America back to the position it deserves. First, the American leaders overextended American resources, a fact that has been profusely emphasized by Donald Trump. He mentioned that Obama has weakened the economy, and subsequently weakened the army through illogical wasteful spending on alliances with countries that don't pay their fair share, unnecessary pacts, and open borders that allowed aliens to take jobs and enhance crime, he said: "we are rebuilding other countries while weakening our own". Second, America has been taken advantage of. Allies are treating the United States the same as its enemies do, as they feel no obligation to stick with any agreement with the United States. They neither pay returns for their protection, nor pay their fair share within an alliance. Trump has brought NATO members as an example stating that only four, including America, out of twenty-eight members spend their minimum requirements for the mutual defence. Third, America made a disastrous deal with Iran and had totally abandoned Israel. In his speech, Trump declared: "president Obama has not been a friend to Israel. He treated Iran with a tender love and care, and made it a great power". He promised that Iran will never have nuclear weapons, and that America should never make concessions in any negotiation with Iran on its nuclear program, and it must be always ready to walk off whenever there is no clear outcome. Trump has also blamed Obama for allowing Iran to prosper and the Muslim Brotherhood to arrive to power in Egypt; the thing that threatened Israel and the whole region. Fourth, America has lost its respect, estimation, and prestigious position. Trump has exemplified with Obama's visit to Cuba where no one stood there to greet him. America's

foreign policy was so weak that it stood helplessly in front of many serious issues, allowing North Korea to advance its nuclear program and missile reach, and granting China the ability to assault American jobs and wealth. Finally, America lacked a coherent foreign policy since the cold war. America, as Trump said, never intervened to help and when it did, nothing was achieved but chaos and disarray. America's foreign policy had made the Middle East more unstable than ever before, allowing radical Islam to raise and expand.

On the other hand, Trump outlined his foreign policy plan in case he becomes a president. First, he focused attention on containing the spread of Radical Islam and extremism in the United States and the world, through quick unpredictable actions. Second, rebuild and reinforce U.S. army in order to ensure strength, and revolutionize trade deals to improve the economy. Third, develop a foreign policy based on the American interest. It involves improving relations with Russia and China, and supporting allies fighting terrorism. It involves also securing the homeland, bringing back jobs to America and establishing fair trade.

1.2.2.1. Russia

Trump has expressed his wish to establish a better relationship with Russia than ever before, saying: "I hope that we get along great with Putin, because it would be great to have Russia with a good relationship." Trump has also been noted for his readiness to directly talk to the North Korean leader Kim Jong Un, an incident that surprised many observers. Holland and Flitter reported a reaction to Trump's intention that would signal a major shift in his foreign policy. They stated that Jake Sullivan, one of Clinton's senior foreign policy advisers, said: "Let me get this straight: Donald Trump insults the leader of our closest ally, then turns around and says he'd love to talk to Kim Jong Un?"

Trump's statement on Russia, on the other hand, shows another shift in the American vision towards its foes, because Russia has been strongly opposed by Obama's administration for its aggression in Ukraine and Syria. Trump has, indeed, opposed the Russian aggression on Ukraine; however, he believed in the possibility of a significant improvement in the relation with Russia. The improved relation for Trump would be fundamentally constituted by a shared aim and a strategic cooperation against ISIS. Fox News released a website article titled "Trump on Putin, Russia in Syria," mentioning that Trump has expressed his acceptance of the involvement of Russia in fighting against ISIS. He referred to Putin saying: "He, frankly, wants to fight ISIS, and I think that's a wonderful thing. If he wants to fight ISIS, let him fight ISIS. Why do we always have to do everything?" In an interview with Bill O'Reilly in Fox news, Trump blamed U.S. leaders for letting Russia have more influence on Syria and Letting Iran take over Iraq including its oil resources. (Fox News)

1.2.2.2. China

In his campaign rally in Indiana, Trump declared: "We can't continue to allow China to rape our country, and that's what they're doing". Through his expression, Trump pointed out that china exports a high number of products relative to the America pushing U.S. trade to decline, especially when china manipulates its currency for the purpose of maintaining more competitive products. In the same speech, Trump blamed the American leaders for allowing china to achieve dominance over world trade describing those leaders as "grossly incompetent" (Diamond). The first step towards putting an end to China's assault, as previously stated, is to tax every Chinese product that comes across U.S. border at 35 %. In this way, Americans will get their jobs despite the fact that the prices of those products may go up high. America, therefore, will be able to make and sell its own products, because China

will never allow American manufacturers to compete, and will never hesitate to impose tariffs on their products.

Trump has mentioned that China must help U.S. with North Korea and stop their inaction, because they are able to do a far better with North Korea than they are doing now. Trump's accusations and attacks on China have been done repeatedly in his speeches and interviews. He pointed out, in many times, China's responsibility for letting North Korea advance its aggression, its manipulation with its currency, cyber attacks on America, and creating the hoax of global warming and climate change. His attacks were seen as signs of a possible trade war against China when he takes office, because his declarations turned China to a Scarecrow, economically speaking, and mirrored it as a threat that America should get rid of. Diamond, a White House Reporter for *CNN*, mentioned that Trump has escalated and sharpened his tone against China and its president at the time when president Obama was expecting the Chinese president Xi Jinping to come to Washington, he said: "They want our people to starve . . . they're taking our business away . . . They've taken our jobs away". Diamond has also reported that Trump had an interview with Fox News, and commented on the state dinner prepared for the Chinese president saying: "I'd get him a McDonald's hamburger and I'd say we gotta get down to work, because you can't continue to devalue the Chinese currency."

1.2.2.3. NATO

'America first' policy, for Trump, entails favouring American interest above all else, this includes both enemies and friends alike. In his remarks on his future foreign policy when he becomes president, Trump mentioned: "We can both benefit or we can both go our separate ways" (Donald Trump's entire foreign policy speech). He stressed that no deal or alliance shall exist unless America benefits from it and not just spending wastefully as it used

to do. In many times, Trump has been insisting on the obligation of all nations to pay for their protection provided by the United States. NATO country members don't pay for the mutual defence budget as they were taking advantage from the United States and never felt commitment to do so. In the same speech, Trump has promised not only to negotiate financial commitments but also to set up a new plan for NATO's strategy and structure. He pointed out the need to update mutual and common defences in order to stand against the contemporary challenges including terrorism and illegal immigration. In case NATO members fulfilled their obligations, Trump will not hesitate to make a great contribution for the alliance. Gibson has tackled the issue in her article "Trump promises to work with NATO to defeat Islamic State", mentioning that Trump called for a mutual Intelligence partnership. He stated that he will work closely with NATO allies to defeat ISIS through an organized and a well planned cooperation in order to unleash a multi-front "military, cyber and financial" war against terrorism.

In his article "What's Trump's Position on NATO?" Gore gave an account of Trump's will toward NATO, stating that Trump believed it to be obsolete, as it was founded to suit its time, and time actually went on. Gore reported Trump's interview with Bloomberg Politics in which he said: "I think NATO may be obsolete. NATO was set up a long time ago — many, many years ago when things were different. Things are different now". As Trump is committed to his doctrine 'America First', he felt the need to gain the maximum benefit from any deal and any alliance, and not just get exploited by other nations in the name of friendship or alliance. He added: "you have to really examine NATO. And it doesn't really help us, it's helping other countries. And I don't think those other countries appreciate what we're doing."

1.2.2.4. Iran

One of the noteworthy issues that Trump has sharpened his criticism on, is the Iran nuclear deal or Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) which was signed under Obama administration and agreed between USA, UK, China, Russia, France, Germany and Iran. The agreement was made to reduce the Iranian nuclear capabilities in return for lifting the economic sanctions on Iran. Trump has described Iran deal as “disastrous”; therefore, he promised to scrap it and renegotiate the deal as America should never make concessions. He explained that the deal was not the best solution, as it was not in its right time. In his article “Donald Trump is right about tearing up the Iran deal — says a leading Iranian hard-liner,” Tharoor reported that Trump, in an interview with *CNN*, expressed the reason why America should have gone in a different way, saying: “We should double up and triple up the sanctions and have them come to us. They are making an amazing deal”. Trump has always insisted that American leaders should walk off the table, and stop going with any further talks when the other side is making his point at the expense of the U.S.

In his foreign policy speech, Donald Trump stressed more than once that Iran cannot be allowed to be a nuclear power, or have a nuclear arsenal, he stated: “Iran cannot be allowed to have a nuclear weapon, cannot be allowed, remember that”. He also indicated that Iran has become a great power because of Obama’s actions, while he should have worked to keep Iran’s economy fragile through imposing more and more sanctions, until it stops its nuclear program as well as its unjustified actions such as imprisoning five American citizens whom Obama failed to free, as Trump sees, through his failed negotiations (Donald Trump’s entire foreign policy speech). In his article “Trump: I might deserve credit for Iran detainees’ release,” Schreckinger reported that Trump expressed his joy for the release of four American prisoners in Iran referring to his own contribution to that, saying: “I’ve been hitting them hard, and I think I might’ve had something to do with it.”

The overall conclusion that one may draw in the light of Trump's foreign policy plan for the future relation of America with Iran, is that America will not get along with Iran providing it poses a threat to the safety of America's allies and friends including Israel and Saudi Arabia. The advancement in Iran's nuclear program, on the other hand, is a serious matter for Donald Trump; however, he could not easily accept just a simple decrease in Iran's nuclear efforts in exchange for lifting the sanctions, a deal which Trump considers embarrassing, incompetent, and a total failure; therefore, He strictly called for a renegotiation for a far better deal that puts an end to the nuclear development and brings more benefits to the United States and promote the safety of Israel and allies in the region.

1.2.2.5. The Middle East and Radical Islam

Since 2011, the Middle East region and North Africa started to witness instability and disarray. It began with demonstrations and protests made by people against their regimes on the basis of demanding democracy, ending dictatorship and Tyranny, eliminate the continuous and almost eternal ruling terms, promote a democratic transition of power, and improve the living conditions of the people. It started in Tunisia, and ended with the president Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali's departure. Then moved to Libya and Egypt and ended with libya's ruler Mouammar Kadhafi's death after a brutal civil war and the Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak's resignation.

The popular demonstrations in Syria, however, took another direction, as it developed to a brutal armed civil war between the Syrian Arab Army and the opposing militias and parties that were named terrorist groups by the Syrian officials. The chaos and insecurity in the region caused by the war, lasted for years until the present day despite many political attempts to solve the crisis, as there were no intentions for a military involvement until recently. The area has also witnessed the involvement of different powers that held two

antagonistic aims toward President Bashar el-Assad's regime. The United States along with its allies called for EL-Assad's departure and a peaceful transformation of power, while Russia, Iran, China and other main parties such as Hezbollah, called for a political settlement with no interference, insisting on the legitimacy of EL-Assad's regime and the fact that the opposition is mostly nothing but a terrorist organization or several organizations. The circumstances through the last six years, however, provided a vital space where the largest terrorist organization after El-Qaida, grew and prospered. The organization named itself 'the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria,' shortened to 'ISIS', which had intensive actions in the area in addition to a number of terrorist operations in Europe and the United States. Libya was also a vital area for the organization's actions after taking a great advantage of the dangerous instability created through massive conflicts between different parties aiming at power. The massive assaults of ISIS pushed the United States, under Obama administration, to unleash intense air strikes, which were mostly through drones, against ISIS, and to suggest cooperation with other powers such as Russia within certain conditions, and declared to never involve combat ground forces in the area. Recently, Russia unleashed massive airstrikes against thousands of targets in Syria that were related to ISIS, despite the strong American opposition which claimed that Russia is targeting civilians; a method that has been followed by EL-Assad for years.

Donald Trump has severely criticized every decision made by the American leaders concerning their "disastrous" interventions in North Africa and the Middle East, claiming that people in Libya are still suffering from death and vagrancy even after the removal of a dictator, allowing ISIS to expand more (Trump, Donald Trump's entire foreign policy speech). Johnson reported a noteworthy statement that was made by Trump, and that shows a non-interventionism policy and a total embrace of 'America First' policy especially when it comes to foreign affairs, stating that America has higher priorities that better serve its

interests. He promised, therefore, to stay out of the Syrian civil war although he expressed his opposition to the Syrian President Bashar El-Assad. (Here are 282 of Trump's campaign promises)

The so-called 'Islamic State' has been given the highest priority by all nations that have been targeted by individual suicide attacks which were mostly related to ISIS. Trump made a promise in his presidential campaign, stating that he will take out and ultimately destroy ISIS as quickly as possible through a well designed plan during his first days in office. He explained that the difference between his administration and the previous ones would be effectiveness and quick advancement complaining about the incompetence of the American rulers, he said: "for years we have been caught up in endless wars and conflicts under the leaderships of failed politicians and a totally failed forging policy". He also expressed a possible cooperation with Russia as well as Arab allies and friends in the region, he declared: "my administration will aggressively pursue joint coalition military operations to crush and destroy ISIS". He revealed different ways to achieve his goal quickly, referring to target oil resources from which terrorists gain huge sums of money and pursue cyber attacks on their propaganda by which they recruit hundreds of new terrorists, he stated: "international cooperation to cut-off their funding, expand intelligence sharing and cyber-warfare to disrupt and disable their propaganda and recruiting." (Donald Trump's entire foreign policy speech)

Trump insisted on the nature of the world terror being radical Islamic, he often called to mention the name as "Radical Islamic Terrorism". The term refers to a terrorist action committed by an individual or a group of individuals who declare their Islamic affiliation and who intend to embrace the Islamic supremacy above all (Encyclopedia, Islamic Terrorism). Actually, Trump has been calling to follow up measures to check on aliens entering the United States. He focused his attention on Muslims relating every terrorist act to every individual with an Islamic background. This was made that clear when he declared: "Donald

J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what the is going on” (Trump Urges 'Shutdown' On Muslims Entering US). He directly expressed his view on a total ban on Muslims despite its possible implications worldwide. However, in the general election, Trump seemed to have changed his mind. In her article “Trump stalls on promise for 'total and complete shutdown' of Muslims entering the United States,” Valverde reported that Trump pulled back his Muslim ban saying: “We must immediately suspend immigration from any nation that has been compromised by terrorism until such time as proven vetting mechanisms have been put in place”. However, Valverde has reported that when Trump was asked about the reason for rolling back his previous statement in an interview with NBC News, he disproved and claimed that it was not a rollback; rather, it was an expansion, he said : “I actually don't think it's a rollback. In fact, you could say it's an expansion. I'm looking now at territories. People were so upset when I used the word Muslim.” as Valverde continues, Trump has repeatedly refuted the idea of a total Muslim ban as the media always report, he stated: “To be clear, this is not a Muslim ban, as the media is falsely reporting. This is not about religion. This is about terror and keeping our country safe.”

1.2.2.6. North Korea

Since the Second World War, the Korean Peninsula has never witnessed a political as well as Security stability, as the region was occupied by the two main antagonistic blocks during the cold war. North Korea had its first attempts to gain the nuclear ability in 1950s, and it was until 1989, the time when the Soviet Union collapsed, that North Korea entered the race for the nuclear power. (Davenport)

North Korea has been proceeding with its nuclear project to pave the way to be a nuclear nation, and as Kim Jong Un, the current leader, achieved a further advancement in the

project, tension grew between North Korea and the west. In his campaign, Donald Trump has expressed his intention toward an unprecedented official move in the history of the United States, stating that he would be ready to initiate personal talks with Kim Jong Un. In their article "Trump Would Talk to North Korea's Kim," Holland and Flitter mentioned that Trump's intended move has not been done by President Obama who used to send his senior officials to negotiate with their North Korean counterparts.

In January 2016, North Korea made a nuclear test that revealed the range of the nuclear advancement it achieved. As a response, Trump has severely blamed China for not pushing Kim to stop his nuclear actions, because he firmly believed that it easily could, he said: "China can solve that problem with one meeting or one phone call". He insisted, in many times, that China has a total control of North Korea and it has to put a strong pressure on Kim to stop his nuclear advancement, or else, he would pose sanctions and make trade very difficult on China. Trump has also urged U.S. allies, including South Korea and Japan, to put an end to Kim's nuclear ambition, as they are all committed to cooperate with the United States diplomatically as well as financially. In case America's allies around the Korean peninsula don't fulfil their obligations, Trump emphasizes that he will immediately pull out his troops from those nations. (Masters)

Conclusion

The chapter explored the different time stations when 'America First' was expressed or implemented in the United States, either as a policy by the government, or as a tenet by an organization or a group of individuals. An overview of 'America First' as a modern term through Donald Trump's reflections on it was discussed. At the end of the chapter, we highlighted 'America First' policies that were declared in Donald Trump's presidential campaign rallies and speeches. In this vein, we started with the plans concerning different

domestic aspects including taxes, healthcare, border protection, national defence, jobs and energy, along with trade. Then, we moved to the area of foreign relations and explored the new administration’s intention in the international field through shedding the light on his plans for the Middle East, the Korean peninsula, allies in Europe and Latin America, and rivals represented mainly in Russia and China.

Chapter Two

The Domestic Value of ‘America First’ Policy

Introduction

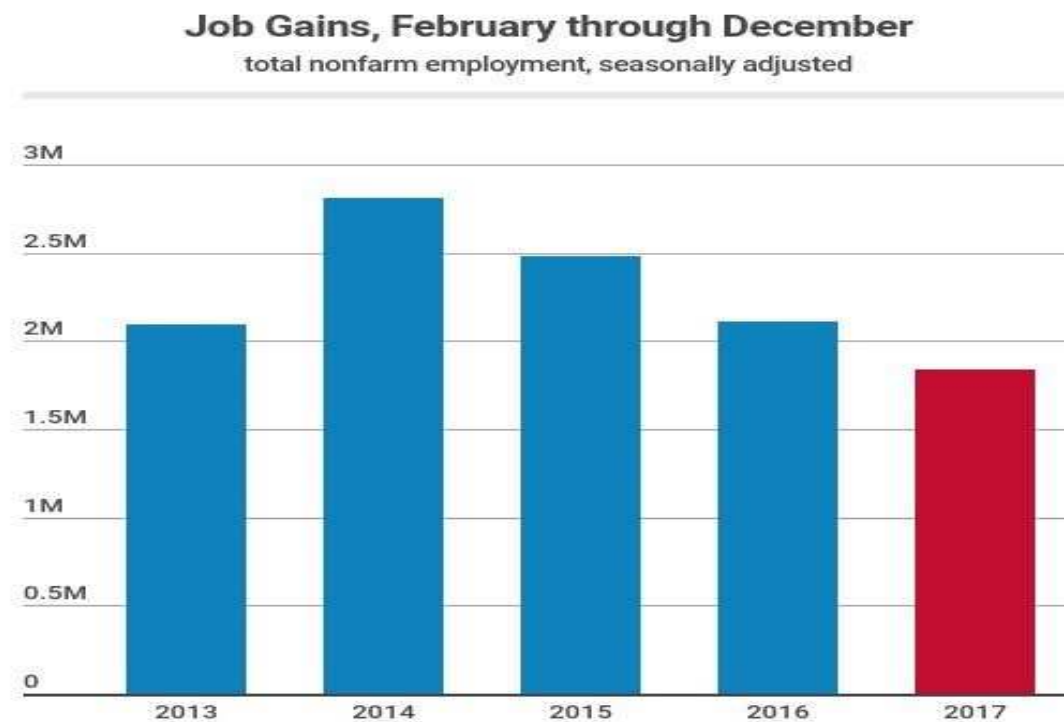
This chapter tracks down President Donald Trump’s campaign promises and explores the advancement that has been made after more than a year in office. It provides and analyzes gathered economic indicators and statistical data in order to arrive at an overall conclusion on the president’s performance in different sectors on the domestic ground. It will, therefore, evaluate the local impact of Donald Trump’s ‘America First’ policy on the basis of the present data, and draw the expected path that these sectors will take until the end of Trump’s four-year term in office.

2.1. Jobs and Unemployment

According to reliable statistical sources that were available up to January 18, 2018, Jackson has highlighted a number of occurrences and changes in his article “Trump’s Numbers.” These changes occurred in different sectors in the country. He mentioned that the creation of jobs was indeed made, but not to the extent that Trump has wished. After eleven months since Trump took office, unemployment slightly fell, and about 1, 84 million new jobs were created according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics; however, the rate is lower than that of Obama during his last 11 months, just before Trump takes office (see figure 2.1). The main reason for the slow job growth is less job-seekers which, in turn, led to more unfilled job openings, and that’s because of a more and more decrease in unemployment. Jackson has also mentioned that The labour force Participation Rate, which includes the number of employed individuals as well as the ones who are still in the process of looking for jobs, has witnessed

fluctuation under Trump’s administration, as it went going up and down. Manufacturing Jobs, on the other hand, rose by 1.5 percent, higher than when he took office.

Figure 2.1.



Comparing Trump’s first 11 months job growth with the same period in previous years

Source: Jackson

Job gains, as the above figure shows, have been less than the last four years. Currently, however, unemployment is witnessing a significant decline. In my interview with Scott Belford, an Entrepreneur and the ex Professional Cost Analyst with the American Air Force, I wondered about the meaning that ‘America First’ would locally entail, and whether Trump is doing well on the domestic ground especially when it comes to jobs and employment. Belford stated:

'America First'; Trump's version translates to isolationism and economic nationalism. It will ultimately and necessarily lead to lower employment and higher prices in the United States as well as in many parts of the world. I think Trump is doing an abysmal job on the domestic front. Instead of 'doing no harm', his policies are hurting every segment of American society save for wealthy white men. One of the primary non-minority losers from his domestic party are those who voted for him.

Trump's performance on the economic ground so far, can be investigated through examining the current data provided by different statistical and fact checking agencies for the United States government in different fields. The examination of the economic data, which will be conducted in later discussion, will reflect Trump's impact on all over domestic sectors, because economy is strongly intertwined with all other aspects on the basis of correlation, i.e., they effect and get affected. Although it seems a bit early to judge Trump's overall doing, we can come out with a conclusion on where 'America First' policies are heading.

2.2. Immigration and Border Security

In "Trump's numbers," Jackson mentioned that illegal immigration has strictly gone down since Trump took office, despite the fact that the wall that Trump promised to build has not started yet, due to the absence of the congress' green light to fund the construction. The number of illegal or undocumented immigrants who are already in the United States faced a notable decline due to wide deportations on a large scale. This action along with Trump's well known threats to illegal aliens, have led the number of illegal immigrants caught entering the United States to drop 48 percent during the first year of Trump's presidency, according to

U.S. Customs and Border Protection. Jackson has also reported that The United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) has revealed that arrests increased by 42 percent and deportations by 37 percent since Trump's first day in office that was on January 20, 2017. Measures toward illegal immigration go stricter every day, to the extent that ICE targeted businesses that employ illegal immigrants through imposing massive sanctions on companies involved in such actions.

Politifact, which is a website described as a 'Fact Checker', rates the accuracy of claims and the extent to which promises are fulfilled by elected officials. It launched 'Trump-O-Meter' which is a Fact Checker platform that investigates Trump's embodiment of his presidential campaign promises. It revealed some updates concerning different aspects especially immigration. As an attempt to ultimately eliminate any threat that can be caused by immigrants, Trump has promised to suspend immigration from the so-called 'terror-prone places,' which are countries involved in a civil war, contain an intensive terrorist actions, or those of a hateful and explicitly aggressive attitude towards the United States such as North Korea. That is to say, people coming from those identified places will be banned from getting visas for a period of time. In its latest update, the Fact Checker mentioned that Trump has removed Chad from the travel ban list which included Syria, Libya, Somalia, Iran, Yemen, North Korea, and Venezuela in addition to Iraq and Sudan which were early removed. The website revealed that the ban promise is in the works because the ban list did not really come into full effect. (Trump-O-Meter)

Also, the ban list is not forever fixed as it depends on the level of stability that the banned country lives in. The outcome of the travel ban on unstable countries cannot be really observed at the current time, and it cannot be considered as an influential factor in reducing crime or any terrorist actions inside the United States. The construction of the wall along the southern border with Mexico, on the other hand, is also in progress as Trump has lately

started preparations to fund the wall despite being inadequate. Mexico refused to pay for the wall, and oppositions were sharpened from parties including Republicans.

In September 2017, President Donald Trump declared the end of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program (DACA). The Center for American Progress (CAP) and FWD.us have reported that DACA allows around 800,000 immigrants who were brought to the United States as children to work and live in a legal way over a given period that can be renewed every time. That number of workers represents a boost that is certainly beneficial to the economy. The repeal of the program will certainly cause more than 300,000 people to lose their advantage from the program in 2018 and other 300,000 people in 2019. Furthermore, repealing the act and causing the individuals who are currently benefiting from the program to immediately lose their status will have a negative impact on U.S. businesses and the American economy. (5-6)

Trump's way of measuring the data and interpreting the facts does not seem to be logical, as he sees only what suits best in the short term. Causing hundreds of thousands of people to lose their legal status in addition to restricting immigration and discouraging it, will not serve the country's economy in the long term due to several reasons including the harms of self-closure and the decrease in the population growth. Belford reflected on this issue from an economical point of view; a fact that really matters when discussing a long term plan for growing economy, he said:

An unintended consequence of his domestic policy is a further tamping of population growth. Already native born population does not replace itself. The only way our population continues its meager growth is the influx of immigrants. Take that away and US population will begin to

decline. Because population growth plus productivity growth equals, over the long-term, GDP growth, the GDP will ultimately begin to fail.

The whole idea of the horror of immigration is nothing more a hoax that is argued with by Donald Trump as a matter of increasing populism. The rhetoric that targets the feelings, mostly fears, of the population rather than their minds is the thing that makes up the bulk of populism; a way that was clearly witnessed in Germany and Italy in the 1920s and 1930s. Chavez has explained how illegal Immigration, taking that from Mexico as an example, is not really the cause of the decline of labour force participation and stagnation of wages as well as the rise of unemployment among the natives. She stated: "His notions about the evils of immigration are based on untruths that promote ideas noxious to conservatives and imperil the legacy of the Republican Party"(13). She mentioned that Trump is horribly unaware or intends to be so, concerning the fact that labour force participation has seen a decline before the coming of millions of low skilled immigrants (13). She also added that using the horror of terrorism and drugs as an excuse to completely or partially block illegal as well as legal immigration through abandoning Green Card lotteries, is not logical. That is to say, the flow of immigrants who offer high skills can suit best in jobs that Americans will not fill in. Also, it would be a lot better if the federal spending that was estimated around \$16.2 billion in fiscal year 2014 alone and that is probably going high under Trump especially in increased border patrols and agencies, was focused on those could-be terrorists and drug smugglers. (14)

2.3. Health Insurance Coverage

In his article, Jackson wrote that the number of uninsured people has increased since Trump took office. Although his move to remove and replace the Affordable Care Act was not yet fulfilled due to the congress' opposition, he could establish a zero tax on those who do

not buy their insurance, because the core of the act was to fine whoever is uninsured. Different organizations made surveys and polls to estimate the number of people who went uninsured in 2017 in comparison with the year 2016. The outcomes of these organizations differ; however, they all indicate that the number of the uninsured went high. Jackson added that according to a report made by National Health Interview Survey, 200,000 people went uninsured during the first six months of Trump's presidency.

The number of uninsured people will continue to grow more and more, as Trump has currently failed to replace Obamacare or even to repeal the act itself. And in case Trump has failed in proposing a program that suits better than Obamacare, as he promised, the status of health system in the United States will reach its worst level in history.

2.4. Environment

Trump promises on energy and environment as a candidate were not really seen during his first year in office. He promised to bring back coal mining jobs which have been disappeared under Obama administration, and to continue burning and consuming energy regardless of its emissions in the air, on the basis that Global Warming is just a Chinese hoax. The number of coal mining workers was not that huge as Trump promised. According to the Bureau of Labour Statistics (BLS), only 500 out of 36,400 coal mining jobs were back during the first eleven months of 2017. Carbon emissions, on the other hand, continued to go low during the first eight months according to the Energy Information Administration. (Jackson)

It is widely known that the global warming is a serious issue that the world is meant with. It needs a mobilization of all efforts in order to reduce the risks of the phenomenon. Trump, however, does not seem to be aware of it, ignoring the global cooperation against it.

2.5. National Defence and Security

During the last century, the United States has been dominating the world's records in defence spending. The significant changes that occurred in the world such as the cold war were the primary reasons that fuelled the military spending. The current time, however, presents more challenges to the United States as well as all other nations. Terrorism is probably the most essential issue that the United States is concerned with along with the acquisition of the nuclear power and the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

All of the modern challenges push the United States to draw a comprehensive plan that implements the measures that would secure the United States as well as its interests abroad. These measures revolve around "refocusing U.S. strategy on winning the war against global terrorism, deterrence of the 'Axis of Evil' states, and war fighting; and investing in the technologies of the future." (Korb 27)

Donald Trump has insisted in many occasions on the need to reinforce the military and update its weaponry, through extending the defence budget in response to the modern threats as well as the constant development of weaponry in Russia and China. The need to modernize and enhance military capabilities on the basis of potential threats is not a new endeavour, as it happened after 1945 and even before. Thorpe explored and uncovered a very interesting area in the question of defence spending. She argued that the defence spending was not only related to potential threats, but also to the defence-related employment; a concern that has been raised by congress members in the last century (19). Recently, on March 23, 2018, President Trump signed a huge spending bill proposed by congressional leaders estimated at \$1.3 trillion, and in which the defence budget gained \$ 700 billion. The budget was extended for military equipments including Navy ships, fighter Jets and missile defence capabilities (Macias). That increase in the military spending has a significant impact on Jobs in the way that it increases troops as well as other military related jobs such as contractors, software

engineers, consultants, cost analysts in addition to other businesses such as weaponry manufacturers. However, the increase in the military spending will necessarily lead to an increase in the national debt or the sacrifice of other sectors in order to fulfil the new spending. On that basis, and since the risk of confronting a threat with outdated or relatively weak military capabilities is not the overall or, at least, the main cause of such huge spending, the new military budget is just another short sighted view that will ultimately affect the economic growth in a negative way.

In his article “Trump’s Defense Budget,” Korb, director of national security studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, reported that General David Petraeus, the chief commander of the operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, has mentioned in his articles for The Wall Street Journal and Foreign Affairs that the United States military does not have any readiness problem or any inadequacy whatsoever. Furthermore, Korb hinted at the problem of the deficit spending that is getting worse especially after the huge increase in the defence spending. The sentiment that the increasing defence spending would enhance the debt which is considered as the greatest threat to the United States national security, as Korb reported, is shared by many previous high ranking military figures and politicians including admiral Michael Mullen, a retired United States Navy admiral and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

2.6. Economic Growth

Generally, the economy in the United States is doing the same or slightly better than it used to be under Obama administration. According to some economists, it seems that Donald Trump is, currently, making a slight progress in growing economy through the tax cuts which he promised in his presidential campaign. According to the Bureau of Economic Analysis, economy grew at a rate of 3.2 percent in the third quarter of 2017, a rate which is better than

that of 2016 as a whole under Obama administration. Trump described his tax plans as a “rocket fuel” that will boost economy, and promised to reach a growth rate of 6 percent (Jackson)

In Soapboxie, which is a website that gives statistical studies of policies in different fields especially in economy, My Esoteric gave an account of the outcomes of different economic as well as environmental indicators including GDP, Dow Jones, and Carbon Footprint. He also revealed the employment, the unemployment and the uninsured rate as an attempt to provide a definite data on Trump’s impact on the domestic level since he took office. The analysis conducted is made in comparison with the previous administrations, focusing attention on Obama administration. Considering Trump’s doings relative to Obama, as My Esoteric insists, will help us shape a better understanding of the advancement of Trump’s administration as he has always been measuring himself to Obama’s impact on the country. Therefore, a mere analysis of Trump’s overall achievements will not really tell us whether he did better or worse. In his report, My Esoteric provided two charts that contain statistics on different aspects using different indicators. The first chart (figure 2.2) is the overall result of the two terms of president Obama. That is to say, the chart represents the status of those indicators at the end of president Obama’s term. The second chart (figure 2.3) reflects two Consecutive periods of Trump’s administration: the first ten months since he took office, and the period that starts from the eleventh month until the present time, taking into consideration that the last update was in February 28, 2018. The coloured circles used in the chart indicate how well or bad the status that a given indicator reveals; however, in the second chart, the coloured circles indicate how things went compared to the first chart. Each indicator in the second chart (figure 2.3) has coloured circles that represent the two periods of Trump’s term. The two periods are made for the purpose of defining any possible slight improvement and for a better grasp of where Trump is heading.

Figure 2.2.



Economic indicators including GDP at the end of Obama's term (Jan 2017)

Source: My Esoteric

The first stoplight chart (figure 2.2) contains different measures. The first measure is the GDP or the Gross Domestic Product. It is the main indicator used to determine how well the economy is doing in the country. It represents the overall value of goods and services produced in a country and in a defined period, either a quarter or a whole year (Investopedia). According to My Esoteric, and as the chart shows, The GDP is calculated through consumer spending, business investment, government spending, and exports minus imports. When the GDP is in a state of growing, then the economy is doing well, if it goes with no improvement, then the economy is stable, and when it decreases, then the economy is in a state of recession. The Median Income or Median household Income is a measure of incomes of all the people sharing a household or a place of residence such as salaries, retirements, and food stamps. The use of the latter by people is also considered as an economical measure that reveals the

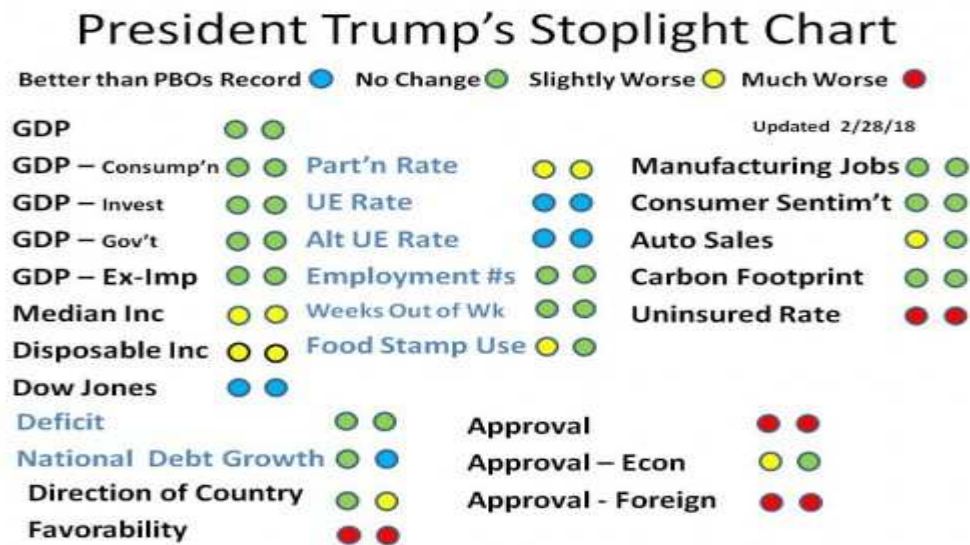
number of people of low or no income, because it is a Program that helps those of low- or no-income people living in the United States to purchase food. Another measure that revolves around individuals' income is the Disposable Personal Income which is the amount of money that is free to spend or to save, after deductions of taxes and essential spending such as food and clothing. Both the Median and the Disposable Incomes reveals the standard of life in America. "The greater the income, especially after tax income," comments My Esoteric, "the more there is to spend on finer things in life."

Carbon Footprint is a measure of the amount of gas emissions in the air especially *Carbon Dioxide* (CO₂). The United States government under president Obama, gave a good deal of attention to environment through attempting to reduce emissions from factories in coordination with the Paris Climate Accord which was scrapped later by Donald Trump.

The Out of Work metric measures how long people have been out of work. Other indicators also reveal the status of jobs in the United States such as the Unemployment Rate, and the level of important factors in growing economy such as Population Growth Rate and Participation Rate which is a measure of how many eligible adults are willing to work.

In the same field, that of economy, and as "the outcome of a growing GDP is a growing stock Market as well as the reverse," the Dow Jones Industrial Average (DOW) serves as an important measurement for the stock market in relation to 30 publicly owned companies including Apple, Boeing, and other businesses. It shows how those companies have traded during a period of time. (My Esoteric)

Figure 2.3.



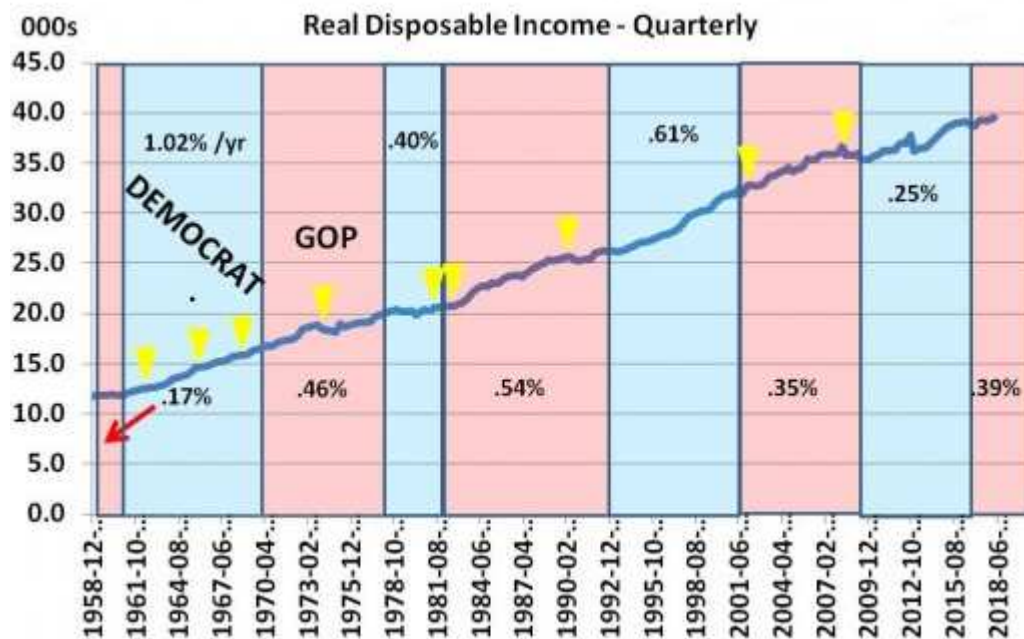
Economic indicators including GDP during Trump's first year in office

Source: My Esoteric

The second chart reflects on the previous measures during Trump's term that currently preceded a year since he took office. The GDP as figure 2.3 shows did not change or did not really embrace a clear change, at least during the last 13 months since Trump took office; a fact that should be taken into consideration.

The two income metrics that signalled a slight retreat under Trump's administration (figure 2.3) are the Median Household Income and the Disposable Income. In this regard, it seems that the Democrats have done better as figure 2.4 shows. Although president Obama marked the lowest rate in 2012, the Disposable Income continued to grow until 2017 when it marked a slight decline. The Median Income, on the other hand, was at a better rate in the end of Obama's term, yet, it went low since Trump took office. (see figure 2.5)

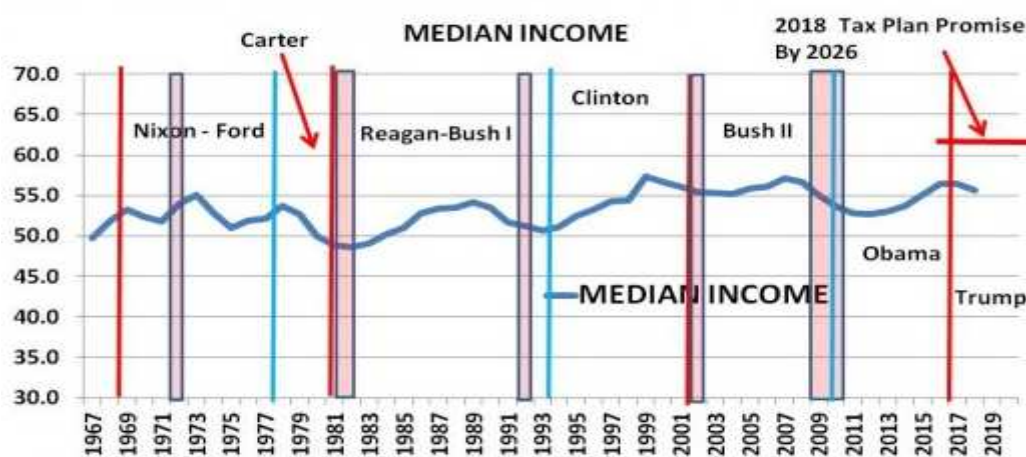
Figure 2.4.



Real disposable personal income: (1959-2017)

Source: Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis

Figure 2.5.

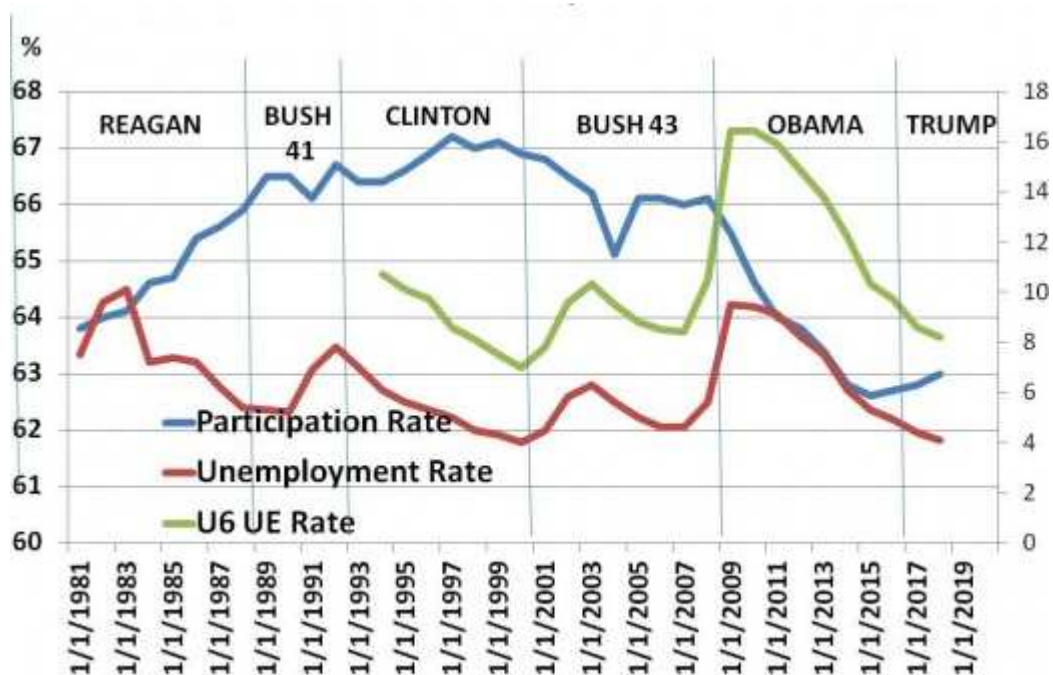


Real Median Household Income (1967-2017)

Source: Semega (US Census)

The Creation of jobs has been the central theme of Trump's campaign, an important part of 'America First' policy that puts the American workers first. From an observation of the status of employment in the country, we can confirm the effectiveness of Trump's policies on the issue. Unemployment, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is heading toward the lowest rate, as figure 2.6 reveals, whether it is U3 which is the official unemployment rate that included the unemployed who are in the process of looking for a job, or U6 which is a measure that adds to U3 the number of people who have stopped looking for work. (My Esoteric)

Figure 2.6.



Participation Rate and Unemployment Rate U3 and U6 (1981-2017)

Source: Labor Force Statistics (Bureau of Labor Statistics)

The United States Department of Labor has declared that about 3 million jobs have been created since the Election Day and confirmed that the unemployment rate remained steady at 4.1% in the last 6 months; a rate which UE has fallen to after it was 7% when Trump

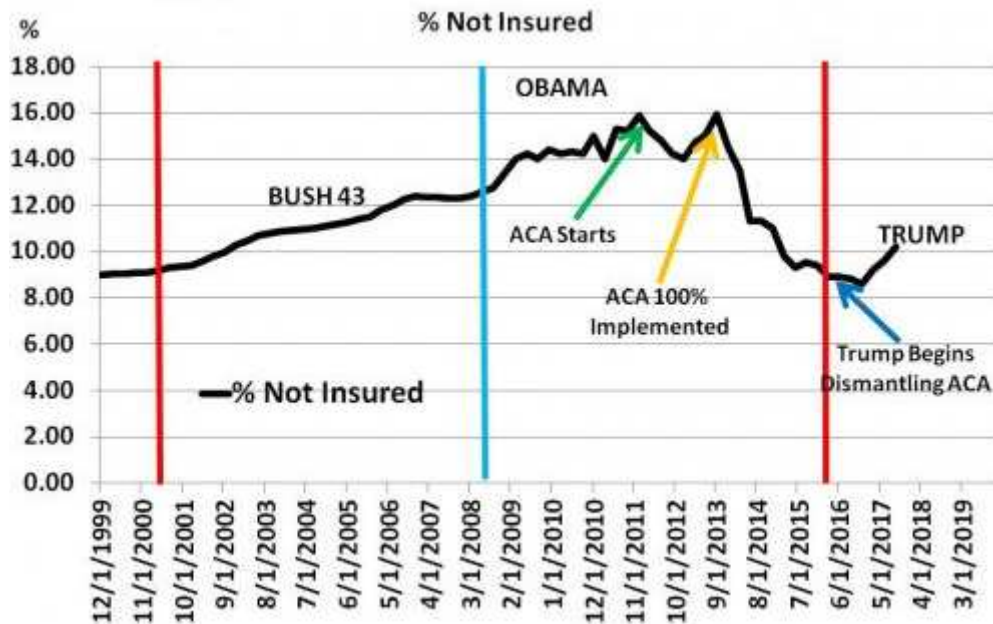
took office. The job growth, however, is not that high as used to be with the previous administrations. Also, Trump’s promises had far more aspirations especially when he predicted himself to be the best job creator that god has ever created, intending to reach 25 million jobs.(Bureau of Labor Statistics, Economic News Release)

The Unemployment Rate usually goes hand in hand with Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) or food stamps. That is to say, they have a positive relationship because when unemployment grows, the Food Stamps usage grows and vice versa (My Esoteric). Despite the fact that SNAP use has been increasing at the time when unemployment was decreasing (see figure 2.3), it came to slightly decrease in three months in row: November and December 2017, and January 2018. (United States Department of Agriculture)

The Dow Jones Industrial Average is a good indicator of how the economy is doing and which has collapsed during depressions and recessions that the U.S. has been through; however, My Esoteric commented on it being “not necessarily a good indicator of how the economy is really doing.” He reflected on its very fast improvement during Trump’s term being strongly attached to the corporate tax cuts that Trump has promised to do in his campaign.

One of the controversial aspects of Trump’s term is Health Insurance. Its rate began to reach higher levels since the first attempt to dismantle Obamacare (figure 2.7). Trump’s impact concerning insurance issue does not seem to be good at all. When it comes to the economy growth, one may raise a question: what does the measurement of the Uninsured Rate do with investigating how the economy is doing? In his article, My Esoteric mentioned that the more people are uninsured, the sicker America will be, which will lead to lower productivity and subsequently affect the GDP growth.

Figure 2.7.



Annual Uninsured Rate (2000-2017)

Source: Gallup

One of the biggest plans that Donald Trump counts on in growing economy and helping the people especially the middle class, is the corporate tax cuts. The cuts were expected to bring many jobs through encouraging corporations and companies to invest more and more in factories; However, the optimistic expectation have turned upside down, as things did not work the way Trump has wished, leading the idea of being the biggest jobs creator God ever created to be closer to a fantasy. Bronner has reported the Nobel Prize-winning economist Paul Krugman's reflection on Trump's tax cuts to a *CNN* correspondent, saying that they have turned to be nothing but a complete disappointment. Krugman has stated: "We should be seeing an investment boom or at least some indications of a planned increased investment. We're just not seeing that."

Actually, the thing that was not expected is that the companies that were supposed to create more jobs and subsequently boost the economy, have used the money to reward their shareholders instead of more investments. An instance of this is Apple which has announced that it will spend more money on stock buybacks. ([Bronner](#))

In my interview with Belford, he pointed out that the tax plan made by the GOP or the Republican Party will, sooner or later, lead to an explosion of the national debt which will subsequently lead to an increase in inflation due to the cut in funds. According to him, there is no other possible and reasonable outcome.

It seems that Trump lacks the long term vision for the economy due to his vague economic plans that aimed at the short term benefits and that were probably put for the sake of populism.

2.7. Trade and its Outcome on Economy

The trade deficit that Trump promised to end grew larger during his first year in office. U.S. Census Bureau revealed that the United States imported \$465 billion more than it imported during the first 10 months of Trump's presidency. This was 11.5 % higher than 2016. Furthermore, the trade deficit with China that Trump used to severely criticize, grew by 7.8 percent during the first year in office, while the trade deficit with Mexico grew by 11 percent. (Jackson)

Until the present day, it does not seem that Trump is doing well in the field of trade, although he announced that he will launch a trade war with China. The promise to declare China as currency manipulator has been broken (Trump-O-Meter). And the current measure taken against China is the imposition of more tariffs on its goods which will lead their prices to go high and push China to do the same to the American imports.

As prices go up and the trade deficit grows more and more, the American people will receive the damage in the first place. A trade deficit, as the case with China, exists due to the fact that Americans buy more from that country than they sell to it. Thus, China for instance lends that extra money back to the United States for investment. In a personal interview, Belford has pointed out the inevitable impact of Trump's trade practices especially the "somehow" trade war declared on China saying:

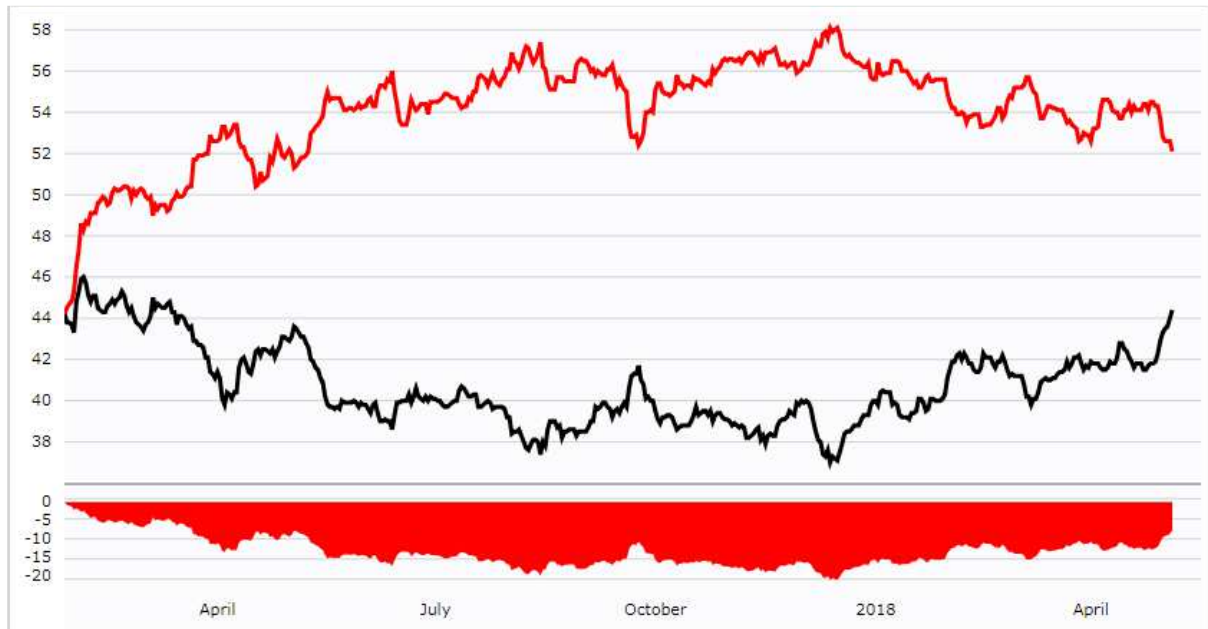
If China, for example, raises prices in retaliation to Trump's tariffs, then things will cost Americans more. If China stops buying from America, then demand goes down, then production goes down, and finally Americans lose jobs. The likely result, then, from a trade war is less investment into American businesses, loss of American jobs, and an increase in the American cost of living - a lose-lose situation that has always been true. Trump doesn't understand this.

2.8. Favourability and Job Approval

It is noteworthy, as in every field, to check the views of people in a given country on a given performance, especially when it comes to policies made by the government. Even before election, Donald Trump seemed to be less popular than Hilary Clinton. Since Trump won the election and had his first day in office, all indicators reveal a further decline in popularity and less favourability especially in the area of foreign affairs. A poll made on president Trump job approval found that 52.1 % of voters disapprove while 44.4 % approve his performance. The result came out of a poll made over the period from Jan 27, 2017 to May 5, 2018 (see figure 2.8). The same source contained an overview of more than 24

different polls including Gallup, Pew research, and Fox news that were conducted many times since Trump took office. (Polls: President Trump Job Approval)

Figure 2.8.



President Trump Job Approval (April 2017-April 2018)

Source: Polls: Real Clear Politics

The same website (Real Clear Politics) investigated the people's view on the direction of the country. It found that 54.7% saw that the country is in the wrong track while 36.9% saw the contrary. This result is shared among the majority of other polls revealed. In addition, one of the most important research-based and management consulting companies, Gallup, found that the majority of Americans have viewed Trump unfavourably throughout his presidency until the present time. It mentioned that Trump is the lowest favourable and the highest unfavourable compared to Barack Obama, George W. Bush, and Bill Clinton. (Norman)

Conclusion

The chapter has tackled several domestic aspects in the United States including the economy, unemployment, job growth, healthcare, immigration and national defence, and referred to their development under the new administration's 'America First' policy over the period of fifteen months since President Trump took office. Furthermore, it reflected on Donald Trump's approach to trade stressing its impact on economy and the American people.

Chapter Three

The Global Impact of ‘America First’ Policy

Introduction

This chapter will track down President Donald Trump’s campaign promises and declarations that take the shape of ‘America First’ policy in the area of foreign affairs and international relations. Also, it will discuss the current global events in different areas where the United States is expected to play its traditional role, and reflect on whether the new policy has strengthened or dismantled that role over the period of 15 months. Finally, it is worth shedding the light on the future expectations of the new world order on the basis of the current policy.

3.1. An Overview of Donald Trump’s Foreign Policy

The attempt towards examining Trump’s policy in the international scale and arriving at conclusions about their implications is closer to being an adventure. This is due to the fact that Trump is still in his way to implement most of his policies after about fifteen months since he took office. In addition, Trump lacks political experience by which we can draw conclusions, and has unpredictable attitudes that are strongly attached to his unsteady personality; however, we can scout about Trump’s project in the Middle East and other places on the basis of the current events and the words that have been highlighted by Trump both as a candidate and as president.

Generally, different internal and external aspects have led President Trump to favour a severe economic approach. This is probably the result of the current economical status of the

United States, the weak financial commitment of allies to it, and the terrorist threat represented in ISIS, not to forget the economic obsession and the business background of Donald Trump; a fact that we saw when he shrunk his vision towards Asia through moving away from free trade and re-recognizing the status of alliances.

Many observers have stated that according to the new administration's rhetoric including the president and his team, the United States is going to the unknown. Both Trump and his team lack coherence, the strategic vision, and experience leading us to expect so little if not the total opposite. This was highlighted by Stephen Walt, professor of international relations, who stated:

Foreign and defense policies are going to be a train wreck, because they don't have enough good people in place . . . Trump himself lacks the discipline or strategic vision to manage this process and may not care to try. Even if you agree with his broad approach, his team is going to make a lot more rookie mistakes before they figure out what they are doing.

The question that has to be raised other than the competency of Trump's surrounding team, is whether 'America first' policies really serve America. It is agreed that it does not entail isolation; however, Trump has made a kind of shift from America's traditional place in the world which has already begun to decline. Therefore, Walt warns saying:

Get ready for a lot of unexpected developments and unintended consequences. If the United States is giving up its self-appointed role as the 'indispensable nation' and opting instead for 'America First', a

lot of other countries will have to rethink their policies, alignments, and commitments . . . especially when it happens quickly and is driven not by optimism but by anger, fear, and resentment.

The United States being a superpower, affects many nations through its foreign policy. Their policies are built upon the American statements and perspective. Thus, when America changes its vision towards both allies and foes, and makes statements that do not meet its actions, its position will be shaken and probably altered to be worse.

3.2. The Middle East

What Trump puts in his agenda when it comes to the Middle East is totally based on different factors that are present in the area: ISIS, Hezbollah, and other groups that constitute what is called Radical Islam, the Iran deal, Syria and Israel.

No one can deny the fact that the Middle East has been and still in chaos and disarray for years. Terrorism grew and was further enhanced by pointless military interventions leading instability to land on the ground. People made serious upheavals against their regimes leading some nations to be in a total mess, either through a civil war among armed groups after overthrowing the regime, or a civil war between the regime and its opposition leading to many severe casualties.

As a candidate, Donald Trump has severely criticized the previous administrations for causing that mess in the Middle East, describing their policies as foolish. However, Trump does not seem to be working on promoting peace in the region, as he went on with unpredictable moves that were to put the region and the world in a much worse state than it is now. His decision of recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel on December 6, 2017, has been one of the most controversial issues and the one that would probably have led to huge

problems and unintended consequences on the Israeli-Palestinian already tense relations. That bald move will also create more tensions in the Middle East and the Arab and Muslim world in general. Trump's declarations and threats to Syria on the basis of its use of chemical weapons were expected to cause far more negative consequences leading to a new stage of war; a war which will take a global shape as all the interests of the superpowers are based there. Iran is a great ally to Al-Assad and has its interest in Syria; therefore, America has to make several calculations before moving to hit the country's interest, let alone Russia.

3.2.1. Syria and Donald Trump's New Role

When America claimed that it has made sure through conclusive evidence that the chemical attack took place, it launched a tripartite strike along with Britain and France against all facilities related to chemical activities in Syria. The strike lasted for few hours targeting Al- Assad's military bases. Its impact was seen differently from different parts. The Pentagon said the U.S. and its allies have successfully hit all the targets (Watkins). And Trump has commented on it saying "mission accomplished" (Trump). Nevertheless, the official Syrian military leader along with the Russian secretary of defence declared that most of the strikes have been blocked by the air defence system preventing serious damages (Barnes). The strike, however, has caused much parody and sarcasm around the world. It has been described as a polishing action that was not made to overthrow Al-Assad's regime; rather, it was intended to just save America and the west's faces, because America's interests are maintained by Al-Assad regime such as being a protector of Israel's borders. The safety of Israel is strongly attached to all kinds of happenings in the region especially in countries that it shares borders with. Others have related the smooth American strike that did not meet the level of its threats to the fear from entering a high level of struggle with Russia that will probably exceed just a cold war.

Trump's contradicted policies on Syria have received much opposition from different parts in the world. He promised to stay out of Syria and never engage in any combat with any part in Syria, except for ISIS which will be the target that will take the highest priority in the region; however, he conducted two separate strikes on Syrian military bases that were directly or indirectly related to the chemical attacks made by Al-Assad against Syrian civilians. Although Trump's last operation against Syria was made in partnership with France and Britain, many other nations were split between opposition and reservation. In his article "Majority supports Syrian airstrikes," Shepard stated that a consult poll made by Politico website revealed that 58% of the voters support the airstrikes on Syria; however, the majority of those voters believe that Trump's action was influenced by the late scandals surrounding him.

3.2.2. The American View of the Israeli- Palestinian Conflict

Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel through moving the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, was internationally seen as a poor behaviour. The decision project was strongly rejected by 128 countries, including Russia, France, and Britain, in The United Nations general assembly; an action which was faced by threats by the American side represented by Nikki Haley, the U.S. ambassador to the UN, describing it as a disrespect to America and promising to impose sanction on the nations that voted against the American decision on Jerusalem (Beaumont). The reaction of the United States shows a great decline in its foreign policy. Imposing sanctions and cutting funds to whoever opposes the U.S. policy reveals a new method of Political bullying. The decision itself was described as immature and foolish, as its outcomes will never serve the interest of the United States in the first place, and it will never promote the chances of peace in the region, especially when it comes to Jerusalem which is the heart of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The response to Trump's move was intense and on a wide scale. BBC news has released an article titled "Jerusalem: Trump move prompts negative world reaction," mentioning that leaders from all over the world, especially in Arab and Muslim worlds, have quickly criticized the move and warned of its severe implications. BBC reported that the Palestinian president Mahmud Abbas described Trump's move as an action that will never serve its proclaimed 'role as a peace mediator'. The international community had a similar position condemning Trump's decision including the German Chancellor Angela Merkel whose spokesman wrote on Twitter that they "do not support this position because the status of Jerusalem can only be negotiated within the framework of a two-state solution" (Koblerin). Russia, China, France, EU foreign policy chiefs, United Nations officials and the vast majority of the international community had similar attitudes.

The act, however, was seen from another angle by various observers. Taking the idea of the Israeli lobby in the United States into consideration, would pave the way to a more logical explanation of such a bald action. Donald Trump probably knew how would that decision affect America and the region, and he probably expected the vast opposition from various countries, although he did not seem to have realized it after he went threatening the countries that voted against the decision. The only logical explanation that may, in a way, justify Trump's ambiguous action, is that he wanted to satisfy the Israeli lobby in the United States, a power that is believed to attempt to direct U.S. foreign policy to be pro-Israel. Mearsheimer and Walt have provided a detailed analysis of the situation concerning the United States' decision making process. It is so true that the United States foreign policy endeavours to maintain the country's national interest; however, that foreign policy takes shape from domestic activities especially when it comes to the case of the Middle East. Mearsheimer and Walt have also hinted that the conclusion that has been drawn comes from an observation of the situation in the Middle East throughout the past decades, as far as the

United States is concerned (30). That is to say, the United States has prioritized another state's interests, that of Israel, over its own through creating hostility towards the United States in the Arab and Muslim World, and exposing the country to terrorist attacks, not to forget the 1973 oil embargo that was to drag the United States economy to an unpleasant status. From that point, we can see that U.S. foreign policy did not take the American national security and interest as serious as Israel's own interest; therefore, a powerful lobby that succeed in directing U.S. foreign policy probably exists.

On the other hand, the unique support that Israel has received over the last century and that was represented in the diplomatic support, military assistance, and ignoring Israel's acquisition of the nuclear capability, shows that Israel is the most important strategic asset for the United States (Mearsheimer and Walt). In the light of these stated facts, Trump's move towards Jerusalem is not a surprise because the United States used to harm its national interest and image for the sake of Israel. However, a unilateral recognition of a state or moving an embassy from a place to another does not serve any strategic goal that would deter Iran or its allies including Hezbollah. It seems to only satisfy the Israeli lobby that is zealous to deter all Israel's Arab and Muslim neighbours including Iraq, Syria and Lebanon which in turn represent Iran's influence in the area; an influence that threatens Israeli borders.

The question that can be raised is why would Trump feel the need to satisfy the Israel lobby at the time when he is financially independent? Trump is being severely attacked by the media which he used to call 'fake news'. In addition, it is widely agreed that Jewish people own large companies and have big influence in the United States; an influence that certainly includes the media. Therefore, his endeavour to Jerusalem comes in return for, at least, lowering the media's intensity towards him especially when it comes to his relation to Russia which has probably interfered and affected the outcome of the last presidential elections, and his moral scandals that had recently invaded the media arena. The United States, on the basis

of these findings, has greatly shrunk its vision towards its national interest and security, leading the already boiled Middle East to be even worse, after it started acting in the international arena only to satisfy a lobby or react to just a sexual scandal.

To some, it is not really apparent where the United States intends to go for the Middle East. In a session, that was hosted by the Washington Post, titled “the Global Impact of America First,” deputy prime minister of Lebanon Ghassan Hasbani stated that there is no clear intention in the Middle East under Trump’s administration. He added that although America did good fighting ISIS, it is still unclear whether it endeavours to preserve stability in the region, and only the coming days will bring the answer. During the same session, professor of economics Jin Keyu, said that despite the fact that the United States follows its ‘America First’ policies, it is still responsible for its role in the global coordination. Keyu’s view, until the present day, seems to be true only in the incident of the tripartite strike on Syria, and Iran nuclear deal is a strong proof that Keyu’s view is no longer the case.

3.2.3. The American Position towards Iran and its Influence

Syria is the melting pot where different interests meet. For America, Syria represents the biggest challenge as it is supposed to deal with ISIS, contain or reduce Iran and its allies’ influence, and confront the growing Russian influence in the area. Iran, as Ferguson states in his article “Donald Trump’s New World Order,” has been in relation with the United States at variable levels, from a solid containment under George Bush followed by a softer one under president Obama, to arrive at a more solid containment represented in more severe sanctions, and a threat if not an intention to cancel Iran nuclear deal, all on the basis that Iran is the biggest threat to Israel and the biggest supporter of terrorism.

Trump’s attempt to cancel the deal with Iran seems to be strongly opposed by the European allies and American people themselves. A poll released by the Middle East Institute

concerning the Americans views on the Iran nuclear deal found out that nearly 75% of American people, including scientists and experts in the nuclear field, support the deal (Davison). The international community including the participants in the deal: UK, Germany, France, Russia, and China, have ensured the importance of the deal in promoting peace and security, and reducing Iran's nuclear threat to the Middle East and the world. On the other hand, they have warned of any action against the deal, as it will bring nothing but destabilization in the area.

Actually, Trump has never and will never be more reckless than he is now if he decides to tear up the deal. Trump's obsession of getting the maximum benefits at the expense of allies and the United States' key role in the world serves, in a way, the ultimate meaning of the term 'America First' entailing a kind of isolationism. The European nations including UK, Germany, and France have expressed their commitment to the deal; therefore, if Trump withdraws from the deal, it will be considered a unilateral step and the United States will have to impose sanctions on Iran by its own. This will somehow isolate the United States from its allies and increase the chances of a war in the Middle East. In his article "Decertifying the Iran deal is putting the US in 'rogue-state territory,'" Woody hinted at the implications that are likely to occur if Trump withdraws from the deal, stating that Trump's action will certainly affect the international view of America as a key indispensable partner in the promotion of peace in the world. The gap between America and its allies will be widened as they become less sure of the United States' will towards them. Also, the European partners as well as the international community agreed that it will be a great mistake, because it will increase conflict and harm U.S. and European interests. The German Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel pointed out the biggest possible outcome of Trump's scrap of the deal, saying that it will push the EU closer to Russia and China. "It's imperative that Europe sticks together on this issue," said

Gabriel, "We also have to tell the Americans that their behavior on the Iran issue will drive us Europeans into a common position with Russia and China against the USA." (qtd. in Woody)

The European allies, however, had tried to send messages to the white house stressing the need to stay in the deal, but Donald Trump does not seem to be willing to retreat from his decision, especially after the recent visit to Washington by the French president Emmanuel Macron who attempted to convince Trump to stay in the deal and which has hopelessly failed. If happened that the United States withdraws from the deal and imposes sanctions on Iran, the outcome will be regional and international in an unprecedented manner. The result will lead the region into war, as the scrap of the deal means that Iran no longer trusts the seriousness of the United States in such deals. The tension between Iran and Israel will grow as Iran's influence is enormously growing near Israeli borders in Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. The global outcome will be represented in a serious deviation in the United States foreign policy from Multilateralism ¹to Unilateralism²; a serious change but not an unprecedented one, as the United States has been through it since the times of Clinton and Bush. In this vein, Malone and Khong gave a detailed account on that change. They reported the correspondent of *The Independent* newspaper Rupert Cornwell's words concerning the incident of the United States' withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty in 2001, saying: "The United States served Formal notice yesterday that it is pulling out of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty . . . a move that clears the way for the development of its own missile defense system, but which will exacerbate fears of a new surge of American unilateralism." The withdrawal was done along with other retreats from different pacts; a move which has been described as "going it alone." (41)

¹ Multilateralism brings the support of the international community and gives an action more favourability in the international field.

² Unilateralism entails acting solely with no support and making actions that are less favourable. It is related to assertive and hegemonic unilateralism, see, Franz Nuscheler, Multilateralism vs. Unilateralism: Cooperation vs. Hegemony in Transatlantic Relations, The Development and Peace Foundation, 2001, p. 34.

3.3. China

Donald Trump is probably the first president to sharpen his policy on China. Trump's bark in his presidential campaign that was thought to bring about a trade war, was far more than his bite in office; however, he went on with policies against China which he believes as the nation's economic enemy.

U.S. has launched tariffs on the Chinese imports of washing machines, solar panels, steel, and aluminium. Lately, on March 22, 2018, Trump announced that the United States imposes tariffs that are \$60 billion worth on China. These tariffs will be imposed on nearly 1,300 Chinese products that are mostly related to communication and technology industries (Letts). This attempt was certainly made in order to confront the Chinese threat to the American economy, jobs, and workers. The tariffs imposed on the technological products, and the restriction of the Chinese investments in the American technology sector, as Letts reveals, reflect U.S. frustration on China's turn towards producing high tech goods. Letts has also reported that U.S. Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer told the Senate Committee that it will not be good for America if China dominates technology. The focus on China's domination of Trade seems to be only in one front, because Trump cares only about fair trade rather than free trade, leading him to neglect Latin America and Asia through ending the Trans Pacific Partnership. China's response, however, revolved around treating the United States the same way through imposing tariffs. Landler and Tankersley wrote in the New York Times that China will impose tariffs on 128 products imported from the United States; however, the Chinese government hopes that the two countries make a settlement through talks in order to prevent further repercussions.

Trump's method in engaging with China in relation to his overall policy does not seem to be doing well for the United States. Actually, Trump's foreign policy is benefiting China more than the United States which seems to have declared a war trade on itself by

unintentionally paving the way to China to grow, prosper, and dominate. In his article in the *New York Times*, Porter explains how Trump's policy could benefit China more than it could repel it, saying: "The problem with the president's game plan is that it is inconsistent with all the other diplomatic initiatives he has taken so far. The tangle of stabs and swipes at allies and rivals alike, in the service of ill-conceived goals like closing a trade deficit, serves China more than it does the United States."

The tension between the United States and its Allies would certainly, in a way or another, serve its rivals. When it comes to confronting another economic power, the United States needs its allies the same as it needs them against ISIS or any other threat whatsoever. Trump does not seem to realize the importance of mobilizing allies as well as international institutions against any unfair trade practices that do not follow the rules imposed by the west. In this vein, Porter adds:

Washington could strengthen the global institutions that support its own view of fair play That is not, however, what Mr. Trump is doing. Ditching the Trans-Pacific Partnership, imposing new tariffs on Japanese steel and hinting that the United States may even walk away from the W.T.O. all serve China's goal of undermining the arrangements and institutions that stand in its way.

Trump's 'America First' method in the international scene did not only allow China to gain more space, but also provided a fertile territory for it to practice further influence. Trump's vision on Latin America has been shrunk through ignoring Latin American countries, initiating a kind of hostile statements on Latin immigrants especially those from Mexico, and threatening to end NAFTA with Canada and Mexico. Trump's 'America First'

project in the American continent has led him to be unpopular in the region which he has alienated. In “While Trump eyes Latin America with malign neglect, China sees opportunity,” Phillips has mentioned that China, as the former Secretary of State Rex Tillerson stated, has already become the largest trading partner of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru. With continues negligence of Latin America, the United States will allow China to invade its space and negotiate bigger deals with Latin America countries. Phillips has also reported that Margaret Myers, director of the Inter-American Dialogue’s China and Latin America program, has expressed his concerns on the growing pace of China’s activities in the region saying: “There is a sense that China is increasingly active in Latin America ... and that we are seeing bigger announcements, bigger numbers, bigger deals, bigger projects.”

When it comes to the issue of dealing with rival powers, the leader usually highlights his strategic moves that should be implemented to reach long term goals. From a geopolitical point of view, Rivalry demands containment. That is to say, implementing different ways to prevent or at least limit the rival nation’s exercise of its power in any place in the world, especially when it comes to areas near the rival’s shores or borders. In this vein, when China, the world’s second largest economic power, represents that rival, things go stricter and measures become more complicated; therefore, the United States or any other country facing such an economic monster, has to take into account two main aspects:

First, the need to be strongly aware of the geopolitical confrontation, and need to draw a strategic view that goes beyond simple deterrence. President Donald Trump does not seem to be interested in fulfilling that goal; instead, he goes on with pointless measures concerning bilateral dealings with China such as imposing more tariffs on Chinese imports to the country. In his article “America’s New President Is Not a Rational Actor,” Walt, professor of international relations at Harvard University, gave a deep comment on that issue referring to Trump as the worst player on the international ground, he stated:

Trump seems to be blithely unaware that the United States is engaged in a serious geopolitical competition with China, and that this rivalry isn't just about jobs . . . it is mostly about trying to keep China from establishing a hegemonic position in Asia, from which it could eventually project power around the world and possibly even into the Western hemisphere itself.

According to Walt, the theme of Trump's administration 'America First' benefits America only when it exists in an extreme unipolar world in terms of politics, military capabilities, and most importantly, economy. He stated:

It's easier to favor 'America First' when no other great power is active near our shores, but that fortunate position may not last if China establishes a position in its neighborhood akin to the one the United States has long enjoyed in its backyard. With its surroundings secured, China could forge alliances around the world and interfere in distant regions . . . including areas close to U.S. soil. This development would force Americans to worry a whole lot more about defending our territory, something we haven't had to worry about for more than a century.

Second, the need to maintain and preserve alliances in order to coordinate all efforts to fulfil a certain goal; something that the United States has strongly worked on since the cold war. It is agreed to a great extent that the United States has emerged as the greatest effecting

power in terms of economy, strength and foreign policy. All those privileges allowed it to practice its role as the indispensable dominant nation. However, it always needed its allies to maintain its interests as well as of the allies themselves. Despite being a super power, the United States cannot perform alone on the international ground, as it will always need its allies concerning any issue whatsoever. In the case of China, Russia or even Iran, the United States has to match with its allies whether it was NATO, EU, South Korea or Latin America, for better fulfilment of its interests and more effective containment of its rivals along with countries and parties that represent the Axis of resistance³ in the East. President Trump, again, and through his 'America First' policy, is excluding his allies and widening a serious gap that other competing nations will certainly take advantage of. Tearing up the Trans-Pacific Partnership as mentioned earlier and sharpening the words to NATO, Latin American countries and even Arab and Muslim allies, have led the United States to deviate from its standard path and will ultimately change its position in the world. Walt has also tackled Trump's behaviour towards allies saying: "The United States is not located in the Western Pacific. As a result, its ability to prevent China from becoming a hegemonic power there requires close cooperation with Asian partners. The United States should not try to shoulder this burden by ourselves, but we sure ain't gonna do it alone."

As mentioned in previous discussions, countries around the world shape their policies on the basis of the United States' statements as well as its actions. Trump's method against allies and enemies alike will certainly push other nations to reconsider their plans and subsequently draw different views on America. This became a fact today which signals a new turn that is not in favour of the United States. One of the Latin American diplomats reflected on that idea saying: "The United States isn't respected as much now . . . Before, whatever Americans said seemed to be the right thing - the voice of reason. Now whatever they say is

³ An alliance that is anti-Western and anti-Israeli and often referred to Iran, Syria, and Hezbollah, see, Afrasiabi, *Evolving Mission of the Axis of Resistance* – OpEd, eurasiareview, 2017.

questioned” (Rampton and Taj). This can be more confirmed through the logical and standard idea in the field of international law and relations, and which indicates that the agreements or pacts or whatever joins individuals or parties are ultimately seen as testament to the nation’s will in a given aspect, and its readiness to either lead or contribute in the pact’s force and validity as well as that nation’s ability to preserve it (Simmons and Steinberg). The United States, therefore, will subsequently lose its effective role in the world, and no longer the allies count on the United States in treating serious issues especially when it comes to Iran deal.

3.4. Russia

Since the Second World War, America has been anti-Russian until the fall of the Soviet Union which led to a unipolar world. When Vladimir Putin came to power, Russia began to rise again. Although its economy does not meet its great shadow until the present day, its influence in Eastern Europe and the Middle East has increased. It improved its arsenal in terms of quality and effectiveness leading it to be America’s first rival. Under Obama administration, U.S. and its allies including Germany have been following a deterring policy against Russia, for its irresponsible actions and unjustified aggressions on Ukraine and Syria. Trump, as a candidate, has revealed the possibility of getting along with Russia to the best level. When Trump took office, he had the same view; however, U.S. foreign policy was not that smooth on the ground. This is seen as the biggest contradiction in Trump’s history since he took office. Many observers and political analysts came into a shared conclusion that when it comes to Russia, there are two Trumps.

The nature of the American-Russian relations is still quite unclear. We cannot determine how Trump is different from Obama in that perspective. Beauchamp has described the Russian situation with America saying: “On Russia, it’s Trump versus the Trump administration,” referring to the incident of poisoning an ex British-Russian spy and which

was done by Russia. The incident had a vast feedback around the world, especially from Britain, represented in firing Russian diplomats and sending them back to Russia. Beauchamp stated that the matter is that although America conducted the same action towards the Russian diplomats, Trump had a special friendly chat with his Russian counterpart that it seemed to have entirely ignored the Russian assassination of the spy and the collective international effort to punish Russia. Furthermore, Trump has invited president Putin to the white house; a visit which will be the first since 2015. In this vein, Beauchamp added: "The disconnect points to the defining aspect of America's Russia policy: a contradiction between the president's pro-Putin words and the actual policy steps taken by the administration to punish Russia for its misbehavior around the world."

The ambiguity in Trump's policy on Russia was somehow cleared when his pro-Putin words were replaced by a threatening tone in his tweet prior to the airstrike on Syria. He tweeted "Russia vows to shoot down any and all missiles fired at Syria. Get ready Russia, because they will be coming, nice and new and "smart!" You shouldn't be partners with a Gas Killing Animal who kills his people and enjoys it!" (Trump). He directly blamed Russia for its support to the Syrian government and challenged its statement on the protection of the regime against any military hit and which was discovered to be totally empty. In the same day, Trump tweeted again referring to how the relation went badly, and then he immediately turned to pro-Russia words signalling the need to reinforce the relation, he stated: "Our relationship with Russia is worse now than it has ever been, and that includes the Cold War. There is no reason for this. Russia needs us to help with their economy, something that would be very easy to do, and we need all nations to work together. Stop the arms race?" (Trump)

The last military strike that was led by Trump can be seen as the hit that broke down the dilapidated castle of Putin, revealing the true nature of Russia being just a huge balloon that is empty at the core. The strike on Al-Assad, Russia's most important ally, did not get any

response other than condemning it, and describing it as an aggression. It was faced by a deadly silence that was unexpected from the vast majority of the international community. This was preceded with the same action conducted against Shayrat Airbase on April 7, 2017, for the same reason and which was met with the same attitude from Russia. On the other hand, many observers saw that Russia has been playing the role of a superpower in a bipolar world during Obama's term. It could join Crimea, support Separatists in Ukraine, and threaten Eastern Europe. The Russian influence was further expanded to reach the Middle East through supporting the Syrian government in its war against terrorism. Russia could also form partnerships with U.S. allies such as Turkey in order to strike ISIS in Syria and Iraq. The recent Russian intervention in the American elections would serve as the conclusive evident that shows how Russia could advance its power and reinforce its existence outside its borders. When Trump took office in January 20, 2017, the U.S. method towards Russia was far beyond just dry economical sanctions.

Trump has conducted two separated unilateral military actions against the Syrian government in its territory which the Russian officials have openly promised to protect. The Russian veto, on the other hand, was totally neglected and no longer effective for Trump's America. One may come out with one conclusion out of two possibilities concerning the American influence with reference to its Russian counterpart. Either the Russian regime was allowed to practice its artificial power during Obama's administration and which was uncovered by Trump, or the Russian 'Czar' Vladimir Putin who was seen as the world's most powerful person by Forbes magazine for several years, could not stand against the baldness of Donald Trump who was committed, from the beginning, to maintain and serve the American interest first inside and outside the United States, showing that it still has the power to affect international issues and maintain its interest around the world, dismantling any belief in a bipolar world.

However, through a close observation of the current world events, not only in Syria, we do not really see Trump's victory over Putin, because Russia is still a major player on the Syrian ground, and the American strike was not the big shot that could seriously hurt its targets and that was overblown on twitter. Belford reflected on this aspect saying that we cannot judge that Trump is stronger than Russia on the basis of a pointless and an ineffective air strike especially after he warned Russia hours before the strike in order to retreat its troops from different targeted locations. Belford added that Obama, on the other hand, did not really stand hopeless against the Russian movements, he said:

Obama had to deal with Europe who was economically dependent, to some degree, on Russia for gas by keeping us out of war, yet imposing crippling sanctions. I find Obama the much more effective president. Further, relations with most of the world's powers were pretty well destroyed by the Bush presidency. Obama fixed that over time which resulted in great working relationships with our allies. In the space of 15 months, Trump has torn that to shreds.

3.5. Europe and NATO

When speaking about European- Trump relations, NATO is usually at the core of the talk. As he constantly promised to urge NATO allies to pay for their share in his campaign, he directly went through implementation putting pressure on them to pay the United States. In his article "Trump keeps up drumbeat for NATO allies to pay more," Jacobson listed a

number of attempts made by Trump to push NATO allies to fulfil their defence commitments. He has also coordinated with Britain to persuade the members of the organization; however, there is no indication whether Trump has succeeded to have them pay their fair share.

Although Trump has not yet really implemented his campaign intentions against NATO, he seems likely to do far more. NATO has been and still America's most important alliance, therefore, any tension or less cooperation as Trump is likely to do, will never be in favour of either parties. The British Prime Minister Theresa May, reflected on this side saying: "With the threats we face, it's not the time for less cooperation" (Sloan). Trump has also expressed the need for modernization of NATO to better deal with the contemporary threats such as ISIS; however, that option may be omitted in case NATO does not pay money. This wrangle within the Trans-Atlantic alliance that represents the core of the American-European political and security cooperation, will certainly not serve the United States under any policy whatsoever.

In addition to the rising tension over the payment for the common defence, Trump's promises and commitments also effect U.S. relation with its European allies. In an open session supervised by The Washington Post discussing Trump's foreign affairs, the Senior Fellow from the Centre for a New American Security (CNAS), Robert Kaplan stated that Trump has shrunk his vision towards Asia through retreating from the Trans-Pacific partnership, focusing on North Korea's program, and negotiating better deals with China, paving the way from free trade to bilateral trade. The challenging tone and the tendency towards economic nationalism made European allies less sure of the United States' will towards them, especially when they learnt that Trump was not committed to U.S. allies from the beginning. In addition, according to Kaplan, and as the case with Russia, there seems to be less or no cooperation between the white house and state departments (the global impact of America First). The president states something and his administration states something else.

When the statements of a superpower like the United States do not meet its actions, the country will be undermined, its influence abroad will be weakened, and its decisions will not be as heavy as it used to be in the international ground. For Europe, Trump remains unpredictable and not fully into a European alliance as it used to be the case since the cold war. On the other hand, Trump's bite was less than his bark as Kaplan has described, a lot of promises were not done especially when it comes to China. Until the present time, we saw Trump neither imposing sanctions on China, nor declaring it as a currency manipulator.

The importance of NATO and Europe to the United States is not only based on a merely military cooperation against ISIS or any possible threat in the world, but also on a strategic gain which was the goal behind establishing NATO in the first place. Russia has begun expanding further influence in Eastern Europe and the Middle East; therefore, any possible weakness or shake in the American alliance with Europe, will probably provide an advantage to Putin who will not also miss the opportunity of Trump's rip of treaties with countries including Mexico, Australia, Japan, and other Latin and Asian countries that will certainly look for another power to deal with, whether it will be Russia or China.

3.6 The Korean Peninsula

Donald Trump has hinted at a possible peaceful settlement in the Korean peninsula from the beginning of his Campaign. For Trump, every step should go under diplomacy and talks. On the other hand, when Trump was in office, his view has quickly turned to threats and insults to the North Korean leader Kim Jong Un, who in turn did the same thing. These changes have occurred regarding his last ballistic missile test that has proven to reach any target in the world. The Sudden change of events concerning that issue led to an anticipation of a possible war that would have certainly taken a global shape.

In his speech to the UN General Assembly on September 19, 2017, Trump used war words clearly insisting that he will not hesitate to attack and ultimately destroy North Korea to defend the United States and its allies (Hamedy and Tseng). The threats have directly involved a possible use of nuclear power referring to their ability to do it easily, in addition to Trump's declaration of conducting further sanctions on North Korea for its continues tests of missiles. Although it has been seen, to some extent, as a merely demonstration of power, it showed the absence of a clear plan for the Korean peninsula by the American administration. The latest events, however, has reinforced how unpredictable Trump is. After he had called Kim "Rocket Man," "Madman," and "Sick Puppy," Trump described him as an honourable man during a meeting with the French President Emmanuel Macron in Washington DC, regarding Kim's announcement to stop his nuclear program and his readiness to have a historical summit with the South Korean president Moon Jae-in (Trump). The Korean summit is considered as the greatest shift in the Korean peninsula's history and the world in general, as the two counties lived in a period of hostility since the 1950s.

Until the present time when the South and North Korean presidents have just met, Trump seems to be in his way to hit a historical record. The summit that was held on April 27, 2018 and that started taking place in the Korean Demilitarized Zone that separates the two Koreans, is broadly seen as a gain which Trump takes credit for. *BBC News* released an article "Does Trump deserve the credit for peace talks with North Korea?" reporting that the South Korean President Moon Jae-in stated that Trump deserved big credit for promoting the talks with Kim Jong Un to preserve peace in the area, he said: "It could be a resulting work of the US-led sanctions and pressure". *BBC News* has also reported Trump's announcement of the credit he takes for the peace talks between the two Koreas, he stated: "does anybody really believe that talks and dialogue would be going on between North and South Korea right now if I wasn't firm, strong and willing to commit our total 'might' against the North."

Actually, the economic sanctions on North Korea have been implemented by the previous administrations, yet, they got tougher under Trump who also urged China to join America and its allies to tighten the screws on North Korea, especially after its increasing missile tests in 2017. *BBC News* described the nature of the recent sanctions that were effectively led by the United States as being fundamental as it targeted oil imports, agriculture, and other restrictions. China, as being urged by Trump, has also enacted these sanctions causing North Korea to reconsider its foreign affairs.

However, it does not seem to be completely right that Donald Trump takes big or even little credit if we look at the event from another angle. On the basis of Trump's method of pushing allies to pay the United States in return for their protection and military existence, the Korean summit does not reflect the American success. On the contrary, it reflects the American great failure and the triumph of China and its allies from the axis of resistance. Trump's political bullying to his allies such as NATO and the Gulf states was also applied on South Korea which owes the United States billions of dollars for the strategic military bases and supplies especially the nuclear missile shield in addition the thousands of American troops in the area. According to the Lebanese researcher and specialist in the international relation Riad Aid, the South Korean president Moon did not want to follow the Gulf states example of submission to satisfy Trump's lust for money; rather, he intended to avoid the American pressure through establishing peace in the area. Moon's move in the area was a step that China takes the biggest credit for through pushing the North Korean leader Kim Jong Un to initiate the historical summit with his neighbour. Denuclearization of the Korean peninsula means the removal of all nuclear arsenals as well as the nuclear deterrence and missile defences, especially that of the United States. In this way, the United States will no longer have an excuse to stay there, and it will not be able to exercise pressure on South Korea to pay for any protection. China and Russia, on the other hand, will be safer and freer because the

American strategic existence was made to target both of them in the first place. Belford reflected on the overall effect of Trump's 'America First' policy, saying that despite the fact that Trump takes little credit for the Korean summit, his policy has shrunk America's position in the world. Despite the fact that America is a huge economic engine, it will never win a fight against the world because the world, as a whole, is much bigger than the United States. This will be ultimately done when the United States abandons its allies.

The other historical meeting that will probably have a stronger impact on the Korean peninsula and the world, has been announced to take place very soon by Donald Trump during his meeting with the French president Emmanuel Macron. The summit between president Trump and the North Korean leader Kim would be the first meeting ever in history. During the same meeting, Trump reflected on the summit's importance to America, North Korea and the world, saying: "we think that's a great thing for the world, a great thing for North Korea and South Korea and Japan and France and everybody" (Trump: Kim Jong Un Very Open). The expected meeting will include negotiations in which North Korea's nuclear program will take a central part. Trump has been insisting as a candidate and as a president that he will be a tough negotiator and be ready to leave the table whenever the deal does not fulfil what he wants; therefore, the expected meeting may fail. In the same meeting with the French president, he referred to the possibility of its failure saying: "we will see where all that goes, maybe it will be wonderful and maybe it won't, and if it's not going to be fair and reasonable and good, I will, unlike past administrations, leave the table". On this issue, Davis gave an analysis of each of the two leaders positions that will be proposed in the negotiation, and expected what would happen after the summit on the basis of their past actions and circumstances. He saw that Trump has the upper hand in the expected talks as he has nothing to lose if he leaves the table. Also, the longer and tougher the negotiations will be, the tougher will the pressure on Kim get. Trump has also the most important winning card, which is the

military superiority and the modernized defence capabilities that are able to defend the nation from any strike whatsoever.

The conclusion that can be drawn on the Korean peninsula issue is that, if Trump succeeds using all the cards he has in pushing Kim to give up his long range weapons, and achieve a total denuclearization, he will complete the outcome of the former Korean summit and lead to a better era of peace after solving one of the serious crises that lasted for more than 60 years. In case the negotiations fail which will probably be the case, things will continue the way as it used to be between the two countries; however, the United States will again loose the most important interest in the Korean peninsula through pushing South Korea to join the east as he did with the European allies through pushing them to take a position against the United States concerning Iran nuclear deal.

Conclusion

The chapter revolved around crucial international issues that matter to the United States as a world power. It discussed the issue of the Middle East and how America is playing its new role in the area. Also, it shed the light on the change that occurred in the United States' relations with its allies and how they arrived at divergence around critical issues in the world on the basis of 'America First' doctrine. Then, it moved to discuss the United States' new directions toward its rivals and foes and how they affected the United States geopolitical position.

General Conclusion

The United States has adopted a new method for its domestic policy and foreign affairs; a path that does not meet the new time. After it played an indispensable role in the international scene through embracing idealism, maintaining the ties with its allies, mobilizing the international community against threats, and advancing its influence, the United States seemed to have diverted its policy through reconsidering its commitments to its allies and relations with its foes and rivals under 'America First' policy.

Thus, the objectives of this research were to explore the new policy and determine its components, reflect on its impact on the country, and examine its implications on the international relations and the world as a whole.

This study has resulted in highlighting the nature of President Donald Trump's 'America First' policy, and which included economic nationalism and anti-immigration tendency. On the domestic front, the research has concluded that 'America First' policy has not achieved a satisfactory level in comparison with the previous administrations during the first fifteen months in office. The GDP that best indicates the country's economic health remained the same although it seems to be heading towards decrease because the national debt is in its way to reach higher levels. Health Insurance began to reach its worst status. And the proclaimed trade war on China remained ambiguous without any notable outcome. The study has also concluded that the new policy widened the gap between the United States and its allies resulting in an American Unilateralism, caused more chaos and instability in the Middle East, and allowed its rivals to expand their influence.

Economic nationalism embraced by the American President Donald Trump represents one of the essential aspects of his 'America First' project favouring the American production, trading on the protectionist mood, and avoiding foreign competition. This was usually the

case for many other nations; however, it does not necessarily work all the time because China will certainly react. China has been making efforts over the last years to make its products competitive even if it needed to manipulate its currency. And imposing more tariffs on Chinese products will lead China to simply impose more tariffs on the American imports. The economic project that involved tax cuts and reductions heavily depends on the improvement of economy that can be fulfilled through the trade war with China; a measure that has not taken a coherent shape until the present time. In addition, the trade deficit with China is still increasing despite all of the measures taken so far by President Trump. Vital sectors in the United States that were the central focus of the American administrations in the last decades did not see any improvement as was promised in Trump's presidential campaign. The healthcare sector did not get better; on the contrary, it became worse as Trump has dismantled Obama's legacy 'Obamacare' without providing any replacement that would bring a fine health system. The national debt in the United States is likely to increase as the defence spending reached a historical level and the tax cuts did not stimulate the economy.

The United States has alienated itself from its allies through scraping significant pacts that were a fundamental approach to trade and a strong basis for alliances. Even if allies do not pay for their minimum requirements in a mutual defence, or do not pay enough money in return for protection, the United States should not embrace a strict method that would cut the ties and weaken its position. And if Trump's method prevents allies from taking advantage from the United States, it would certainly allow its rivals to take even more advantage. The United States has been an indispensable nation in the global cooperation towards peace and stability in the world; however, scraping the Iran deal that has followed the withdrawal from other serious pacts has put the United States in opposition to the international community. The American unilateral moves including the decision concerning Jerusalem paved the way to alienation and made the world less sure of the United States will and commitment to

preserve peace especially after promoting the tensions in the Middle East and the Korean peninsula.

There were a number of limitations that marked the current research. Due to the fact that the research is contemporary, most of the sources that were accessed are online and the issues that the research discusses are still under development.

As mentioned above, the research deals with contemporary issues. This can open the door to other researchers to include further aspects that were not discussed in this work and reflect on the coming events and policies for more conclusions concerning the impact of Donald Trump's policy.

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Appendix: An Anthology of President Donald Trump

1/20/2017 - Signed an executive Order which directs all executive departments to begin the process of dismantling the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (Obamacare).

1/20/2017 - Signed a Memorandum to stop a last minute FHA rate cut of 1/4 point put in place by outgoing President Obama.

1/23/2017 - Signed a Memorandum freezing all regulations pending review by department heads.

1/23/2017 - Signed Memorandum ordering Federal Agencies to freeze hiring new civil servants.

1/23/2017 - Signed a Memorandum to withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership with the hope to make bi-lateral deals with individual nations.

1/23/2017 - Signed a Memorandum that reinstates the Mexico City Abortion Rule created by President Reagan in 1985. This policy denies USAID funds for any foreign nation project that includes money for counselling women or accomplishing abortions. Presidents Reagan, H.W. Bush, and W. Bush promoted this rule. Presidents Clinton and Obama rescinded it.

1/23/017 - ordered EPA to cut grants. The Huffington Post reported "EPA staff has been instructed to freeze all its grants — an extensive program that includes funding for research, redevelopment of former industrial sites, air quality monitoring and education, among other things — and told not to discuss this order with anyone outside the agency,"

1/24/2017 - Signed several memorandums to restart the Keystone XL and Dakota oil pipelines. One stumbling block Trump may face is whether there is a demand for it anymore.

1/24/2017 - Signed Executive Order to help "fast-track" high priority infrastructure projects.

1/24/2017 - Signed a Memorandum directing the Secretary of Commerce to come up with plan to mandate using American-made steel for all new, expanded or retrofitted pipelines in the United States.

1/24/2017 - Signed a Memorandum that tells "directors of executive departments and agencies to support the expansion of manufacturing in the United States through expedited reviews of and approvals for proposals to construct or expand manufacturing facilities and through reductions in regulatory burdens affecting domestic manufacturing."

1/25/2017 - Signed an Executive Order to start the process of building a massive wall along the 1200 mile border with Mexico, similar to the Berlin Wall. It also defunds "sanctuary" cities that don't cooperate with federal authorities in apprehending suspected undocumented aliens.

1/27/2017 – Signed an Executive Order to stop all citizens from Iran, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Sudan, Libya, and Somalia from entering the United States, roughly 134,000,000 people, for at least 90 days; the order makes clear this is just the start in terms of time and number of nations. At some point, non-Muslims will be allowed in from these countries. The order also stopped America's refugee program for 120 days to allow the State Department and DHS to make the already extreme vetting process even more extreme. He banned entirely refugees from Syria. the experts say that of the 2 million or so refugees America allowed in since the late 1980s, none have been arrested as a domestic terrorist. The same is true of illegal immigrants coming across the Mexican border. Several days later courts put a nationwide stay on this order which was effectively stopped by several court rulings over the next week. Trump is expected to rescind this EO and replace it with another one.

1/30/2017 - Federal regulations: Trump signed an executive order requiring that for every new federal regulation on small and large businesses, two existing regulations must be removed. He signed the document after a meeting with small business leaders. Trump said he wants to end regulatory discrepancy between big and small business.

CIA in the NSC: Trump added the Director of the CIA and his senior political adviser Steve Bannon as Principals to the National Security Council while downgrading the Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff and Director of National Intelligence.

1/31/2017 - Supreme Court: Trump nominated federal appellate Judge Neil McGill Gorsuch to replace Associate Justice Antonin Scalia on the Supreme Court.

2/3/2017 - Wall Street Regulation: Trump signed an executive order to ease U.S. fiscal regulations in the Dodd–Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act of 2010 -- Dodd-Frank was created, like the defunct Glass-Steagall Act, to prevent a recurrence of the 2008 Great Recession.

Money Manager Rule: The president ordered the Labor Department to review a rule from former President Barack Obama requiring financial managers to act in their clients' best interests when handling retirement accounts to determine whether to keep the rule in place.

2/9/2017 -Police Protection: Trump signed an order to review existing laws and produce legislation to better protect federal, state and local law enforcement officers.

Crime Reduction: The president ordered Attorney General Jeff Sessions to create a new federal task force to share information among agencies, develop strategies, identify deficiencies in current laws, evaluate criminal data and make recommendations for greater safety of U.S. citizens.

Foreign Crime Fighting: Trump issued an executive order prioritizing efforts to prosecute foreign-based crimes like drug and human trafficking. It calls for stricter

enforcement of laws already on the books and efforts to "identify, interdict, disrupt, and dismantle transnational criminal organizations."

2/14/2017 - Anti-Corruption Repeal: President Trump signed House Joint Resolution 41, which reverses a federal rule that requires energy companies to disclose royalties and government payments. The rule was imposed by the Obama administration last year as a transparency measure.

2/16/2017 - Repeal Coal Waste Regulation: Signed bill to repeal regulation to prevent coal waste products from entering streams.

2/25/2017 - Clean Water Repeal: Directed EPA and the Army Corps of Engineers to reconsider a 2015 rule issued by President Obama known as the Waters of the United States rule. It gave the federal government authority over small waterways in order to prevent polluters from damaging larger bodies of water they connect to; about a 3% increase.

April 13, 2017 - The Air Forces MOAB (Massive Ordnance - Air Blast AKA Mother of all Bombs), was deployed against ISIS tunnel complex in Afghanistan. It is a 21,000 lb device that is considered most powerful non-nuclear bomb in the U.S. inventory. It has not been used so far because of the fear of collateral damage.

April 18, 2017 - A new executive order called Buy American, Hire American was signed. The order attempts to put new life in the existing Buy American law. It directs reviews of the H1-B visa program, while it does not take direct action to fundamentally change the law. Instead, it initiates a series of reviews and assessments and calling on federal departments to begin proposing reforms to the programs.

May 9, 2017 - the news broke the story to the world that President Trump fired FBI director James Comey; probably one of the most, if not the most controversial decision of his presidency to date. In fact, it may be the biggest one of his entire four years.

May 11, 2017: In a wide-ranging interview with NBC's Lester Holt, President Trump revealed he had already decided to fire James Comey and that all the reasoning given the previous days were not in play (and therefore inaccurate) in his decision-making.

5/17/2017 – a Joint Resolution disapproving the rule submitted by the Department of Labour relating to savings arrangements established by States for non-governmental employees, was signed by President Trump. The purpose of this resolution was to roll back an Obama-era rule that exempted state-created retirement plans from the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA), which sets the standards for workplace savings plans. The Department of Labor had issued the rule in August 2016. The rule allowed states to automatically enrol workers in savings plans. Employees were allowed to opt-out if they chose. The purpose of the rule was to improve saving for retirement.

5/20/2017 - President Trump starts his first trip out of the country. He starts with a visit to Saudi Arabia, where he delivered a moderately toned speech on the responsibilities of Islam; similar in nature to the one President Obama delivered in Cairo eight years ago.

6/1/2017 - President Trump formally began the process of taking the United States out of the Paris Climate Accord which will be completed in November 2020. At the same time, he is shutting down most government researches into climate change and initiatives to continue the reduction of greenhouse gases begun over the last several years.

6/30/17 - S. 1094 - Department of Veterans Affairs Accountability and Whistleblower Protection Act of 2017 was signed into law. It makes it easier to fire poor performing Veterans Affairs VA civil servants and protects those in the VA who point out waste, fraud, and abuse in the VA system.

8/2/2017 - Under great protest, President Trump signed a law- Countering America's Adversaries through Sanctions Act, a veto-proof bi-partisan effort to limit the President's

authority to lift sanctions [against Russia] without Congressional review. It also imposed new sanctions on Russia for interfering with the 2016 elections.

8/18/2017 - Rapid DNA Act of 2017 designed to help eliminate huge backlogs of DNA analysis for law enforcement was signed into law.

8/23/2017 - In a series of bi-partisan veterans bills, President Trump signed Veteran's Appeal Improvement and Modernization Act of 2017. This legislation provides multiple avenues to appeal VA decisions which hopefully will considerably speed up the process.

8/25/2017 - The final guidance to bar transgender Americans from enlisting in the armed forces was given to military commanders. It further directed the military departments to determine the best way to get currently serving transgender soldiers and sailors discharged.

On Oct 30, 2017 a federal judge blocked the implementation of this order. Prior to that Sec Def decided to "study" the ramifications before moving out to obey it.

9/5/17 - President Trump ordered Attorney General to end President Obama's Deferred Action on Childhood Arrivals (DACA) executive order that protected roughly 800,000 undocumented children who were brought to the U.S. at a very early age from being deported.

10/12/17 - President Trump tried to salvage his failure to repeal Obamacare in the Senate by signing two executive orders designed to make ACA crumble. First he decided not to make the payments the law promised to insurers to make up for their cost of subsidizing deductibles for low income insured (the GOP refused to pass the necessary appropriations, so President Obama found money elsewhere). This action should not impact ACA too much because insurers felt they may not get reimbursed and raised their rates accordingly. The other provision is designed to make it easier for small businesses and trade groups to form across state line insurance consortiums. If it passes judicial muster, this has the potential

to disrupt the exchanges and ultimately drive prices higher for those not in the consortiums or to drop their insurance.

12/1/17 - President Trump withdrew from the United Nations' New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants pact. The declaration aims to ensure the rights of migrants, help them resettle and provide them with access to education and jobs. Nikki Haley, the US ambassador to the UN, said that this global approach is not compatible with the America's sovereignty.

12/6/17 - On this day, President Trump broke 70 years of US foreign policy decisions and recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Jerusalem has been the de facto capital because it has been the seat of Israeli government for a long time. Trump took this action against the advice of his Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and most other cabinet members as well as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and most other allies. Many experts expect this move to kill what is left of the peace process and may lead to massive violence in the Middle East.

12/22/17 - President Trump signed his first piece of major legislation, the 2017 Tax Cut and Jobs Act. These acts temporarily lowered marginal tax rates and expanded the thresholds to which they apply. They also gone with deductions and several other long-term items. In order to reduce the number of people itemizing, the standard deduction was doubled. The corporate tax rate, however, was permanently cut from 35% to 21%. In addition to slashing the corporate rate, and equally important change was the permanently elimination of the corporate Alternative Minimum Tax (ATM). The practical impact of this change is to allow large corporations to once again not pay any tax whatsoever.

2/8/18 - After a brief overnight shutdown brought on by a stand by Sen Rand Paul (R-KY), President Trump signed a bi-partisan, two-year budget deal along with a continuing resolution to fund the government.

3/8/18 - President Trump signed an executive order which imposes tariffs on steel of 25% and 10% on aluminium. Canada and Mexico were exempted so long as the NAFTA talks continue.

3/23/18 - After first suggesting he might veto the 2018 Omnibus bill, Trump finally signed it while promising never to do that again. He only got about \$1 billion toward his border wall and his DACA fix was rejected, among many other things he didn't like.

3/24/18 - Trump rescinded the old executive order barring transgenders from serving in the military. He replaced it with a new one that was much more specific and allowed for minor exceptions. Several federal courts had already blocked the previous EO and will continue to block the new one.

4/11/2018 - An Executive Order was signed whose purpose is to create a federal requirement that, in order to receive assistance, able-bodied poor Americans must have a job.