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Коваленко Павел Вячеславович

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**ПРЕДВЫБОРНАЯ КАМПАНИЯ ДОНАЛЬДА ТРАМПА 2016 Г.:
ЛАТИНОАМЕРИКАНСКОЕ ИЗМЕРЕНИЕ**

**DONALD TRUMPS'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN 2016: THE LATIN AMERICAN
DIMENSION**

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Научный руководитель:

к.п.н., доцент

ЯРЫГИН Г.О.

Рецензент:

ВИНОКУР А.В.

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Аннотация

Данная диссертация посвящена изучению президентской предвыборной кампании Дональда Трампа 2016 и ее Латиноамериканскому измерению. Целью этого исследования является определение роли и значения Латиноамериканского региона в президентской предвыборной кампании Дональда Трампа 2016. Поскольку страны Карибского бассейна, Центральной и Южной Америки занимают особое место во внешней политике Соединенных Штатов, тема обладает актуальностью. Первую часть работы занимает обзор политических партий и их кандидатов, принимавших участие в предвыборной гонке. Вторая часть содержит тщательный анализ лексики, риторики и повестки предвыборных речей Дональда Трампа: с этой целью были подробно изучены все его выступления. В третьей главе рассматриваются предвыборные обещания кандидата в отношении стран Латинской Америки, проводится их сравнение с действиями, предпринятыми за первый год на посту президента Соединенных Штатов.

Ключевые слова: президентская предвыборная кампания 2016, Латиноамериканское измерение, предвыборные выступления Дональда Трампа

Abstract

This dissertation is devoted to Donald Trump's Presidential election campaign 2016 and its Latin American dimension. The aim of research is to define the significance of the Latin American region in Donald Trump's Presidential election campaign 2016. As far as the Caribbean Basin states along with those of Central and South America play a crucial role in the United States foreign affairs, the relevance of the theme is proven. The first chapter itself is an overview of key political parties and their candidates who took part in political rally. The second chapter provides thorough analyses of Donald Trump's public speeches lexicon, rhetoric and agenda during the election campaign: all of them were carefully scrutinized. The third chapter is the study of Trump's election campaign promises with regard to Latin American states that are compared with his actions after he was elected until now.

Keywords: Presidential election campaign 2016, the Latin American dimension, Donald Trump's election campaign public speeches.

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INTRODUCTION

Relevance of the topic. The presidential elections themselves are fairly considered a key event in political life of any state as the outcomes result in nomination of its primary leader. Moreover, it usually implicates considerable changes in many areas of life of the state including domestic policies as well as the foreign affairs course. Therefore, the success of a particular person in winning a campaign trail reflects the will of the whole nation. On the other hand, it indicates that techniques and tactics applied by the team of victorious candidate proved to be the most effective in attracting the target groups of electorate.

The USA is a superpower, the largest world's economy that boasts inter alia the highest military budget. Its influence on international economy and international politics is enormous. By now, there is no any other state globally possessing sufficient resources allowing it to overthrow unfavorable regimes and bring to power friendly governments in the manner the US does. In this sense, the person in charge of the White House represents a kind of system factor for the world politics as it may define the trajectory for developing political trends in various regions across the globe.

Taking into account the abovementioned, this research focuses on Donald Trump's election campaign. The choice was determined not only by the fact that he acquired the position of the head of the state but resulting from his remarkable biography and personality that separates him from the group of other candidates within his own party as well as the democratic one.

Observing political rally in the USA has its own distinct features. For example, unlike in many other countries the victory in presidential campaign in the US heavily depends on how the candidate sets himself up in front of the electorate, creates his image and appeals to the people in order to persuade them voting for him. An essential element of this point is the rhetoric of public speeches. Consequently, the research pays special attention to the manner with which Trump addressed to the wide audience. Another crucial component here is the agenda on various political matters that affect public opinion.

In the same way, the Latin American dimension of Trump's election campaign was not selected accidentally. The South American and the Caribbean (together with the Central American region) states occupy quite distinctive place regarding to the US politics. Historically the region became the starting point for the US first steps in exercising its domination in foreign affairs. Now it plays an essential role in the Western economic and strategic initiatives and truly

opens the way to understanding strong and weak points in the Washington's policy. The way the American president addresses this block of countries shows much for prediction of overall international climate and possibly the next steps in US decision-making for the near-term perspective.

The object and the subject. Donald Trump's election campaign 2016 is considered as an object for this dissertation while the Latin American dimension is seen as its subject.

Research question of this Master's thesis is whether the Latin American region agenda was developed properly during Trump's election campaign. Another point is whether Trump has been following his election promises all the period of his presidency until current moment.

The aim is to reveal the role that the Latin American region plays in Trump's election campaign comparing to other world's regions and to reveal what presidential acts and public statements initiated by Trump addressed his promises during his campaign trail.

Objectives. To achieve the aim the following objectives have been set:

1. To provide a theoretical background for the research meaning applying the scientific perspective of one influential IR school.
2. To make a general overview of the US presidential elections 2016 with major candidates from dominating parties.
3. To carry out content-analysis of Trump's public speeches separating his general rhetoric from what he says about Latin American states.
4. To create a table reflecting target problematic of Trump's public speeches with numeric method.
5. To conduct quantitative analysis basing on the results of the table.
6. To compare how frequently Trump mentions Latin American comparing to other regions.
7. To examine whether Trump put his promises made during election campaign into effect or not starting from his presidential term until now.

The chronological framework of the study covers the period from June 2015 when Trump delivered his first public election speech in New York until present moment namely the first half of 2018. The choice of the starting point is determined by the earliest Trump's

announcement made as a candidate. Naturally, the ultimate chronological limit corresponds to the last Trump's action in the quality of the president evidenced when this work was still in progress.

Methodology. To conduct this research the following methods were applied in the second chapter. *The content-analysis* was utilized to scrutinize Trump's public speeches rhetoric delivered during his election campaign, some of his tweets and finally official statements announced on the post of the president. Some separate methods of *the lexical analysis* were employed to define peculiarities of Trump's speech pattern. *The quantitative analysis* helped to define of frequency with which Trump mentioned certain problematic issues as well as world's regions in his agenda. Lastly, *the comparative analysis* made it possible to define the priorities set out by Trump for various topics.

Theoretical approach. Social constructivism theoretical perspective is deemed to be the most appropriate in explaining the essence of this research because it regards the election campaign as an act of addressing to the audience intended to "shape" special political reality in minds of electorate in order to persuade them vote for this particular candidate. Social constructivism reflects the process of how an individual deals with facts of reality that are transformed through his subjective lenses to transmit his vision outwards to influence the opinion of target audience. In this research, such an individual is a candidate for presidency who delivers social constructs to the electorate.

Analysis of relevant literature. Taking into account that the problematic of the dissertation is formulated according to events that occurred relatively recently, an academic community has not worked out so to say the critical mass of various kind of literature including reliable scientific articles not to mention monographs. Consequently, this research was carried out basing on primary sources that are described below, analytical reports, articles of journalists such as Mahir Zeynalol, Carmelo Mesa-Lago, Reece Jones, Daniel White and others.

Primary sources overview. This research included examining substantial amount of various types of resources. We can divide them into several main groups described below.

Transcripts. Probably the principal group of sources studied by applying the content-

analysis method. It comprises transcripts of Trump's public speeches and specifically those related to the Latin American dimension of his election campaign 2016. This group of sources made it possible to draw major conclusions about Trump's rhetoric and political attitudes towards Latin American states.

Documents from official websites of the governmental bodies and agencies. The group of sources is composed of documents and data provided on official websites of governmental entities, political platforms and websites of candidates. The main points from this list are the following: the White House, the United States Congress, the United States Department of State, the United States Senate, national archives, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Federal Election Commission, the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, the Healthcare.

Materials of digital media. To study the opinion on election campaign 2016 delivered publicly through the internet, an information available on websites of the following popular mass media was addressed frequently: The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Guardian, NBC News, CBS News, USA Today, etc.

Analytical reports. This group of sources was included to gather an expert opinion of various think-tanks on election campaign issues.

The structure of the work. The dissertation consists of introduction, the first chapter, the second chapter and conclusion. An introduction sets out scientific framework of the research. The first chapter provides a theoretical background, describes essential features of the US political system and gives a brief overview of major candidates who were participating in the presidential election campaign 2016. The second chapter focuses specifically on Trump's campaign, firstly disclosing his political agenda issue by issue paying particular attention to his attitudes towards Latin America. An essential part of the second chapter is devoted to Trump's activity at the office. Its primary aim is to compare his election campaign promises with his actual actions during the presidential term. Conclusion addresses results achieved through the course of the Master's thesis.

The contribution of the study. The topic of the research is narrowed and discloses the

essence of quite specific issue within wider problematic namely the presidential elections in the USA. Analyzing Trump's rhetoric during his election campaign and in the president's office is deemed to be viable for understanding his attitudes towards international politics as well as the US domestic policy. Choosing Latin America as a target region for this research is explained by its undoubted importance for the US foreign affairs, economic and military stability. This thesis is an attempt discover the overall direction of the US strategies towards Latin America resting on public appearance of country's leader. It is the first attempt to apply regional and problematic research methodology to Trump's election campaign 2016.

CHAPTER 1. The U.S. Presidential elections campaigns 2016: general overview

1.1 Social Constructivism Theory

Prominent international relations theories are realism, liberalism and constructivism. Both realism and liberalism are rational theories, assuming that decision making by state, by leaders or other actors takes place on the base of rational choice. So these theories assume that decision makers consult their preferences as their outcome of a decision. As a result, for each move they make, they calculate what cost and benefits are in light of that preference. This way, decision makers normally make their way into complex political puzzles. This view had been dominant in the international relations theory up to 1980s and early 1990s; however is still an important view in international relations nowadays. Nevertheless, about three decades ago, social scientists like sociologists and anthropologists started becoming influential in the field of international relations, and started showing different aspects of human behavior and decision making. This, in turn, took the form of social constructivism, arguing that humans do not simply make rational choices, but these choices come from a social setting affecting decision making. This view of social constructivism has significantly changed our look towards decision makers as individual free agents that make their choices purely based on their preferences.

Philosophically, social constructivism originated in the 19th century George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel argued that human civilization is governed by a spirit 'geist' that changes over the course of history. Karl Marx later also argued in his class theory that how we understand our position in the world does not come out of our rational analysis of the world, by rather from our social condition. The social setting of the bourgeoisie class was at the time different from that of the proletarians, so the decisions were going to be different. Friedrich Nietzsche later repeatedly discussed the herd nature of human beings and the fact that humans do not have access to neither truth nor rationality, but they stick together like a flock and make things work together as a society.

1.2 The U.S. Electoral System

The US Congress contains two houses, the House of Representative and the Senate.¹ There are two public elections for both houses and a third separate election is held to choose a president. In the US the president is both the head of state and the head of government, unlike many other democracies or monarchies where these two roles are carried out separately by the president (or the monarch) and the prime minister, respectively.

¹ The US Congress official website. URL: <https://www.congress.gov>

The House of Representatives in the Congress is designed to give a voice to the people of every local voting region in the US.² Members of the House of Representatives stand for reelection every two years. Each state is divided into districts, and each district votes for one representative. The number of districts depends on the population of each state, for example, the state of California which is the most populous state, is divided into 53 districts, so this state is represented by 53 representatives. On the other hand, the state of Alaska, which happens to be the largest amongst the states, only has one representative, representing one district that contains the state's smaller population. Therefore, the candidate with the most votes in each district wins a seat in the House of Representatives, and the party that wins a majority of seats dominates in the house. For any candidate running for presidency in the US, the ideal situation is when the house is controlled by their own party. However, with elections held every two years, there is always a midterm election in the middle of the president's term in office. If the public think the president is not doing a great job, they can vote for more members in the opposition party, making it more difficult for the president to pass laws.

The second house in the Congress is the Senate, and it is sometimes called the Upper House. George Washington once described the Senate as the saucer that cools the coffee, meaning that it is their job to scrutinize and question all proposals made by both the House of Representatives and the president before voting to decide whether the proposals should proceed as laws.³ Senators, like the members of the House of Representatives are also elected to their seats by the public. Senators serve six year terms and elections are staggered, so every two years a third of the senators run for reelection. Each state is represented by two senators, regardless of its population and the first-past-the-post voting system is used, so the candidate with the most votes wins.

How do Americans choose their leader? Since presidential elections take place every four years, the two main parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, host large-scale meetings together and choose their presidential candidates, the person they think will be the best leader for the nation.⁴ These meetings are called primary elections. The winning candidate then chooses their vice presidential candidate also known as their running mate, to help support the campaign. Presidential candidates usually choose someone with different areas of skills and knowledge, so they present voters with the best performance. Together, they are known as a ticket. As a result,

² The US House of Representatives official website. URL: <https://house.gov/>

³ The US Senate official website. URL: <https://www.senate.gov/>

⁴ The New York Times // "Who is running for President?" URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/us/elections/2016-presidential-candidates.html>

presidential candidates from each party start massive election campaigns in order to gain as much voter support as possible. Great campaign rallies are held across the country, where policies are set out and ideas are shared with the whole country. These campaigns surely cost money, so both candidates have large campaign teams, who in their turn help raise funds (tens of millions of US dollars).⁵

On Election Day, the public go to the polls to vote for presidential tickets. However, the public do not vote directly for their choice of president, instead a system called the Electoral College is used.⁶ Each state is allocated a number of electors, who will make the final choice. In most states all the electors will vote for the presidential ticket which received the most public support and vote. Finally, the presidential ticket with the most Electoral College votes becomes the president and vice president of the US.

Primary elections in the US are held by political parties to select the candidate who is deemed to be the most appropriate one for the president's office. The parties do this by holding mini elections in each of the states, and the candidates with the most votes from these elections become the party's official nominees; afterwards these persons become rivals taking the to win in elections for president. Below are five issues that need to be discussed for a better understanding of the primary elections.

First: Primaries and Caucuses. In every state, the local party leaders decide how to run their election. The two most common choices are Primaries and Caucuses. Primaries are just like standard election, where the public go to the polls and vote for their candidate in complete anonymity. Speaking about Caucuses, it represents public voting process when people are gathered in groups choosing the place within the group, which is in favour of one particular candidate. The groups debate each other and if people change their minds, they need to physically switch sides. When debates are finally over, representatives of the party take a count of people in these two groups. Nevertheless, the specifics of both methods can vary widely across the states and each state hold at least two Primaries and Caucuses for the big parties, and possible more for the small parties.⁷

Second: If we speak about who is allowed to vote, in the national presidential election all American citizens over the age of 18 can vote, except for the imprisoned and the citizens of a

⁵ The FEC independent government agency // Public Funding of Presidential Elections. URL: <https://transition.fec.gov/pages/brochures/pubfund.shtml>

⁶ National archives and records administration // "About of Electors". URL: <https://www.archives.gov/federal-register/electoral-college/electors.html>

⁷ Bill of rights Institute website. URL: <https://www.billofrightsinstitute.org/engage/student-resources/think-the-vote/primaries-and-caucuses>

few American territories.⁸ Primaries are elections, which are carried out within states and imply various prescriptions. In prevailing number of states, parties make it possible solely for their official representatives to vote in the primaries, meaning closed primary because the voting is closed to non-party members, including independent citizens who are not registered with any party. Some states, however, have semi-closed primaries, where independents can choose one primary to vote in. Parties allow this because the presidential election is often determined by independents, so knowing which candidate they like is useful.

Third: Who votes when? Primaries are not conducted all at once, but are spread out over a year. This leads to competitions amongst the states for who is first and who is last. Inevitably, last minute leapfrogging of dates happens, even though the parties often take away votes from these states. Some states form an alliance by holding their primaries at the same time. The biggest alliance of the election cycle is called Super Tuesday, where depending on how many states can agree with each other (about half of the states might participate) producing a lot of votes.⁹

Fourth: Votes that do not count. Citizens do not directly vote for their candidates, instead the votes are given to delegates, who in turn will give them to the candidates as requested to. Depending on the state, delegates might be required to vote as the citizens did, or they might be completely free to ignore the citizens and vote for whomever they want.¹⁰ Who are these people? The delegates are VIPs from local party that represent state in many cases. They can also be officials of various kinds. The number of delegates depends on the total amount of citizens living in the particular state. Later in the year, when all the states have finished their primaries, the delegates travel to a huge gathering for their party called the National Convention. It is where the officials vote to select the party's nominee for president.

Fifth: The Super-Duper Delegates. These delegates are most significant members of the party, for example they can be congressmen or former presidents. They take part in the National Convention, not to represent the people, but to represent the current party establishment and can vote for whomever they want.¹¹ The percentage of voters at the National Convention represented by the super delegates depends on the party. Usually by the time the National Convention

⁸ An official website of the United States government // "Voting and election laws". URL: <https://www.usa.gov/voting-laws>

⁹ "Independent" official website // "What is super Tuesday and why is it so important?" URL: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-elections/what-is-super-tuesday-and-why-is-it-so-important-a6905041.html>

¹⁰ The Council on Foreign Relations official website // "The Role of Delegates in the U.S. Presidential Nominating Process" URL: <https://www.cfr.org/background/role-delegates-us-presidential-nominating-process>

¹¹ "NBC News" official website // "How Do Superdelegates Work? Here's What You Need to Know" URL: <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/first-read/how-do-superdelegates-work-here-s-what-you-need-know-n554136>

happens, all the candidates, except for only one, have dropped out of the race. In case of ongoing debates amongst the candidates, the delegates and the super delegates are the ones with the final decision.

In summary, over a year the states, Washington DC and territories, in addition to Americans abroad hold their primaries or caucuses. When finished, the delegates representing the citizens who voted in those elections travel to the National Convention. Most of the delegates are forced to vote as the citizens of their state wanted them to, but some of them are free to vote as they wish. At the National Convention the delegates meet up with the super delegates who represent the best interest of the party and together they make the final decision on who will be the nominee for presidency.

6.8 billion USD were spent on the 2016 election campaigns, but where did the money come from?¹² In January 2010, the US Supreme Court ruled in a case known as 'Citizen United' which basically allowed unlimited political donations usually in support of a specific candidate, although they are not allowed to coordinate with the candidate directly, this rule is clearly and openly ineffective.¹³ The money is spent on events, staff salaries, even health insurance, not unlike a business. Generally, about 75% of the funds go towards direct advertising including mail, radio and television and internet advertisement. Supporters contribute in the monetary support of their favorite candidate, which can be anyone in the US, but in fact, and according to the Center for Responsive Politics, less than one quarter of one percent of the US population accounted for two thirds of the total amount of federal contributions.¹⁴ Moreover, only about 32000 people or just one percent of one percent of the population contributed a billion dollars, or nearly 30% of the 2014 federal contributions. In the 2016 elections, with very few exceptions, all presidential candidates have actively sought the support of millionaires and billionaires to fund their campaigns, and it is worth mentioning that candidate Donald Trump is himself a billionaire. It is clear that there is a concentrated group of people who are able to dictate which candidate will be better funded, especially within the Congress. The one percent of the one percent expect a lot in return for their enormous contributions. Lists of the names of the contributors are published on the Federal Election Commission website.¹⁵

¹² "CBS News" official website // "Election 2016's price tag:\$6,8 billion" URL:

<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/election-2016s-price-tag-6-8-billion/>

¹³ "JUSTIA" the US Supreme Court // "Supreme court of the United States" URL:

<https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/558/310>

¹⁴ Center for Responsive Politics // "Donor Demographics" URL:

<https://www.opensecrets.org/overview/donordemographics.php>

¹⁵ Federal Election Commission website // "2016 Presidential Campaign Finance" URL:

The main parties in the US are the Republicans, the Democratic, the Libertarian, the Green, the Constitution and the independents who do not belong to any party.

1.3 Major parties and their candidates in the U.S. Presidential elections 2016

The Republican Party calls itself 'the party of opportunity' referring to the idea that in the US there should be equal pursuit of opportunity for all.¹⁶ In order to achieve that, republicans believe that there should be limited government interference in daily life, as this leads to a better functioning state. In other words, the aim is to achieve fewer business regulations and smaller bureaucracies in public institutions. Economically, republicans tend to believe in the power of the free market, where low taxes for the rich will prompt them to invest in business, thus creating more jobs, causing the wealth to spread to the poor. The most recent party platform, ratified in 2012, espouses the belief that 'any American who works hard, dreams big and follows the rules can achieve anything he or she wants'.¹⁷

As a result, republicans do not believe in many social services like welfare, or a single payer healthcare system. Aside from Medicare and Medicaid, republicans prefer to stick to private insurers, so repealing Obamacare is a crucial part of their platform. Republicans also tend to hold conservative views on social issues, opposing a 'redefinition' of marriage and maintaining an anti-abortion stance.¹⁸ Militarily, republicans are also known for supporting the military, especially since Theodore Roosevelt's advocated for American exceptionalism and intervention around the world, which is possible only through a strong military. Today's movement is 'peace through strength' promotes the US ideals in freedom and democracy while maintaining a formidable army.¹⁹

But today, the Republican Party has seen internal instability. Within Congress, far right members have forced the unseating of the Speaker of the House and prevented party unity, despite a Congressional majority. This split has threatened to divide the Republican Party. Clearly, there are many types of republicans from the free market conservatives to the religious right, so the diversity of views within the party is astounding. That being mentioned, republicans do all seem to agree on two things which are lower taxes and smaller government.

<https://classic.fec.gov/disclosurep/national.do>

¹⁶ The Republican Party website URL: <https://www.gop.com/>

¹⁷ Republican platform 2012 URL: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/papers_pdf/101961.pdf

¹⁸ "The New York Times" official website // "Republican Platform Defends 'Traditional' Marriage, a Border Wall and Coal" URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/19/us/politics/republican-party-issues.html>

¹⁹ "The National Interest magazine" website // "Peace Through Strength, Across the Centuries: True Then, True Today" URL: <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/peace-through-strength-across-the-centuries-true-then-true-17511>

Briefly, the Republican Party's candidates for the presidency of the US in 2016 will be reviewed.

Rick Perry: Current Secretary of Energy, former Governor of Texas, ran for presidency in 2012 and also in 2016. According to US Today 'His campaign struggled financially from the start. Perry raised just \$1.1 million during the April to June fundraising quarter and ran so low on cash that he discontinued paying staff over the summer'.²⁰ Under his governorship, Texas was called a model for conservatism in the country.²¹ Due to the country's shifting social politics and Perry's conservative view on social issues including supporting gun ownership and death penalty, he withdrew on the 11th of September 2015 saying "We have a tremendous field — the best in a generation — so I step aside knowing our party is in good hands."

Scott Walker: Current governor of Wisconsin, campaigned for the US presidency in 2016, and was described as quickly vaulted into the top tier of likely candidates in the Republican presidential race".²² His policy focused on gun ownerships, supporting a pathway to citizenship of illegal immigrants. Walker faced 300 million USD deficits in Texan budget, in addition to political scandals including theft investigations.²³ Walker withdrew on the 21st of September 2015 saying 'Today I believe that I am being called to lead by helping to clear the field in this race so that a positive conservative message can rise to the top of the field'.

Bobby Jindal: Former governor of Louisiana, first Indian-American governor in the US, during the presidential campaign in 2016, Jindal only raised about a quarter million USD and only received 222 votes during the primary elections.²⁴ That was an indicator of his very difficult choice of running for presidency, so he decided to withdraw on the 17th of November 2015 saying 'This is not my time, so I am suspending my campaign for presidency'. As a republican, he was against abortion and opposing extra funding for stem cell research and did not accept federal funds for the federal healthcare for the poor. On the other hand, Jindal supported gun

²⁰ "USA Today" website // " Rick Perry drops out of 2016 race " URL:

<https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/elections/2015/09/11/rick-perry-suspends-campaign/72093356/>

²¹ "The Washington Post" website // "Texas has become epicenter of conservative movement" URL:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/texas-has-become-epicenter-of-conservative-movement/2014/09/20/71678e12-410f-11e4-a430-b82a3e67b762_story.html

²² "The New York Times" official website // "In Pre-Primary Pivot to Right, Walker Shifts Tone on Abortion" URL:

https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/23/us/politics/scott-walker-hardens-tone-on-social-issues-to-woo-christian-conservatives.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&_r=0

²³ "Huffpost" website // Scott Walker Begins His Run for the White House, A Report From the Badger State" URL:

https://www.huffingtonpost.com/mary-bottari/scott-walker-begins-his-r_b_7787080.html

²⁴ "The Atlantic" website // "So Long Bobby Jindal?" URL:

<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/10/so-long-bobby-jindal/410854/>

ownership, tax cuts (over six times when he was the governor) and voted for building the wall with Mexico.²⁵

Lindsey Graham: The US senator from South Carolina, managed to raise about 6 million USD and gained 5666 votes for the US 2016 presidential campaign.²⁶ Graham's dominating military background, having served in the US Air Force for over 33 years between active and reserve, has influenced his slogan for the campaign 'Ready to be Commander-in-Chief on day one'. His policy is chiefly focused on supporting the military, since he believes in 'security through strength'.²⁷ Graham has openly refused abortion, redefining marriage, claimed that American Muslims are the solution, not the problem greatly promoted legal immigration.²⁸ It is worth noting that Graham was one of Trump's fiercest critics, claiming that Trump's rhetoric was dividing Americans and not healing them.²⁹ Graham withdrew on the 21st of December 2015 saying 'While we have run a campaign that has made a real difference, I have concluded this is not my time.'

George Pataki: Former governor of New York, also served as a mayor and a senator of the city. For the 2016 campaign, Pataki managed to raise about 1.5 million USD and received 2036 votes.³⁰ His policy focused on lowering taxes which he compensated for by cutting education and healthcare services when he was a governor. Pataki supported the building of Native American casinos as a way of bringing revenues. Socially, Pataki is relatively progressive supporting social issues like abortion rights, and passed a number of healthcare policies to cover low income adults and children. Pataki is an environmentalist, having voted in clear air and water legislation, and allocating funds for nature conservation. Therefore, Pataki was sort of alienated by both major parties due to his progressive ideas, in addition to his age and his lack of name recognition, as many suggested, his chances in running for the US presidency were going to be minor.³¹ George Pataki withdrew on the 29th of December 2015 simply saying to his

²⁵ "On The Issues" website // "LA Governor (Republican 2016 Presidential candidate) Bobby Jindal" URL: http://www.ontheissues.org/Bobby_Jindal.htm

²⁶ Center for Responsive Politics // "Sen. Lindsey Graham - South Carolina" URL: <https://www.opensecrets.org/members-of-congress/summary?cid=N00009975>

²⁷ "Time" website // "Transcript: Read Full Text of Sen. Lindsey Graham's Campaign Launch" URL: <http://time.com/3903377/lindsey-graham-campaign-launch-transcript/>

²⁸ "On The Issues" website // "South Carolina Senator Lindsey Graham (Republican Sr Senator)" URL: http://www.ontheissues.org/Senate/Lindsey_Graham.html

²⁹ "Business Insider" website // "One of Trump's most vocal critics in the Senate has quickly turned into one of his best friends — and people are shocked" URL: <http://www.businessinsider.com/why-lindsey-graham-and-trump-are-best-friends-2017-12>

³⁰ "Center for Responsive Politics" website // "George Pataki" URL: <https://www.opensecrets.org/pres16/candidate?id=N00028981>

³¹ "On The Issues" website // "2016 Presidential Candidates George Pataki " URL: http://www.ontheissues.org/George_Pataki.html

supporters that he was suspending his campaign.

Mike Huckabee: Former governor of Arkansas, an American politician, author and commentator. Huckabee raised over 10 million USD for the 2016 presidential campaign, and gained over 51 thousand votes.³² The 2016 candidacy was his second time, following his attempt in 2008. Huckabee's positions are in line with traditional conservatives, he is antiabortion, against marriage redefinition, and in favour of teaching creationism as well as evolution at schools. Militarilty, Huckabee supported an increase in defence expenditure from 4% of the American GPD to 6%. He was also against Obama's policy about gun control and immigration reform. Hi plan in 2008 was to force all of the US 12 million undocumented immigrants to self-register and leave the country.³³ Overall, Huckabee enjoys a strong network of supporters, and a Southerner Baptist minister, was amongst the most candidates to appeal to religious conservatives.³⁴ His strong opinions about many American recent topics forced him to withdraw on the 1st of February 2016 saying 'I am officially suspending my campaign. Thank you for all your loyal support'.

Rand Paul: An American politician, ophthalmologist, and a current senator from Kentucky. Paul raised over 4.6 million USD and gained about 67 thousand votes. Paul identifies as a republican, but is best described as a Tea Party libertarian. Paul pushes for smaller government and stronger constitutional rights. As a fiscal conservative, he is a proponent of lower taxes and less government spending. His most popular positions revolve around supporting a right to privacy which opposes the US patriotic act and the transportation security administration (TSA) practices, which he described as a victory for terrorists not Americans.³⁵ Although he opposes abortion and other recent social trends in the US, he always says that it is up to the state to decide. Paul also opposed the militarization of the police and said that they disproportionately target African Americans.³⁶ Paul pointed to the rise of the Islamic state in the Middle East as a result of the US intervention, and also wanted to lift the embargo on Cuba. Instead of the significant public support, Paul withdrew on the 3rd of February 2016 saying "Today I will end

³² "Center for Responsive Politics" website // "Mike Huckabee" URL:

<https://www.opensecrets.org/pres16/candidate?id=N00007539>

³³ "On The Issues" website // "Former Republican AR Governor Mike Huckabee" URL:

http://www.ontheissues.org/Mike_Huckabee.htm

³⁴ "CBS News" website // "Five things to know about Mike Huckabee" URL:

<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/election-2016-five-things-to-know-about-mike-huckabee/>

³⁵ "The Guardian" website // "The bigger picture of Rand Paul's brush with the TSA" URL:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cifamerica/2012/jan/23/bigger-picture-rand-paul-brush-with-tsa>

³⁶ "Center for Responsive Politics" website // "Sen. Rick Santorum - Pennsylvania" URL:

<https://www.opensecrets.org/members-of-congress/summary?cid=N00001380>

where I began, ready and willing to fight for the cause of liberty'.

Rick Santorum: An American politician, attorney and author, a former senator from Pennsylvania and a former member of the House of Representatives from the same state. Santorum raised over 28 million USD and received over 16 thousand votes.³⁷ Santorum was considered as one of the most polarizing social conservatives during the 2016 campaign, even within his own party. Santorum has been in the public eye since 1990 and ran for the 2012 election campaign. Santorum supported a bill that would limit employers from preventing religious expression in the work place, he also created the 'Santorum Amendment' which proposed including intelligent design in school curriculum alongside evolution. His views are fairly in line with socially conservative religious values. Contrary to Paul, Santorum opposed the right to privacy but he agreed with him on opposing abortion, illegal immigration and supporting low income families and children. Amongst Santorum's most controversial ideas is that he proposed English as the official US language and called environmentalism warning about climate change as junk science. His support of right religions social conservative community was not enough, so he withdrew on the 3rd of February 2016 saying 'We decided that I think we could be better advocates for that in supporting someone who shared those values and is in better position to do well in this race'.

Carly Fiorina: An American businesswoman and political figure. Fiorina raised about 6.8 million USD and received over 40 thousand votes.³⁸ As a female republican, Fiorina occupies a unique section of the political spectrum. She opposed abortion, and does not support drug decriminalisation, especially after suffering from a personal issue of stepdaughter drug abuse, which resulted in her death. Fiorina has repeatedly criticized the Iran nuclear deal, although she was connected to the sale of some computer equipment to Iran despite nuclear sanctions.³⁹ Fiorina tends to side with the general Republican base, including climate change denial, net neutrality opposition, lower taxes and anti-Obamacare.⁴⁰ In spite of her distinct perspective on women's issues and her empathetic tone during the debates, which benefited her in considerably more support than expected, Fiorina decided to withdraw on the 10th of February 2016 saying 'I will continue to travel this country and fight those Americans who refuse to settle for the way things are and a status quo that no longer works for them'.

³⁷ "Politico" website // "In three months, Fiorina camp raises \$6.8 million" URL:

<https://www.politico.com/story/2015/10/carly-fiorina-2016-fundraising-jump-214719>

³⁸ "ABC7" website // "Fiorina faces battle on HP printer scandal" URL: <http://abc7.com/archive/6992625/>

³⁹ "On The Issues" website // "Carly Fiorina" URL: http://www.ontheissues.org/Carly_Fiorina.htm

⁴⁰ "Center for Responsive Politics" website // "Chris Christie" URL:
<https://www.opensecrets.org/pres16/candidate?id=N00037008>

Chris Christie: An American politician, federal persecutor and a former governor of New Jersey. Christie managed to raise over 32 million USD for his presidency campaign in 2016, and also obtained over 57 thousand votes.⁴¹ Christie is fairly lenient on immigration policies, unlike many of his republican peers. He has said that undocumented immigration is not a crime but a civil issue, and that local police should not perform immigration enforcement duties.⁴² Christie has also shown his support to rebuild the US military so 'tinpot dictators can't dictate to us' and his opposition to refugees.⁴³ Christie has been criticized for having little experience before his political career began, but his stances were not exactly aligned with traditional conservative views, as a result he withdrew on the 10th of February 2016 saying 'I leave the race without an ounce of regret'. **Jim Gilmore:** 68, an American politician and attorney, a former governor of Virginia. Gilmore only raised 824 thousand USD and received over 18 thousand votes.⁴⁴ Gilmore opinions on social issues were different from his republican peers, he was not against abortion, but repeatedly said that it should not be prohibited. He declared that the Obama-Clinton policies have driven the US into a decline, especially regarding foreign policy, since he was a former army intelligence agent in Western Germany during the cold war. Militarily, he supported a creation of a middle east NATO to fight Iran and the Islamic state.⁴⁵ Economically, Gilmore supported tax cuts and growing the economy in order to create more opportunities than welfare. Jim Gilmore withdrew on the 12th of February saying ' I will continue to do everything I can ensure that our next president is a free enterprise republican who will restore our nation to greatness and keep our citizens safe'.

Jeb Bush: An American businessman and politician, and a former governor of Florida and a brother of former US president George W Bush. Jeb raised over 150 million USD and managed to obtain over 286 thousand votes for his 2016 campaign.⁴⁶ As a fiscal conservative, Jeb lowered taxes and cut government jobs while increasing state reserves. Jeb is pro gun, and signed Stand Your Ground law which caused homicides crimes in Florida to triple and that was his main

⁴¹ "NJ Advance Media" website // "Trump's big immigration reversal shaped by Christie, Giuliani says" URL: http://www.nj.com/politics/index.ssf/2016/08/giuliani_christie_urged_trump_to_soften_on_deporta.html

⁴² "On The Issues" website // "Chris Christie" URL: http://www.ontheissues.org/Chris_Christie.html

⁴³ "Center for Responsive Politics" website // "Jim Gilmore" URL: <https://www.opensecrets.org/pres16/candidate?id=N00028961>

⁴⁴ "On The Issues" website // "2016 Presidential Candidates Jim Gilmore" URL: http://www.ontheissues.org/Jim_Gilmore.htm

⁴⁵ "Time" website // "How Much Money Failed Presidential Candidates Have Blown Through This Election" URL: <http://time.com/money/4231669/election-2016-money-spent/>

⁴⁶ "Think Progress" website // "The Deadly Legacy Of Jeb Bush's 'Stand Your Ground' Law" URL: <https://thinkprogress.org/the-deadly-legacy-of-jeb-bushs-stand-your-ground-law-567a076e5d0c/>

criticism by those who oppose gun ownership.⁴⁷ Jeb Bush withdrew on the 20th of February 2016 saying 'The people of Iowa and New Hampshire and South Carolina have spoken, and I really respect their decision'.⁴⁸

Ben Carson: A retired neurosurgeon, politician and author, current Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Carson raised over 20 million USD and received more than 857 thousand votes. Carson was considered the least politically minded candidate during the election campaign of 2016. After doing extremely well in potential candidate polls, he announced his candidacy in May 2015. In spite of his field of expertise, Carson was a vigorous opponent to Obamacare and has compared it to slavery. Carson was against abortion, although he has written about taking part in physician assisted suicide.⁴⁹ Another social issue was gun ownership, since he stated that citizens do not have to register their weapons, for fear the government might 'come to take them'. Carson is a very religious person, and blames many of America's problems on 'secular progressives'.⁵⁰ Further, Carson based his economic policies of some religious principles like tithing.⁵¹ Militarily, Carson believed that the US military should not have any limitation in attempting to destroy the Islamic state in the Middle East, even including bans on torture. One of the biggest issues of Ben Carson is political correctness, and he said that Christians are afraid to say 'Merry Christmas;' that there is a war on God, and that the public education is a system of propaganda. Many reduced his decision to withdraw on the 4th of March 2016 to his little name recognition amongst the American public and the lack of original policy ideas.

Marco Rubio: An American politician and current junior US senator for Florida. He raised over 21 million USD and gained over 3.5 million votes. Rubio is one of only three Latino senators, Rubio's conservative stances are slightly different from those of his fellow republican candidates. Rubio is generally against taxation, including capital gains and estate taxes, and anti abortion and supports anti discrimination laws. He also opposes the idea that climate change is caused by human activity and opposes any legislation to address climate change. For immigration policy, and probably because he is the son of illegal Cuban immigrants into the US, he does not support amnesty in any form, and believes that English should be the official language in the US.

⁴⁷ "On The Issues" website // "Jeb Bush" URL: http://www.ontheissues.org/Jeb_Bush.htm

⁴⁸ "Time" website // "Doctor Who Advocated for Assisted Suicide Chooses to End His Life" URL: <http://time.com/4100829/peter-rasmussen-assisted-suicide-right-to-die-dead/>

⁴⁹ "Washington Examiner Magazine" website // "Ben Carson's thundering words for 'secular progressives'" URL: <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/ben-carsons-thundering-words-for-secular-progressives>

⁵⁰ "Politifact" website // "Does Ben Carson's tithing-based tax plan lead to a \$1 trillion hole?" URL: <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2015/nov/04/ben-carson/does-ben-carsons-tithe-based-tax-plan-lead-1-trill/>

⁵¹ "Center for Responsive Politics" website // "Sen. Ted Cruz - Texas" URL: <https://www.opensecrets.org/members-of-congress/summary?cid=N00033085>

However, he was planning to give visas to children of undocumented immigrants and allow them to stay in the country before applying for citizenship. Rubio was a safe choice for far right conservatives, but his switch from Catholicism to Mormonism, and back to Catholicism might have affected the voters' choice. As a result, he withdrew on the 15th of March 2016 saying 'America is in the middle of a real political storm, a real tsunami, and we should have seen this coming'.

Ted Cruz: A politician, attorney and a current junior senator from Texas. Cruz raised over 19 million USD and received over 7.8 million votes.⁵² He had received some of the widest media attention over the past few years before running for presidency in 2016. As the first Hispanic-Canadian senator from Texas, Ted Cruz is a very particular politician, and that has not gone unnoticed. The republican candidate began his political career as a domestic policy advisor to President George W Bush, since 2012 he was noticed mostly for his conservative policy stances and his questionably true statements in support of them. Cruz acted against net neutrality gun control and promised to develop the process of background checks for gun purchases. Like most conservatives, Cruz is openly against Obamacare and also against illegal immigrants, even depriving them from ever receiving citizenship. As the recipient of large donations from gas and oil companies, Cruz was largely in support of the Keystone XL pipeline, and lifting limits on oil exports. As a candidate, Cruz does not stand out amongst his fellow republicans, especially when it comes to abortion, redefining marriage and protecting minority groups.⁵³ Ted Cruz decided to withdraw on the 3rd of May 2016 saying 'We are suspending our campaign. But hear me, I am not suspending our fight for liberty'.

John Kasich: The current governor of Ohio, an American politician, author and former TV news host. Kasich raised about 37 million USD and received about 4.3 million votes. Kasich prided himself during the election campaign in 2016 about the fact that over his Ohio governorship, the state went from an 8 billion USD deficit to 2 billion in surplus. His plans were chiefly focused reducing corporate taxation and allow multinational corporate to repatriate their foreign capital back into the US market creating more jobs in the US.⁵⁴ Kasich's position on social trends inside the US tended to be moderate, and closer to the Democratic Party's vision of the social life,

⁵² "On The Issues website // "Texas Senator Ted Cruz (Republican Challenger) URL: http://www.ontheissues.org/Senate/Ted_Cruz.htm

⁵³ "CBS News" website // "John Kasich on economic priorities facing the next president" URL: <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/issues-that-matter-2016-race-john-kasich-ohio-governor-trans-pacific-partnership-economy/>

⁵⁴ "Center for Responsive Politics" website // "Donald Trump (R)" URL: <https://www.opensecrets.org/pres16/candidate?id=N00023864>

including abortion, redefining marriage and environmental issues. However, militarily, he shared the vision of the republicans, by suggesting a 100 billion USD increase to rebuild the military, fighting the Islamic state and imposing more sanctions on Iran. For gun control, Kasich's plan was to oppose restrictions on weapon ownership, as well as restricting terrorists' guns. Kasich's fame inside the American society, as a media figure, was not enough to support him all the way through the presidential candidacy, so he withdrew on the 4th of May 2016 saying: 'And as I suspend my campaign today, I have renewed faith, deeper faith, that the Lord will show me the way forward and fulfill the purpose of my life'.

Donald Trump: An American businessman and a reality TV host before entering the political life and becoming the 45th president of the US. For his 2016 campaign, Trump raised over 646 million USD and received over 14 million votes during the primary elections, making him the highest receiver of votes within the republican Party.⁵⁵ His candidacy in 2016 was not the first, as he attempted to run for presidency in 1987, 1999, 2004, 2008 and 2011. Trump was, and still is, a controversially successful business magnate and investor. He stated that his net worth was around 9 billion USD, making him the wealthiest candidate in the running.⁵⁶ Although Trump had never held a public office, he has been very outspoken concerning his political views. His primary platform focuses on increasing US jobs, and building a wall along the Mexican borders, and making Mexico pay for it. On social issues, he is fairly right leaning, opposing abortion and redefining marriage. Although Trump supported universal healthcare in 2000, he strikingly opposed Obamacare calling it the 'trillion ton weight' on the economy. Despite claiming to have never indulged in any drug or alcohol, he supports full drug legalization as a method of increasing tax revenue for education, making him stand out from the rest of his republican peers on this very issue. Regarding foreign policy, his view is largely based on oil, and Trump believes that the US is drilling too slowly for America's 'lifblood'. Trump is also extremely critical of China's influence on the US, and has called for a 25% tax on imports in order to maintain the US jobs.⁵⁷ As a businessman and a show man, Trump's politics tends to be financially influenced, rather than ideologically.

The Democratic Party. Once advocates for free and unregulated market, proslavery, democrats today are seen as the party of social support and justice. The modern Democratic Party traces its

⁵⁵ "The Telegraph" website // "Watch: Why social media is Donald Trump's most powerful weapon" URL: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/22/watch-why-social-media-is-donald-trumps-most-powerful-weapon/>

⁵⁶ "BBC" website // "Trump accuses China of 'raping' US with unfair trade policy" URL: <http://www.bbc.com/news/election-us-2016-36185012>

⁵⁷ Official Website of the Democratic Party // "Our Party" URL: <https://www.democrats.org/about/our-party>

roots back to the time of the Great Depression, when a social security and other big government programs meant to protect the unemployed and the working poor. Through government sponsored public works projects, jobs and opportunities were created for those suffering from the stock market crash. Today democrats still believe in the power of government to provide a just and equal society.⁵⁸

Democrats advocate stricter government regulation on big business, and larger participation in the social safety net.⁵⁹ An important example is the Affordable Care Act, or Obamacare, that ensured an increasing access to healthcare via government subsidies, and decreasing the power of private insurers. The party also champions the middle class, and has generally supported labour movements and unions. They do this by promoting progressive tax plans, in which wealthier members of society pay a higher percentage of their income than the poor and middle class. On social issues, democrats are seen as open to societal change, often helping those who face discrimination and poverty, and also support legal immigration into the US.⁶⁰

Similarly to republicans, democrats advocate for a strong military but particularly prefer diplomatic cooperation and collaboration over military force. There are also a variety of views within the Democratic Party, but generally democrats tend to take a left leaning position, advocating equal opportunity through government regulation and oversight.

Briefly, the Democratic Party's candidates for the presidency of the US in 2016 will be reviewed.

Jim Webb: An American politician and author, former senator from Virginia, and former secretary of the Navy. Webb raised about 803 thousand USD for the 2016 presidential candidacy. Like most democrats, Webb supported abortion rights, redefining marriage and evolution theory. Climate change was also supported by Webb, in addition to his proposal to include India and China. Webb also suggested the US resolving relationships with China and Iran.⁶¹ Webb support gun ownership but demanded background checks.⁶² Jim Webb decided to withdraw on the 20th of October 2015 and said 'If we ran an independent race, I honestly could see us beating both of

⁵⁸ "HealthCare" website // "Affordable Care Act (ACA)" URL: <https://www.healthcare.gov/glossary/affordable-care-act/>

⁵⁹ Moving America Forward 2012 Democratic National Platform URL: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/papers_pdf/101962.pdf

⁶⁰ "The Council on Foreign Relations" website // "Jim Webb on Foreign Policy" URL: <https://www.cfr.org/event/jim-webb-foreign-policy>

⁶¹ "On The Issues" website // "James Webb" URL: http://www.ontheissues.org/Senate/James_Webb.htm

⁶² "The New York Times" website // "Lincoln Chafee on the Issues" URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/04/us/politics/lincoln-chafee-on-the-issues.html>

them' referring to Mrs. Clinton and President Trump.

Lincoln Chafee: An American politician, a former governor of Rhode Island and a former senator from the same state. Chafee raised about 418 thousand USD for the 2016 candidacy. Chafee's opinion about abortion was positive, supportive women's right in pregnancy. His past republican background did not affect his opinions about foreign military intervention and tax cuts, as he was the only one opposing them in 2002 in the Congress, what influenced him to choose the Democratic Party later. He asked for an end of arrogant attitude regarding war.⁶³ Socially, Chafee supported stem cell research, redefining marriage and funding education by making it affordable.⁶⁴ Chafee withdrew from the running the 23rd of October saying 'After much thought I have decided to end my campaign for president today'.

Lawrence Lessing: Harvard University law academic and professor, attorney, TED speaker and political activist. Lawrence managed to raise about a million USD for his 2016 campaign, but he was not successful in gaining votes.⁶⁵ Lessing's campaign was in harmony with the Democratic Party's general policy, which supported immigration, social issues and trend in the American society, as well as legalizing drugs. Other issues, like climate change and pollution were also very important to Lessing, since he said 'we do not own Earth, we hold it in trust for our children'. The lack of policy probably was the main reason of his withdrawal on the 2nd of November saying 'I must today end my campaign for the Democratic nomination and turn to the question of how to best to continue to press for this reform now'.

Martin O'Malley: An American attorney and politician, former governor of Maryland and former mayor of Baltimore. O'Malley raised about 7 million USD for the 2016 election campaign, and received over 110 thousand votes.⁶⁶ The charismatic democratic candidate has long attracted public attention, although not always positively. His experience in homicide and studying the statistical trends in crimes during his tenure in Baltimore, which helped him win awards and be recognized at the national level. O'Malley supported redefining marriage and immigration, calling the illegal immigrants the 'new Americans' by allowing their children to receive tuitions.⁶⁷ Another important social issue was the abortion rights, which O'Malley

⁶³ "On The Issues" website // "Lincoln Chafee" URL: http://www.ontheissues.org/Lincoln_Chafee.htm

⁶⁴ "The Washington Post" website // "Larry Lessig raises \$1 million for 2016 bid" URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/10/05/larry-lessig-raises-1-million-for-2016-bid/>

⁶⁵ "Center for Responsive Politics" website // "Martin O'Malley (R)" URL: <https://www.opensecrets.org/pres16/candidate?id=N00037007>

⁶⁶ "On The Issues" website // "2016 Presidential Candidates Martin O'Malley" URL: http://www.ontheissues.org/Martin_O%60Malley.htm

⁶⁷ "The Diamondback - independent student newspaper at the University of Maryland" website // "Martin

supported and promoted funding for, in addition to calling the Obamacare a 'right, not a privilege'. On the other hand, O'Malley's opposition to death penalty and his legalizing of marijuana might have been the main cause of high drug use and high homicide rates in Baltimore, which was highly criticized for.⁶⁸ As a result, and having admitted his lack of experience in federal issues did hurt his presidential chances, so he withdrew on the 1st of February 2016 saying 'I am ending this presidential bid, but I am not ending this fight'.

Bernie Sanders: An American democratic socialist politician and a former senator from Vermont. Sanders raised over 254 million USD during the 2016 campaign, and managed to receive about 13.2 million votes during the primary election, which put him in a very close position to the current President Trump, who received about 14 million votes, reflecting his popularity in the US society. In spite of the fact that Sanders is the longest standing independent in Congress during the US history, many people had never heard of this far left candidate before the 2016 election campaign. Regarding foreign policy, Sanders opposed the 2002 Iraq invasion, and has said that the Islamic state creation was the result of Iraq war. Sanders also supported the talks and negotiations with Russia and Iran, and opposed the US involvement in Syria.⁶⁹ Environmental issues were very important to Sanders; as a result he sponsored the Global Warming and Pollution Reduction Act and pushed for an audit of the Federal Reserve. Socially, Sanders has praised the Scandinavian social system as an example of effective policy, and outlined a number of initiatives he would tackle, like the efforts to break the 'too big to fail' banks, raising minimum wage, expanding union power, and promoting single-payer health care system.⁷⁰ However, Sanders was criticized on his voting record against the implementation of the child abduction alert system, as well as his supportive views on gun ownership rights, by shielding gun shops from lawsuits, not manufacturers. Despite his progressive track record and policy ideas, Sanders had to compete with the heavyweight democrat Hillary Clinton for the democratic nomination, which forced Clinton to move her stance to the left in order to gain more

O'Malley's record in Baltimore is atrocious. He shouldn't be a Democratic Party leader URL: <http://www.dbknews.com/2017/11/29/martin-omalley-democratic-party-baltimore-racism-policing-mayor-freddie-gray/>

⁶⁸ "National Public Radio" website // "Bernie Sanders Lays Out His Foreign Policy Vision" URL: <https://www.npr.org/2017/09/21/552671703/bernie-sanders-lays-out-his-foreign-policy-vision>

⁶⁹ "VICE News" website // "Hillary Clinton adopted these 4 policies from Bernie Sanders — will she stick to them?" URL: <https://news.vice.com/article/hillary-clinton-adopted-these-4-policies-from-bernie-sanders-will-she-stick-to-them>

⁷⁰ "The Washington Post" website // "Everything you wanted to know about Bernie Sanders record on guns" URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2016/01/26/everything-you-wanted-to-know-about-bernie-sanders-record-on-guns/>

public support.⁷¹ The fact that Sander's main donors were automobile manufacturers, universities, labour unions and individual donors, and Clinton's were primarily banks, probably affected his candidacy and lead him to withdraw on the 12th of July 2016, making him the last candidate to leave the running saying 'I have come here to make as clear as possible why I am endorsing Hillary Clinton and why she must become our next president'.⁷²

Hillary Clinton: An American politician, former US secretary of state, former senator from New York, former First Lady of the US and a former first lady of Arkansas. Clinton's total sum raised for the 2016 candidacy exceeded 1.19 billion USD, and other resources claim the sum exceeded 1.4 billion USD.⁷³ Clinton gained 16.9 million votes, which outnumbered Trump's and his rival democrat Sanders' by a huge margin, however, election in the US is a complicated process and never a straightforward one. Clinton was the Democratic Party's nominee for the 2016 US election, which was not a surprise for many Americans, taking into consideration her rich history in the US political life. Clinton always pushed for health care reforms and supported the rights of minority women in the American society. Socially, Clinton always promoted rooting out systematic racism exposed by social media, in education and employment. She also supported redefining marriage and many other American social trends.⁷⁴ Economically, Clinton pushed for corporation taxation in order for them to pay their 'fair share' in order to fight the 21st century challenges, which is in harmony with the Democratic Party's policy and vision. Clinton was an advocate of green energy and environmental issues, which helped gain her lots of public support, in comparison with Trump on these issues.⁷⁵ Militarily, Clinton supported the US military action in both Iraq and Afghanistan, and opposed the 2007 troop surge in Iraq, calling for a slow withdrawal. One of her biggest challenges was the terror attack on the US embassy in Libya, which led to wide criticism after assuming responsibility for denying additional security for the embassy before the attack.⁷⁶ Although Clinton was significantly more supported by the public, she also gained 227 votes from the Electoral College out of 538, and the rest went to current President Trump on the 8th of November 2016.

⁷¹ "BBC News" website // "US election 2016: Bernie Sanders' and Hillary Clinton's policies compared" URL: <http://www.bbc.com/news/election-us-2016-35666347>

⁷² "Bloomberg" website // "Tracking the 2016 Presidential Money Race" URL:

<https://www.bloomberg.com/politics/graphics/2016-presidential-campaign-fundraising/>

⁷³ "Hillary Clinton" website // "Hillary's vision for America" URL: <https://www.hillaryclinton.com/issues/>

⁷⁴ "Independent" official website // "Women will bear brunt of survival tasks as climate warms, warns Hillary Clinton" URL: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/hilary-clinton-climage-change-women-domestic-roles-global-warming-us-a8200506.html>

⁷⁵ "The Guardian" website // "Hillary Clinton takes responsibility for Libya embassy attack" URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/16/hillary-clinton-responsibility-embassy-attack>

⁷⁶ "Libertarian" website // <https://www.lp.org/>

The Libertarian Party. Generally speaking, the US politics always considers the abovementioned two main parties, whether about tax cuts and the republicans, or social programs and the democrats. But the fact is, there are more political philosophies and affiliations in the US political life, and libertarianism is one of them, whose popularity has significantly grown over the past US elections. Libertarianism states that everybody should have absolute freedom to their lives and how they see fit as long as they respect everyone else's right to do the same.⁷⁷ This means that most libertarians advocate for minimalist government on the basis that it should have no say whatsoever in the decision a person makes about his or her personal life, which is republican leaning ideals. At the same time, libertarians stress social freedom, like marriage issues and abortion, which is leaning towards democrats. As a result, libertarianism appeals to people because it combines both political worlds. The main notions of libertarianism is that the government should only consist of the military, the police and the court, only to defend the American citizens, safety measures are a violation to personal choice and legalization of drugs, welfare and gun ownership rights. As a criticism to libertarianism, it is said that it is too idealistic to work in the real life, and government support should be implemented in order to regulate the society and everyday life of the citizens.

The libertarian Party's nominee was Garry Johnson, the former governor New Mexico, who raised over 13 million USD and received about 4.5 million votes during the election.⁷⁸ Johnson believed that women are free to choose the abortion decision, marriage equality, but is against minimum federal wage, death penalty and deporting 11 million illegal immigrants, which he described as a 'crazy notion'. Militarily, Johnson believes that the US army should not intervene in other nations' affairs. Economically, Johnson opposed to income and corporate tax and proposed replacing it all with one federal consumption tax.⁷⁹ Public support was not enough, and Johnson lost the election on the 8th of November 2016.

The Green Party. Another popular party in the American society is the Green Party of the US, whose philosophy focuses on actions against war, marriage equality, environmentalism and social justice.⁸⁰ This party is distinct from the two major parties in the fact that they do not accept money from corporation and lobbyists, but the campaign should be publicly financed. The

⁷⁷ "Center for Responsive Politics" website // "Gary Jonson" URL:
<https://www.opensecrets.org/pres16/candidate?id=N00033226>

⁷⁸ "Bloomberg" website // "Gary Johnson's Unfair, Expensive National Sales Tax" URL:
<https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2016-09-02/gary-johnson-s-unfair-expensive-national-sales-tax>

⁷⁹ "Green Party" website // <http://www.gp.org/>

⁸⁰ "Council on Foreign Relations" website // "Jill Stein" URL:
<https://www.cfr.org/interactives/campaign2016/jill-stein>

nominee of the party was Jill Stein, 67, an American physicist, activist and politician. The party calls for free public higher education as a basic right, minimum wage definition, and the belief that climate change is the greatest threat faced by humanity.⁸¹ Stein raised over 3.7 million USD from public donation and received over 1.4 million votes during the election.⁸² on the 8th of November, Stein stated that the American people are assured of a million votes and that they just began.⁸³ Other nominees including members of the constitution Party and independents were also running for presidency but did not manage to get over one million votes, making a total of 31 nominees, including the aforementioned four.⁸⁴

⁸¹ "Official 2016 Presidential General Election Results" // <https://transition.fec.gov/pubrec/fe2016/2016presgeresults.pdf>

⁸² "The Guardian" website // "US election night 2016 – as it happened" URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2016/nov/08/us-election-2016-polls-trump-clinton-live?page=with:block-58228370e4b0199b93894ec7>

⁸³ "Official 2016 Presidential General Election Results" URL: <https://transition.fec.gov/pubrec/fe2016/2016presgeresults.pdf>

⁸⁴ "Independent" official website // "Donald Trump 'veering off topic during diplomatic calls with foreign leaders,' source claims" URL: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/donald-trump-diplomatic-phonecalls-foreign-leaders-us-state-department-topic-focus-a7569996.html>

CHAPTER 2. Donald Trump's election campaign 2016

The election campaign is indeed one of the most stressful and thrilling event that take place every four years not only in the life of the Americans, but to a larger extent, it is also a worldwide event that leads to the election of the next president of the world's superpower. The campaign is a lengthy process that puts the candidates to the test in front of thousands amongst the audience and hundreds of millions watching and listening to the aired event. The fact is, each candidate's team carefully prepares the speeches and statement, in order to persuade the voters and collect as many votes as possible. However, in politics, written communication is rather trivial in comparison to oral communication, and the ability to satisfy the masses is proved to be key over the history of American elections. Body language, the physical appearance in addition to the set of vocabularies the candidate displays, all together determine the public opinion towards the potential US president.

2.1 Analyses of Donald Trump's election campaign 2016 agenda and rhetoric

All of Trump's presidential election speeches were downloaded from the site and thoroughly read and studied.⁸⁵ The announcement of Trump's candidacy for the presidential election took place on the 16th of June 2015, and later, the speeches started on 21st of March 2016 until the 9th of November when the newly elected 45th president of the US was announced. An excel spreadsheet was created (Appendix, Table 1.), in order to enter the data about Trump's speeches focusing on different subjects including world countries, Latin American countries, border policy, drugs and crime, unemployment, industry, illegal immigration, unfair trade and NAFTA.

For each speech, a score is given for each time Trump mentioned one of the topics above and talked about it during his speech, in order to understand the importance of these topics in Trump's presidential campaign 2016.

74 speeches, including the announcement of Trump's candidacy and also the final speech after election results were out were analysed.

Illegal Immigration. In 52 out of the 74 speeches, Trump talked about immigration, and specifically illegal one, suggesting a number of solutions to face this serious problem like

⁸⁵ "The Guardian" website // "Death in the sands: the horror of the US-Mexico border" URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/oct/04/us-mexico-border-patrol-trump-beautiful-wall>

building a wall at the southern borders with Mexico, deportation of 11 million undocumented immigrants from the US, creating a deportation force, deportation of criminals, a path for legal status, visa tracking, nation-wide E-verify and a temporary ban on muslims.

During Trump's famous speech on immigration in the 31st of August 216 in Arizona, he openly addressed that audience, and the nation on a larger scale saying: *“We will build a great wall along the southern border. And Mexico will pay for the wall. One hundred percent. They don't know it yet, but they're going to pay for it. And they're great people and great leaders but they're going to pay for the wall. On day one, we will begin working on intangible, physical, tall, power, beautiful southern border wall”*.

But the immigration speech on Arizona was not the first time Trump discussed the US borders. In fact, Trump talked about this issue in 48 different speeches during his presidential campaign out of the 74 ones. This was one controversial issues in Trump's campaign that on hand gained him lots of votes from terrified American citizens who wished to completely seal their borders with their neighbouring Mexico, on the other, many voters were surprised and looked at this project as a total nonsense.⁸⁶

The 2000 miles (3200 km) wall along with the US-Mexican borders is in fact supposed to be built on rough terrain, cutting through mountains, rivers, villages and even peoples' homes, with a cost estimated between 15 and 25 billion USD.⁸⁷ Which makes the wall the single most expensive infrastructure unit over the American history, exceeding NASA's annual budget. In addition to building the wall, staffing and maintaining it would definitely require enormous funds, all of which come from taxpayers, most of whom, and the future ones, shall not be pleased with extra taxation. Another interesting facts regarding illegal immigration into the US is that over 40% of illegal immigrants arrive to American territories on planes rather than on land by arriving to the US through passport control, and then overstaying their visas.⁸⁸

An additional remark on the wall is a phenomenon called 'circular flow' across the US-Mexican borders, which means that people, from both sides, come to the country, work, and then get back to their hometown. This phenomenon has lasted for decades between the two nations, and when the Reagan, Bush and Clinton administrations drastically increased border

⁸⁶ "CNBC" website // "This is what Trump's border wall could cost" URL:

<https://www.cnbc.com/2015/10/09/this-is-what-trumps-border-wall-could-cost-us.html>

⁸⁷ "Punditfact" website // "Ramos: 40% of undocumented immigrants come by air" URL:

<http://www.politifact.com/punditfact/statements/2015/sep/08/jorge-ramos/ramos-40-undocumented-immigrants-come-air/>

⁸⁸ "The Washington Post" website // "How a 1965 immigration reform created illegal immigration" URL:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2015/09/25/how-a-1965-immigration-reform-created-illegal-immigration/?noredirect=on>

enforcement in response to public opinion, they stopped that circular flow, not by keeping immigrants out, but in.⁸⁹ Between 1950 and 2001, a 248% increase in illegal, or undocumented immigrants was caused due to the policies of the three aforementioned administrations.⁹⁰

Since the Mexican economy is much better now than it used to be 30 years ago, statistics by the US Border Patrol show that in 1986 over 1.6 million immigrants crossed the US borders from Mexico illegally due to the recession in the Mexican economy at that time, while the number remained almost the same in 2005 with about 1.6 illegal immigrants, the number greatly dropped in 2016 to be around 330 thousands.⁹¹ The all-time-low number of illegal border crossing reflects a tendency that the number of illegal immigrants is actually decreasing.

Regarding the cost of the wall, on the 1st of March 2016, Trump said during a press conference: 'We have a trade deficit with Mexico of \$58 billion a year — \$58 billion. The wall is going to cost \$10 billion. It's so easy. I've had these guys that I'm on the stage with go you don't really mean Mexico is going to pay for the wall. One — as sure as you're standing there, 100 percent, Mexico's going to pay, 100 percent.'

One of Trump's major plans during his election campaign was to deport over 11 million undocumented immigrants in the US, which accounts for about 3% of the total US population. On the 25th of August 2016 and during an interview on the CNN Trump said: *"We are going to deport many people, many, many people. ...We're going to do that vigorously, we're going to go with the laws that (are existing), but we're going to have a very strong border and we're not going to have people pouring back in"*.⁹²

In order to achieve this purpose, Trump, on the 31st of August 2016, and during his famous immigration speech suggested creating a special army unit, whose main function is to track illegal immigrants and deport them from the country, and he said: *"I'm going to create a new special deportation task force focused on identifying and quickly removing the most dangerous criminal illegal immigrants in America, who have evaded justice."*

Having also accused many undocumented immigrants by all sorts of crimes and law-breaking, Trump also promised to specifically target the criminal undocumented immigrants

⁸⁹ "The Economics of Happiness" URL: <http://www.acarindex.com/dosyalar/kitap/1416692472.pdf>

⁹⁰ "U.S. Custom and Border Protection" website // "Stats and summaries" URL:

<https://www.cbp.gov/newsroom/media-resources/stats>

⁹¹ "CNN" website // "Trump suggests major shift on deportations" URL:

<https://edition.cnn.com/2016/08/24/politics/donald-trump-immigration-deportations-citizenship/index.html>

⁹² "Time" website // "The Insane Numbers Behind Trump's Deportation Plan" URL:

<http://time.com/money/4566401/trumps-deportation-immigration-plan-numbers/>

when he said during the same speech: *“Their days have run out in this country. The crime will stop. They’re going to be gone. It will be over. They’re going out fast. Moving forward, we will issue detainers for illegal immigrants who are arrested for any crime whatsoever, and they will be placed into immediate removal proceedings”*.

But, what exactly deporting 11 million people look like? This is roughly the population of New York City, San Francisco, Boston, Seattle, and Detroit combined. Previous forcible relocation of people during the history of the US took place once in the 1830 under the name of 'Trail of Tears' by removing about 17 thousand the Indian Americans, and once again in the 1940s called 'Japanese Internment' forcing over 120 thousand ethnic Japanese out of the US during the second world war. The cost of repeating such acts nowadays including deploying the specialised army units, arresting people, concentrating them in massive holding centres across the country, and then shipping them on trains, buses and planes, should with no doubt cost more than 300 billion USD.⁹³

On the 7th of December 2015, Trump released a statement calling for banning muslims from entering the US, and he said: *“[I am] calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on”*. On the 31st of August next year, he clearly explained his previous statement by saying: *“Another reform involves new screening tests for all applicants that include an ideological certification to make sure that those we are admitting to our country share our values and love our people”*.

These statements were by far the most controversial issue of Trump's policy. While many of the Republican Party members share Trump's view towards this issue, Senator Rubio does not. Here is an extract of the debate between Trump and Rubio on the 15th of March 2016:

TRUMP: “Well, you know, I've been watching the debate today. And they're talking about radical Islamic terrorism or radical Islam. But I will tell you this. There's something going on that maybe you don't know about, maybe a lot of other people don't know about, but there's tremendous hatred. And I will stick with exactly what I said... There is tremendous hate. There is tremendous hate. Where large portions of a group of people, Islam, large portions want to use very, very harsh means. Let me go a step further. Women are treated horribly. You know that. You do know that. Women are treated horribly, and other things are happening that are very, very bad. Well, here we go. See, I'm not interested in being politically correct. I'm not interested in being politically correct. I'm interested in being correct.”

⁹³ "CNN" website // "Transcript of Republican debate in Miami, full text" URL: <https://edition.cnn.com/2016/03/10/politics/republican-debate-transcript-full-text/index.html>

RUBIO: "And in order to be correct on this issue, here's the bottom line. We do work. There is - Islam has a major problem on its hands. It has a significant percentage of its adherents, particular in the Sunni faith but also in the Shia, who have been radicalized. And are willing to fly planes into a building and kill innocent people... we are going to have to work together with other - with Muslims, who do not - who are not radicals. We're going to have to work with the Jordanian kingdom. We're going to have to work with the Saudis. We're going to have to work with the Gulf kingdoms. We're going to have to work with the Egyptians to defeat, for example, ISIS".⁹⁴

While many members of the Democratic Party share an opposite view to Trump's, President Obama on the 14th of June 2016 released a statement about this sensitive issue saying: *"Because that's not the America we want. It doesn't reflect our Democratic ideals. It won't make us more safe, it will make us less safe, fueling ISIS's notion that the West hates Muslims, making young Muslims in this country and around the world feel like, no matter what they do, they're going to be under suspicion and under attack. It makes Muslim Americans feel like their government is betraying them. It betrays the very values America stands for".*

Unemployment. In a speech in Chicago, at the Polish-American Congress, Trump said: "We're going to have job growth like you've never seen. I'm very good for jobs," said the billionaire businessman. "In fact, I will be the greatest president for jobs that God ever created. That I can tell you".⁹⁵ Trump was very anxious about unemployment rates in the US, and he addressed unemployment in 39 out of 74 speeches. As a businessman himself, and a job creator, many believed that Trump would be able to create as many jobs for the American citizens, especially after his demands about getting back American industries from overseas and repatriating corporate capital into the US market.

Trump's statement about high rates of unemployment in the US were very problematic, since he repeatedly claimed that the public statistics about unemployment, which did not exceed 4.9% at the time, were very 'phony' i.e. not genuine "Don't believe these phony numbers when you hear 4.9 and 5 percent unemployment," Mr. Trump said in his victory speech after the New Hampshire primary Tuesday night. "The number's probably 28, 29, as high as 35. In fact, I even

⁹⁴ "The Washington Times" website // "Donald Trump: 'I'll be the greatest president for jobs that God ever created'" URL: <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/sep/28/donald-trump-ill-be-greatest-president-jobs-god-ev/>

⁹⁵ "The New York Times" website // "The Real Jobless Rate Is 42 Percent? Donald Trump Has a Point, Sort of" URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/11/upshot/the-real-jobless-rate-is-42-percent-donald-trump-has-a-point-sort-of.html>

heard recently 42 percent.”⁹⁶

In order to analyse these claims, different sets of data were looked into. To start, 38% or even 42% unemployment rate seem to be huge numbers, which counts of almost half of the American population, but in fact, this number refers to the labour force participation rate, which is a measure of how many Americans over the age of 16 are either working or actively searching for work.⁹⁷ Over the past 20 years, this number has declined from about 67% to under 63%, which is explained that the aging population of America is increasing, which means that a higher percentage of them have retired, as well as a larger number of university graduates are now pursuing higher education.⁹⁸ According to the most recent data 90 million, of the 95 million Americans who are not in the work force, said that they do not want a job now. In order to have a real-time reflection of the matter, the US Census Bureau carries out monthly surveys on 60 thousand households, to find out how many people are out of work, and then on the first Friday of every month they release six different unemployment rates.⁹⁹ One of them focuses on all adult civilians who are without work and have looked for a job within the last four weeks, which is the about 4.9% currently. This means that Trump used the highest possible set of data to scare the American population with unemployment, and the fact that he should be a great job creator. This definitely helped boost the number of voters during the election.

Tax reform. The next substantial issue in Trump’s election campaign agenda was tax reform. In fact about a third of the US 3.8 trillion USD federal budget goes to social security and unemployment, which provides income for elderly and disabled people. 27% goes to healthcare expenditures, which is mostly 'medicare', the publically funded health insurance program for the elderly, 16% goes to the military, 6% goes to serve the national debt, 4% to the veterans and after that the percentages start to become smaller for other federal spendings.¹⁰⁰ Trump, in collaboration with Cruz, the republican candidate, has proposed tax reforms that will dramatically simplify the American tax code. Previously, the American household tax rate is

⁹⁶ URL: <https://data.bls.gov/timeseries/LNS11300000>

⁹⁷ "US Economic Snapshot" website // "Understanding the Decline in US Labour Force Participation" URL: <https://www.econsnapshot.com/2016/02/11/understanding-the-decline-in-us-labor-force-participation/>

⁹⁸ URL: <https://www.census.gov/>

⁹⁹ "National Priorities Project" website // "Federal Spending: Where Does the Money Go" URL: <https://www.nationalpriorities.org/budget-basics/federal-budget-101/spending/>

¹⁰⁰ "Reuters" website // "Trump plan cuts corporate taxes, promises sweeping reform" URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-trump/trump-plan-cuts-corporate-taxes-promises-sweeping-reform-idUSKCN0RS1X420150928>

34.3% for an annual income of one million USD, 21.5% for an annual income of a quarter million USD and 9.6% of an annual income of 52 thousand USD. For implementing the Republican Party policy of reducing taxes, especially for the rich population, Trump suggested collapsing these different brackets of taxpayers' percentages into a single 10% tax rate for all incomes, which is sometimes called 'the flat tax'. Trump said in his economic policy speech in Detroit on the 8th of August 2016: “Taxes are one of the biggest differences in this race. Hillary Clinton – who has spent her career voting for tax increases – plans another massive job-killing \$1.3 trillion-dollar tax increase. Her plan would tax many small businesses by almost fifty percent... For many American workers, their tax rate will be zero”.

Corporate taxes, however, were in fact amongst the highest in the world, with 39% corporate tax in the US. Trump's promises focused on reducing these taxes to as low as 15% in order to attract the 2.5 trillion USD worth American companies abroad, which will help cut unemployment rate in the US and help strengthen the economy.¹⁰¹

NAFTA. Renegotiating NAFTA played a special role in Trump’s election campaign rhetoric. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was discussed 48 times out of the 74 speeches Trump gave during his campaign. NAFTA is a free trade deal between three countries, namely Canada, the US and Mexico, and during the campaign NAFTA was heavily associated with competition of foreign labour, American workers losing their jobs when goods are imported. NAFTA is considered one of the best deals signed by both Canada and Mexico, but according to Trump, NAFTA was a disaster: “It’s a disaster. ... We will either renegotiate it, or we will break it. Because, you know, every agreement has an end. ... Every agreement has to be fair. Every agreement has a defraud clause. We’re being defrauded by all these countries”.¹⁰² The idea of free trade had always been in discussion, and for decades, as a result, the agreement was negotiated during George Bush's presidency in 1992, and during Bill Clinton's presidency in 1994 NAFTA was signed. In other words, NAFTA was supported by both the democrats and the republicans. On average 3.5 billion USD in trade flows among the three countries every single day, which accounts for 750 billion USD annual trade between Canada and the US, making the US by far Canada's biggest partner. With Mexico, on the other hand, it is estimated that trade with the US

¹⁰¹ "CBS News" website // "Is Donald Trump right to call NAFTA a "disaster"?" URL: <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/is-donald-trump-right-to-call-nafta-a-disaster/>

¹⁰² "Assessing the effects of NAFTA on Canada/US agricultural trade" URL: <https://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/34159/1/cp05de01.pdf>

exceeds 500 billion USD annually.¹⁰³

Trump repeatedly blamed NAFTA for getting the US manufacturers, and said that the American workers are “ripped off” according to the defenders and protectionism. However, the facts tell otherwise, since many consider the agreement as a gold-mine, for the US, especially that oil and gas and other services of the financial sector are the main goods traded in accordance with the agreement, which results in over 40 billion USD in surplus every year in the American economy.¹⁰⁴

Industry production. In particular, Trump paid much attention to industry production in his public speeches. For an industrial nation like the US, industry is one of the most important contributors to the economy, and Trump mentioned industry about 32 times during his speeches. Regarding the relationship with Mexico, almost all American industries export to Mexico more than they import, with the exception of automobiles, where most of the “made in Mexico” cars sold in the US are in fact from companies of American origin. So why did American manufacturers move their businesses to Mexico? Wages are surely lower in Mexico, but that was not the main reason. Mexico has many trade agreements with other countries than the US, especially regarding the automobile industry, which allows the Mexican based plants to produce and sell their automobiles in other markets like Brazil and the EU, thus saving a lot of money (700 million USD) which makes cars cheaper in the US market, making the automobiles manufacturers compete for better prices, which totally reflects on the American consumers, who will end up having more money for other expenditures, spinning the wheel of the economy.¹⁰⁵ Since over 80% of Mexican exports end up in their neighbouring US, Trump's threatening to cancel NAFTA would have bad consequences on the US itself, according to the famous quote of the Mexican politician Porfirio Diaz: “Poor Mexico, so far from God and so near the USA”.

Since then Trump promised a 35% tariff increase on imported goods from Mexico unless they financially help build the wall. In a tweet on the 4th of December 2016 Trump said: “without retribution or consequence, is WRONG! There will be a tax on our soon to be

¹⁰³ "The facts on NAFTA // Assessing Two Decades of Gains in Trade, Growth, and Jobs" URL: <https://www.uschamber.com/file/19230/download>

¹⁰⁴ "The Mercury News" website // "Mexico attracts auto plants, jobs thanks to low wages, trade deals" URL: <https://www.mercurynews.com/2015/04/21/mexico-attracts-auto-plants-jobs-thanks-to-low-wages-trade-deals/>

¹⁰⁵ "The Washington Post" website // "Trump's 35 percent tariff wouldn't keep jobs in the U.S. Here's why." URL: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/12/08/trumps-35-percent-tariff-wouldnt-keep-jobs-in-the-u-s-heres-why/?utm_term=.a3f6e20f28f7

strong border of 35% for these companies.”¹⁰⁶ This might sound illegal according to the rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO) that prevents such things from happening. However, one rule is called the most-favoured-nation (MVN) which Trump totally ignored, stating that no member of the WTO can discriminate against any other. The maximum tariff increase should not exceed 3% increase in case that NAFTA was abolished. This would be a tax for consumers and American companies and would not affect the trade between the two nations. But even if the US, with the approval of Congress, were willing to ignore international law, Mexico has enough resources to fight and try to stop this. First, Mexico would be able to take advantage of the influence of the multinational corporations operating in Mexico, which could stand to lose billions of dollars. This is not just the influence of a few rich men, but also including the workers and the shareholders, as well as millions of individual savers throughout the US.¹⁰⁷

The second reason is that the relations between Mexico and the US are not just commercial, but also include immigration, drug trafficking, terrorism, which are just a few aspects of their relations. Therefore, during the campaign, Trump knew that if he kept attacking Mexico economically, this neighbouring country can fight back by letting the US drown in drugs and immigration waves, for example, not only from inside Mexico, but also from all countries across Latin America.

Therefore, the US and Mexico need each other more than it seems, and Mexico is not in as a weak position as Trump thought, but using such slogans against immigrants and describing Mexicans with the worst adjectives since his announcement of taking part in the presidential election in June 2015 by saying:

“And now they are beating us economically. They are not our friend, believe me. But they’re killing us economically. The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else’s problems.”

“When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best,” he said in the same speech. *“They’re not sending you. They’re not sending you. They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems with us. They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.”* So Latin American countries were discussed in 50 of his 74 presidential campaign speeches, 47 of

¹⁰⁶ "Multinational Corporations in Mexico. Assessing the capabilities of Foreign Direct Investment on trade and economic development" URL: <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:239640/FULLTEXT01.pdf>

¹⁰⁷ "Counternarcotics Policy Overview: Global Trends & Strategies" URL: https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/counternarcotics_policy_felbabbrown.pdf

which included Mexico, and the other three were about Venezuela and Cuba.

Drugs and Crime. It's worth stressing that drugs and crime was among the top issues disclosed by Trump. In his famous immigration speech on the 31st of August 2016 in Arizona, Trump publicly criticized the drug and crime situation in the US by saying: "*We agreed on the importance of ending the illegal flow of drugs, cash, guns and people across our border, and to put the cartels out of business... Let's fix this problem. Let's secure our border. Let's stop the drugs and the crime.*" Having analysed his 74 speeches, 57 of them criticized drugs and crime together, making this topic one of the most repeated and discussed topic in Trump's presidential campaign speeches.

Over 40 years ago, President Nixon declared drug abuse public enemy number one, starting an unprecedented global campaign, which was the war on drugs. However, the war on drugs has been a huge failure with devastating unintended consequences, like mass incarceration in the US, corruption, political destabilization and violence in Latin America, Asia and Africa, to systemic human right abuse all across the world. Taking into considerations the billions of dollars spent on creating and fueling drug cartels, while the goal of the war on drugs seems less achievable than ever.¹⁰⁸

Trump's policy was based on the hypothesis that no drugs leads to no problems, mainly by targeting drug traffickers and drugs supply. At the same time, Trump has clearly ignored the most fundamental of market forces, and as a businessman, he must have thought of supply and demand of drugs. It is widely known that if the supply of any commodity without reducing the demand first, will definitely drive its process up, which might lower sales for any product, except for drugs. The drug market is in fact not price-sensitive, but they will always be consumed no matter what they cost. Therefore, the effect is to encourage production of more drugs, as well as recruiting a higher number of traffickers, which in turn, increases availability.¹⁰⁹

One solution to this problem could be learnt from the Swiss model in the 1980s, when drug abuse became a serious social problem, with all its consequences like crime and skyrocketing HIV rates. The Swiss authority adopted the harm reduction policy, including

¹⁰⁸ "US Drug Policy: Clinton vs. Trump" URL: <https://www.swansea.ac.uk/media/TrumpvClinton123.pdf>

¹⁰⁹ "Reuters" website // "Swiss drug policy should serve as model: experts" URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-swiss-drugs/swiss-drug-policy-should-serve-as-model-experts-idUSTRE6903VI20101025>

free drugs maintenance centres, where addicts would be treated and stabilized.¹¹⁰ The results were a sharp drop in drug-related crime and two thirds of the treated people getting regular jobs.¹¹¹

The US foreign policy agenda comes out as a separate point in Trump's election campaign. Coming from the world of business to the world of politics is not an easy transition. In business, you may be able to choose your business partners; you can strengthen the relationship and even reach a level of friendship. In politics, it is quite different. Sometimes you have to deal with your least favourite people in order to achieve the best interest for your party, or your country. For Trump, whether it was a matter of personal preference, or statistics and data based decisions, it was altogether very uncommon to hear what might be said to the closed ones at a private meeting being broadcasted all over. Whether it was regarding trade deals, immigration, religious or any sort of personal orientation, Trump said it all during his campaign, and promised to put America first and make it great again. With 55 times discussing international relations with the European and Asian countries, in 22 of them he addressed China, mainly economically and in 56 of them he addressed the Middle East, mainly militarily.

The US-Cuban relations. Strained relations with Cuba has been quite sensitive problem for the US foreign policy since the Cuban revolution. After 50 years of embargo, in 2014 both the US and Cuba announced the re-establishment of diplomatic relations and the aforementioned meeting successfully took place in Panama, where Obama said: "What we have both concluded is that we can disagree with a spirit of respect and civility, and over time, it is possible for us to turn the page and develop a new relationship between our two countries".¹¹²

On the 14th of August 2015 the embassies re-opened in the two countries and in March 2016 Air Force One landed in Havana for the first time in history, and President Obama clearly said during his speech addressing the Cuban people: "There's one simple answer. What the United States was doing was not working. We have to have the courage to acknowledge that truth. A policy of isolation designed for the Cold War made little sense in the 21st Century.

¹¹⁰ "VOX" website // "The war on drugs, explained" URL: <https://www.vox.com/cards/war-on-drugs-marijuana-cocaine-heroin-meth>

¹¹¹ "Nation news" website // "Obama, Castro vow to turn the page" URL: <http://www.nationnews.com/nationnews/news/66012/obama-castro-vow-page>

¹¹² "Time" website // "Read President Obama's Speech to the Cuban People" URL: <http://time.com/4267933/barack-obama-cuba-speech-transcript-full-text>

The embargo was only hurting the Cuban people, instead of helping them".¹¹³ In spite of the fact that the embargo against Cuba was a law, the Obama administration always found legal loopholes to allow the relations between the two countries to be something close to normal.

However, during his campaign, Trump always saw Cuba as brutal regime with dictatorship that was constantly violating human rights and posed a threat to democratic values, and he mentioned Cuba in four of his speeches.

The U.S. and China. Making insights into Trump's reasoning while delivering public speeches can not avoid touching China in the scope of the US politics. The US is the world largest economy and the strongest military. China's economy is a fast growing one finding itself on the 2nd place, and as its power grows, it seeks a greater say in Asia and beyond. History is full with examples of clashes between the principal power of the day and the rising power. The single question for US-China relations is can they avoid increased competition and even conflict? The President of the US will have to deal with China on a wide range of issues, including Asia-Pacific security. In the South China Sea and East China Sea, China has made route territorial claims with its neighbour's dispute. Tensions have been rising as China is increasing its military activity and capabilities.¹¹⁴

These disputes can serve the US, as it has alliance and commitments to some of the countries in the region, as well as an interest in protecting trade roads. Despite of the fact that China is one of the largest trade partners of the US with 600 billion USD of two-way trade. However, the US remains concerned about competing with low cost Chinese labour, intellectual property theft, unimpeded access to the Chinese market, and ensuring that China will not manipulate its currency to advantage its exports.

During Trump's interview on CNBC on the 10th of November 2016 he said: *"They suck the blood out of us and we owe them money. We should get China to fix that problem. We should use our economic power. Because without us, China would be in serious trouble. I have very big relationships with China, but the fact is China is the great abuser of the United States economically and we do nothing about it, and it would be very easy to stop"*.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ "U.S.-China Relations: An Overview of Policy Issues" URL: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41108.pdf>

¹¹⁴ "CNBC" website // "Here's a recap of what Trump said about Asia during the campaign" URL: <https://www.cnbc.com/2016/11/10/trumps-foreign-policy-heres-a-recap-of-what-the-president-elect-said-about-asia-during-the-campaign.html>

¹¹⁵ "Public Radio International" website // "Mike Pence starts Latin America tour clouded by Trump's military threat against Venezuela" URL: <https://www.pri.org/stories/2017-08-13/mike-pence-starts-latin-america-tour-after-trump-threatens-us-military>

The Middle East. The last but not the least issue overviewed in Trump's foreign policy agenda is the Middle East region. Recalling the famous debate between Trump and Clinton on the 10th of October 2016, both candidates at the time debated on various issues, including military ones. Trump was very judgemental on the Democratic Party policy in the Middle East when he said: *"She's made bad judgments on Libya, on Syria, on Iraq. I mean, her and Obama, whether you like it or not, the way they got out of Iraq, the vacuum they've left, that's why ISIS formed in the first place. They started from that little area, and now they're in 32 different nations, Hillary. Congratulations. Great job."*

The Middle East was one of the main concerns of Trump in his presidential campaign speeches on foreign policy, where he addressed the situation in the Middle East in 56 of his speeches. On the 22nd of June 2016 in New York City, Trump understandably criticized Obama's administration policy in the Middle East, addressing the Secretary of State at the time Clinton by saying:

"In 2009, before Hillary Clinton was sworn in, it was a different world.

Libya was cooperating.

Iraq was seeing a reduction in violence.

Syria was under control.

Iran was being choked by sanctions.

Egypt was governed by a friendly regime that honoured its peace treaty with Israel.

ISIS wasn't even on the map.

Fast forward to 2013: In just four years, Secretary Clinton managed to almost single-handedly destabilize the entire Middle East.

Her invasion of Libya handed the country over to the ISIS barbarians.

Thanks to Hillary Clinton, Iran is now the dominant Islamic power in the Middle East, and on the road to nuclear weapons.

Hillary Clinton's support for violent regime change in Syria has thrown the country into one of the bloodiest civil wars anyone has ever seen – while giving ISIS a launching pad for terrorism against the West.

She helped force out a friendly regime in Egypt and replace it with the radical Muslim Brotherhood. The Egyptian military has retaken control, but Clinton has opened the Pandora's box of radical Islam.

Then, there was the disastrous strategy of announcing our departure date from Iraq, handing

large parts of the country over to ISIS killers.

ISIS threatens us today because of the decisions Hillary Clinton has made.

ISIS also threatens peaceful Muslims across the Middle East, and peaceful Muslims across the world, who have been terribly victimized by horrible brutality – and who only want to raise their kids in peace and safety.

In short, Hillary Clinton's tryout for the presidency has produced one deadly foreign policy disaster after another”.

This citation well summarizes Trump's vision to one of the most unstable regions in the world, which was constantly repeated during his public speeches where he mentioned the Middle East.

2.2 Lexical analysis of Trump's language

Linguistically, Donald Trump seems as a very interesting case study. Surprisingly, he speaks like everybody else, and the public is not used to hearing that from the position of the president, whose speeches normally happen to sound more educated, much smarter and much more refined than the everyday ordinary American. However, when we hear Trump speak, he sounds like he could be a family member, or a friend, and he is unique in this sense. Many people comment on the simplicity of his vocabularies and the lower register of his language, as well as the simpler grammar of his syntax. A quote from his speech in Washington DC on the 9th of December 2015 “We will have so much winning if I get elected, that you may get bored with winning. Believe me... We never get bored with winning...”.

Another interesting feature of Trump's speeches is the fact that he tends to jump from one topic to another abruptly in his speeches. Examples are many which resulted in classifying his speeches as incoherent.¹¹⁶ In spite of the fact that this is something we all do in everyday speech, but is unusual to hear it from a president speaking in a public and formal context. Further, the use of the expression “believe me” which he used, and still uses, to profess an important point he wants to make, and also uses it at the end of an important point that he makes in a speech, functioning as a verbal bracket surrounding points that really wants listeners to pay attention to, so it can be a useful device to rein the audience to focus on the important points that he wants them to take away.¹¹⁷ Finally, his hyperbolic expressions that he used during his speeches like “spectacular”, “great”, “biggest”, etc... in addition to his hyperbolic hand gestures have helped

¹¹⁶ "Los Angeles Times" website // "Believe me': People say Trump's language is affecting political discourse 'bigly'" URL: <http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-trump-language-20160912-snap-story.html>

¹¹⁷ "The New York Times" website // "Transcript of the Republican Presidential Debate" URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/14/us/politics/transcript-of-the-republican-presidential-debate.html>

construct an identity that is distinct, recognizable and that works towards creating an authentic persona that people would pay attention to.

During the ninth Republican debate in South Carolina on the 14th of February 2016, Trump, along with five other candidates, had heated discussions about many topics, and he was asked by Dickerson, the candidate, whether he still believed that President George W Bush should have been impeached, and Trump answered:

“First of all, I have to say, as a businessman I get along with everybody. I have business all over the world. I know so many of the people in the audience. And by the way, I’m a self-funder. I don’t have — I have my wife and I have my son. That’s all I have. I don’t have this. So let me just tell you, I get along with everybody, which is my obligation to my company, to myself, et cetera. Obviously, the war in Iraq was a big, fat mistake. All right? Now, you can take it any way you want, and it took — it took Jeb Bush, if you remember at the beginning of his announcement, when he announced for president, it took him five days. He went back, it was a mistake, it wasn’t a mistake. It took him five days before his people told him what to say, and he ultimately said, “it was a mistake.” The war in Iraq, we spent \$2 trillion, thousands of lives, we don’t even have it. Iran has taken over Iraq with the second-largest oil reserves in the world. Obviously, it was a mistake. George Bush made a mistake. We can make mistakes. But that one was a beauty. We should have never been in Iraq. We have destabilized the Middle East.”¹¹⁸

That was Trump's answer to a really simple question. This 227-word answer is made of one and two syllable words, which make 96% of the entire answer. When the speech is analysed, 181 words are found to be made of one syllable, 38 words are made of two syllables, and the remaining eight words are made of three syllables, which account only 4% of his answer. According to the Boston Globe's analysis the researchers divided each politician's speech into a reading grade level according to the language they use.¹¹⁹ Donald Trump was placed last with a fourth grade reading level. This is because the simple words and sentences he used during all his election campaign speeches.

Further linguistic analysis of Trump's abovementioned answer, there are three main uses of language that makes Trump's speech very interesting: Firstly is the use of repetition,

¹¹⁸ "Bostonglobe" website // "For presidential hopefuls, simpler language resonates" URL: <http://www.bostonglobe.com/news/politics/2015/10/20/donald-trump-and-ben-carson-speak-grade-school-level-that-today-voters-can-quickly-grasp/LUCBY6uwQAxILvvXbVTSUN/story.html>

¹¹⁹ "Time" website // "Read the Full Transcript of the Ninth Republican Debate in South Carolina" URL: <http://time.com/4224275/repUBLICAN-debate-transcript-south-carolina-ninth/>

when he repeated the phrase “I get along with everybody” which is also a simple and straightforward sentence, he also said “it took” four times, and the word “mistakes” three times. At the level of the entire speech, however, he repeated many words and expressions at different phases of the debate e.g. the 'eminent domain' which refers to the power given to the state or the federal government to claim any private property and just compensate the owner, and equivalent to nationalization process in many different countries. Trump used this expression over six times during one of his answers of the republican ideas that he disagrees with, which lasted less than one minute: *“Well, I think these people always hit me with eminent domain, and frankly, I’m not in love with eminent domain. But eminent domain is something you need very strongly. When Jeb had said, “You used eminent domain privately for a parking lot.” It wasn’t for a parking lot. The state of New Jersey — too bad Chris Christie is not here, he could tell you — the state of New Jersey went to build a very large tower that was going to employ thousands of people. I mean, it was going to really do a big job in terms of economic development. Now, just so you understand, I got hit very hard. It’s private, it’s private eminent domain. You understand that they took over a stadium in Texas, and they used private eminent domain, but he just found that out after he made the charge”*.¹²⁰

Secondly is the use of sentences ending with vigorous words or phrases, like the use of the phrase “I am a self funder” which implies himself as a businessman. Further, the “war in Iraq” has been used as a triggering tool that brought back memories the US citizens in the past. Another example is when he said 'we don't even have it' referring to the results of the American invasion of Iraq, what also created an emotional stir for people who were listening to his answer. A famous phrase of Trump is 'we don't win anymore' which is very effective use of language as it evokes American emotions. Bright example is the following: *“Our country that we love so much doesn't win anymore, we don't win anymore. We don't win with healthcare, we don't win with ISIS and the military, we don't take care of our vets, we don't care of our borders, we don't win... If I am elected president, we will win and we will win and we will win”*.

Thirdly is calling out politicians or group of people in his answer, and this includes calling out the other republican candidate Jeb Bush for not being able to make his own decisions and also affirmed that Bush's mother was a strong woman.

As a result, many might have called his speeches as incompetent or even funny, but it is

¹²⁰ "The American Presidency Project" website // "2016 Presidential Election Speeches and Remark" URL: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/2016_election_speeches.php?candidate=45&campaign=2016TRUMP&doctype=5000

very important to note that Trump had spent his whole life as a businessman, so he knows his way of persuading people and he does a good job in a subtle way of doing so. In other words, he dismisses all the formalities, and believes in his emotions giving his speeches, but at the same time may have criticized his techniques that have actually been used against him, especially when Senator Rubio recalled the hyperbolic phrases and words parodically during the same debate, and it was a tough moment for Trump, who simply answered “true”.

Another issue with Trump's speeches is the significant difficulty in translating his speeches into another language, since it can just seem like meaningless babble. It is also very hard to predict what actual direction he is going in his speeches, because he tends to off script a lot. In general he tends to speak in very short sentences with no use of multiple clauses for example. Trump speaks to his audience in a very particular context, and when an interpreter or even a translator tries to decontextualize and translates into another language, the context is removed, and it becomes very difficult for the reader to understand what exactly Trump is talking about. Nevertheless, Trump's speeches may have been a little rehearsed that it is thought, because he is speaking to a particular audience, and he is most likely addressing them in the sort of language that they would like to hear, which does not then translate very well into the type of language that readers expect to find in book, a magazine or any other written account.

CHAPTER 3. The Latin American Dimension of Donald Trump's election campaign 2016

3.1 Donald Trump's election campaign 2016 and Latin America: promises and actions

The relations between the US and Latin America are considered to be very special, but not in a positive way in spite of the fact that there are over 60 million Hispanic people living in the US. The US and Mexico share common historical precedents, commercial ties and many security issues. For example, one out of every four American trade dollars ends up in Latin America.¹²¹ However, the Trump administration regards Latin America more as a nuisance than an opportunity, which might be softening the blow considering everything Trump has said since he announced running for presidency. A few examples include his tweets against Mexico.

“I love the Mexican people, but Mexico is not our friend. They're killing us at the border and they're killing us on jobs and trade. FIGHT!” (On the 3th of July 2015)

“Mexican leaders and negotiators are much tougher and smarter than those of the US. Mexico is killing us on jobs and trade. WAKE UP!” (On the 3rd of July 2015)

“El Chapo and the Mexican drug cartels use the border unimpeded like it was a vacuum cleaner, sucking drugs and death right into the U.S.” (On the 13th of July 2015)

“Businesses are leaving our country like they've never left before. They're going all over. They're going to Mexico that I can tell you. Mexico is like the eighth wonder of the world” (On the 9th of August 2016)

If we were to describe the relations between the US and Latin America today, we could say that the US is like a friend who demands loads of things all day long, but at the moment of truth, this friend is not willing to do anything for you. A good example of this was the surreal Vice President's Mike Pence tour to Latin America on the 13th of August 2017.¹²² A tour that had no objective, and in which the Vice President was more concerned with trying to prevent insignificant commercial relations between Chile and North Korea; or in trying to get the Argentines to buy pork from his state Indiana. He did not in fact seemed to have any focus on the international relations between the US and Latin America.¹²³

¹²¹ "Public Radio International" website // "Mike Pence starts Latin America tour clouded by Trump's military threat against Venezuela URL: <https://www.pri.org/stories/2017-08-13/mike-pence-starts-latin-america-tour-after-trump-threatens-us-military>

¹²² "Business Insider" website // "VP Pence beginning a tour of Latin America as global crises grow" URL: <http://www.businessinsider.com/ap-pence-to-begin-latin-america-tour-as-global-crises-grow-2017-8>

¹²³ "The Monroe Doctrine - Organization of American States" URL:

In order to understand the nature of the international relations between the US and Latin America, we should have a look on history, and in particular in 1823 the then President of the US James Monroe launched what would later be known as the Monroe Doctrine “America for the Americans”. But overtime, the doctrine became “America for the North Americans”.¹²⁴ This doctrine policy defended the claim that the European states had no intervene in American affairs or in the countries that were becoming independent at the time from Spain. At that time, the US was protecting Latin America and defending non-intervention. As a result, the doctrine led Washington to do practically everything in Latin America, a region that has since become known as the US backyard. In other words, since the adoption of the doctrine, the US has set up governments, has overthrown governments, has financed guerrillas, has financed armies, has bought politicians, has negotiated with drug traffickers. Moreover, it has managed to legitimize coups d'etats and has committed many more actions aimed, depending on the time period, either fighting communism or defending other interest such as some big oil sector multinationals.¹²⁵ The picture is not always as bad, especially in recent years, when some good things have also been done. So the opaque relations gave way to a strategy from Washington that focused more on resolving internal conflicts, which was the case with Bill Clinton's Colombia plan, and George Bush's trade promotion strategy, which led him top sign no less than ten new free trade agreements with Latin American countries, and to even propose for all of America to become a large free trade area. But even so, relations between Latin America and the US have always been very peculiar, due to the Monroe Doctrine, which has always encouraged Washington to feel like a kind of a legal guardian, who can decide what is right, what is wrong, what is advisable and not advisable. However, the results have not been very positive.

It has been over a year now since Donald Trump entered the White House, so what does the President of the US expect?

It is not a surprise that Trump and Latin America do not have the best relations. Trump has very little concern for the region, except for Cuba, Venezuela and Mexico. In fact, Trump has so little interest in Latin America, that one year into his presidency he still has not

<https://www.oas.org/sap/peacefund/VirtualLibrary/MonroeDoctrine/Treaty/MonroeDoctrine.pdf>

¹²⁴ "The Washington Post" website // "IN LATIN AMERICA, 'GOOD' U.S. INTERVENTION IS STILL NO INTERVENTION" URL: https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1987/08/05/in-latin-america-good-us-intervention-is-still-no-intervention/a61b4702-53d1-4290-9d3b-5f0fe17c432b/?utm_term=.f6030b9285c2

¹²⁵ "BBC" website // "What's changed in US-Cuba relations under Trump?" URL:

<http://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-us-canada-42345919/what-s-changed-in-us-cuba-relations-under-trump>

appointed someone for the assistance Secretary of State for Western Hispanic Affairs. This position is specifically responsible for diplomacy with Latin America, and it is something very unusual that none has been appointed to this position yet. That is not to conclude that his lack of interest in settling the relations with this region has prevented him from using it as his plaything. Nor does it mean that he does not expect anything from them. In other words, Trump's first year has been marked with insults to Mexico, due to his obsession in building the wall. Moreover, Trump moved away from Obama's openness towards Cuba without proposing any alternative.¹²⁶ Additionally, Trump is now backing the worst customs of Western diplomacy in Latin America in legitimizing and supporting the suspicious re-election of Juan Orlando Hernandez in Honduras.¹²⁷ Furthermore, and most recently, the US decided to suspend the so called "temporary protective status" for Nicaraguan, Honduran, Haitian and above all, Salvadoran immigrants. This means that over 200 thousand Salvadoran immigrants will have to leave the US or become illegal immigrants.¹²⁸

As a result of these measures, in addition to many others, Trump's popularity level in the regions is so low. This conclusion is backed by the 2017 Gallup survey (an American research-based global performance management consulting corporation) which asked Latin American citizens for their opinion on President Trump, and only 16% had positive opinion.¹²⁹

Nevertheless, what does the government of the world's superpower run by one of its most successful businessmen want from the country's backyard? In fact, there are three major demands the US has for the countries of Latin America; Firstly an unconditioned support for President Trump's foreign policy, including his policy in Venezuela; Secondly for the peoples of Latin American countries to curb China's influence, and thirdly, for these same people to take the blame for everything, either by paying for the wall, or by assuming the responsibilities in the fight against drug trafficking. From a pure subjective point of view, and except for China and the wall, the other demands could be taken as reasonable, but what does the real problem seem to be? The Trump Administration has not set any alternatives on the table and they do not seem to give anything in return for these nations, adopting the approach of "either with me or against

¹²⁶ "The Guardian" website // "US recognizes re-election of Honduras president despite fraud allegations" URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/22/us-recognizes-re-election-of-honduras-president-despite-calls-for-a-new-vote>

¹²⁷ "The Sun" website // "IMMIGRANT ULTIMATUM. Donald Trump gives 200,000 El Salvadorians in US 18 months to go home or face deportation" URL: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/5297398/us-president-donald-trump-deport-200000-el-salvado>

¹²⁸ "GULLUP" website // "Life Ratings and Trust in Institutions in South America" URL: <http://news.gallup.com/opinion/gallup/234443/life-ratings-trust-institutions-south-america.aspx>

¹²⁹ "JSTOR" website // URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4491814/>

me”.

The truth is, if the US really wants Latin America to change, evolve and prosper, it is going to need the American support, and above all opportunities, like for example, more trade opportunities. Such opportunities were developed by another Republican president, George Bush, and the results were quite good for both parties.¹³⁰

For the US's traditionally, the best allies in the region, are shockingly Columbia, Honduras and Mexico.¹³¹ During the Secretary of State Rex Tillerson tour for Latin America on the 5th of February 2018 trying to strengthen ties with Latin America, Trump has released a statement referring to Mexico, Columbia, Honduras and Peru with no doubt.

“These countries are not our friends. You know, we think they're our friends and we send them massive aid. And I won't mention names right now, but I look at these countries, I look at the numbers we send them — we send them massive aid and they're pouring drugs into our country and they're laughing at us.”¹³²

For Mexico, Trump mentioned the wall, NAFTA renegotiation in addition to the constant attacks since he announced his candidacy. Columbia, is the country that, by far, has historically had the best relations with the US and was the only Latin American country that sent troops to the Korean War, aided the US in the 2003 Iraq invasion, and is the country where policies have always aligned with Washington's interests, be it with their policies towards Cuba, China or Palestine. In spite of all of these measure, that did not even prevent Trump from threatening this country by considering it non-cooperative with the fulfilment of international commitments and the fight against drug trafficking.¹³³ Such tensions could have serious economic and political consequences, despite the Columbian authority's inability to beat drug trafficking. Threatening Columbia, the country that has suffered the most from the war on drugs and managed to improve the situation, and without proposing any alternative seems like a very unprofessional decision. Sadly, the Columbian President Juan Manuel Santos said: “We have lost our best leaders, our best journalists, our best judges, and our best police in the war on drugs”.

For Honduras, another great ally of the US, even the American media has criticized

¹³⁰ "The New York Times" website // "Which Country Is America's Strongest Ally? For Republicans, It's Australia" URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/02/03/upshot/which-country-do-americans-like-most-for-republicans-its-australia.html>

¹³¹ "Los Angeles Times" website // "Tillerson travels through Latin America, with Trump's immigration rhetoric as baggage" URL: <http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-tillerson-trump-20180203-story.html>

¹³² "CBS News" website // "Trump threatens drug war ally Colombia over cocaine surge" URL: <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/donald-trump-threatens-colombia-cocaine-production-ally-war-against-drugs/>

¹³³ "CBS News" website // "Trump threatens drug war ally Colombia over cocaine surge" URL: <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/donald-trump-threatens-colombia-cocaine-production-ally-war-against-drugs/>

Trump over supporting the Honduran President Juan Orlando Hernandez in staying for another term, ignoring the polls.¹³⁴

Even Argentina, a country that is rapidly changing, something Washington should logically act upon, but Trump's 'America first' policy that has affected Argentinean farmers could demand retaliatory actions from their governments.¹³⁵

Trump's demanding policy towards Latin America, including the US best allies in the region is a serious issue, especially that China is always ready to fill the vacuum.¹³⁶

The Chinese influence in the region is becoming a great obsession for the US, since China has warned the US, through its Ambassador in Peru Jia Guide, not to drag Latin American countries into a trade war with China. In turn, Rex Tillerson himself used the Monroe Doctrine to say that the US has the right to block the interference of another power in America.¹³⁷

That resulted in the announcement of China, after the last Latin American and Caribbean States Community meeting, of investing 250 billion USD in the region within the next decade.¹³⁸

Cuba is another problematic issue in American politics. After half a century of the American embargo against Cuba, on the 14th of August 2015 the embassies re-opened in the two countries and in March 2016 Air Force One landed in Havana for the first time in history, and President Obama clearly said during his speech addressing the Cuban people:

“There’s one simple answer. What the United States was doing was not working. We have to have the courage to acknowledge that truth. A policy of isolation designed for the Cold War made little sense in the 21st Century. The embargo was only hurting the Cuban people, instead of helping them.”¹³⁹

In spite of the fact that the embargo against Cuba was a law, the Obama administration always found legal loopholes to allow the relations between the two countries to be something close to normal. When Obama left the White House, Americans could travel freely to Cuba, immigrants could send unlimited money back to the country, American companies could invest

¹³⁴ "The Washington Times" website // "Trump's 'America first' policy hits Argentine biodiesel producers, 'good friend' Macri" URL: <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/dec/4/america-first-hits-argentinas-biodiesel-producers/>

¹³⁵ "The New York Times" website // "China Fills Trump's Empty Seat at Latin America Summit" URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/13/opinion/china-trump-pence-summit-lima-latin-america.html>

¹³⁶ "The New York Times" website // "Tillerson's Attempt to Mend Ties in Latin America" URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/09/opinion/tillerson-latin-america.html>

¹³⁷ "The Washington Post" website // "Why China is investing \$250 billion in Latin America" URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/02/04/why-china-is-investing-250-billion-in-latin-america/>

¹³⁸ "Time" website // "Read President Obama's Speech to the Cuban People" URL: <http://time.com/4267933/barack-obama-cuba-speech-transcript-full-text>

¹³⁹ "Normalizing US–Cuba relations: escaping the shackles of the past" URL: https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_document/INTA91_3_02_LeoGrande.pdf

in Cuba, and even planes of American companies frequently landed in Jose Marti International Airport.¹⁴⁰

Since Donald Trump became the President of the US, many things have changed, including the relations with Cuba. On the 16th of June 2017 Trump decided to take Obama's new open policy towards Cuba back and he did so in a neighbourhood of Miami called Little Havana: 'Effective immediately, I am cancelling the last administration's completely one-sided deal with Cuba'.¹⁴¹ As soon as he finished his speech, Trump signed guidelines for his so called "new policy" with Cuba, but after a 50 year embargo with the country it could hardly be described as "new". However, Trump would not completely reverse it, many of Obama's policies will be maintained, for example the opening of embassies and the commercial flights between the two countries.¹⁴² Re-escalating the tone of speech against Cuba was a dangerous gesture from the US presidency when Trump said: "Now that I am your president America will expose the crimes of the Castro regime and stand with the Cuban people." He continued: "We know that it is best for people to have freedom, whether in Venezuela or Cuba, and where the people have the freedom to live out their own dreams."

Nowadays, trips of Americans to Cuba will be limited; they will not be able to travel individually, and any relationship with GAESA the largest enterprise administration group directed by the government in Cuba controlling 50% of the Cuban economy is now forbidden.¹⁴³

From a business point of view, this new policy will also damage the interests of many American companies, as well as put at risk the major changes that are taking place on the island. Such changes were admitted by President Raul Castro when he came to power, and are concentrating on the Cuban needs of changing the direction, and that the Cuban model is simply not working. So since 2011, the number of self employed workers in Cuba is four times bigger and today the number exceeds half a million workers. The government also allowed private farming for small farms, and restaurants and small tourism businesses are growing and spreading across the country.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ "BBC" website // "Is Trump really 'cancelling' Obama's Cuba policy?" URL:

<http://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-us-canada-40307212/is-trump-really-cancelling-obama-s-cuba-policy>

¹⁴¹ "The Telegraph" website // "Donald Trump announces he is 'cancelling completely the last administration's completely one-sided deal with Cuba' - as he unveils a partial reversal of Obama policy" URL:

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/06/16/american-travel-cuba-restricted-donald-trump-announces-partial>

¹⁴² US Department of State website // "List of Restricted Entities and Subentities Associated With Cuba as of November 9, 2017" URL: <https://www.state.gov/e/eb/tfs/spi/cuba/cubarestrictedlist/275331.htm>

¹⁴³ "Americas Quarterly" website // "Can Cuba's Economic Reforms Succeed?" URL:

<http://www.americasquarterly.org/content/can-cubas-economic-reforms-succeed>

¹⁴⁴ "CNN" website // "Americans send \$2 billion a year to Cuba" URL:

<http://money.cnn.com/2014/12/17/news/economy/cuba-remittances/index.html>

Obama's openness towards Cuba has certainly helped this process; for example, almost all private businesses in Cuba entirely depends on money coming from abroad, about 2 billion USD coming only from the US.¹⁴⁵

Since Castro handed over to Miguel Diaz Canel in February 2018, many argue that this is not the moment for the US to take a step back from engaging with Cuba.¹⁴⁶

It is important to note that President Trump's policy towards Cuba was criticized by senators of the Republican Party including Justin Amash who tweeted: "Cuba policy is not about human rights or security. If it were, then why is he dancing with the Saudis and selling them weapons?" Also, Tom Emmer has tweeted: "I hope as we go forward, he will remember he was elected to challenge the status quo - not to be part of it." In addition, Jeff Flake and Patrick Leahy released a statement on the 16th of June 2017 saying: "Any policy change that diminishes the ability of Americans to travel freely to Cuba is not in the best interests of the United States or the Cuban people. It is time Senate leadership finally allowed a vote on my bipartisan bill to fully lift these archaic restrictions which do not exist for travel by Americans to any other country in the world".¹⁴⁷

Referring to US relations with Venezuela, they became much worse after Trump's presidency. On the 12th of August 2017 Trump threatened a military intervention in Venezuela, and he said: "We have many options for Venezuela and by the way, I'm not going to rule out a military option. We have many options for Venezuela, this is our neighbour". Trump added: "We're all over the world and we have troops all over the world in places that are very-very far away, Venezuela is not very far away and the people are suffering and dying. We have many options for Venezuela including a possible military option if necessary".¹⁴⁸

Was it because of humanitarian reasons that Trump threatened a military operation against Venezuela? So what suddenly interested Trump in Venezuela? In fact, Venezuela is considered the World's largest proven oil reserves country today with over 300 billion barrels, exceeding the major oil producers Saudi Arabia, Russia and even the US. Trump's speech on ISIS and oil on the 13th of November 2015 included statements like: "ISIS is making a tremendous amount of money because they have certain oil camps, certain areas of oil that they

¹⁴⁵ "The New York Times" website // "Who Is Miguel Díaz-Canel, Cuba's New President?" URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/19/world/americas/miguel-diaz-canel-bermudez-cuba.html>

¹⁴⁶ The US Senate official website URL: http://www.senate.gov/pagelayout/general/one_item_and_teasers/waf.html

¹⁴⁷ "The Guardian" website // "Trump threatens 'military option' in Venezuela as crisis escalates" URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/aug/11/donald-trump-venezuela-crisis-military-intervention>

¹⁴⁸ "WorldAtlas" website // "The World's Largest Oil Reserves By Country" URL: <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/the-world-s-largest-oil-reserves-by-country.html>

took away... I'd blow up every single inch. There would be nothing left. And you know what, you'll get Exxon to come in there and in two months, you ever see these guys, how good they are, the great oil companies? They'll rebuild that sucker, brand new — it'll be beautiful... You put a ring around them".¹⁴⁹

This statement should scare any oil producing country throughout the world. In July 2017, Trump placed new sanctions on Venezuela and cited the government's consolidation on political power and growing authoritarianism as the reason why he did that. Even though Hugo Chavez's successor Nicolas Maduro has since maintained the same stance towards the US as Chavez, it is pretty evident that Trump started to have the upper hand over him. The reason is Maduro's statement for Trump on the 11th of August 2017: "If he (Trump) is interested in Venezuela, here I am... Mr. Donald Trump, here is my hand".¹⁵⁰

"I'm speaking with myself, number one, because I have a very good brain and I've said a lot of things... I know what I'm doing and I listen to a lot of people, I talk to a lot of people and at the appropriate time I'll tell you who the people are... But my primary consultant is myself and I have a good instinct for this stuff", that was Trump's answer when asked about his foreign policy by MSNBC TV show on the 16th of March 2016.¹⁵¹

When we look into Trump's answers in general, we conclude that he has a worldview, and it is fairly clear for him that this view is transactional. If you pay a lot of money, the US will protect you, but if you do not, the US will not, and it is really that simple. This conclusion is backed by Trump's answer during the presidential debate with Clinton on the 19th of October 2016 when he said: "As far as Japan and other countries, we are being ripped off by everybody — we're defending other countries. We are spending a fortune doing it. They have the bargain of the century. All I said is, we have to renegotiate these agreements, because our country cannot afford to defend Saudi Arabia, Japan, Germany, South Korea and many other places."¹⁵²

These ideas are very serious because they are changing international relations, as well as the entire world order. Of all the aspects the American President can and cannot do, foreign affairs is the area where Trump has the freest hand, since he does not need Congress.

¹⁴⁹ "CNBC" website // "Donald Trump, here is my hand': Venezuela's Maduro calls for talks with Trump" URL: <https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/11/donald-trump-here-is-my-hand-venezuelas-maduro-calls-for-talks.html>

¹⁵⁰ "POLITICO" website // "Trump: I consult myself on foreign policy" URL: <https://www.politico.com/blogs/2016-gop-primary-live-updates-and-results/2016/03/trump-foreign-policy-adviser-220853>

¹⁵¹ "The Globe Post" website // "Are Allies Ripping off America?" URL: <https://www.theglobepost.com/2017/12/25/allies-ripping-off-america/>

¹⁵² The Brookings Institution website // "Trump is taking foreign policy into his own hands. Will Congress respond?" URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/03/14/trump-is-taking-foreign-policy-into-his-own-hands-will-congress-respond/>

On the 15th of March 2013, Trump said regarding the Iraq war and oil: “I say we should take it and pay ourselves back”.¹⁵³

Trump's idea of taking the oil speaks to two things about the way he sees the world, firstly is that he sees basically everything through the lens of what does the US get out of it, and secondly is that Trump thinks of good for the US as controlling various issues. He could basically take the oil from Iraq, but wouldn't Iraqi fight a war where thousands will die, which would even be more dangerous than the Iraqi invasion in 2003. Trump thinks of these issues in the narrow mercantilist way.¹⁵⁴

Foreign policy is about managing relations with other countries, and it is not about dominating them. Another example is Trump's quotes on NATO members not paying their shares in the September debate 2016 when he said: “The 28 countries of NATO, many of them aren't paying their fair share. That bothers me”. By that, Trump abandoned the entire idea of NATO when he claimed that the US will no longer defend other members unless they pay their shares.¹⁵⁵

In the Far East, Trump's policy focuses on withdrawing the American forces and letting the US allies Japan and South Korea either pay for this military presence or develop their own nuclear programs against North Korea.¹⁵⁶

3.2 Latin American policy and other issues of Donald Trump's first-year of presidency

Iran deal. In 2016, it took the major powers months of negotiations to sign the Iran nuclear deal, which prevents Iran from building any nuclear arsenals, and for the Iranian government to give up 97% of its enriched Uranium, in addition to allowing inspection and monitoring to ensure enforcing the deal in Iran.¹⁵⁷ This deal was one of the best Obama's administration achievements, which always prided himself about, and allowed lifting economic sanctions between Iran and the Western countries.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ "The Guardian" website // "Donald Trump's remedy for America: oil from Iraq to 'pay ourselves back'" URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/15/donald-trump-cpac-speech-republicans-iraq>

¹⁵⁴ "CNN" website // "Is Trump on a collision course with NATO?" URL:

<https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/09/politics/trump-nato-challenge/index.html>

¹⁵⁵ "NBC news" website // "Donald Trump Has History of Contradictory Statements on Nuclear Weapons" URL: <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/all/donald-trump-has-history-contradictory-statements-nuclear-weapons-n808466>

¹⁵⁶ "ABC News" website // "Donald Trump calls for waterboarding, other 'tougher' methods in US fight against Islamic State" URL: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-02-08/donald-trump-calls-for-waterboarding-to-fight-islamic-state/7147490>

¹⁵⁷ "Independent" website. // "What is waterboarding – and what did it do to CIA prisoners?" URL: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/cia-torture-report-what-is-waterboarding-9915001.html>

¹⁵⁸ "Time" website // "President Trump Pulls U.S. Out of 'Defective' Iran Nuclear Deal" URL:

<http://time.com/5269746/donald-trump-iran-nuclear-deal-macron/>

On the 9th of May, Trump decided to end the deal, since he believes that *“The Iran deal is defective at its core... We will be instituting the highest level of economic sanction... the decision that we signed today puts sanctions back in place immediately ... We’re out of the deal”*.¹⁵⁹

Trump's Immigration executive order 13769. On the 27th of January 2017, President Donald Trump signed an Executive Order 13769 that reshaped the US immigration law.¹⁶⁰ The Order caused a lot of confusion even for the government, particularly about who is affected by this law and what it means. Firstly, the order bans, for a period of 90 days, all “immigrants and non-immigrants” enter into the US from all citizens of seven nations namely Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen.

NAFTA renegotiation. On the 28th of August 2017, President Trump has referred to the NAFTA deal with Mexico as the worst deal ever signed, during a press conference with the Finnish President. This is what he claimed: *“We’re right now negotiating NAFTA. In my opinion, Mexico has been very difficult, as they should be. Why wouldn’t they be? They had a sweetheart deal for so many years. It’s one of the great deals of all time for them. One of the worst trade deals ever signed”*.¹⁶¹

Climate change. President Trump announced the US position on Paris Climate Accord on the 1st of June 2017: *“Thus, as of today, the United States will cease all implementation of the non-binding Paris Accord and the draconian financial and economic burdens the agreement imposes on our country. This includes ending the implementation of the nationally determined contribution and, very importantly, the Green Climate Fund which is costing the United States a vast fortune”*.¹⁶²

Obamacare. On the 26th of January 2017, Trump announced ceasing Obamacare, one of the most important achievements of the Democratic Party during President Obama's presidential term: *“Our legislative work begins with repealing and replacing Obamacare, and saving families from the catastrophic rise in premium and debilitating loss of choice... Obamacare is a disaster...”*.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Federal Register website // "Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States" URL: <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2017/02/01/2017-02281/protecting-the-nation-from-foreign-terrorist-entry-into-the-united-states>

¹⁶⁰ Whitehouse website // "Remarks by President Trump and President Niinistö of Finland in Joint Press Conference" URL: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-president-niinisto-finland-joint-press-conference/>

¹⁶¹ Whitehouse website // "Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord" URL: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-trump-paris-climate-accord/>

¹⁶² "The New York Times" website // "Trump Tells Congress to Repeal and Replace Health Care Law ‘Very Quickly’" URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/10/us/repeal-affordable-care-act-donald-trump.html>

¹⁶³ Whitehouse website // "President Donald J. Trump Taking Action Against Illegal Immigration" URL:

Taking actions on illegal immigrants. On the 27th of June 2017, Trump announced his plans to combat illegal immigration to the US: “*We are protecting the freedoms of law-abiding Americans, and we are going after the criminal gangs and cartels that prey on our innocent citizens*”.¹⁶⁴

Many illegal immigrants who go to schools and universities in the US , and even graduate, cannot work, because of the lack of necessary documents, and deportation is always a risk factor in the lives of undocumented immigrants. This case remained the norm until June 2012 when Obama announced his new plan saying: “*Effective immediately, the Department of Homeland Security is taking steps to lift the shadow of deportation from these young people. Over the next few months, eligible individuals who do not present a risk to national security or public safety will be able to request temporary relief from deportation proceedings and apply for work authorization*”.¹⁶⁵

For those who came to the US when they are under 16, and with no criminal records, in addition being at school or already obtaining a diploma, applying for the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program was possible. This was a permit that protects undocumented immigrants from getting deported, and allows them to work legally in the US. About 800 thousand undocumented immigrants have applied for DACA .¹⁶⁶

Now, this protection has been cancelled. On the 6th of September 2017, the Trump administration announced the end of DACA, announced the Attorney General Jeff Sessions: “I am here today to announce that the program known as DACA that was effectuated under the Obama administration is being rescinded”.¹⁶⁷

DACA was designed to protect a generation of young undocumented immigrants known as “dreamers”, named after a bill called the Dream Act, which had been floating around Congress for over a decade.¹⁶⁸

The bill would have given unauthorized immigrants who grew up in the US a way to gain legal status, and eventually apply for citizenship. Even though the bill fell short of 60 Senate

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-taking-action-illegal-immigration/>

¹⁶⁴ ObamaWhitehouse website // "Remarks by the President on Immigration" URL:

<https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/06/15/remarks-president-immigration>

¹⁶⁵ "Independent" website // "DACA: Trump ends amnesty for 800,000 young immigrants in move that could lead to mass deportations" URL: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/daca-trump-ends-news-latest-dreamers-act-immigration-renewal-immigrants-jeff-sessions-a7930926.html>

¹⁶⁶ "CNN" website // "Trump ends DACA but gives Congress window to save it" URL:

<https://edition.cnn.com/2017/09/05/politics/daca-trump-congress/index.html>

¹⁶⁷ URL: <https://www.adl.org/education/educator-resources/lesson-plans/what-is-the-dream-act-and-who-are-the-dreamers>

¹⁶⁸ "The New York Times" website // "Senate Blocks Bill for Young Illegal Immigrants" URL:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/19/us/politics/19immig.html>

votes in 2010, the idea was still popular within the American Public.¹⁶⁹ With over 66% of the asked Americans answering positively, and allowing immigrants brought to the US illegally as children to gain legal resident status.¹⁷⁰

When President Obama announced DACA, he was in fact in the middle of the 2012 Presidential campaign, but he did not turn it to a huge campaign issue, because the Republicans were really ambivalent about turning immigration into a wedge issue.¹⁷¹

In 2014, Obama proposed making older immigrants eligible for DACA and creating similar protection against deportation for undocumented parents with children who are US citizens, which was considered too far for the republicans. In fact, those new actions would have protected about 4.5 million people, nearly half of the estimated of the undocumented population of about 10 million people.¹⁷²

A group of 26 states sued the Obama administration over the expansion. And they won.¹⁷³ A federal judge stopped the DACA expansions from going into effect, hinting that they were probably unconstitutional. At that moment, the public started thinking back if those bigger programs were also unconstitutional, so what about this DACA program that was already in place.¹⁷⁴

When Donald Trump became the leading Republican presidential candidate, running on an immigration hard line platform, Republicans started to look at things in a new light. The famous quote of Trump, dedicating the issue of illegal immigration to himself on the 26th of February 2016 was: *"If it weren't for me, you wouldn't even be talking about illegal immigration"*.

When Trump won, DACA's fate seemed sealed, but even though he revoked many of Obama's other executive orders on immigration, nearly eight months into his term he still had not ended DACA. As a result, a lot of immigration opponents began to ask about the promises

¹⁶⁹ "Polling Update: Public Attitudes on Immigration and Trump Administration Immigration Initiatives" URL: https://immigrationforum.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Polling-Update-Attitudes-on-Immigration-Spring_Summer-2017-Final.pdf

¹⁷⁰ "The Washington Post" website // "Democrats just got rolled. They can blame Barack Obama" URL: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/democrats-just-got-rolled-they-can-blame-barack-obama/2018/01/22/60c8be48-ffaa-11e7-8acf-ad2991367d9d_story.html?utm_term=.e19f22a28c6a

¹⁷¹ Official website of the Department of Homeland Security // "Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States" URL: <https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/population-estimates/unauthorized-resident>

¹⁷² "National Review" website // "The Court Deals a Huge Blow to Obama's Amnesty Plan" URL: <https://www.nationalreview.com/2015/11/amnesty-26-states-win-case-against-obama-white-house/>

¹⁷³ "The Daily Dot" website // "Is DACA really unconstitutional, as the Trump administration claims?" URL: <https://www.dailydot.com/layer8/is-daca-unconstitutional/>

¹⁷⁴ URL: <https://www.dailydot.com/layer8/is-daca-unconstitutional/>

Trump gave during his campaign.¹⁷⁵ As a result, a number of states threatened to sue the government over DACA again if Trump did not end it.¹⁷⁶

In the five years DACA has been around, it has had a big impact on young undocumented immigrants. A survey of DACA recipients found nearly 70% got a job with a better wage; more than 60% opened their first bank account, nearly 65% bought their first car, and a similar share says they have pursued educational opportunities they previously were not able to have. However, when these protections expire over the coming weeks, months or years, they will be back where they started before 2012, unable to work legally and constantly at risk of deportation. *A look inside the White House.* In January 2017, the 23 most important people in the West Wing of the White House sworn in, i.e. the people who would make up the team closer to the President: the chief of staff, press secretary, national security advisor, director of communications, etc. of whom only nine are still now in their posts, and many of those nine are on the line. Kathryn Dunn Tenpas, a researcher at the Brookings Institute, one of the most important think tanks in Washington, is following the changes that are taking place every now and then in the President's Executive Office very closely.¹⁷⁷

Taking all the appointed positions into account, in addition to those who have been replaced, dismissed or who resigned, as well as people who worked for them, in total, until now 65 people have been part of the President's office. This is a 48% turnover rate, which means that in just over one year, half of the people who was part of the team are no longer in office.¹⁷⁸ This, of course, an unprecedented rotation rate including all the scandals, disagreements with the President, or simply the Oval Office tenant's mood swings have led working in the West Wing to become high-risk profession.¹⁷⁹ By comparison, layoffs, resignations and changes are happening at a speed of three times greater than in the Obama administration, and two times greater than in Reagan's administration, who used to hold the record. These results are not exaggerated, especially that the discussed posts are not marginal, because in the last year Trump replaced two press secretaries, two chiefs of staff, two national security advisors, and five different people

¹⁷⁵ "The Texas Tribune" website // "Texas leads 10 states in urging Trump to end Obama-era immigration program" URL: <https://www.texastribune.org/2017/06/29/texas-leads-10-states-urging-trump-end-daca/>

¹⁷⁶ "Brookings" website // "Why is Trump's staff turnover higher than the 5 most recent presidents?" URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/research/why-is-trumps-staff-turnover-higher-than-the-5-most-recent-presidents>

¹⁷⁷ "Business Insider" website // "Trump's staff turnover is the highest of any US administration in modern history" URL: <http://www.businessinsider.com/trump-turnover-rate-firings-resignations-compared-obama-bush-clinton-2018-3>

¹⁷⁸ "CBS News" website // "How Trump has changed the Oval Office so far" URL: <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/how-trump-has-changed-the-oval-office-so-far/>

¹⁷⁹ "Independent" website // "Donald Trump's chief of staff on his move to the White House: 'God punished me'" URL: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/john-kelly-god-punished-me-chief-of-staff-donald-trump-white-house-dhs-a8235301.html>

have been appointed a director of communications. In this time, Donald Trump even fired his lawyers.¹⁸⁰

The cascade of such changes in the positions seems to be increasing, for example, the national security advisor General McMaster, has just been fired with a public embarrassment, and everything points to the fact that General John Kelly, his current chief of staff, will follow in his footsteps in a very short time.¹⁸¹ The uncommon point in these events is that Trump himself was the one who chose these advisors, but shortly after, he seemed that he lost faith in them very quickly. So this scenario in mind, we can understand why many of Trump's team members, based on what they confessed, spend a great deal of time trying not to provoke a president who gets angry very easily. "It is devastating. No business could handle this, much less the government. It is supposed to be about stability and continuity. That is just his lexicon", are comments by William M. Daley, the former President Obama's Chief of Staff.¹⁸²

So why are there so many changes? There are actually many reasons. Some have had to leave due to scandals, such as the National Security Advisor, Michael T. Flynn or Staff Secretary Rob Porter who resigned after domestic abuse violation.¹⁸³

The same case applies to Bannon's case, who until August 2017 was Trump's right hand man in his political career, but not even that saved him. Known for his slightly highly nationalist positions, Steve Bannon was named Senior Counsellor to the President and Chief Strategist of the White House. After a little over six months, Trump decided to dismiss him. In the end, Bannon stepped forward and submitted a forced resignation.¹⁸⁴

Others, such as the economic advisor and former Goldman Sachs executive, Gary Cohn or Press Secretary Sean Spicer, left because of their disagreements with the President.¹⁸⁵ Others were directly fired like Trump's Personal Assistant John McEntee, who was fired over security

¹⁸⁰ "CNN" website // "Donald Trump's very public embarrassment of H.R. McMaster" URL: <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/03/16/politics/mcmaster-trump-firing-analysis/index.html>

¹⁸¹ "The New York Times" website // "'There Will Always Be Change,' Trump Says as More Personnel Shake-Ups Loom" URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/15/us/politics/trump-white-house-turnover.html>

¹⁸² "Time" website // "Domestic Violence Survivor: Rob Porter Shows How Far We'll Go to Silence Victims" URL: <http://time.com/5142603/rob-porter-domestic-violence-survivor-essay/>

¹⁸³ "New York Daily News" website // "Stephen Bannon resigns from Breitbart News amid public feud with President Trump" URL: <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/steve-bannon-resign-breitbart-news-article-1.3747201>

¹⁸⁴ "Foreign Policy" website // White House Press Secretary Sean Spicer Resigns, Citing Disagreement Over Hire" URL: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/07/21/white-house-press-secretary-sean-spicer-resigns-citing-disagreement-over-hire-trump-scaramucci>

¹⁸⁵ "Newsweek" website // "John McEntee, Trump's Personal Assistant Fired Over Security Concerns, Didn't Even Have Time To Grab His Jacket: Report" URL: <http://www.newsweek.com/donald-trump-personal-assistant-bodyman-john-mcentee-fired-security-concerns-842612>

issues only after ten days of working with Trump.¹⁸⁶

Other cases include Omarosa Manigault, who until December 2017 was assistant to the President and Director of Communications for the Office of Public Liaison. Omarosa was basically known for participating in television reality shows, one of which was the Apprentice, where she met Trump, and as a result, she became a part of the presidential team when he arrived at the White House. After claiming that she resigned after seeing many strange things affecting her emotionally, she is now airing a television program talking about everything she has seen inside the White House.¹⁸⁷

The Cabinet. The Cabinet is the body that makes up the main positions of the US government has not been saved from the Trump earthquake either. In June 2017, the first meeting was held with the entire cabinet. At that time, Trump publically stated that he had assembled an extraordinary group of talents to form his government, and since then many changes occurred.¹⁸⁸

In fact, six cabinet rotations have taken place so far, and this is more than what George Bush had in his two terms in office, and more than half than Obama had in a single year.¹⁸⁹ Of the six changes, incidentally, four were redundant dismissals or resignations, that of Reince Priebus, Tom Price, David Shulkin and lastly, the most surreal of all, Rex Tillerson, Secretary of State, who was fired through twitter on the 13th of March 2018 and did not even tell him in person.¹⁹⁰ "Mike Pompeo, Director of the CIA, will become our new Secretary of State. He will do a fantastic job! Thank you to Rex Tillerson for his service! Gina Haspel will become the new Director of the CIA, and the first woman so chosen. Congratulations to all!"

In fact, it is rumoured that skipping the President's orders, John Kelly, Trump's former Chief of Staff called Tillerson who was touring Africa, to tell him that President was going to dismiss him, and that he needed to return to Washington and consider resigning.¹⁹¹

It is not clear if Tillerson did not want to, did not believe him or did not have the time, but the fact that Trump fired him on Twitter. There are now rumours about who will be the next

¹⁸⁶ "New York Post" website // "[The real reason Omarosa was fired from the White House](https://nypost.com/2018/02/13/the-real-reason-omarosa-was-fired-from-the-white-house/)" URL: <https://nypost.com/2018/02/13/the-real-reason-omarosa-was-fired-from-the-white-house/>

¹⁸⁷ "The Washington post" website // "Trump's Cabinet is the absolute best of all time. Ever." URL: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-cabinet-is-the-absolute-best-of-all-time-ever/2017/10/16/51933f5a-b2bd-11e7-be94-fabb0f1e9ffb_story.html

¹⁸⁸ "National Public Radio" website // "Trump Cabinet Turnover Sets Record Going Back 100 Years" URL: <https://www.npr.org/2018/03/19/594164065/trump-cabinet-turnover-sets-record-going-back-100-years>

¹⁸⁹ "The New York Times" website // "Trump Fires Rex Tillerson and Will Replace Him With C.I.A. Chief Pompeo" URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/13/us/politics/trump-tillerson-pompeo.html>

¹⁹⁰ "The Washington post" website // "The tragedy of Secretary Tillerson's last trip to Africa" URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2018/03/14/the-tragedy-of-secretary-tillersons-last-trip-to-africa/>

¹⁹¹ "CNBC" website // "More White House departures could be coming — here's who to watch" URL: <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/03/14/more-white-house-departures-could-be-coming--heres-who-to-watch.html>

candidate on the Trump target list, which is growing very fast.¹⁹²

The following names are now considered the main candidates to be fired from the White House: Ben Carson, the Secretary of Housing, Ryan Zinke, the Secretary of Interior, Scott Pruitt, the Director of the Environmental Protection Agency or the powerful Jeff Sessions, the Attorney General.¹⁹³

¹⁹² "The New York Times" website // "White House Aides Are Urging President Trump to Fire Scott Pruitt, the E.P.A. Chief" URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/07/climate/trump-fire-pruitt-epa.html>

CONCLUSIONS

Having done the research it can be concluded that the Latin American region played a significant role in Trump's election campaign rhetoric. It is proved by the evidence revealed in course of the content-analysis that sitting US president mentioned this region 50 times in his speeches. 47 cases out of this number accounted solely to Mexico which is quite understandable. First of all, Mexico is the only country with which the US has a land border except for Canada. Secondly, it is a major economic partner accumulating numerous US industry productions on its territory. Mexico and the USA are tightly bound with NAFTA trade agreement. Thirdly, two neighbors share common security issue associated with drug trafficking. It means that only joint efforts from both sides might result in adequate solution to combat this problems.

Despite all the abovementioned, the analysis of Trump's speeches revealed that his attitude towards Mexico is rather controversial and appeals predominantly to emotions of electorate rather than to common sense. On the one hand, he assures us that he "loves Mexican people". On the other hand, he may call them "rapists" in the same speech. It worth mentioning that he uses the same technique articulating the view concerning relations with the Middle East states and China. Trump concentrates public's attention on rivalry rather than cooperation. He displays the USA as a victim being treated unfairly which rises the feeling of mortified national pride. Notwithstanding as a candidate he frequently discussed the problem of welfare of Hispanic community, particularly an opportunity of better education for young generation. Trump emphasized continuously that his government would take care of all US citizens no matter of their Latin American origin.

Focusing on particular problematics associated with Latin America in Trump's election campaign rhetoric the following target topics were distinguished: illegal immigration, border regime, drugs and crime, unemployment, industry production and NAFTA. First four topics are intersecting and can be combined into one group of factors. These were touched 52, 48, 57 and 39 times respectively in total. If speaking about Mexico, the said topics were concerned with the following ratio: 45 of 52, 43 of 48, 44 of 57 and 34 of 39 according to the same order. In particular, one of the most frequently addressed issues within this group of topics is construction of the wall on the Mexican border that is referenced 41 times. Interestingly, taking into consideration "drugs and crime", Trump rarely refers to Mexico directly when he touches this issue, he only blames "brutal drug cartels".

The second group of topics comprises "NAFTA" and "industry production" that display

Trump's economic agenda of Latin American dimension. He mentions both topics 48 and 32 times in total respectively. While speaking about NAFTA he refers to Mexico almost in each case, "industry production" accounts only in 23 occasions. This draws us to conclusion that NAFTA by all means "holds pride of place" in Trump's agenda among all other listed issues. Partially "industry production" and NAFTA go hand in hand with "unemployment" and "illegal immigration" topics when victorious candidate blames Mexican immigrants for "stealing jobs" of the US workers.

Regarding other Latin American countries, namely Venezuela and Cuba they become part of the overall Trump's Latin American agenda only three times. Interestingly, both were mentioned in pair. The US president blamed governments of these states for dictatorship regimes violating human rights. Additionally, he claimed that Obama's administration made a hard bargain with Cuba that resulted into unilateral benefit. As a result of this reasoning, he called up to impose previously lifted sanctions again.

With regard to these observations, it is hard to escape a conclusion that Trump's general attitude towards Latin American countries is not just unfriendly but rather hostile. The region is mentioned only with negative connotation apart from 7 occasions when he expresses his compassion to Haiti's population that suffered from devastating effect of tornado.

To compare with the Latin American region, the Middle East countries attracted his attention 56 times which is 6 times more. The agenda was dominated by domestic security issues overlapping fractionally in this part with the first group of topics devoted to Latin American dimension. Another issues covered oversees military operations. China appeared 22 times in Trump's speeches concerning mostly economic problematic. As for the European countries, they attracted attention in about 19 cases and the majority of them corresponded to cooperation within NATO.

If we have a look at Trumps actions undertaken in respect of the Latin American states during the first year of his presidency, we will find out that he keeps his election campaign promises. The hostile tone during his political rally remained the same for his official statements as a head of the USA. Trump continues to press against Mexico with paying for construction of the wall along the Southern border. Although it has not been erected yet, no doubts that sooner or later he will bring it into life. One more point is suspending "temporary protective status" for Nicaragua, Honduras and Haiti. Moreover, Trump plans to deport as much as 200 thousand Salvadorian immigrants, which is obviously unprecedented decision. Concerning NAFTA, he still hasn't abandoned an idea to renegotiate it.

As for Venezuela, the US president threatened it with possible military intervention on 12th of August. He also undermined Obama's initiative for reunion with Cuba. As he stated, was going to cancel "completely one-sided deal with Cuba". Now trips of the US citizens to Cuba will be limited. Moreover, this new policy damages the interests of many American companies even resulting in criticism from the Republican Party senators. As for traditional US ally such as Columbia mentioning also Honduras, Mexico and Peru, the President Trump made quite unambiguous comment during the Secretary of State Rex Tillerson tour for Latin America: "These countries are not our friends".

How did Trump attract such a broad support within the Republican Party? And what does this mean for the US beyond the elections?

Political science has an answer to such questions, and a theory in this science has been developed and called authoritarianism, which is different from dictatorship. In fact, authoritarianism is a term political scientists use for a worldwide that values order and authority, and distrusts outsiders and social change.

When authoritarians feel threatened, they look for strongman leaders. Such leaders are naturally punitive, target out-groups and have a simple, forceful leadership style that makes them feel strong. In his speech on ISIS on the 20th of April 2017, Trump said: "I would bomb the shit out of 'em. I would just bomb those suckers". Such language had never been used in American presidential history, but authoritarianism is not in itself necessarily a partisan issue, since for most of the US' history, authoritarians were likely divided between the two major parties. Now, only the Republican Party appeals to authoritarians, which started to embrace what it referred to as traditional values, and it stood against a series of major social changes in the US.

After initially supporting civil rights, republicans began courting southern white voters who opposed racial integration. They turned against the Equal Rights Amendment, denounced abortion and resisted marriage recent trends in the American society. More recently, foreign threats like terrorism have become major political issues, with Republicans taking positions that align with authoritarian fears and preferences. As a result, the Republican Party became the suitable niche for a candidate like Donald Trump.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Content-analysis of Donald Trump’s election campaign speeches

Date	State	Region & Countries	Latin American Countries	Border regime	Drugs and crime	Unemployment	Industry production	Illegal migration	Unfair trade	NAFTA
June 16, 2015 ¹	NY	Asia, the Middle East	Mexico	1	1	1	1	1	1	
March 21, 2016 ²	DC	The Middle East (Israel, Iran)								
April 27, 2016 ³	DC	Middle East (Iran, Israel), Europe, Asia (China, North Korea), Russia, Africa(Egypt, Lybia, Kenya, Tanzanias)								1

¹ Donald J. Trump, Remarks Announcing Candidacy for President in New York City // the speech on June 16, 2015

² Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the AIPAC Policy Conference in Washington, DC // the speech on March 21, 2016

³ Donald J. Trump, Remarks on Foreign Policy at the National Press Club in Washington, DC // the speech on April 27, 2016

June 13, 2016 ⁴	New Hampshire	Asia (Afghanistan), the Middle East, Europe, Africa (Somali, Libya)								
June 22, 2016 ⁵	NY		Mexico		1	1	1	1	1	1
July 11, 2016 ⁶	Virginia	Asia (China, Afghanistan, Brunei), Africa (Libya), the Middle East (Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman), Russia	Mexico and other LA countries (implicitly)		1					

⁴ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at Saint Anselm College in Manchester, New Hampshire // the speech on June 13, 2016

⁵ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at Trump SoHo in New York City // the speech on June 22, 2016

⁶ Donald J. Trump, Remarks in Virginia Beach, Virginia // the speech on July 11, 2016

July 16, 2016 ⁷	NY	Europe (France, UK), Asia (Turkey), the Middle East (Iraq, Syria, Iran)	Mexico	1		1		1		1	
July 21, 2016 ⁸	Ohio	The Middle East (Iran, Syria, Iraq), Africa (Egypt, Libya), Europe (France), Asia (China, South Korea)	Mexico (implicitly)	1	1	1		1	1	1	
July 27, 2016 ⁹	Florida	Asia (China), Russia, Europe (France, Spain), the Middle East (Israel, Iraq, Syria), Africa (Libya)	Mexico			1				1	1

⁷ Donald J. Trump, Remarks Introducing Governor Mike Pence as the 2016 Republican Vice Presidential Nominee in New York City // the speech on July 16, 2016

⁸ Donald J. Trump, Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio // the speech on July 21, 2016

⁹ Donald J. Trump, News Conference in Doral, Florida // the speech on July 27, 2016

August 5, 2016 ¹⁰	Wisconsin	Asia (China, Uzbekistan), South-East Asia (Japan, Philippines, North Korea, South Korea), Europe (France, Germany), Africa (Egypt), Middle East (Syria, Israel, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran), Africa (Yemen)	Mexico		1				1	1
August 8, 2016 ¹¹	Michigan	Asia (China, South Korea), Africa (Libya), the Middle East (Iraq, Syria, Iran)	Mexico		1	1	1	1	1	1

¹⁰ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the KI Convention Center in Green Bay, Wisconsin // the speech on August 5, 2016

¹¹ Donald J. Trump, Remarks to the Detroit Economic Club // the speech on August 8, 2016

August 9, 2016 ¹²	North Carolina	LA, the Middle East (Iran, Iraq), Europe (France, Germany), Asia (China), Africa (Libya)	Mexico	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
August 12, 2016 ¹³	Pennsylvania	Asia (China), Europe (France)	Mexico	1		1	1	1	1	1
August 15, 2016 ¹⁴	Ohio	The Middle East (Syria, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan), Europe (France, Germany), Africa (Libya, Egypt)			1			1		
August 16, 2016 ¹⁵	Wisconsin	Asia (China)			1			1	1	1

¹² Donald J. Trump, Remarks at a Rally at the University of North Carolina in Wilmington // the speech on August 9, 2016

¹³ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at Erie Insurance Arena in Erie, Pennsylvania // the speech on August 12, 2016

¹⁴ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at Youngstown State University in Youngstown, Ohio // the speech on August 15, 2016

¹⁵ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Washington County Fair Park in West Bend, Wisconsin // the speech on August 16, 2016

August 18, 2016 ¹⁶	North Carolina	Africa, the Middle East, Asia		1	1	1	1	1	1	1
August 19, 2016 ¹⁷	Michigan	the Middle East	Mexico	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
August 23, 2016 ¹⁸	Texas	the Middle East, Russia		1	1	1		1		
August 24, 2016 ¹⁹	Mississippi	Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Africa	Mexico		1	1	1	1	1	1
August 30, 2016 ²⁰	DC	Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe			1	1		1	1	1
August 31, 2016 ²¹	Arizona	Asia, Russia, the Middle East, Africa	Mexico	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
September 1, 2016 ²²	Ohio	The Middle East	Mexico	1	1			1		

¹⁶ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Charlotte Convention Center in Charlotte, North Carolina // the speech on August 18, 2016

¹⁷ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Summit Sports and Ice Complex in Dimondale, Michigan // the speech on August 19, 2016

¹⁸ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at Luedcke Arena in Austin, Texas // the speech on August 23, 2016

¹⁹ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Mississippi Coliseum in Jackson, Mississippi // the speech on August 24, 2016

²⁰ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the XFinity Arena in Everett, Washington // the speech on August 30, 2016

²¹ Donald J. Trump, Remarks on Immigration at the Phoenix Convention Center in Phoenix, Arizona // the speech on August 31, 2016

²² Donald J. Trump, Remarks to the American Legion in Cincinnati, Ohio // the speech on September 1, 2016

September 1, 2016 ²³	Ohio	Asia, Russia, the Middle East, Africa (Sudan)	Mexico					1	1	1
September 3, 2016 ²⁴	Michigan		Mexico			1				
September 6, 2016 ²⁵	North Carolina	the Middle East, Russia, Africa (Egypt, Libya), Asia	Mexico (implicitly)	1	1	1		1	1	1
September 7, 2016 ²⁶	Pennsylvania	The Middle East, Africa, Asia, Russia, Europe								
September 8, 2016 ²⁷	Ohio	The Middle East, Russia, Africa (Egypt, Libya), Asia			1		1		1	

²³ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Roberts Centre in Wilmington, Ohio // the speech on September 1, 2016

²⁴ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at Great Faith International Ministries in Detroit, Michigan // the speech on September 3, 2016

²⁵ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at a Rally at the Greenville Convention Center in Greenville, North Carolina // the speech on September 6, 2016

²⁶ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Union League of Philadelphia in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania // the speech on September 7, 2016

²⁷ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Cleveland Arts and Social Sciences Academy in Cleveland, Ohio // the speech on September 8, 2016

September 9, 2016 ²⁸	DC	Asia, the Middle East, Africa	Mexico		1	1		1		1
September 9, 2016 ²⁹	Florida	Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Russia, Europe	Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Haiti	1	1		1	1	1	1
September 12, 2016 ³⁰	North Carolina	Russia				1	1			1
September 12, 2016 ³¹	Maryland	The Middle East, Africa		1		1		1		
September 13, 2016 ³²	Pennsylvania					1				

²⁸ Donald J. Trump, Remarks to the 11th Annual Values Voter Summit in Washington, DC Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C. // the speech on September 9, 2016

²⁹ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at a Rally at the Pensacola Bay Center in Pensacola, Florida // the speech on September 9, 2016

³⁰ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the US Cellular Center in Asheville, North Carolina // the speech on September 12, 2016

³¹ Donald J. Trump, Address to the National Guard Association of the United States 138th General Donald J. Trump, Conference & Exhibition at the Baltimore Convention Center in Baltimore, Maryland // the speech on September 12, 2016

³² Donald J. Trump, Remarks at Aston Community Center in Aston, Pennsylvania // the speech on September 13, 2016

September 13, 2016 ³³	Iowa	Africa, the Middle East, Asia	Mexico (implicitly)		1	1		1	1	1
September 14, 2016 ³⁴	Ohio	Russia, China, the Middle East, Africa	Mexico, Haiti		1	1	1	1	1	1
September 15, 2016 ³⁵	NY	Asia	Mexico		1	1	1		1	1
September 16, 2016 ³⁶	Florida	Africa, the Middle East	Cuba, Venezuela	1	1	1		1	1	1
September 17, 2016 ³⁷	Texas			1	1	1		1		
September 20, 2016 ³⁸	North Carolina	The Middle East, Africa, Asia		1	1	1		1	1	1
September 22, 2016 ³⁹	Pennsylvania	Asia	Mexico	1	1		1		1	1

³³ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at Seven Flags Event Center in Des Moines, Iowa // the speech on September 13, 2016

³⁴ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at a Rally at Canton Memorial Civic Center in Canton, Ohio // the speech on September 14, 2016

³⁵ Donald J. Trump, Remarks to the Economic Club of New York at the Waldorf Astoria in New York City // the speech on September 15, 2016

³⁶ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at a Rally at the James L. Knight Center in Miami, Florida // the speech on September 16, 2016

³⁷ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Remembrance Project Luncheon at the Omni Houston Hotel at Westside in Houston, Texas // the speech on September 17, 2016

³⁸ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at High Point University in High Point, North Carolina // the speech on September 20, 2016

³⁹ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at a Rally at Sun Center Studios in Chester Township, Pennsylvania // the speech on September 22, 2016

September 22, 2016 ⁴⁰	Pennsylvania			1	1					
September 24, 2016 ⁴¹	Virginia		Mexico	1	1	1		1		
September 28, 2016 ⁴²	Iowa	Russia, the Middle East, Asia, Africa		1	1			1	1	
September 28, 2016 ⁴³	Wisconsin	Russia, the Middle East, Africa		1	1	1		1	1	
September 29, 2016 ⁴⁴	New Hampshire	Asia		1	1		1		1	1
September 30, 2016 ⁴⁵	Michigan	Asia, the Middle East	Mexico	1		1	1	1	1	1
October 3, 2016 ⁴⁶	Colorado	China, the Middle East		1	1			1	1	1

⁴⁰ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Shale Insight TM Conference at the David L. Lawrence Convention Center in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania // the speech on September 22, 2016

⁴¹ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at a Rally at Berglund Center in Roanoke, Virginia // the speech on September 24, 2016

⁴² Donald J. Trump, Remarks at a Rally at the Mid-America Center in Council Bluffs, Iowa // the speech on September 28, 2016

⁴³ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at a Rally at Waukesha County Expo Center in Waukesha, Wisconsin // the speech on September 28, 2016

⁴⁴ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at a Rally at the New Hampshire Sportsplex in Bedford, New Hampshire // the speech on September 29, 2016

⁴⁵ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Suburban Collection Showplace in Novi, Michigan // the speech on September 30, 2016

⁴⁶ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Pueblo Convention Center in Pueblo, Colorado // the speech on October 3, 2016

October 3, 2016 ⁴⁷	Colorado	Asia, Russia			1					
October 4, 2016 ⁴⁸	Arizona	The Middle East, Africa, Russia, Asia, Europe	Mexico	1	1		1	1	1	1
October 5, 2016 ⁴⁹	Nevada	The Middle East, Africa, Russia, Asia, Europe	Mexico	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
October 5, 2016 ⁵⁰	Nevada	Asia, Europe, the Middle East	Mexico	1	1	1		1	1	1
October 11, 2016 ⁵¹	Florida		Haiti	1					1	
October 12, 2016 ⁵²		The Middle East, Russia, Africa	Haiti, Mexico	1	1			1	1	

⁴⁷ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Budweiser Events Center in Loveland, Colorado // the speech on October 3, 2016

⁴⁸ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at Prescott Valley Event Center in Prescott Valley, Arizona // the speech on October 4, 2016

⁴⁹ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at Henderson Pavilion in Henderson, Nevada // the speech on October 5, 2016

⁵⁰ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Reno-Sparks Convention Center in Reno, Nevada // the speech on October 5, 2016

⁵¹ Donald J. Trump, Excerpts of Remarks at Aaron Bessant Park in Panama City, Florida // the speech on October 11, 2016

⁵² Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Southeastern Livestock Pavilion in Ocala, Florida // the speech on October 12, 2016

October 13, 2016 ⁵³	Ohio			1	1			1		
October 13, 2016 ⁵⁴	Florida	Europe	Mexico	1	1		1	1	1	
October 15, 2016 ⁵⁵	Maine	Asia	Haiti, Mexico	1	1		1	1	1	1
October 15, 2016 ⁵⁶	New Hampshire	The Middle East, Asia			1			1	1	1
October 17, 2016 ⁵⁷	Wisconsin	Asia, the Middle East	Mexico	1	1			1	1	1
October 18, 2016 ⁵⁸	Colorado	Asia (China, India), the Middle East	Mexico	1	1	1		1	1	1
October 20, 2016 ⁵⁹	Ohio	The Middle East	Mexico	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

⁵³ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Renaissance Hotel in Columbus, Ohio // the speech on October 13, 2016

⁵⁴ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the South Florida Fair Expo Center in West Palm Beach, Florida // the speech on October 13, 2016

⁵⁵ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Cross Insurance Center in Bangor, Maine // the speech on October 15, 2016

⁵⁶ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at Toyota of Portsmouth in Portsmouth, New Hampshire // the speech on October 15, 2016

⁵⁷ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the KI Convention Center in Green Bay, Wisconsin // the speech on October 17, 2016

⁵⁸ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Norris-Penrose Event Center in Colorado Springs, Colorado // the speech on October 18, 2016

⁵⁹ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Delaware County Fairgrounds in Delaware, Ohio // the speech on October 20, 2016

October 21, 2016 ⁶⁰	North Carolina	Russia, Asia (Philippines), the Middle East	Mexico	1	1		1	1	1	1
October 21, 2016 ⁶¹	Pennsylvania	The Middle East, Asia	Mexico (implicitly)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
October 22, 2016 ⁶²	Pennsylvania	Asia (China), the Middle East (Syria), Europe (Sweden, Norway, Denmark)	Mexico	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
October 23, 2016 ⁶³	Florida	The Middle East (Iraq, Syria, Libya, Iran), Russia	Cuba, Venezuela	1	1			1		

⁶⁰ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the WNC Agricultural Center's Davis Event Center in Fletcher, North Carolina // the speech on October 21, 2016

⁶¹ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Newtown Athletic Club Sports Training Center in Newtown, Pennsylvania // the speech on October 21, 2016

⁶² Donald J. Trump, Remarks on Proposals for the First 100 Days in Office at the Eisenhower Complex in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania // the speech on October 22, 2016

⁶³ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Collier County Fairgrounds in Naples, Florida // the speech on October 23, 2016

October 26, 2016 ⁶⁴	North Carolina	Asia (China), the Middle East (Iraq, Libya), Russia, Africa (Egypt)	Mexico	1	1	1		1	1	1
October 27, 2016 ⁶⁵	Ohio	Asia (China), the Middle East, Russia	Mexico	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
October 28, 2016 ⁶⁶	New Hampshire	Russia, the Middle East (Qatar, Syria), Asia (China)	Mexico	1	1			1	1	1
October 29, 2016 ⁶⁷	Colorado		Haiti							
October 29, 2016 ⁶⁸	Arizona	The Middle East (Syria, Iraq), Africa (Libya)	Mexico (implicitly)	1	1		1	1		1

⁶⁴ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at McGlohon Theatre at Spirit Square in Charlotte, North Carolina // the speech on October 26, 2016

⁶⁵ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Champions Center Expo in Springfield, Ohio // the speech on October 27, 2016

⁶⁶ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at Radisson Armory in Manchester, New Hampshire // the speech on October 28, 2016

⁶⁷ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Jeffco Fairgrounds Event Center in Golden, Colorado // the speech on October 29, 2016

⁶⁸ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Phoenix Convention Center in Phoenix, Arizona // the speech on October 29, 2016

October 31, 2016 ⁶⁹	Michigan	Asia (China, South Korea, India, the Middle East (Syria, Iraq), Africa (Libya), Russia	Mexico	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
November 1, 2016 ⁷⁰	Pennsylvania	Asia (China), the Middle East	Mexico	1						1
November 2, 2016 ⁷¹	Florida	Asia (China), the Middle East (Syria), Europe (Germany, France), Russia	Mexico	1	1		1	1	1	1

⁶⁹ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at Macomb Community College South Campus in Warren, Michigan // the speech on October 31, 2016

⁷⁰ Donald J. Trump, Remarks on Obamacare in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania // the speech on November 1, 2016

⁷¹ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Central Florida Fairgrounds in Orlando, Florida // the speech on November 2, 2016

November 2, 2016 ⁷²	Florida	Africa (Libya), Asia (China), the Middle East (Syria, Iran, Iraq), Africa (Libya)	Haiti, Mexico, Cuba, Venezuela	1	1		1	1	1	1
November 7, 2016 ⁷³	North Carolina	Asia (China, South Korea), Europe (UK), the Middle East (Syria)	Mexico	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
November 9, 2016 ⁷⁴	NY									
				48	57	39	32	52	51	48

⁷² Donald J. Trump, Remarks at the Bayfront Park Amphitheater in Miami, Florida // the speech on November 2, 2016

⁷³ Donald J. Trump, Remarks at J.S Dorton Arena in Raleigh, North Carolina // the speech on November 7, 2016

⁷⁴ Donald J. Trump, Remarks in New York City Accepting Election as the 45th President of the United States // the speech on November 9, 2016