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Donald Trump's 2016 Presidential Campaign in the Light of the U.S. Foreign Policy Traditions

Abstract

This paper aims to classify foreign policy attitudes and stances of Donald Trump in his 2016 presidential campaign according to the U.S. foreign policy traditions. In the first part of the paper, we analyze speeches of Donald Trump since the moment he became the Republican Presidential Nominee. The analysis is based on digest reports of Trump's speeches, published on his official website in the period from the Republican National Convention (June 18 – 21) until the Election Day (November 8). We present his main foreign policy messages pointing to foreign policy determinants, instruments and goals towards particular actors (such as China, Mexico or Russia).

In the second part of paper we present main ideas of distinctive foreign policy traditions classified by Walter Russell Mead (2001) – Hamiltonian, Wilsonian, Jeffersonian and Jacksonian – and compare them with the most important foreign policy stances of Donald Trump. The main argument of this paper is that Trump's foreign policy concept incorporates elements of different traditions. His stances mostly reflect the elements of Jacksonian foreign policy tradition. However, due to its overwhelming emphasis on the economic issues, it seems that Trump's positions are closer to Hamiltonian thought in terms of foreign policy determinants, while some aspects of Jeffersonian thought are also present in Trump's articulation of foreign policy issues.

Key words: Donald Trump, foreign policy, 2016 presidential campaign, United States of America, Jacksonian tradition, Hamiltonian tradition

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Introduction

The election of Donald Trump for the 45th president of the United States of America (U.S.) is thought to be one of the most important and unexpected events in 2016. The main reason why analysts gave significant importance to the election's outcome lays in the controversies which Donald Trump raised during the campaign. Main controversies contained details from Trump's private life. However, significant number of these controversies derived from his stances towards the foreign policy issues. Probably the mostly mentioned one was famous "build the wall with Mexico" message (Kopan 2016). Another major controversy was his continuous respect towards Vladimir Putin. This was often addressed by his critics and opponents. (Hemmings 2016).

What will be foreign policy of Donald Trump? Is he going to make significant changes in comparison to his predecessor (Collina 2016), or actually to continue Obama's path (Boot 2016)? Authors and analysts offer different answers on these questions. We find all of these issues globally very relevant. It is clear that we cannot judge Trump's foreign policy before he enters the White House in January 2017. However, we can try to classify his foreign policy stances, attitudes, and plans into the existing patterns of U.S. foreign policy traditions. Therefore, the question that this paper aims to answer is: which school of foreign policy thought in the U.S. Donald Trump belongs to, based on his articulation of foreign policy topics in the Presidential Election Campaign 2016?

In the first part of this paper, we analyze speeches of Donald Trump from the Republican National Convention until the Election Day. We extract his foreign policy messages and present them in the following order: a) determinants of foreign policy (what is the most important driving force for the U.S. foreign policy?); b) instruments of foreign policy (which instruments should be used in foreign policy and when?); c) goals and stances in relations with relevant international actors (vision of current problems and perspectives for future relations with other states and international organizations). In the second part of paper we expose main ideas of distinctive foreign policy schools and traditions exposed by Walter Russell Mead (2001) – Hamiltonian, Wilsonian, Jeffersonian and Jacksonian. Finally, we compare them with the most important foreign policy stances of Donald Trump.

After the election, in one short text Mead (2016b) offered explanation of an unexpected outcome based on the premise that Trump's strongest

supporters – 21st century Jacksonians, were the most decisive factor for his win. Mead's (2016a) earlier text from the early phase of campaign for Primaries, has classified Donald Trump as a representative of Jacksonian thought. According to Mead (2016b), Trump has managed to position himself as an above-party leader, and an American nationalist who is dedicated to the middle class (Mead 2016a). It is very relevant to test this conclusion that Trump belongs to Jacksonian thought based on Trump's messages in the late phase of the campaign. Our starting thesis is, however, a bit different than Mead's. We assume that there are elements of different schools in Trump's foreign policy concept. We agree that it is possible to extract the most similar, and that is dominantly Jacksonian thought in terms of stance towards foreign policy instruments, dedication to middle class and workers interest in foreign policy, and attitude towards refugees. However, due to its overwhelming accent on the economic issues, it seems to us that in the terms of determinants of foreign policy Trump's positions are closer to Hamiltonian thought, even though his position differs from Hamiltonians in foreign policy prescriptions.

Foreign policy in speeches of Donald Trump

This section aims to analyze Trump's foreign policy stances from speeches that he made during campaign.. Different methodological ways to approach this task are possible. Presidential election campaign comprises different phases and lasts for a year at least, but even longer for the majority of main parties' candidates.² Candidates have robust campaign teams with many members in charge of giving official statements. Their teams organize numerous rallies throughout campaign and issue statements on regular basis, especially before the key elections in Primaries and during the last two months afore to the Election Day. Moreover, the main candidates are supported by campaigns of several large Political Action Committees (Super PACs) which are formally separated from their own campaigns, but have the same task in practice. Due to the mentioned facts it is quite hard to comprehensively follow and evaluate statements of a certain candidate in campaign since there is a huge variety of sources which require attention. In order to avoid methodological fallacies, it is important to narrow the scope of

2 Donald Trump announced his candidacy in June 2015 (Trump, 2015a) and Hillary Clinton in April 2015 (Chozick, 2015)

analysis. It is equally important to do it in a careful manner, by selection representative and reliable sources based on clear and neutral criteria in order to avoid “cherry-picking” among numerous different sources.

This paper analyzes digests of all Trump’s official speeches published on his official web-site³ in the period from the Republican National Convention (June 18 – 21) until the Election Day. Firstly, such a selection guarantees reliability of sources since this web-site is an official one and therefore undoubtedly represents Trump’s attitudes. Secondly, this period is chosen as a time-frame of research since it covers the main two-candidate campaign phase, from the Trump’s formal nomination as a Republican candidate, until the very end of the election campaign. The fact that all available content in this time-frame is analyzed contributes to the consistency of the analysis. Finally, we acknowledge that the finding of the analysis might have been more detailed if the entire speeches were available to us.⁴ Nevertheless digest were produced by the Trump’s campaign editorial team, and therefore indeed represent the core of candidate’s foreign policy attitudes. Hence, we believe that the validity and relevance of the findings are not essentially compromised.

In the following passages, we present results of our analysis. We tried to quantitatively measure the presence of a particular foreign policy topic⁵ in the score of all topics with foreign policy relevance in analyzed speeches.⁶ Results of quantitative analysis are as well available in Table 1 in appendix. Then, we will qualitatively analyze its articulation. Firstly we will present general attitudes towards foreign policy determinants, principles and tools which Donald Trump articulate. Then, we will present main stances and goals in relation with particular states mentioned in his speeches.

3 Speeches are archived in a particular section of the web-site: <https://www.donald-jtrump.com/media/category/speeches>

4 Only some of the speeches contain a full-time video attached on the web-site with the written speech report. We want to avoid the inconsistency of analyzing some speeches fully, while analyzing only digests for the other speeches, which are majority.

5 We consider immigration as essentially domestic issue, and we consider that references of Ms. Clinton’s use of private e-mail server while in the post of State Secretary as essentially domestic political issue of corruption as well. Therefore, despite the fact that both these topics contain some foreign elements, we will not analyze them as foreign policy topics.

6 Findings of our analysis show that there are 43 digest reports in the analyzed time-frame which contain foreign policy topics.

a) Foreign policy determinants

The most important determinant in Trump's public articulation of his foreign policy concept is **the national interest** of the United States. This is not surprising, since it is usual that all presidential candidates justify their foreign policy conceptions with "the national interest" label. However, many candidates go beyond and involve the interest of North America, Western civilization, or the whole World. In the analyzed sources, Donald Trump does not use any other principle as a guideline for his foreign policy, but the national interest of the U.S.⁷ The most important concept in his articulation of determinants of foreign policy is definitely "America first".⁸ This word is used explicitly in 16,28% of his foreign policy related speeches, but it is implicitly present in almost all of his speeches.

This claim is even more emphasized if we take into account the fact that Trump advocates in his speeches for some acts which he claims that are in national interest, but would present the breaking of responsibilities America already took in multilateral arena. Abandoning of economic or energetic international deals which he perceived to be against the national interests was one of the hot words of the campaign – abandoning TPP and the need to lift any bans on energy were mentioned in 25,58% of speeches. Finally, maybe the most radical move in this direction is an attitude towards the need to prevent refugees⁹ from Syria and "terrorist-producing" countries to come to U.S., which might be considered as well as discrimination and a derogation of international law (Trump 2016c, 2016d, 2016e, 2016f). These examples show that multilateral engagements, and even international law in some cases, are not considered as at least "a boundary" determinant and that the national

7 The only partial use of a boarder interest was during his visit to Mexico, when he mentioned shared interest of these two countries to preserve wealth in the Western Hemisphere, but even this claim was articulated in the form of national interest of two countries, and not in the form of continental interest (Trump 2016b)

8 The use of this concept was characterized as controversial by many mainstream media (Dunn 2016) due to analogy with America First Committee which advocated for American neutrality in late 1930s and early 1940s. However, this movement was wide and diverse and there are different interpretations of its character (Fine 2006).

9 Despite the fact that we consider immigration as domestic issue, we qualify the treatment of refugees as an issue of foreign policy, due to the fact that refugees are category protected by the norms of International Law.

interest is definitely the most powerful variable in his conception of foreign policy.

However, since the national interest is a wide concept, it is important to deepen the scope of analysis and to clarify which aspect of the national interest is stated as the most important in speeches of Donald Trump. Our analysis shows that it is definitely **the economic interest**. The biggest part of his statements actually focus on economic issues, and primarily on issues of international trade, which are mentioned in 58% of his speeches. In addition, in 12% of his speeches energetic issues are mentioned, which are of foreign policy relevance due to the international regulations dealing with the emission of CO₂ and other aspects of pollution.¹⁰ If we go further and try to conclude which group's economic interest he mainly focuses on, the most precise answer would be **the interest of workers and the middle class**. Trump mentions that the purpose of his new approach to international trade would be to keep the jobs, or to bring them back to the U.S. (Trump 2016aa, 2016ab, 2016c-2016e, 2016g-2016z) and lift restrictions imposed on energy industries with the aim of reindustrializing America (Trump 2016ac-2016ae, 2016n-2016p, 2016u, 2016v). Moreover, in his Remarks on Hillary Clinton's foreign policy failures made on September 9, Donald Trump explicitly states the "interest of American workers first" (Trump 2016af). He even suggests establishment of the American Desk inside the Department of Commerce with the mission to "protect the economic interest of American worker and the national interests of the United States" (Trump 2016aj). Geographically speaking, the most precise group whose interests were targeted in public were workers in the so-called "Rust-belt", a region in which globalization brought more deindustrialization. Therefore, Trump emphasizes the interest of "Detroit and Baltimore and the inner cities of North California" (Trump 2016ag), Pennsylvania (Trump 2016t) or Michigan (Trump 2016e) as an important determinant of foreign commercial policy.

The second and comparatively less used, but still very precisely articulated aspect of the national interest is **the national security**. Among analyzed units, 39,53% of them contain attitudes towards military. The reason for the emphasis on military issues is not always clearly articulated in the manner of concrete foreign policy determinant or goal. However, some Trump's speeches reference to the armed threats for the

¹⁰ In earlier stages of campaign Trump claimed that global farming is a myth (Dennis 2016).

security of the U.S. and its citizens from aboard, almost entirely focusing on **the threat of terrorism**. Presence of the ISIS as the topic in 41,56% of all analyzed digests supports this claim. Critics would even narrow this focus and claim that the main referent object on which Trump is focused is societal security of the white Christian Americans, and not of all of the citizens (Foran 2016). The reason for that might be found in his mentioned statements against the influx of refugees from Muslim states. However, Trump insists that the threat for physical security of all U.S. citizens is determinant of his skepticism towards accepting Muslim refugees, and not any fear of potential threat for American identity. Since we are focusing only on what was said, and not analyzing the coherence of these claims, we will not further discuss this issue and we will accept his claims as relevant. Finally, in one of his speeches, **cyber security** of America is mentioned as a determinant of his future relations with other states (Trump 2016ah).

Finally, there is only one speech which puts a light on **ideology and regime type** as a determinant of foreign policy. While neglecting the potential for success of state-building and nation-building process (Trump 2016c, 2016i), designed to spread democracy outside of the U.S., Trump states that he “will stand with the Cuban people in their battle against communist oppression and with Venezuela in their fight for freedom” (Trump, 2016ai). There are no references in the context of democratic deficits of Russia, or communism of China as an important determinant of his relations with these actors. Besides that, he claims that he will “stop the policy of regime change overseas” (Trump 2016c, 2016k 2016aj) while referencing on the mistakes, such as in Libya (Trump 2016c) or in the Middle East, where her “disruption (...) has led to the terrorist regimes” (Trump 2016af). This shows that this determinant is not constant and that is limited to what he perceives as “undemocratic” or “communist” regimes in the Western Hemisphere, which might lead us to a conclusion that geopolitical thought of Monroe Doctrine is as well to a certain degree a determinant of his foreign policy, but we will not claim this, since it was never officially stated.

b) Foreign policy instruments

Public speeches of Donald Trump contain many references on the foreign policy tools and instruments. There were less concrete proposals how to use them in order to achieve the most important proclaimed

goals. Nevertheless, it is obvious that, among four main groups of foreign policy instruments: 1) diplomatic; 2) economic; 3) military; 4) cultural (Hill 2003), Trump's focus is on the first two groups, while the third is present as well, but in a peculiar articulation. The fourth group is hardly mentioned, which indicates that Trump gives more credit to hard power – economic and military power to coerce – than to soft power – power to co-opt (Nye, 2003). The only case in which something what could be qualified as a cultural tool of foreign policy is mentioned is the emphasis on the need to use “ideological warfare”, besides military, cyber and financial warfare in fight against ISIS and terrorism (Trump 2016f).

The most important word in Trump's articulation of foreign policy plans is “to negotiate” or “to renegotiate”. These words are mentioned in 67,44% of all analyzed speeches, together with mentioning of trade deals. Since negotiations are one of the main functions of diplomacy (Berridge 2008: 25-26), there are no doubts that this means focus on the use of **diplomatic instruments** of foreign policy. In his Military Readiness Remarks from September 7 Trump (2016f) emphasizes that “he will be diplomatic with his foreign policy, rather than taking the destructive route that Hillary took”. Even the mentioned skepticism towards existing multilateral agreements does not mean that Trump is generally opposing multilateral agreements. He just does not think that they are good enough, but he is willing to renegotiate them and convinced that he can make better, new “great trade deals” (Trump 2016ak).

However, the main focus is on one peculiar type of diplomacy – economic and commercial diplomacy, some of which aspects could be qualified as well as **economic instruments** of foreign policy. Use of coercive economic instruments is as well on agenda in the case of Iran – where Trump (2016al) favors economic pressure rather than implementation of the Iran-P5+1 deal from 2016. However, it seems that one important aspect of the use of economic instruments is underestimated in comparison to earlier U.S. presidents – economic aid.¹¹ Trump underlined that any kind of nation-building abroad in which America would spend plenty of resources to build a sustainable democracy is a doomed to complete failure (Trump 2016c, 2016i).

11 It is important to emphasize that there are important messages out of the scope of our analysis which are dealing with economic aspect of military engagements and military aid, especially in relation to NATO (Richter 2016) and Japan (Johnson 2016). It is interesting that such thing was never mentioned in a relation to Israel.

“Rebuilding of military” is the second mostly used message when it comes to foreign policy instruments, since this phrase was used in 39,53% of speeches. This clearly indicates Trump’s dedication to enlarge the scope and power of **military instruments** of foreign policy. However, at the same time, Trump expresses his desire not to use military instruments, until it is of vast necessity (Trump 2016c). Republican candidate is often criticizing his opponent for having “interventionist approach” (Trump 2016aj, 2016f). He claims that his preferable solution is “peace through strength” (Trump 2016af), which indicates that military is ought to be used as deterrence for threats and as a helpful supplement tool for diplomacy. However, it is not very clear where are the limits of the “vital national interest” for which it is justifiable to use the military force. Therefore, it seems that Trump leaves enough places to use military means in key issues of international relations in future.

C) Goals and stances towards relevant international actors

As it was mentioned in introduction, building the wall on the border with Mexico was one of the most important messages Trump sent during the Republican Primaries campaign. Following his election, it seems that relations with China are becoming the most important issue.¹² Therefore, it is not surprising that in analyzed material references on the U.S. relations with these two countries are the most frequent. On the other hand, it is a bit surprising that Russia was not mentioned too many times in the analyzed material, having in mind the tensions between Kremlin and the White House, as well as the fact that Hillary Clinton addressed issues with Russia and Vladimir Putin on many occasions.¹³ It is as well very indicative that mentioned actors are articulated mostly in negative manner, as potential competitors or challengers, while there is very little mentioning in the purpose of partnership praise. This is especially important when it comes to the U.S.-EU, or U.S.-Japan traditional relations. This might be additional signal that

12 Phone call between Donald Trump and president of Taiwan Tsai Ing-Wen raised a lot of controversies in the U.S.-China relations, having in mind that America does not have formal diplomatic relations with Taiwan and accepts “One China” approach. Many analysts framed this situation as a first crisis of Trump’s presidency (Bandow 2016, Graham 2016)

13 Clinton’s campaign mentioned Russia many times not only in the pre-election phase, but as well after the results were announced, when they claimed that cyber fraud was organized by Russians in the purpose of supporting Trump’s election win (Steinhauer et. al. 2016)

Trump does not believe in everlasting partnerships based on common values, but evaluates them from cost-benefit point of view case-by-case, and therefore avoids praising “eternal partnerships”.

China, as the biggest American competitor in the world economic affairs, is mentioned in 23,26% of analyzed units. Having in mind that economy is the main determinant of Trump’s foreign policy concept it is not surprising that China’s image in his speeches is dominantly negative. China is presented as a main economic foe of the U.S., which profits from its membership in World Trade Organization (Trump 2016ag, 2016e, 2016z) steals intellectual property (Trump 2016am, 2016af) and money from the U.S. with dumping and monetary manipulation (Trump 2016y; Trump 2016z). China is even presented as a threat for cyber-security (Trump 2016ah) and as mailer “of drugs to users and dealers in the U.S.” (Trump 2016q). Trump’s goal is therefore to make trade deals with China which would provide more benefits for the U.S., as well as to prevent China from “monetary cheating” and other practices harmful for the U.S. economy in the future. His main instrument is negotiation, but it seems unclear if he is suggesting military building up in the purpose of additional pressure on China regarding the opened questions, or not.

Neighboring state of **Mexico** is directly by name mentioned only in three analyzed digest. However, if we would add indirect mentioning (digest in which building of the famous wall on the border between Mexico and the USA is mentioned)¹⁴ then we can see that bilateral issues with Mexico are present in 23,26% of analyzed materials. Implicit mentioning of Mexico in the context of multilateral economic relations is even wider present, through insistence on renegotiation of NAFTA treaty (mentioned in 51,16% of analyzed units) which Trump sees as harmful to the U.S. economy and beneficiary to Mexico. Interestingly, the only visit to a foreign country in the analyzed period was Trump’s visit to Mexico, where he met Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto. These fac-

¹⁴ We decided to count mentioning of the wall in the Mexico category as well. Despite the fact that building the wall is generally domestic issue which belongs to immigration policy, the fact that Trump’s claims that Mexico will pay for it qualifies it directly in the bilateral foreign policy issues with this country. However, due to more precise overview of this distinction, all of digests in which the wall is mentioned without direct reference to Mexico are labeled with an asterix (*) in Table 1 in appendix of this paper. We have decided not to qualify NAFTA in the same manner as the wall issue, since NAFTA is multilateral agreement, which is relevant not only for the U.S.-Mexico relations.

tors additionally emphasize the importance of Mexico in Trump's foreign policy concept. Image of Mexico in his articulation is as well generally negative, since it is presented either as a place where business might run to from the U.S. (Trump 2016w), or as a source of threats for U.S. citizens due to criminals and drug smugglers which illegally enter America (Trump 2016af). However, Mexican image is less negative than Chinese, since there are no claims that Mexico harms or cheats U.S. intentionally, as it is in the case of China. Tone in visit to Mexico City is quite friendly and opened, mentioning importance of cooperation and cordial relations for pursuing common interests, mostly in the economical domain (Trump 2016b). His main goal in relations with Mexico is clearly exposed: a) to stop illegal immigration from Mexico; b) to protect the U.S. economy. The main instrument for the first goal is the famous wall on the border "which Mexico would pay for" (Trump 2016af), and for the second it is making Mexico to accept changes of NAFTA trade deal which would better suit American interests.

An important foreign policy issue mentioned in Trump's speeches is the ongoing crisis in **Syria**. However, Syria is treated more as an object of foreign policy challenges, than as a subject. Syria is directly mentioned in 9,3% of analyzed units, but the **Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)** is mentioned more frequently – in 23,26% of analyzed units. Trump's first goal in relations with Syria (and Iraq) is to defeat ISIS (Trump 2016c, 2016g, 2016i, 2016k, 2016g, 2016ae, 2016aj, 2016aq, 2016ao). However, it is not clearly articulated which instruments Trump plans to use to defeat ISIS. In the context of his intention to "destroy ISIS" he even mentioned military build-up. (Trump 2016k). Having in mind that, as we have seen, direct American interventionism is many times qualified as problematic, it seems that direct American intervention would not be a preferable solution, but more likely military help and alliance. Trump (2016k) accepts coalition with actors which oppose ISIS, meaning that Russia and Assad's regime are acceptable partners. Second goal is to prevent "spillover of terrorism" from Syria to the U.S., and suggested instrument is abandonment of Syrian Refugee Program (Trump 2016c-2016f). It is important to mention that reasons for this abandonment are justified not only with security reasons, but as well with an argument of economic cost (Trump 2016e).

Besides Syria, other **Middle East**¹⁵ countries along with Libya and Egypt are mentioned as an example of bad American interventionism or

¹⁵ The finding that the analyzed material contains no single mentioning of Israel sur-

support for rebels that led to chaos and rise of Islamism (Trump 2016f). This indicates that Trump's main goal in the Middle East policy is stability and that he is not interested in support for democratization of the region. He prefers support strong leaders with democratic deficits as long as they are preventing spread of radical Islamism and terrorism. The most problematic Middle East state for Trump appears to be the **Islamic Republic of Iran**. Iran is mentioned only in 6,98% of all analyzed units, but in a clearly negative manner. Trump consider the signing of nuclear deal with Iran as a "humiliation" for the U.S. (Trump 2016al). According to Trump's (2016aj) critique of Clinton's foreign policy which allowed some states "to take nuclear path" it seems that his first goal in relation to Iran is to certainly prevent its development of nuclear arms and that he is willing to re-impose economic sanctions until a more reliable deal with Iran is reached.

Despite the fact that relations between Trump and Putin are pretty much in the focus of media, relations with **Russian Federation** are much less discussed in comparison to relations with the previously mentioned actors. Trump actually never in analyzed material articulates Russia really positively, but he neither does it in a quite negative manner, which is big distinction to the campaign of his democratic counterpart and even many Republicans during the Primaries. Russia is directly mentioned only in 9,30% of analyzed units. When it comes to content, half of mentions are actually only a reference to Clinton's fault for giving Russia 20% of the U.S. uranium (Trump 2016ak, 2016ap). There is one aspect in which Russia was presented as a potential threat, and that is cyber security (Trump 2016ah).¹⁶ However, Russian power (especially power of its leader) is acknowledged with the claim that, due to Obama's and Clinton's policies, America had to negotiate with Russia "from the place of weakness" (Trump 2016af). Although he does not mention Russia directly, it is obvious that he is ready to make a coalition with Russia

prises us a lot. However, this certainly does not mean that Trump has never mentioned this topic in the campaign. Quite contrary – in earlier phases of campaign, debates of Republican candidates, as well as in certain media appearance of Trump and members of his team (especially Donald Friedman) clearly articulated their pro-Israeli foreign policy (Cortellesa 2016). One aspect of this policy visible in this analysis is strong attitude towards Iran, which is perceived by Israel as a potential biggest threat.

16 This finding might be perceived as ironic, since Trump later doubted that Russia endangered cyber-security of the USA with hack attacks during the elections, what CIA and FBI claimed to be the case (Sanger 2016).

against ISIS in Syria, based on the existence of common enemy (Trump 2016aj). The fact that Trump does not address Ukrainian crisis indicates that this issue is not placed high on his agenda and that he might withdraw sanctions if he reaches deal with Putin on Syria and other common enemies. Although it is never stated in analyzed material, some authors (Banks, 2016) think that Trumps goal in cooperation with Russia is actually to balance an actor which seems as a bigger threat to the U.S. from his point of view – China. It is better to have Russia on your side, than in close relations with your biggest challenger.

Finally, some other actors from various regions are mentioned as well. In Asia, trade deal with the **Republic of Korea** is labeled as bad for the U.S. (Trump 2016o, 2016p), which means that probable goal in relation with this state would be to make a new framework for commercial cooperation. Similar goal is obvious in relation to ASEAN countries, such as **Japan, Vietnam** etc. since in more than a quarter (25,58%) of analyzed material Trump emphasizes that he will not accept Transpacific Trade Partnership (TPP) with these states. **People's Republic of Korea** is labeled as a cyber security threat (Trump 2016ah), and its continuation in development of nuclear program as a failure of democratic administration (Trump 2016aj), which means that countering threats for the U.S. national security coming from these two aspects would probably be his main goal in a relation to this pariah state. Finally, in Central and South America, besides Mexico, **Cuba, Haiti and Venezuela** are mentioned once in the sense of support to political opposition to regimes (Trump 2016ai) in Venezuela and Cuba. This is an exception to general attitude against regime-change operations, but it still does not mean that, even if his long-term goal is regime change in the last instance, he will use financial and/or military help to opposition in order to implement it.

Which foreign policy tradition Trump belongs to?

Theoretical and empirical literature on the U.S. foreign policy is very comprehensive. Numerous authors have conceptualized different coherent models of the U.S. foreign policy with the aim to help us explain, compare and evaluate policies of different administrations. We should distinguish between two different types of such models: 1) process models; 2) policy models. Process models focus on explanation of policy-

making and they are trying to define different variables that are influencing foreign policy decision making and implementation. Purpose of policy models is different and they do not tend to explain determinants of foreign policy and offer causal explanations, but to compare different approaches towards what are and what should be the main goals, priorities, and instruments of the U.S. foreign policy. The focus of this paper is on the second approach, since our goal is to place Donald Trump's foreign policy stances announced during his presidential election campaign into a certain pattern of the U.S. foreign policy thought.

Media, as well as many analysts and academics, often use the dichotomy "isolationism-internationalism" as the most important difference in articulation of different U.S. foreign policy approaches (Crothers 2011: 22-24). Another dichotomy widely used in public and academia is between hawks and doves (Russett 1990: 515), or a famous Kissinger's (Kisindžer 2008: 15-37) dichotomy between Realists, such as Theodor Roosevelt and Idealists, such as Woodrow Wilson. Intervention of United States in Iraq in 2003 put an emphasis on the dichotomy between unilateralism and multilateralism. There are as well many multi-element models of U.S. foreign policy approaches. For example, Bremmer (Bremer 2015) outlines three different paths of international engagement available to the U.S. president – 1) Indispensable America; 2) Moneyball America; 3) Independent America. Kaufmann's (Kaufman 2010) four element model is as well built on combination of different factors, which outlay the key characteristic in the name of approach: 1) Isolationism; 2) Unilateralism; 3) Neutrality; 4) Engagement.

This paper accepts model of U.S. foreign policy traditions developed by Walter Russell Mead (2001) in his brilliant study of the U.S. political history. We find this model very comprehensive and we want to test Mead's (2016b) claim from the beginning of Primaries that Donald Trump is a representative of Jacksonian thought. His model distinguishes between four different foreign policy schools of thought in the U.S. foreign policy: *Hamiltonian*, *Wilsonian*, *Jeffersonian* and *Jacksonian*. The author identifies them with important politicians which were the most prominent pursuers of the distinguished approaches. Mead acknowledges that these four traditions shifted over time in accordance with relevant internal and international developments, but emphasizes that they still preserve their core ideas and postulates. In the following paragraphs, we will present their main characteristics and compare the finding from previous chapter on Trump's foreign policy positions with the most important traits of each tradition.

Hamiltonian school of thought presents an approach which focuses on economy and trade as the most important determinant of foreign policy. As Mead (2001: 102) emphasizes “the importance of trade would determine the Hamiltonian definitions of U.S. security interest”. Therefore, Hamiltonian first goal would be to provide adequate international circumstances for the implementation of U.S. vital economic need – trade access to important foreign markets. Underlying assumption of Hamiltonian thought is that international commerce can operate on win-win logic (Mead 2001: 103), therefore the focus is on absolute gains in this process, and not on relative, as it is usual in the field of military might which produces security dilemma. For this thought, the character of regimes with which they cooperate is not of big importance, as long as they behave in a manner which does not pose obstacles to their commercial interests. The Hamiltonian diplomacy is therefore focused on commerce, while they do not completely neglect the importance of military tools. However, these tools should not have their own purpose beside protecting the integrity of the state, and fighting threats for American trade abroad. The second “interventionist” purpose is balanced with cost-benefit calculation, which means that not every threat for U.S. commercial interest would be an incentive for the use of force, but only the most vital ones.

Trump's foreign policy messages in analyzed material share the perception of national economic interests as the most important determinant. Moreover, they show an understanding that good trade deals and successful commercial diplomacy are the most important instrument for the assurance of national economic interests. In this aspect, his policy is dominantly Hamiltonian. It seems that Trump perceives world around him in this manner – his biggest adversary is China, often seen as the main U.S. economic opponent. On the other hand, many American challengers in military, or ideology, such as Russia, are not perceived as enemies per se. However, when it comes to what are the national economic interest and how should these deals be tailored – his perception is completely opposite of Hamiltonian. Trump opposes the concept that the growing of the free market in the world is in American interest and suggest quite opposite – measures that would assure protection of American market from harmful foreign influences. His main claim is that these measures will bring jobs back to the United States. Finally, Trump's approach towards military means is similar to Hamiltonian – he finds it sometimes necessary, when national interest is threatened, but avoids using it when it is not necessary. Nevertheless,

Trump insists so much on rebuilding military capacities in advance, without considering its costs, that in this approach he differs from typical Hamiltonian thought. However, since he is skeptical towards costly international military commitments, it seems that he is not completely abandoning cost-benefit calculation in defense sector.

Wilsonian school of thought, on the other hand, is much more idealistic and goes beyond Hamiltonian cost-benefit logic, but without completely neglecting it. Willsonian thought favors “export” of democracy to other states, but justifies it not only with its moral superiority, but as well with the attitude that democratic countries are more reliable partners to trade and cooperate with (Mead 2001: 162-165). However, export by the means of force is not preferable solution for this school of thought¹⁷, since its important assumption is that the war should be prevented as far as possible (Mead 2001: 165) However, even the use of force against dictators by their own people are, at the last instance, allowable solution (Mead 2001: 173). Proponents of this school also advocate the use of economic and propaganda instruments with the purpose to help democratization and combat dictatorships and authoritarianism around the globe (Mead 2001: 173). Wilsonian foreign policy generally believes in the power of international law and multilateral international institutions and diplomacy. Therefore, Wilsonian presidents would resort to use force only if it is evident that they are fighting the substantial threat for international law and humanity. The underlying idea of Wilsonian understanding of international relations is Democratic Peace theory, and American role as a promoter and even provider of democracy and the rule for the rest of the world.

This approach differs significantly from Trump’s foreign policy positions. As we have mentioned, Trump is strongly against the regime-change and state-building projects, claiming that they cost a lot and are proven to be inefficient. However, as we have seen, there is one exception – Donald Trump favors what he perceives to be democratic and anti-authoritarian movements in the Western Hemisphere, such as the

17 Other authors have various opinions regarding the relation between Wilsonianism and interventions in the name of democratization. For example, Smith (2009) argues that Wilsonians believe American duty should be to spread democracy around the globe, and that therefore even military intervention of Bush Iraq 2003 derives from this tradition. On the other hand, Knock (2009) and Slaughter (2009) do not share this opinion. They emphasize that Wilsonianism is essentially multilateral and orientated towards deal making, and that therefore Iraq War 2003 cannot be descendant of this tradition due to its aggressive unilateralism.

ones in Cuba and Venezuela. However, it is unclear would he be prepared to give significant resources to help efforts of regime opponents in these countries, as a Wilsonian would do. Still, even in that case, it would not be enough to call him Wilsonian, since his logic of international relations is much more focused on national interests, competition and cooperation, tolerance towards authoritarianism if it preserves stability and saving of American resources instead of spending on building foreign institutions. Neither of these is acceptable for Wilsonian thought.

Jeffersonian school of thought, as Mead claims (2001: 175), looks favorable to global peace in a democratic world. However, this is hardly realistic according to Jeffersonian thought, and the United States should avoid spending its resources for that mission. In addition, it opposes spending resources for the protection of U.S.-led global commercial system, what the Hamiltonian school would advocate for (Mead 2001: 184). Jeffersonian school of thought disfavors active foreign policy due to the fear of threats for unique American democracy that are potentially coming from international engagement (Mead 2001: 184-185). Jeffersonian presidents especially avoid military means of foreign policy: they find war too expensive for citizens and potentially threatening for the U.S. democracy, what is in opposition with their perception of foremost goal of foreign policy - preservation of internal liberty and democracy. They think that the war should be only a last resort, and even then, they would try to avoid it as long as possible, or to gradually approach it if necessary (Mead 2001: 190). Jeffersonians are genuinely feared from the rise of "emergency state" (Unger 2015) in which intelligence and military elites would dominate internal politics and potentially undermine democracy with the justification of national security (foreign policy) needs. They are skeptic towards international commitments as well, but they still find the diplomacy as the best foreign policy instrument.

There is a limited similarity between this school and Trump's position. Namely, Trump wants to avoid unnecessary activity in the world, especially costly wars. He prefers diplomacy as an instrument and thinks that too much involvement in international affairs might have negative consequences. However, he perceives these threats mostly as of economic nature, and then as threats for democracy and liberty. This means that in the sense of the most important value he is more Hamiltonian (national economic interest) than Jeffersonian (protection of democracy at home), although he sometimes labels certain issues (such as inflow of refugees from Muslim countries) as a threat for the U.S.

democracy and political system as well. Unlike Jeffersonians, Trump supports preventive military spending, and is not feared of “emergency state”. Quite contrary, Trump’s skepticism to international commitments is limited – he is ready to abandon some of current international obligations, since he finds them harmful for the U.S. interests, but he will not avoid making new commitments if they suit American interest. He is much more focused on renegotiating and fixing existing system, than on abandoning it.

Jacksonian school of thought shares skepticism of the previous school for foreign engagement in the name of humanity or preservation of global commercial system, as well as their general skepticism towards international commitments and international law (Mead 2001: 175). Jacksonian school of thought is even more skeptical towards diplomacy without strength than Jeffersonian and it gives much more attention towards military means. Central value for Jacksonians is American national honor, and they think that the role of foreign policy is to ensure that this honor is protected abroad (Mead 2001: 231). They believe in principle of self-reliance in international relations and therefore advocate for stronger military forces which would be capable to protect integrity of the state from possible invaders and honor of the state aboard, but they are very cautious not to run into unnecessary wars and interventions in the name of humanity or spread of democracy. Instead of being “the World Policeman”, their approach is “live and let other live” (Mead 2016b). Jacksonians are afraid of all social groups that do not belong to “American folk community” and which might disturb their way of living (Mead 2001: 236). This means that they are especially opposing any kind of integration through international economic treaties which would anyhow restrict limitations on immigration or harm interests of the American middle and working class. Unlike Hamiltonians, they take interest of these groups primarily into account in their approach toward foreign commercial policy.

Trump’s foreign policy articulation has plenty of things in common with Jacksonian school of thought. He believes that peace could be achieved through strength and that successful diplomacy needs powerful military force behind it. He does not trust military alliances and is in favor of rebuilding of American military power. However, this power should be used only in the purpose of protecting U.S. interest He also claims that it is important to protect interests of middle class and workers, and his skepticism towards refugees from Muslim countries is obvi-

ously connected with his desire to protect the way of life of “American folk community”, although it is not directly articulated in that manner. Trump even recognizes importance of protecting American national honor abroad (Trump 2016; Trump 2016). However, main determinant of foreign policy for him is national economy, where he is closer to Hamiltonian thought, than national honor of Jacksonians.

When it comes to other foreign actors, his attitude towards Iran might seem genuinely Jacksonian, but logic of his relations with China and Russia seems more Hamiltonian. His main opponent is not Russia, a symbolical “other” to many Americans, and in the military sense the strongest counterpart, which challenged to a certain extent American honor in the Middle East by its unilateral intervention in Syria, but rising economical and commercial challenger - China. However, in the societal sense (focus on middle and working class) and in the sense of stance towards the instruments of foreign policy, it seems that Trump is on the very similar path as representatives of this school.

Conclusion

Donald Trump articulated numerous foreign policy messages during the presidential election campaign. Our analysis of his speeches shows that his main concerns are economic and commercial issues (especially those relevant for middle and working class), and that he is very cautious regarding the use of force. Nevertheless, Trump believes in a concept military through strength and therefore advocates military rebuilding. He is strongly against regime-change operations or expensive and inefficient state-building projects. His main opponent is China, and he puts emphasis on the bad consequences for the U.S. of existing trade deals as well as of current state of relations with Mexico. His attitude towards Russia opens possibility for rapprochement, even though Russia is not positively articulated in his speeches. His foreign policy positions contain elements of different schools of thoughts, but they have the most in common with the Jacksonian tradition. However, in some important aspect they are more similar with Hamiltonian tradition as well, especially in terms of foreign policy determinants.

At the very end, it is of vast importance to additionally emphasize that these were only messages sent during campaign, and that they can substantially differ from the actual foreign policy when Donald Trump takes his post in the White House. Indeed, some differences are to be ex-

pected, given the uncertainty of international context. However, making U-turns would likely bear costs for Trump's political image. Therefore, we consider that the findings of this paper will be a good indicator for general directions of Trump's foreign policy. Positive comments that are coming from Russia, as well as rising tension with China, that took place before his formal inauguration, are already following this path. Nevertheless, future research papers should compare his actual foreign policy with the findings of this paper and therefore test whether his campaign messages were only propaganda, or articulation of his actual foreign policy agenda.

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APPENDIX – TABLE 1

Date	Speech	China	Mexico	Iran	N. Korea	Russia	Cuba	Venezuela	Haiti	Syria	ISIS	Terrorism**	Use of force	Refugees	State-building	Military	Energy	Free Trade Agreements	NAFTA	TPP
6-Nov	1 IN MINNESOTA, TRUMP OFFERS VOTERS CHANCE TO TAKE GOVERNMENT BACK FROM THE CORRUPT POLITICAL CLASS		YES*											YES		YES				
5-Nov	IN NORTH CAROLINA, TRUMP DELIVERS POSITIVE VISION FOR AMERICA		YES*															YES	YES	YES
3-Nov	UMP JOINS MILITARY LEADERS, MEDAL OF HONOR RECIPIENTS, TO OUTLINE PLAN TO REBUILD MILITARY AND SUPPO			YES						YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		YES	YES	YES
3-Nov	DONALD TRUMP SLAMS HILLARY'S CRIMINAL PAY FOR PLAY CORRUPTION UNDER FBI INVESTIGATION		YES*							YES		YES		YES		YES		YES	YES	YES
1-Nov	DONALD J. TRUMP PLEDGES TO IMMEDIATELY REPEAL AND REPLACE OBAMACARE	YES																YES	YES	
31-Oct	IN MICHIGAN, DONALD TRUMP OUTLINES HIS URBAN RENEWAL AGENDA & PROMISES TO BRING BACK JOBS	YES	YES*							YES		YES		YES		YES		YES	YES	YES
30-Oct	IN NEVADA, TRUMP PROMISES REAL CHANGE THAT WILL BRING BACK JOBS & SECURITY	YES												YES		YES		YES	YES	YES
29-Oct	IN ARIZONA, TRUMP VOWS TO MAKE AMERICA JUST AGAIN	YES												YES		YES		YES	YES	YES
27-Oct	IN OHIO, TRUMP SLAMS OBAMACARE AND PROPOSES REAL CHANGE		YES									YES						YES	YES	
26-Oct	IN CHARLOTTE, TRUMP PROPOSES URBAN RENEWAL AGENDA FOR AMERICA'S INNER CITIES	YES																YES	YES	YES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	1	17	18	19	20
25-Oct	1	IN FLORIDA, TRUMP BLASTS OBAMACARE AND PROPOSES REAL CHANGE THAT WILL PUT AMERICA FIRST														YES	YES	YES		
23-Oct		IN FLORIDA, TRUMP BLASTS HILLARY FOR EMBOLDENING IRAN AND HUMILIATING U.S.		YES							YES									
21-Oct		DONALD J. TRUMP OUTLINES PLAN TO BRING MANUFACTURING BACK TO NORTH CAROLINA														YES	YES	YES	YES	
21-Oct		DONALD J. TRUMP OUTLINES PLAN TO BUILD 350 SHIP NAVY AND REVITALIZE AMERICA'S INFRASTRUCTURE	YES*													YES	YES	YES		
20-Oct		TRUMP: REMARKS ON PROTECTING ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF AMERICA'S WORKERS ON TRADE																	YES	YES
18-Oct		DONALD J. TRUMP: REMARKS ON DRAINING THE SWAMP AND CONGRESSIONAL TERM LIMITS									YES			YES		YES	YES	YES	YES	
17-Oct		TRUMP DETAILS HIS ETHICS REFORM PLAN														YES		YES		
15-Oct		DONALD J. TRUMP: REMARKS ON ENDING THE OPIOID EPIDEMIC IN AMERICA	YES*													YES		YES	YES	
13-Oct		TRUMP'S REMARKS ON CLINTON CAMPAIGN OF DESTRUCTION									YES	YES								
5-Oct		TRUMP'S REMARKS ON PROTECTING RIGHTS IN NEVADA															YES	YES	YES	YES
5-Oct		TRUMP'S REMARKS ON MAKING AMERICA WEALTHY AGAIN											YES				YES	YES	YES	YES
4-Oct		TRUMP REMARKS: CLINTON YESTERDAY, WE'RE TOMORROW															YES	YES	YES	YES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	1	17	18	19	20
3-Oct	TRUMP REMARKS IN PUEBLO, COLORADO: AMERICA NEEDS A COMEBACK											YES				YES				
3-Oct	TRUMP'S REMARKS ON CYBERSECURITY IN HIS ADMINISTRATION	YES			YES															
30-Sep	TRUMP'S REMARKS ON HILLARY'S TPP DESTROYING AMERICAN MANUFACTURING																	YES		YES
28-Sep	TRUMP REMARKS IN COUNCIL BLUFFS, IA: FOLLOW THE MONEY				YES													YES		
28-Sep	TRUMP REMARKS IN WAUKESHA, WISCONSIN: FOLLOW THE MONEY				YES												YES	YES		
24-Sep	TRUMP REMARKS ON TAKING ON BIG BUSINESS, BIG DONORS, AND BIG MEDIA																	YES		YES
20-Sep	NORTH CAROLINA REMARKS ON CLINTON LACK OF NATIONAL SECURITY ACCOUNTABILITY										YES	YES				YES		YES		
17-Sep	COLORADO REMARKS ON TAX RELIEF FOR WORKING AND MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES	YES	YES*								YES	YES								
16-Sep	DONALD TRUMP TALKS HAITI, CUBA, VENEZUELA IN FLORIDA SWING						YES	YES	YES			YES								
15-Sep	REMARKS ON ECONOMIC OUTLINE AT NEW YORK ECONOMIC CLUB																YES			
14-Sep	REMARKS IN OHIO																YES	YES	YES	
13-Sep	REMARKS ON CHILD CARE PLAN															YES				
13-Sep	REMARKS ON CLINTON E-MAIL TEAM TAKING THE FIFTH										YES	YES	YES				YES	YES		

SERBIAN
POLITICAL
THOUGHT

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	1	17	18	19	20
9-Sep	REMARKS ON FOREIGN POLICY FAILURES OF HILLARY CLINTON	YES	YES			YES					YES	YES							YES	YES
9-Sep	REMARKS ON CALL FOR INNER CITY SCHOOL CHOICE TO VALUES VOTERS	YES		YES							YES	YES						YES	YES	
7-Sep	MILITARY READINESS REMARKS									YES		YES	YES							
31-Aug	REMARKS IN MEXICO CITY, MEXICO		YES																	
24-Aug	REMARKS IN TAMPA, FLORIDA										YES	YES				YES				
18-Aug	REMARKS ON BUILDING A NEW AMERICAN FUTURE										YES	YES			YES			YES	YES	
16-Aug	REMARKS ON CREATING A NEW AND BETTER FUTURE FOR AMERICAS INNER CITIES																	YES	YES	
26-Jul	REMARKS AT THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS NATIONAL CONVENTION										YES	YES		YES		YES		YES		
TOTAL	43	10	10	3	1	4	1	1	1	4	10	18	3	9	2	17	11	29	22	11
% of total	100.00	23.26	23.26	6.98	2.33	9.30	2.33	2.33	2.33	9.30	23.26	41.86	6.98	20.93	4.65	39.53	25.58	67.44	51.16	25.58