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As a manuscript

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**THE DEVELOPMENT OF D. TRUMP'S FOREIGN POLICY IDEOLOGY
AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION IN US POLICY TOWARDS CANADA AND
MEXICO**

SUMMARY OF THE DISSERTATION

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Research design

Research context

The author's focus is on the transformation of the ideology of American foreign policy, which took its finished form after the Trump administration came to power, which defined and established a new attitude to participation in globalization. The ideological reorientation of U.S. foreign policy has affected both the United States itself (reviving the secondary sector of the U.S. economy, modernizing the MIC, restricting immigration), and the global community. There has been a review of relations between the United States and its allies and partners. It has become clear from China's example that the American political establishment is gradually abandoning the establishment that engaging with competitors and including them in international institutions and global trade inevitably turn them into bona fide players and reliable partners.

It is important to note that the changes brought by D. Trump in the American foreign policy ideology are directly related to the fundamental changes that have taken place in the United States, which will transform both American society as a whole and the elites. In the face of change, the cross-party consensus that defined the foreign policy strategy and the course of the United States has been lost for many years. On the basis of unprecedented sharpness of the party confrontation and the willingness of the Democratic Party to block the white house's foreign policy decisions, the unpredictability of U.S. foreign policy continued.

It's hard to predict how much trumpism will remain strong after the 2020 presidential election, but one thing is certain: trumpism has taken place, it's become part of the American political system and it has a future. D. Trump has laid the foundation of a new ideology, and this ideology can exist without him. D. Trump fulfilled his historic mission and forced the United States to withdraw from the foreign policy course, which, if not brought them to a standstill, created problems that can not be solved by the tools of the liberal world order. D. Trump

forced to focus on domestic issues, concentrate on himself and prepare for a protracted race for leadership with China. Trumpism has left its mark and it's not a transient phenomenon that ended with D. Trump.

Statement of research problem

The beginning of the 21st century can be described as the pinnacle of the dominance of liberal idealism in the United States, or The Wilsonian foreign policy ideology in its complete form of neo-Wilsonism. Wilsonism is a form of liberal idealism (internationalism) that involves an active foreign policy with the promotion of universally liberal principles in the world, in particular through multilateral cooperation and international institutions. Neo-Wilsonism is a combination of neoconservatism and liberal institutionalism. If neoconservatism contributed greatly to the formation of the foreign policy strategy and course of the administration of G. Bush, then liberal institutionalism had a significant impact on the development of the ideological and conceptual foundations of the obama administration's foreign policy, focused on promoting international institutions and global interdependence.

Despite its strengths in terms of the successful implementation of the goals and objectives set by the U.S. political leadership, the policy based on neo-Wilsonian ideas has also demonstrated the costs and risks, has brought to the extreme the polarization of society and elites against the key problems of our time (economic outcomes of neoliberalism, uncontrolled immigration, value split, etc.). It is important to note the factor of globalization as a modern form of implementation of neo-Peace, whose consequences have caused the crisis in the United States. The author admits that the real reason for the gradual loss of the United States world hegemony is the development of globalization. In the end, America was divided into supporters and opponents of participation in globalization in the past. There is still no common position on the question of where globalization will ultimately lead, especially in the light of the strengthening of the positions of developing countries, which have accumulated financial and

economic power, and then political power, and what to do with the costs-affected neoliberal policies of the middle class and blue-collar segments. In addition, many are concerned about how to deal with the many-increased and uncontrolled Latin American immigration, preserve and strengthen the American national identity based on Western European heritage.

D. Trump's victory in the 2016 presidential election was not accidental and was provided by a whole range of factors and trends in the domestic and economic life of the United States, caused in many respects by globalization. Globalization, which until recently was largely seen as a boon, is increasingly recognized as a vulnerability factor¹. D. Trump reflected the public's protest against the U.S. participation in globalization. His views were based on the belief that political factors should determine economic relations, globalization in its current form did not contribute to the harmonization of relations between States, economic interdependence increased national vulnerability, and therefore the State should intervene when interests were at odds with national interests. The U.S. National Security Strategy, published in December 2017, shows that globalization is no longer perceived as a desirable and extremely positive phenomenon². The emphasis is on the development of the national economy and strengthening the military power of the United States, while under B. Obama national tasks were determined, rather, by the desire to maintain international order. The election of D. Trump as President of the United States, his acceptance of a fundamentally different view on foreign policy, compared to the Obama administration, require his research and determine its relevance³.

¹ New international relations: the main trends and challenges for Russia / under Ed.A.V. Lukin. M.: International Relations, 2018. 592 c.

² National Security Strategy of the United States of America, December 2017 // The White House. URL: <<https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>>.

³ The 2015 National Security Strategy // The White House. URL: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy_2.pdf>.

Literature review

The formation and implementation of U.S. foreign policy under the Trump administration attracts the attention of many domestic and foreign researchers. The fact that the election of D. Trump coincided with internal political schism and public polarization, which even after his departure from the presidency continue to grow and predetermine the foreign policy decisions of the United States.

The works that served as the scientific foundation of this dissertation can be divided into several groups. A systematic study of four foreign policy concepts explaining the different attitudes of Americans to globalization was conducted by the American academic W. Mead in his writings "Special Providence"⁴, "Power, Terror, Peace and War"⁵, "Jacksonian Revolt"⁶. Other scholars involved in the schools of thought include E. Basevich, K. Gutsman, R. Kagan, R. Keohane, W. Kristol, J. Nay, S. Knott, R. Paris, T. Smith, R. Haas, S. Hoffman, J. Steigerwald. The issue of foreign policy of D. Trump and the neoliberal world order is detailed by leading American political scientists, such as supporters of realistic foreign policy G. Allison⁷, J. Mearsheimer⁸, S. Walt⁹, R. Schweller¹⁰, or representatives of the mainstream J. Ikenberry¹¹, F. Zakaria¹², G. Rose¹³, F. Fukuyama¹⁴. A.

⁴ Mead W. *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World*. New York: Knopf, 2001. 374 p.

⁵ Mead W. *Power, terror, peace and war. America's Great Strategy in a Risk Society*. [Georgieva, M. Nazarova]. M.: Progress-Tradition, 2006. 208 c.

⁶ Mead W. The Jacksonian Revolt [Electronic Resource] // *Foreign Affairs*. 2017. March/April. URL: <<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-01-20/jacksonian-revolt>>.

⁷ Allison G. The Myth of the Liberal Order [Electronic Resource] // *Foreign Affairs*. 2018. July/August. URL: <<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-06-14/myth-liberal-order>>.

⁸ Mearsheimer J. Donald Trump Should Embrace a Realist Foreign Policy [Electronic Resource] // *The National Interest*. 2016. 27 November. URL: <<https://nationalinterest.org/feature/donald-trump-should-embrace-realist-foreign-policy-18502>>.

⁹ Walt S. Has Trump Become a Realist? [Electronic Resource] // *Foreign Policy*. 2018. 17 April. URL: <<https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/04/17/has-trump-become-a-realist/>>.

¹⁰ Schweller R. Three Cheers for Trump's Foreign Policy [Electronic Resource] // *Foreign Affairs*. 2018. September/October. URL: <<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2018-08-13/three-cheers-trumps-foreign-policy>>.

¹¹ Ikenberry J. The Plot Against American Foreign Policy [Electronic Resource] // *Foreign Affairs*. 2017. May/June. URL: <<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-04-17/plot-against-american-foreign-policy>>.

¹² Zakaria F. *The Post-American World*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2008. 336 p.

¹³ Rose G. What Obama Gets Right [Electronic Resource] // *Foreign Affairs*. 2015. September/October. URL: <<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2017-07-05/what-obama-gets-right>>.

Greenspan¹⁵, P. Krugman¹⁶, T. Piketty¹⁷, D. Rodrick¹⁸, D. Steadman-Jones¹⁹, J. Stiglitz²⁰ wrote about the paradoxes and challenges of globalization. The problems of Latin American immigration were raised by authors such as P. Buchanan, M. Gonzalez, L. Greenfeld, R. Jones, M. Lilla, M. Lind, J. Nay, J. Fonte, D. Hollinger, A. Schlesinger, as well as A. Valenzuela and H. Castaneda. E. Kaufman explained the origins of multiculturalism in the article "Immigration and White Identity in the West" involving two concepts of freedom²¹. Among the fundamental works that claim to be the most comprehensive consideration of multiculturalism and immigration in the United States is S. Huntington's book "Who Are Us? Challenges of American national identity"²².

In the domestic literature, aspects of the new U.S. foreign policy are well studied. The topic of foreign policy ideological concepts remains poorly researched. Domestic historiography does not have comprehensive research in this area and focuses on the study of each foreign policy concept separately. In general, such scientists as A. Arbatov, E. Batalov, K. Blokhin, A. Bogaturov, K. Gajiyev, V. Garbuzov, A. Gromyko, N. Inozemtsev, I. Istomin, A. Kortunov, A. Melville, A. Sidorov, V. Sogrin, A. Utkin, A. Fursenko, and others. The phenomenon of Trump and his factor in U.S. foreign policy has been studied by such authors as A. Bezrukov²³, A. Galstyan²⁴, V. Garbuzov²⁵, D. Drobnitsky²⁶, S. Karaganov²⁷, F.

¹⁴ Fukuyama F. American Political Decay or Renewal? [Electronic Resource] // Foreign Affairs. 2016. July/August. URL: <<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-06-13/american-political-decay-or-renewal>>.

¹⁵ Greenspan A., Wuldrige A. Capitalism in America. M.: Alpina Publisher, 2020. 560 c.

¹⁶ Krugman P. The Economic Fallout [Electronic Resource] // The New York Times. URL: <<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/projects/cp/opinion/election-night-2016/paul-krugman-the-economic-fallout>>.

¹⁷ Piketty T. Capital in the 21st century. M.: Hell Marginham Press, 2015. 592 s.

¹⁸ Rodrik D. The paradox of globalization: democracy and the future of the world economy / Economic sociology. 2014. T. 15. № 2. With. 65-75.

¹⁹ Steadman-Jones D. The Birth of Neoliberal Politics: from Hayek and Friedman to Reagan and Thatcher. The society; Thought, 2017. 522 s.

²⁰ Stiglitz J. The price of inequality. Exmo, 2015. 720 s.

²¹ Kaufmann E. Immigration and White Identity in the West "Electronic resource" / Foreign Affairs. 2017. 8 September. URL: <<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-09-08/immigration-and-white-identity-west>>.

²² Huntington S. Who are we? Challenges of American National Identity / M.: ACT, 2008. 635 s.

²³ Bezrukov A., Sushentsov A. Phenomenon of D. Trump and scenarios of development of Russian-American relations / Comparative policy. 2018. T. 9. № 1. With. 109-123.

Lukyanov²⁸, V. Pechatnov²⁹, S. Rogov³⁰, S. Samuilov³¹, D. Suslov³², A. Sushentsov³³, M. Taratuta, N. Travkina^{34 35}, D. Trenin³⁶, T. Shackleina³⁷. The issues of economic nature, challenges and trends of the Development of the American Economy are discussed in the works of A. Losev³⁸, V. Supyan³⁹, P. Yakovlev⁴⁰, etc. The works of E. Komkova⁴¹, N. Kudayarova⁴², V. Sudarev⁴³ are devoted to the problems of american-mexican relations.

Research question

At the center of the work is the following research question: to what extent can we say that D. Trump brought a holistic foreign policy strategic worldview,

²⁴ Galstyan A., Lukyanov F. Realism in the Shadows / Conservatism Notebooks: ISEPI Foundation Almanac: No 1. M.: ISEPI Foundation, 2016. With. 31-38.

²⁵ Trump: Blocked Presidency / U.S. and Canada: Economy, Politics, Culture. 2017. № 11 (575). With. 5-28.

²⁶ Drobnitsky D. Businessman-charismatic on his way to Washington / Conservatism notebooks: ISEPI Foundation Almanac: No. 1. M.: ISEPI Foundation, 2016. With. 253-261.

²⁷ Karaganov S. Predictable Future? "Electronic resource" / SVOP. 2019. May 21. URL: <<http://svop.ru/main/29335/>>.

²⁸ Lukyanov F. President of our dream "Electronic resource" / Russia in global politics. 2017. 2 February. URL: <<https://globalaffairs.ru/redcol/Prezident-nashei-mechty-18571>>.

²⁹ Pechatnov V. Trump Phenomenon and American Democracy / International Processes. 2017. T. 15. № 1. With. 13-34.

³⁰ S. Trump is a cat that walks by itself . . . 2017. 6 September. URL: <<https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/comments/tramp-eto-kot-kotoryy-gulyaet-sam-po-sebe/>>.

³¹ Samuilov S. Donald Trump Presidency and the 2018 midterm elections ... U.S. and Canada: economy, politics, culture. 2018. № 1. With. 5-23.

³² Suslov D. Trump administration's Foreign Policy Contours: General Principles and Functional Priorities of the "Electronic Resource" / SOPVA. 2016. December 16. URL: <<http://svop.ru/main/22262/>>.

³³ Bezrukov A., Sushentsov A. Phenomenon of D. Trump and scenarios of development of Russian-American relations / Comparative policy. 2018. T. 9. № 1. With. 109-123.

³⁴ Travkina N. USA: a changing development algorithm. M.: The Whole World, 2018. 264 s.

³⁵ Travkina N. Factor D. Trump / Network edition of the Center for Research and Analytics of the Foundation for Historical Perspective. 2018. 27-39.

³⁶ Trenin D. How Trump upset everything, but did not break the "Electronic Resource" / Carnegie Moscow Center. 2018. 22 January. URL: <<https://carnegie.ru/2018/01/22/ru-pub-75322>>.

³⁷ Shacklein W., Shackleina T. U.S. Strategy after Obama. What a legacy Democrats left to Republicans / International processes. 2016. T. 14. № 4. With. 49-66.

³⁸ "Trumponomics": first results. The erosion of Pax Americana and the inhibition of globalization (Electronic Resource) / Valdai Club. 06.06.2018. URL: <<http://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/valdai-papers/valdayskaya-zapiska-87/>>.

³⁹ Supyan W. U.S. Economy in the 21st Century: Challenges and Trends in Development. M.: The Whole World, 2018. 424 s.

⁴⁰ Yakovlev P. From NAFTA to USMKA: Reform of North American Integration / Russian Foreign Economic Gazette. 2019. № 1. With. 75-87.

⁴¹ Komkova E. USMKA instead of NAFTA / World economy and international relations. 2019. T. 63. № 4. With. 50-58.

⁴² Kudayarov N. Caravan of Migrants: Crisis of the regional migration system ! Iberoamerica. 2019. № 1. With. 65-87.

⁴³ Sudarev V. Evolution of U.S. policy in Latin America under President D. Trump / USA - Canada: economy, politics, culture. 2020. № 1. C. 75-87.

which could be characterized as a foreign policy ideology, on what ideological and political traditions this ideology was formed and how effectively it was able to influence the foreign policy course of the United States?

Aims and objectives

The purpose of the study is to determine the peculiarities of U.S. foreign policy ideology under the Trump administration and the forms of its manifestation in foreign policy. It is important to explain that the dissertation is devoted to the ideology of the United States under D. Trump's protest response to the outcome of globalization.

To achieve the goal, the study set the following objectives:

1. Analyze theoretical approaches to the study of modern foreign policy ideologies.
2. To explore the main directions of the formation of U.S. foreign policy ideology and ideological postulates, which are reflected in trumpism.
3. Find out the pros and cons of globalization for the United States.
4. Consider the ideological origins and reasons for forming a broad public inquiry to review the goals and forms of U.S. foreign policy.
5. Identify the characteristics of the foreign policy ideology of D. Trump as a response to a public inquiry.
6. To follow the evolution of trumpism towards a qualitatively new foreign policy based on rethinking U.S. involvement in globalization.
7. To define forms of trumpism in the implementation of D. Trump's trade and economic policy on the example of renegotiating the terms of NAFTA.
8. Establish the impact of trumpism on the tightening of U.S. migration policy towards Mexico.

The object of the study is the foreign policy ideology of D. Trump. The matter-subject of the study is the basis for the formation of foreign policy ideology D. Trump. In order to better understand the specifics of the ideology of Trumpism, the author considers it necessary to consider its practical implementation in the policy of D. Trump on the example of Canada and Mexico.

Hypotheses

The hypothesis behind the work is that Under the influence of globalization, the fundamental process of the late 20th century, and the resulting U.S. involvement in it, a number of problems have emerged and intensified.

Scope and limitations of research

The study's chronological framework covers the period of D. Trump's presidency (January 20, 2017-January 20, 2021). The significance of this period is due to qualitative changes in the foreign policy ideology, strategy and course of the United States, which occurred after the victory of D. Trump in the presidential election in 2016.

Methodology & methods

Methodologically, the main difficulty of the work was that any ideology, including foreign policy, is a system of the most common ideas, values and ideas, which are quite difficult to explore because of the high degree of their abstraction. At the same time, no political action is possible outside of ideology. According to the pragmatic approach, ideology is a neutral and action-oriented system of thinking based on pragmatism and relying on historical experience as the most reliable guide to human behavior. Therefore, there is an organic link between ideology and political action, and this allows us to widely use the method of induction, to explore ideology through analysis of specific political actions. A significant part of the work is based on the inductive method, where D. Trump's

foreign policy ideology is explored through the prism of his administration's actions in the international arena.

Along with the induction method, the tasks predetermined the integrated application of specific scientific methods:

- The historical-genetic method provided an opportunity to trace how U.S. foreign policy was conceptually shaped by Hamiltonianism, Wilsonianism, Jeffersonianism and Jacksonianism;

- The historical-comparative method has made it possible to identify differences in the positions of supporters and opponents of concepts that differently interpret the principles of U.S. foreign policy, to correlate the positions of the United States, Canada and Mexico in the process of modernizing NAFTA;

- The method of structural and functional analysis allowed to consider the process of formation and content of D. Trump's foreign policy ideology;

- The systematic approach allowed to highlight and link the directions of the domestic political crisis in the United States, to consider the results of globalization for the United States, which influenced the evolution of U.S. foreign policy ideology under D. Trump.

Selection of empirical data

The basis was materials that can be divided into several groups:

State and international legal documents, including "U.S. National Security Strategy"⁴⁴, "U.S. National Defense Strategy"⁴⁵, "U.S. Nuclear Policy Review"⁴⁶,

⁴⁴ National Security Strategy of the United States of America, December 2017 // The White House. URL: <<https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>>.

⁴⁵ National Defense Strategy, 2018 // U.S. Department of Defense. URL: <<https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf>>.

⁴⁶ 2018 Nuclear Posture Review Final Report // U.S. Department of Defense. URL: <<https://media.defense.gov/2018/Feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-NUCLEAR-POSTURE-REVIEW-FINAL-REPORT.PDF>>.

"Missile Defense Review -2019"⁴⁷ and others, speeches and speeches by D. Trump, his supporters, their policy articles and campaign platforms;

Materials from the U.S. administration. Numerous materials on the revision of NAFTA, as well as tightening of migration laws, have been considered, studied and analyzed. The following structures were used: Federal Reserve Board, IMF, The White House, The World Bank, U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of State, U.S. Energy Information Administration, UNDP, USMCA⁴⁸, USTR⁴⁹;

- analytical articles in Boston Review, Chicago Tribune, Financial Times, Forbes, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, Fortune, Los Angeles Times, National Review, The American Conservative, The American Interest, The Atlantic, The Diplomat, The Economist, The Guardian, The Hill, The Hollywood Reporter, The Independent, The National Interest, The New York Times, The New Yorker, The Times, The Wall Street

- materials from expert think tanks, Cato Institute, Council on Foreign Relations, CSIS, Gallup, Heritage Foundation, Hudson Institute, Knight Foundation, Migration Policy Institute, Miller Center, Pew Research Center, Project Syndicate, SIPRI, Statista, Quinnipiac University;

Media outlets:ABC, Associated Press, BBC News, Bloomberg, Business Insider, C-SPAN, CBS, CNBC, CNN, CNSNews, Euronews, ForumDaily, Fox News, History Channel, NPR, Politico, RealClearpolitics, Reuters, The Daily Signal, Vox;

⁴⁷ 2019 Missile Defense Review - Department of Defense // U.S. Department of Defense. URL: <<https://media.defense.gov/2019/Jan/17/2002080666/-1/-1/1/2019-MISSILE-DEFENSE-REVIEW.pdf>>.

⁴⁸ USMCA | United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement // USMCA. URL: <<https://usmca.com>>.

⁴⁹ United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement // United States Trade Representative. URL: <<https://ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements/united-states-mexico-canada-agreement>>.

Original scholarly research contributions to the subject field

The scientific novelty of the work lies in the fact that the author for the first time addressed an in-depth study of the ideology of the Trump administration, formed largely by the evaluation of the results of globalization for the United States and determined the new strategic direction of U.S. foreign policy. During the presidency of D. Trump published a large number of scientific articles and publications, but they are fragmented and do not represent a single picture of the foreign policy ideology of the Trump administration.

- It is proved that D. Trump is not a populist, but comes from rationalistic, pragmatic considerations in his foreign policy.

- There is a theoretical rethinking of D. Trump's ideology and proves that Trumpism has a clear ideological and conceptual basis.

- The consistency of D. Trump's foreign policy course is proved by comparing his campaign promises and concrete decisions.

Applied results of the research

The importance of this work is: to provide a scientific basis for understanding what is happening in the ideological sphere and practical policy, how much foreign policy is subject to changes in ideology; 2) preparation of the information base for the formation of the Russian foreign policy, as similar processes in the form of a reaction to globalization are taking place in Russia; 3) developing clear and clear criteria for students to assess U.S. foreign policy.

The summary of the findings and conclusions

Chapter I addresses the general issues of foreign policy ideology. The ideological concepts that defined the course of foreign policy thinking of American leaders at different stages of U.S. history, including the international and domestic political agenda, are also analyzed. It is important to note that the author uses the

classification of the American historian W. Mead. The idea is that conceptually American foreign policy has historically been shaped by four schools of thought: Hamiltonianism (economic nationalism), Jeffersonianism (isolationism), Jacksonism (populist nationalism), Wilsonism (liberal idealism). If we assume that any ideology is capable of taking the form of political philosophy and political movements, it is possible to learn the basics of trumpism through their study. U.S. foreign policy has never relied on one particular concept, but has been built in different formats and "assemblies," which explains the careful analysis of each of the four concepts. The findings will be further tested on the example of Trumpism, its trade, economic and migration policy.⁵⁰

Chapter II shows that the evolution of the ideological attitudes, strategy and course of the United States under D. Trump is directly related to the contradictory results of globalization conducted by previous administrations. The deep contradictions that arose in the understanding of these processes and laid the foundation for the transition to the foreign policy ideology of D. Trump are revealed. Factors are cited as a significant part of the voters of the program D. Trump's. There are two opposing reactions in the American society to globalization and fundamental differences in relation to the neoliberal trade and economic policy. The protest reaction of a significant part of American society to the growth of Latin American immigration and the emerging demand for tougher U.S. migration policy with the abandonment of multiculturalism are being investigated.

If the main part of Chapter II is devoted to the ideological aspects of U.S. foreign policy, Chapter III illustrates the practical implementation of Trumpism and confirms the sequence of U.S. foreign policy under D. Trump. Chapter III examines the manifestations of D. Trump's ideology on two examples: renegotiation of NAFTA and tightening of migration policy. The choice is due to the fact that from the author's point of view, critical issues of modern international

⁵⁰ Mead W. The Jacksonian Revolt [Electronic Resource] // Foreign Affairs. 2017. March/April. URL: <<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-01-20/jacksonian-revolt>>.

relations for the United States include correcting the mistakes made during economic globalization, as well as solving the problem of immigration to the United States.

Based on the analysis of the formation and manifestation of the foreign policy ideology of D. Trump, the following conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of the formation and manifestation of The Foreign Policy Ideology of D. Trump.

1. Ideology remains an important factor in U.S. foreign and domestic policy. Ideological traditions best reflect the main differences between liberals and conservatives, proponents of globalism and isolationism, multiculturalism and nationalism, political parties. They explain why it is so difficult for elites and parties to agree on domestic and foreign policy issues, and how the potential choice could affect international relations. Basic ideologies imply different reactions of society and elites to the "external factor", namely globalization and related processes. By the 21st century, the United States had two ideological macro-platforms with the dominant ideologists of left-liberalism, multiculturalism on the one hand, and right-wing liberalism (conservatism), ethnocultural nationalism, on the other. American society (after the elites) was divided into two irreconcilable camps, one of which went after D. Trump as an expression of values and behavioral attitudes close to him. The Trump phenomenon and the right-wing reversal under his administration was associated with the renaissance of American conservatism and served as evidence that the balance of power in the United States has changed.

2. Trumpism cannot be expressed in a nutshell, and D. Trump's foreign policy hardly fits into one of the categories. Possible key to understanding and defining parameters of the foreign policy ideology of D. Trump was winged in the address to the ideological concepts of W. Mead. Conceptually, American foreign policy has historically been shaped by four schools of thought. Of the two main globalist ideological concepts that helped build the global neoliberal post-Cold

War world order, Wilsonism is focused on values, while Hamiltonianism prefers economics.

First of all, the real foreign policy of the United States under D. Trump is the course of A. Hamilton. Despite the narrow definition of national interests, D. Trump is a moderate globalist of the Hamiltonian sense, but unlike the Wilsonians, who interpret the national interests of the United States in terms not of the dissemination of values, but of increasing the total economic and military power of the United States. D. Trump advocated a tough and nationally oriented policy on foreign trade and investment with a transition from neoliberal globalism to economic nationalism. Mr. Trump's approach differs from the classics of the 19th century with greater flexibility on free trade and moderation in the use of protective tools for industrial development. D. Trump sincerely believes in the civilizational superiority of the United States and fully shares the idea of the need to create a high-tech MIC with the constant development of new and advanced weapons systems, which justifies the increase of the military budget to record levels (\$738 billion for 2020). But most importantly, D. Trump's views are imbued with economic Hamiltonian matter, he came into politics from the world of business and acted on the international scene based on the principles of business.

The author does not deny that the alterglobalism and nationalism of D. Trump are combined with the continuation of traditional Wilsonism. There is reason to talk about the formation of an inter-elite consensus to protect the part of the global system created by them and directly integrated with the United States. U.S. foreign policy remains such a key element as a commitment to values. In relations with China, the value component has not only not disappeared, but has also increased. There is a high degree of continuity between the ideology of D. Trump and B. Obama. Despite the deideologization of foreign policy, the Trump administration has not completely abandoned the spread of freedom and democracy in the world and continued the policy of promoting regime change. There is still differentiation along the line of his stranger. A clear watershed was

drawn between the free world and the authoritarian world. At the same time, compared to the Obama administration under the new administration, the spread of values in the world has acquired the character not so much as an ideological determinant, but a tool convenient for achieving the set foreign policy goals and objectives.

3. The election of D. Trump fully reflected the "Jacksonian revolt" of the angry and dissatisfied with the current elites and their policies. D. Trump has traits, constants of consciousness of the President-Jacksonian: reliance on the "deep people"; Direct communication with the people through social networks; a promise to return the country to direct popular democracy; style of speeches to voters (fatherland in danger); strengthening the nativist component with the requirement to protect American values, not to subject them to experiment; charismatic and strong leader capable of neutralizing the threat by harsh methods.

Trumpism is not a turn towards isolationism. The author fully shares the view that there is a logic of revisionism in trumpism, and in fact the Trump administration only sought to reduce the cost of global policy and audit international institutions. Mr. Trump has formulated a narrower definition of America's national interests than that supported by liberal idealists. Its foreign policy does not include a wide range of efforts to bring global peace, stability and prosperity. Foreign aid to other countries could well be cut under any budget review. In fact, many of Mr. Trump's moves are at odds with his isolationist stance, although they do not prove in any way that he is an internationalist.

4. The challenges of the 21st century affect American society and the state and create the conditions for changes in domestic and especially foreign policy. Despite all the positive aspects of neoliberal globalization, post-industrial economies are increasingly showing negative consequences (boomerang globalization), and there are more and more stories about the crisis of the legitimacy of neoliberalism. It is possible to distinguish internal and external factors, indicating the need to make adjustments to the existing model of

development of the United States, namely, first, the erosion of the middle class; Secondly, the constant trade deficit and the growth of the national debt; thirdly, the emergence of new towering powers through the concentration of industrial production through outsourcing, as well as the accumulation of financial and economic resources; fourth, the relative decline in the competitiveness of the U.S. economy in the secondary sector. There is a situation in which American TNCs receive more income from investments abroad than from investments in their country and the development of domestic production. All of the above violated the principle of a social contract or social contract within the United States. The weakening of the United States as a global hegemon is a product of globalization. D. Trump - an American great-power nationalist with a belief in the primacy of national interests - shifted the emphasis from the policy of neoliberal globalism to the strengthening of the industrial power of the United States, while depriving rivals of the advantages gained through globalization.

In parallel with the results of economic globalization, the racial and ethnocultural disunity of American society and uncontrolled immigration have a significant impact on the racial and ethnocultural disunity of American society. On the example of the United States, it is possible to build an algorithm in which the racial-ethnic conflict on the fact of the Latin American (Mexican) influx of immigrants and the policy of multiculturalism was one of the factors that predetermined the victory of D. Trump and the tightening of migration policy.

5. The systemic view of Trumpism has made it possible to establish a link between domestic policy and foreign policy, with the domestic political factor playing a more prominent role than before. D. Trump's ideology was formed in a certain socio-political context, based on changes in society and elites. The 2016 presidential election demonstrated the ideological heterogeneity of American society. The Trump phenomenon is a consequence of domestic problems, a sign of the changes that have long matured in the United States. All signs point to the fact that the elite and national consensus in understanding the national interests has

been undermined, the centralism of the average American, which has always served as a solid foundation for consensus on foreign policy issues, has been eroded. First, different attitudes towards the politics of neoliberal globalism and, secondly, racial and ethnic, cultural changes, painfully perceived as an essential part of American society, are the determining factors. The results of neoliberal economic policies have led many Americans to believe that their country has lost its status as an economic superpower and is being exploited throughout the world. Cultural postmodernism and imposed progressive values have sparked a counter-reaction in a society that has reached a serious scale by the 2016 presidential election.

All of the above proves that trumpism is not an accident, but a natural outcome of the development of American politics. D. Trump correctly defined and correctly reacted to domestic and global trends. In the United States, a demand for a new foreign policy ideology was formed not without radicalization of views and approaches to accumulated problematic topics. The 2016 presidential election demonstrated Americans' desire for change, and the ideological and conceptual basis of D. Trump's campaign was best suited to fulfill the foreign policy goals.

As for the actions taken by the Trump administration in foreign policy, it can be recorded that they fit into the guidelines set in the doctrinal documents. We can talk about the consistent implementation of a specific foreign policy strategy focused on "America first." D. Trump achieved economic growth by enacting large-scale tax reform; completely changed the foreign economic policy of the United States, as evidenced by the conclusion of the USMCA, the U.S. withdrawal from the TPP, the ongoing trade war with China; left the WTO to defend the interests of American manufacturers; stimulated resourcing; achieved full U.S. energy independence; strengthened the position of conservatives by approving three conservatives, N. Gorsuch, B. Kavanaugh and E. Barrett, on the Supreme Court, which significantly changed the situation in the highest court of the United States; achieved the signing of Israel's reconciliation treaties with the arab world;

significantly tightened migration legislation; provided the United States with peace through force and without war; achieved a record increase in the military budget in the last 15 years.

All of the above confirms that D. Trump is a president who clearly fulfills his promises, not a populist.

The United States needs a fundamental and in-depth discussion with representatives from across the political spectrum and all schools of thought more than ever. However, it should be noted that during the entire presidential term D. Trump in power remained categorical and fundamental rejection of his views, first of all, left-liberal elites and the Democratic Party. This is one of the reasons for the failures, the problems faced by the Trump administration. The factor of D. Trump's ideological struggle with the Washington establishment and the sharp confrontation of D. Trump with the Democrats is an important determinant of modern U.S. foreign policy and no less important than the basic ideological statements of D. Trump.

6. Despite the fact that the concept of "global domination" remains at the heart of the U.S. foreign policy doctrine, the understanding primarily of the Hamiltonian and Jacksonian schools of thought has made it possible to understand what motivated the Trump administration in conducting an entirely new nationally oriented foreign policy. The analysis suggests the formation of a new combination: Jacksonian Hamiltonianism. D. Trump's foreign policy ideology is a synthesis of the ideas of Hamiltonianism and Jacksonism (detailed in the first chapter) and equally combines the features of moderate globalism and nationalism with a shift from American "leadership" to American "greatness" thanks to the strategy of "America First". In foreign policy, Trumpism is a great-power nationalism that involves an active foreign policy of restructuring the liberal world order in accordance with American national interests, defined on the basis of pragmatism and rationalism. This ideology can be described as an evolution of American political attitudes in a changing world order. In practice, this change is reflected in

the tightening of U.S. trade, economic and migration policy while maintaining the central role of the United States in the global world order.

7. Under D. Trump, the United States achieved impressive economic indicators. We can talk about the "economic miracle" until the beginning of 2020. Trump's reform agenda is in keeping with time, when Hamiltonianism increasingly defines U.S. policy. This is manifested in Trump's appeal to protectionist means and methods of trade wars, which previous administrations have long neglected. It should be made clear that protectionism is not recognized as an ideal model of foreign trade policy. Any protectionist policy provokes retaliation, which reduces the competitiveness of national goods. Nevertheless, in the face of the need to develop national production and protect one's own producer from external competition, such policies have a favourable effect.

Despite the inherent economic nationalism, D. Trump does not go to trade wars with all. The United States has reached a harmonization of trade relations with Canada and Mexico. USMCA is the first concrete result of the new American economic strategy. In addition, the Trump administration can write into the asset a new FTA agreement with South Korea (KORUS 2.0), signed in September 2018, as well as a trade agreement with Japan, concluded in September 2019 and able to acquire the features of a fair and mutually beneficial FTA. In January 2020, a historic trade agreement was signed with China. For the U.S., it proved to be extremely profitable, as it managed not only to gain more access to the Chinese domestic market, but also to weaken the position of its main strategic competitor as a whole. The scenario of the us return to the TPP on new terms is being considered. There is a possibility of an FTA agreement with the UK.

USMCA can be cautiously called the first full-fledged trade breakthrough of D. Trump, one of the results of "trumponomics" - the new American economic policy. Its signing has put an end to a difficult period of uncertainty and unpredictability, and also means that the integration process in North America will continue. D. Trump has proved that, talking about unfair and unfavorable to the

U.S. agreements, he is ready to reconsider them, acting on the basis of pragmatism and rationalism. USMCA has its own geoeconomic overtones, as it practically blocks the access of Chinese industries to the North American market. Finally, USMCA can be used as a constructive base under the renegotiation of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), which means finally linking the European market in competition with China. Although, of course, in the conditions of comparability of the economies of the United States and the EU will require large concessions on the American side.

8. U.S. migration policy under D. Trump has changed doctrinally. At the same time, it is strongly focused on Mexico. The future of white European America may depend on solving the problem of illegal immigration and reducing the growth of the Latin American share of the population. The Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the national quota system, which increased the influx of all-new immigrants and weakened the position of WASP representatives. D. Trump's main goal was to establish full state control over immigration to the United States and reduce its flow. There were two ways to achieve this goal: first, by tightening migration policies and deporting refugees, and secondly, by positive actions, economically developing Mexican territories bordering the United States. While Trump's rhetoric may seem to have focused mainly on illegal immigration, he was also focused on reducing legal immigration with tighter entry rules for all immigrants. Increased border controls and the inclusion of Mexican authorities in the problem of illegal immigration in 2019; The course of a decisive break with the long-standing and traditional policy of multiculturalism for the United States is a result that D. Trump could present to his electorate as an important achievement. It is not to say that the completed wall would become a symbol of the migration, if not the whole, policy of the Trump administration. If re-elected, mr. Trump's most radical step in changing the U.S. migration system could well be the establishment of a rigid quota system, which has long been practiced by Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

The results and generalizing assessments of the dissertation study show that the author's hypothesis about the significant influence of the ideological factor on the formation of U.S. foreign policy and the qualitative change in the country's foreign policy strategy and course and foreign policy ideology of the United States under the Trump administration can be considered proven.

Statements to be defended

1. Ideology had a significant impact on the foreign policy pursued by the Trump administration. In U.S. history, there are four historically competing foreign policy concepts or schools of thought. Since the end of the Cold War, U.S. foreign policy has been built around the concept of neo-Wilsonism, a combination of liberal institutionalism and neoconservatism, and oriented towards transforming and transforming the world into alignment with American values. The result of globalization, launched and justified neo-Stalinian ideology, was an internal crisis, which caused the election of D. Trump and his implementation of a fundamentally new foreign policy.

2. Trumpism is not a random phenomenon, not a failure of the system, as proponents of globalization claim, but a natural outcome of the development of American foreign and domestic policy in recent decades. The deep reason for the reversal of a significant part of American society in the direction of D. Trump's ideas is the participation of the United States in globalization in accordance with neo-Stalinian ideology. With the inauguration of D. Trump as president, the foreign policy ideology, strategy and course of the United States have undergone major changes. D. Trump is an American great-power nationalist, practicing the approaches of the Hamiltonian and Jacksonian schools of thought. The main trend is the conduct of foreign policy based on the solution of domestic political problems, which can be interpreted as a qualitative change in U.S. foreign policy.

3. For highly developed economies, the negative consequences of economic globalization are becoming more visible, which is what was expressed in the

election of D. Trump. Left-liberal migration policy based on the concept of multiculturalism has led to negative consequences. Racial-ethnic conflict over the Latin American (Mexican) influx of immigrants is one of the factors that predetermined the victory of D. Trump. Under D. Trump, U.S. trade, economic and migration policy changed both practically and doctrinally.

Work approbation

The results of the study were tested in the framework of Russian scientific and practical conferences:

- I Annual Conference of the Moscow Regional Mission of Russian Association of Political sciences, section: "The problem of migration in the modern world: causes, threats and prospects of resolution," RANEPА, Moscow, March 5, 2018, report "The problem of immigration in the modern world on the example of the United States".

- International Scientific and Practical Conference "The Role of International Organizations in the Modern World," Diplomatic Academy, Moscow, February 16, 2019, report "International Organizations in the Context of the New Asia-Pacific Policy of the United States".

- 20th April International Scientific Conference on Economic and Social Development, Session "The Relationship of Domestic and Foreign Policy," HSE Research Institute, Moscow, April 11, 2019, report "The role of domestic political factors in shaping U.S. foreign policy under the Trump administration".

- 21st April International Scientific Conference on Economic and Society Development, U.S. Global Strategy Evolution in the Context of Internal Transformation, HSE Research Institute, Moscow, May 19, 2020, report "U.S. Trade Agreements with South Korea, Japan, USMCA: Impact on the 2020 Presidential Election".

List of publications relevant to the thesis:

Publications on the topic of the dissertation, published in the journals recommended by the HSE

1. Kochegurov D. Ideology of D. Trump in the context of the cyclical change of four foreign policy concepts of the United States // Actual problems of Europe. 2020. № 1. P. 46–65. URL: <<https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/ideologiya-d-trampa-v-kontekste-tsiklichnoy-smenyaemosti-chetyreh-vneshnepoliticheskikh-kontseptsiy-ssha/viewer>>.

2. Kochegurov D. Domestic changes in the United States as a shadow factor of the new transatlantic relations // Actual problems of Europe. 2019. № 1. P. 100–118. URL: <<https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/vnutrennie-izmeneniya-v-soedinennyh-shtatah-kak-tenevoy-faktor-novyh-transatlanticheskikh-otnosheniy/viewer>>.

3. Kanaev E., Kochegurov D. Immigration Policy in the 21st Century: Example of the United States // Actual problems of Europe. 2018. № 1. P. 58–76. URL: <<https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/immigratsionnaya-politika-v-xxi-veke-primer-ssha/viewer>>.

Other publications

4. Kochegurov D. Neoliberal globalism as a factor in the domestic economic transformation of the United States // Free Thought. 2020. № 3. URL: <<http://svom.info/entry/1032-neoliberalnyj-globalizm-kak-faktor-vnutriekonomich/>>.

5. Kochegurov D. International Organizations in the context of the new Asia-Pacific policy of the United States // The role of international organizations in the modern world. Current issues of international relations and international law: A collection of articles. Materials of the international scientific and practical

conference of young scientists. M.: Marketing Information and Implementation Centre, 2019. P. 175–179.

6. Belinsky A., Kochegurov D. Reaction of NATO and the EU to the strategic challenge from the Russian Federation. (Review) // European security problems. 2018. № 3. P. 104–126. URL: <<https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/reaktsiya-nato-i-es-na-strategicheskiy-vyzov-sostorony-rf-obzor/viewer>>.

7. Kochegurov D. The problem of immigration in the modern world on the example of the United States // nauka.me. 2018. Global problems and contradictions of the 21st century. URL: <<https://nauka.me/s241328880000080-2-1/>>.

8. Kochegurov D. Trump phenomenon as a reflection of crisis trends within the United States // European security: events, estimates, forecasts. 2017. 47 (63). P. 12–15. URL: <<https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/fenomen-trampa-kak-otrazhenie-krizisnyh-tendentsiy-vnutri-ssha/viewer>>.