JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Brooklyn College The City University of New York

SPRING 2017 EDITION

The Election of Donald J. Trump, the Hopes, Fears & International Relations

Trump's Presidential Win: Understanding the voting results of the 2016 presidential election

The Constrained Presidency: Political and Legal Barriers to Trump's Foreign Policy Agenda

Transatlantic Xenophobia: Brexit and Trump

Politics and Perspective: The Other Side of America First Through the Lens of Film

HTTPS://BCPOLSCIMA.WORDPRESS.COM
international_affairs@aol.com

Contents

Editors' Note 3

Trump's Presidential Win: Understanding the voting results of the 2016 presidential election 4

Michael Flynn 8

The Constrained Presidency: Political and Legal Barriers to Trump's Foreign Policy Agenda 11

Possibility of a Paradigm Shift US-Latin America-East Asia: Post 2016 US Presidential Election 16

Trump's Plan to deport Undocumented Migrants may increase Violence in Central America 21

Terror: The Trump Approach 26

Transatlantic Xenophobia: Brexit and Trump 30

European Ignorance 35

Why women vote for right-wing parties 39

The Women's March 43

Anyone 45

Revolution Now More Than Ever 46

Brooklyn College Against Trump 48

Brooklyn College Faculty, Staff Resist! 49

The Resistance 50

Politics and Perspective: The Other Side of America First Through the Lens of Film 52

All rights reserved. parts of this publication may be reproduced for non commercial use. For commercial use of the published articles contact the author under following adress:

Brooklyn College
School of Humanities and Social Sciences
3238 Boylan Hall
P: 718.951.3136
F: 718.951.4132

Editors' Note

Jason Capote
Özden Gül
Xenia Marie Hestermann
Kurt J. Jamora
Tyler Mott

It has been a privilege to work on the Brooklyn College Spring 2017 Journal of International Affairs as a member of a highly-motivated team of scholars. The journal has sought to grow each year broadening the thematic reach and diversity of complex subjects. This spring's editors came together during a time when many in the United States were growing apart because of a highly controversial presidential election. When election came to a much desired end, the media then went into a frenzy with Donald Trump's victory. Citizens of the US and the international community began to talk of paradigm shifts, identity concerns, uncertainties, and the possibilities of new and damaging policies that would change their lives forever. In short, there were so many voices that the rhetoric became deafening leaving people unable to separate fact from fiction. It was at this point our team came together setting out to understand the developing situation in order to provide a clear picture to community and to define its hopes and fears.

During our first meeting, we identified that the situation is composed of several key components: paradigm shifts, election misconceptions, foreign policy, misrepresentation of history, global perceptions, and media rhetoric. The Journal's academic supervisor, Dr. Mark Ungar, agreed that these subjects were key to answering the question as to what are the true possibilities of the Trump administration. Amongst our small team we knew that diligent work and active counsel from Dr. Ungar would set the conditions for success.

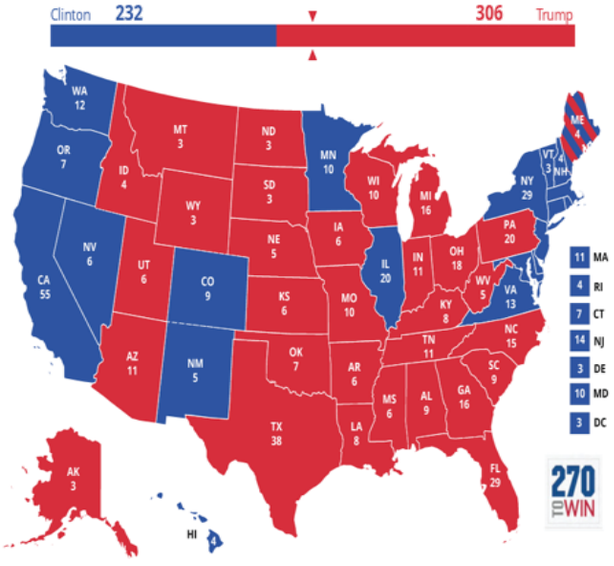
The efforts of the various facilities and individuals cannot be overstated. Florian Martini must be acknowledged for diligently working overseas in Germany to complete the design and organization of all materials providing stylistic expertise to represent the diversity and creativity of all contributions. Reminders were never required – we gave him our criteria and instructions which were seamlessly completed above our expectations. Additionally, Brooklyn College's very own Printworks in Boylan Hall provided gracious support and the necessary resources to produce flyers to spread around the campus and the greater New York City area.

We are confident that you will find the Spring 2017 edition of the Brooklyn College Journal of International Affairs to be a valuable insight into a complex subject as few have yet to provide such breadth and depth in scholarship. We welcome your comments to improve for the future and hope you will consider submitting your own work for the next edition.

Trump's Presidential Win: Understanding the voting results of the 2016 presidential election

by Özden Gül

A brief background and explanation of the Electoral College is necessary to understand the 2016 presidential election. First and foremost the Electoral College is a process that was established in the Constitution as "a compromise between election of the President by a vote in Congress and election of the President by a popular vote of qualified citizens" ("What is the Electoral College?"). It is also important to note that in the popular vote the citizens are not actually voting for the presidential candidates directly. Instead, citizens vote to elect candidates, the "electors", to the college, with "college" in this scenario referring to an organized group of professional people with particular aims, duties, and privileges. Each state receives a certain number of electoral votes that is decided upon based on its population from the Census. Within the Electoral College there are a total of 538 electors and a majority of 270 electoral votes is required to elect the President.

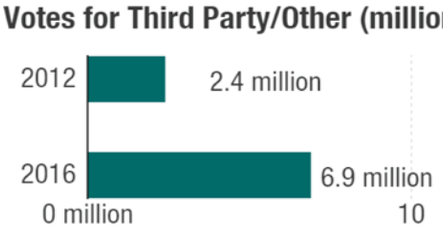


The Electoral College received plenty of attention this past election as Trump did not win the popular vote, but did win the Electoral College and was able to secure the win for presidency. This is not unheard of in US elections, though - it was the fifth time in history (and the second time this century) where it has happened. The previous elections were in 2000, 1888, 1876, and 1824. In 2000, Al Gore won around 537,000 more popular votes compared to George W. Bush but Bush clinched the victory by passing Gore in the Electoral College votes 271-266, by being declared the winner in Florida during a recount in that state triggered by the faulty ballots in the heavily Democratic areas of the state's south. That is, it is possible to lose the popular vote but still secure the presidency and make it into the White House without breaking any laws. The results from the 2016 presidential election show that Clinton won the popular vote by 65.8 million votes compared to Trump's 63 million. Yet even though Clinton won the popular vote, Trump still triumphed because he gained more votes from the Electoral College. How is this possible? Especially since Trump's share of the popular vote was the seventh-smallest winning percentage since 1828. According to the Pew Research Center:

"This mismatch between the electoral and popular votes came about because Trump won several large states (such as Florida, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin) by very narrow margins, gaining all their electoral votes in the process, even as Clinton claimed other large states (such as California, Illinois, and New York) by much wider margins."

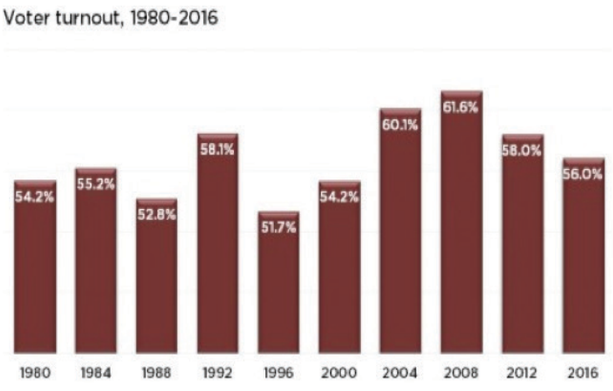
The ability to win the presidential election without winning the popular vote can have some voters feeling exasperated with the voting process. The popular vote is based on a system of democratic ideals where the people can directly choose leaders through their votes. In US elections the people speak directly through their vote, so when a candidate wins the majority of the popular vote but still loses the election it places questions on the legitimacy of the democratic process if the people's voices can be trumped by the Electoral College. This past election reveals the dissatisfaction of the Electoral College, which has been brought to light through politicians who aim to put an end to it. Retiring Senator Barbara Boxer, a California democrat, introduced a bill to abolish the Electoral College as she stated "this is the only office in the land where you can get more votes and still lose the presidency...the Electoral College is an outdated, undemocratic system that does not reflect our modern society, and it needs to change immediately" (Krieg). New York Congressman Charlie Rangel follows along the same path as he also put forth companion legislation in the House of Representatives in an effort to dissolve the Electoral College (Krieg). If it seems that the Democratic party members hold the most grievances with the Electoral College, then it is important to note that in three of the past electoral-popular vote mismatches it was the Democratic Party candidate that lost out. Politicians are bringing up the frustrations with the voting process in which the people's votes do not hold the highest value in electing the next US president.

The dissatisfaction from this past election was also revealed through the increase in the number of votes cast for third/other party candidates. This increase can be attributed to discontent towards the presidential candidates this past year. The number of people electing not to vote for the Republican or Democratic nominees went up by 4.5 million votes, a nearly triple increase from 2012.



Libertarian Gary Johnson received more than 4 million votes and Jill Stein, the Green Party candidate, acquired 1.3 million votes in the 2016 presidential elections. Due to this increase we can begin to see a pattern of growth in the popularity of parties outside the Republican and Democratic parties that historically tended to dominate. A deeper analysis of the demographics show that more young voters supported these candidates in 2016, with a rise of 5% for 18-29 year old's who voted third/other party, when compared to the 2012 election results. Dissatisfaction with the two candidates was expressed through a poll conducted by the Pew Research Center which revealed that about 40% of eligible voters said that they had "difficulty choosing between the two major party candidates because neither was worthy of the presidency" ("State's Voter Turnout").

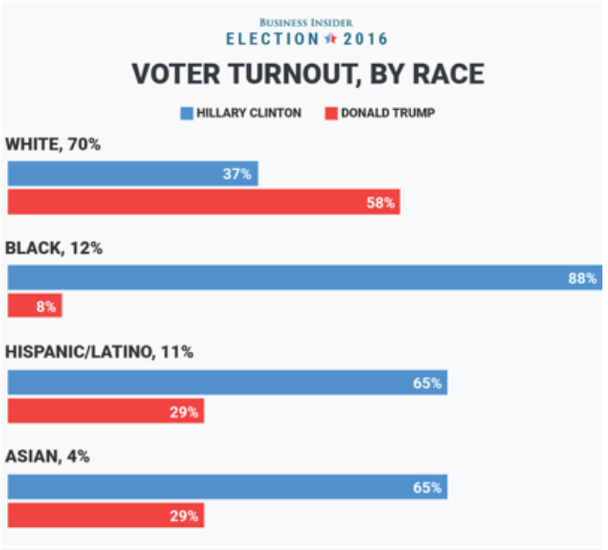
This dissatisfaction with the major party candidates could have also played a role in the lower rates of voter turnout this past election. An interesting note reported by the Pew Research Center reveals that there were higher rates of interest and engagement in this past election over any other election they studied from the past two decades (Fingerhut), and yet there was no significant increase in the rate of voter turnout to the polls. Voter turnout has continued to decrease since the 2008 elections, but it's still not as low as voter turnout rates seen in prior decades.

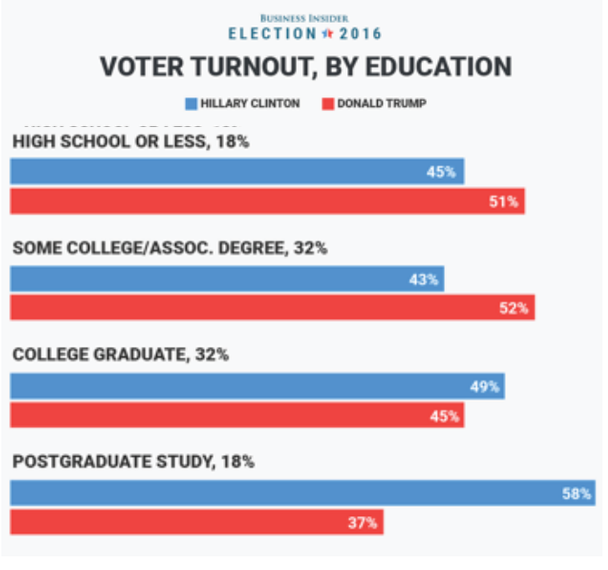


And when comparing voter turnout to other nations the US lags behind. When measuring turnout by looking at the votes cast, the United States comes in at 31st of 35 countries ranked in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). So, while lower voter turnouts this election may be attributed in part to the dissatisfaction of the running candidates, there is also a lower voter turnout in the US overall when compared globally. This may be due to the fact that other nations, such as Belgium and Turkey, have policies in place that make voting mandatory, or the inconvenience of voting in the US. Election day falls on the first Tuesday after November 1st which can cause conflict for potential voters since Tuesday is a working day for most citizens. Without recognizing election day as a federal holiday there is no guarantee of receiving time off of work to allow voters to make it out to the polls. The low voter turnouts also bring into question the accuracy of whether the US public's opinion is being reflected in politics. With a considerably large portion of eligible voters not voting there remains the possibility that the elected officials in office do not accurately represent the ideals of the American public.

From those that did cast their votes, however, we can see the changes that brought Trump victory. In studying the exit polls to determine what factors played a role in Trump's victory, it was concluded that Trump won the election "by consolidating support from white voters and making unexpected gains with minority groups" (Lai et al.). This unexpected gain of votes from minority groups was in part due to the fact that Clinton could not garner enough support this election from minority groups compared with the 2012 presidential election results where minority groups provided higher levels of support for Obama (Lai et al.). Trump also seized a significantly larger percentage of votes from whites without college degrees when compared to his predecessors in past elections (Lai et al.).

Up until now the focus has been on the election results and voter turnout without paying much attention to understanding how this data was collected. If voting is an anonymous process, then





how are we able to retrieve this demographic data at the end of every election? The answer lies in the exit polling that's conducted. The reason why different news outlets report the same demographic data from the elections is because Edison Research is the company that has been preparing the statistics for the National Election Pool since 2003. Edison Research provides election projections and analysis for the news organizations that comprise the National Election Pool, which include ABC, CBS, CNN, Fox, NBC, and the Associated Press. Since all of these major news outlets receive their data from the same source, all the demographic data reported remains consistent and identical. Edison Research, however, does not provide whatever information it wants to the National Election Pool as Joe Lenski, the co-founder and executive vice president of the company, explains. He states that "anything about the sample size, which races to cover, what questions are asked on the questionnaire, those are determined by the six news organizations themselves" (Bump). The news organizations have their own committees that work alongside Edison Research to collect the data on the demographics they wish to present about the elections. The exit poll is a major undertaking and requires thousands of workers to conduct surveys and questionnaires on thousands of voters. Lenski explains that "between the exit-poll interviewers, vote-count reporters, supervisors driving around checking on sites, and the two very large phone rooms we'll be operating on Election Day to take in those results, we have close to 3,000 people working for us on Election Day" (Desilver). It's clearly no easy task to collect data on the voters, but this data can be used for meaningful research on voting patterns within the United States. Understanding votes cast based on race, income, education level, age, gender, etc. for each candidate means that we can begin the process of trying to examine what was so appealing about the policies or promises from the candidates to each of the demographic sets.

References

2016 Election State Winners. Digital image. 270towin. 270towin.com , n.d. Web. 24 Mar. 2017.

Bromwich, Jonah Engel. "How Does the Electoral College Work?" The New York Times. The New York Times Company, 8 Nov. 2016. Web. 24 Mar. 2017.

Bump, Philip . "How exit polls work, explained." The Washington Post. The Washington Post, 22 Apr. 2016.

Desilver, Drew. "Just how does the general election exit poll work, anyway?" FACTANK. Pew Research Center, 2 Nov. 2016.

Desilver, Drew. "Trump's victory another example of how Electoral College wins are bigger than popular vote ones." FACTANK. Pew Research Center, 20 Dec. 2016.

Desilver, Drew. "U.S. voter turnout trails most developed countries." FACTANK. Pew Research Center, 2 Aug. 2016.

"Election Polling Services." Edison Research. Edison Research, n.d.

Fingerhut, Hannah. "1. Campaign engagement and interest." U.S Policy and Politics. Pew Research Center, 07 July 2016.

Gould , Skye, and Rebecca Harrington. "7 charts show who propelled Trump to victory." Business Insider. Business Insider Inc., 10 Nov. 2016.

Krieg, Gregory. "It's official: Clinton swamps Trump in popular vote." CNN politics. Cable News Network, 22 Dec. 2016.

Lai, K.k. Rebecca, Alicia Parlapiano, Jeremy White, and Karen Yourish. "How Trump Won the Election According to Exit Polls." The New York Times. The New York Times Company, 08 Nov. 2016.

Montanaro, Domenico. "7 Reasons Donald Trump Won The Presidential Election." NPR. NPR, 12 Nov. 2016.

"Presidential Election Facts." HISTORY. A E Networks, 2010.

"States With The Highest (And Lowest) Voter Turnout." The Huffington Post. TheHuffingtonPost.com, Inc., 28 Oct. 2016.

United States of America. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. Office of the Federal Register. About the Electors. National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.

United States of America. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. Office of the Federal Register. Distribution of Electoral Votes. National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.

United States of America. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. Office of the Federal Register. What is the Electoral College? National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.

Waldman, Paul. "Why did Trump win? In part because voter turnout plunged." The Washington Post. The Washington Post, 10 Nov. 2016.

Michael Flynn

by Faizi Javaid

Initially, Michael Flynn served as a second lieutenant military intelligence officer for the U.S. Army. After achieving higher rank after rank, Flynn eventually became the director of defense intelligence agency (DNA). Yet as a three-star lieutenant general, Michael Flynn understood the gravity of his situation when lying to Vice President Pence about his phone with Ambassador Kislyak. As a national security advisor, this fact compounded further, ultimately leading to his resignation. Yet what many overlook is that Flynn had economic and political ties to Turkey. A foreign agent is anyone who actively carries out the interests of a foreign country while located in another host country, As a foreign agent, Michael Flynn undermined American national security by actively strengthening Turkey's regional and global interests.

Flynn created Flynn Intel Group after he was fired as DNI director in October 2014. Although Flynn stated he had clients in MENA and Japan, the firm's business structure was obscure and isolationist from public eye. The firm focused on cybertraining, aeronautics and transnational energy corporations. When an investigative journalist tracked the firm down in Alexandria Virginia, he found the office within a larger consulting firm's headquarters.

On August 9th, Flynn signed a contract with Inovo, a Dutch-based firm owned by Turkish- American businessman Ekim Alptekin. Not only is Alptekin a chairman of the Turkish American Business Council, he is the president of EA Holdings. EA is part of Turkey's military industrial complex as it manufactures artillery and information technology. Flynn working for Alptekin raises suspicion about whether he realized he was augmenting Turkey's interests at the cost of undermining American national security. Documents disclosed by WikiLeaks spotlight Alptekin consistently contacting the Turkish president's son in law (who is also the state's energy minister) throughout the U.S. presidential election. By simply connecting the dots, one notices Flynn's link to Alptekin directly connects to President Erdogan's administration.

Flynn's firm worked on negatively portraying an Islamic cleric living in the Poconos. Their work was aimed for third party distribution. Flynn's work stresses President Erdogan's desire for Fethullah Gülen's extradition and arrest. Despite his rhetoric demanding the United States hand him over as the perpetrator of last July's coup, Erdogan has yet to provide substantial evidence to the Justice Department. This raises the question of if President Erdogan has legitimate probable cause worthy of extradition, why would Ekim Alptekin outsource this task to Michael Flynn? This illustrates the lack of evidence, compelling the Turkish government to resort to slander and hearsay.

Yet Alptekin felt Flynn was not generating enough momentum behind this case. In response, General Flynn wrote an op-ed in The Hill on November 8th and held a hearing on the House Homeland Security Committee. The op-ed was full of disparaging false remarks intending to produce public awareness while casting a

negative outlook towards Gülen. Flynn was critical of Western media's accurate assessment of President Erdogan's civil societal purge. Flynn went onto draw a false parallel of Gülen to Syed Qutb and Al Bana. Furthermore, he tarnished Gülen's network as a sleeper cell without citing proof and concluded by bizarrely relating Gülen to Ayatollah Khomeini. Although an op-ed, his arguments lacked transparency and clarity.

Meanwhile, his hearing with the House Homeland Security Committee in October raised more eyebrows and controversy than gaining traction for Gülen's extradition. Flynn's attempt to pressure and persuade the committee to hold public hearings failed. One anonymous staffer stated it was a sloppy, uncompelling presentation that smacked of lobbying on Turkey's behalf. Instead of moving the needle in Erdogan's favor, it backfired as the House Oversight Committee grew suspicious. Flynn's intent and financial disclosures can potentially violate the Emoluments Clause. Although Erdogan's administration is aware of this law, they can exploit legal loopholes in American lobbying disclosure laws to exert influence on American public policy.

Flynn's attempt in transferring Gülen undermined American national security because it endorsed a false narrative of due process. It attempted to change the complex relationship the United States has with Turkey and encourage extradition without evidence. It removes U.S. soft power in Eurasia, violates multilateral norms and agreements while lowering our moral accountability. It also sets a dangerous precedent that world leaders should not be held accountable for their actions and can charge their enemies without habeas corpus.

Not only did General Flynn undermine American national security by modifying U.S. soft power, he also attempted to shift hard power. On January 17th, Flynn spoke with Obama national security advisor Susan Rice about retaking Raqqa from ISIS. Obama's plan of rearming YPG Kurds was working to an extent yet Flynn told Rice not to commit. This is significant because the Turkish government views YPG as a terrorist threat and a non-state sponsor of terrorism. Flynn's connections to Turkey was much deeper than thwarting a cleric in the Poconos. He hoped to change our militaristic approach with Syria. By asking Susan Rice not to execute, he attempted to undermine America's stance on Syria and direct it towards a more Turkish friendly tactic. His methodology had the potential to harm our goals and objectives in an already complex global proxy war.

Eventually, Michael Flynn registered his lobbying firm with the Justice Department as a foreign agent yet the timing of his filing was peculiar. His admission of earning $530,000 as a lobbyist for Inovo came just before inauguration day, months after President Trump's victory. His paperwork under the Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA) also spotlighted how he worked for another country by undermining American interests: Russia.

A week before General Flynn's resignation, he received a proposal from President Trump's personal lawyer Michael Cohen, a business associate with ties to the Kremlin Felix Sater and a Ukrainian lawmaker Andrii Artemenko. The plan detailed policies on lifting western sanctions. This was the culmination of months of work between General Flynn and Ambassador Kislyak. The two communicated with each other numerous times throughout the campaign to the point where the Justice Department warned President Trump that Flynn could be susceptible

to blackmail. Flynn himself stated he "inadvertently briefed the vice president and others with incomplete information". Flynn resigned on February 13th 2017.

General Flynn's ties to Turkey and Russia spotlight key geopolitical issues that undermine American national security. Flynn working for two regional powers that carry opposing perspectives in anarchy positions America at risk. By aiding President Erdogan's anti- Gülen propaganda and advising Susan Rice not to rearm YPG Kurds, Flynn places our soft and hard power in a hypocritical situation. By working with Andrii Artemenko and Ambassador Kislyak on loosening western sanctions, Flynn argues Russia should not be punished for annexing Crimea. Flynn's work for Turkey and Russia highlight how he actively engaged in disrupting American foreign diplomacy and military objectives.

On March 30th, Flynn offered his testimony to Congress in exchange for immunity. Yet it was Flynn himself who stated back in September if someone is granted immunity, they probably committed a crime. Congress rejected his plea in early April and will pursue their joint investigation with the FBI and NSA. Their findings will bring closure to this case and determine whether three-star lieutenant general Michael Flynn is guilty of espionage or innocent of all charges. Not only will the fate of General Flynn set a new precedent on oversight, it has the potential to bring down the entire Trump administration.

The Constrained Presidency: Political and Legal Barriers to Trump's Foreign Policy Agenda

by Jason Capote

Since the Election of 2016, Donald J. Trump has promised radical changes to US domestic and foreign policy. One of his most memorable promises was to curb illegal immigration from Mexico by building a border wall. He also promised to renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and to withdraw from the treaty if the negotiations do not go as planned. He also promised to decrease funding to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) if US allies do not voluntarily contribute more to the organizations funding going as far as to call the alliance "obsolete," and is also planning to dramatically reduce US funding and involvement in the United Nations.

While some may hear about these statements in the media and be concerned that such actions are harmful to American interests at home and abroad, it is important to note that despite having a wide range of discretion and formal authority in regards to foreign affairs, President Trump's actions are constrained through political and legal processes. While these constraints may not stop the president from taking actions that some may deem harmful, they will guarantee at least some policy continuity in foreign affairs and may make Mr. Trump reconsider some of his positions.

Powers Granted to the Presidency

Article II, Section 3 of the US Constitution explicitly states that the President "shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed," which "gives the president power to carry out all laws enacted by the legislative branch of the federal government as well as all treaties made by the President and the Senate. Also embraced within the presidential power to execute the laws are decrees of the federal courts (Rich 2011, Vol. 3, 441)." This power gives the President a wide range of discretion in foreign and domestic relations as it effectively allows him to decide how laws and treaties are to be enforced, giving him the ability to issue executive orders and proclamations, which "have the force and effect of law (Ibid, 444)." As determined in the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. case, an executive order can be issued to any federal agency on any and all policies in which the Constitution grants the President either explicit or implied powers, where Congress or the courts have formally and legally delegated authority, or where there is no delegated authority in how to interpret or enforce laws, but where the Constitution is silent.

The courts have also determined that the Constitution affords the President an even wider range of discretionary authority in foreign affairs. Under Article II, Section 3 of the Constitution, it is the President alone who has the power to receive ambassadors, in which the Supreme Court has determined in U.S. v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation, "the President is the sole organ of the nation in its external relations, and its sole representative with foreign nations," which implies that he alone has the power to communicate with and officially recognize foreign governments. Article II, Section 2, also allows the President "to make Treaties, provided that two-thirds of the Senators present concur," which implies that he alone determines when to open up negotiations with foreign governments free from interference from Congressional and Judicial control or direction as well as having the sole power to terminate treaties. The President also has the power to make executive agreements with foreign governments by either making agreements that he alone can execute by issuing executive orders, or by making agreements that Congress can give life to by passing statutes with a simple majority vote thereby circumventing the ratification process.

Legal Constraints on the Presidency

Despite this wide discretion of executive authority, the President's power to issue executive orders and proclamations is not absolute as they must either find support in the Constitution, or must seek authority in Congressional legislation. It was also implied in Hamden v. Rumsfeld that executive orders and proclamations cannot violate treaty law that has support in domestic legislation. Likewise, executive actions cannot create new law, and as decided by the Supreme Court in Train v. City of New York, the President cannot issue executive orders to impound funds granted to executive agencies by acts of Congress as an attempt to undermine or destroy those programs.

The President is also legally constrained by both Congress and the courts through the Separation of Powers. While the President may have the formal authority to act as the "sole agent" of American foreign policy, Article I of the Constitution grants Congress the proverbial "power of the purse" which as such can serve to frustrate presidential actions by enabling Congress to deny spending for opening new embassies in states it does not want to recognize and by denying funds for foreign aid or other policies. Likewise, since treaties must be ratified by the Senate with a two-thirds majority vote, there is an additional constraint on the President's ability to conduct foreign policy as the Senate can effectively make these negotiations held in vein by denying ratification. Congress can also indirectly terminate treaties that it does not like by simply passing new statutes that undo laws that give life to key provisions or by denying them the levels of funding needed for their operation. In the case of executive agreements, Congress can act to deny their enforcement by declining to pass laws or funding to give them effect and by passing new laws to undo executive orders, thereby stripping the President of the power to enforce the agreement through executive fiat.

Additionally, international law indirectly places an extra layer of constraints on his actions. This is because Article VI of the Constitution claims that "all Treaties … shall be the supreme Law of the Land," and empowers judges in every jurisdiction to uphold all treaties that are not in violation of the Constitution. Likewise, since most treaties require additional legislation to give force to its provisions, a treaty in which the United States is in an acceptable level of compliance

ergo represents the will of Congress as it has already changed its laws to be in a state of compliance. Once such laws have been passed, it becomes increasingly difficult for Presidents to terminate international treaties as doing so can be construed as a violation of domestic law and is subject to enforcement in domestic courts.

Political Constraints on the Presidency

In addition to formal legal constraints imposed by the Constitution, Presidents are also politically constrained in their foreign relations actions. The preeminent political constraint placed on the President is the concept that he is ultimately accountable to the American public who can proverbially throw him (or his party) out of office thereby denying him both a successful reelection bid and a lasting legacy. Assuming that the President is a rational political actor, he will seek both a reelection bid, and a legacy for which history is to remember him. Therefore, the President may change his policies based on his approval ratings or a change in public opinion.

Similarly, the President is also constrained by focused interest groups who lobby Congress and donate to Presidential and Congressional campaigns. As noted by Brett Ashley Leeds, "In states with higher degrees and broader ranges of political accountability, state leaders are more likely to face domestic political costs for breaking international commitments (Leeds 1999, 986)." This is because state leaders suffer from "domestic audience costs" for violating international commitments because subnational actors have already adjusted "their behavior so that they receive the most benefit from government policy … These actors come to serve as a supporting coalition, making a change in policy less desirable for democratic state leaders who wish to maintain political support from these groups (Ibid, 987)." These subnational actors prefer the status quo in international relations and will actively lobby members of Congress to maintain it.

Lastly, the treaty ratification and domestic law making powers of Congress also serve as an additional political check on presidential authority, effectively allowing Congress to serve as a quasi–independent agent in international negotiations. While it is true that Congress cannot legally interfere with an international negotiation process, this does not deter it from politically interfering by passing resolutions stating that it will not ratify or provide the funds for agreements brought before it, thereby serving as an indirect agent in the negotiation process. This power was most famously seen when the Senate passed the Byrd-Hagel Resolution in 1997 stating "that an international climate agreement, which did not include developing country participation or that would "result in serious harm to the economy of the United States" would not acquire the ratification of the Senate (Skodvin and Andressen 2009, 266)," which has effectively prevented then President Clinton from submitting the treaty to the Senate for ratification, and most likely served as the impetus for former President Bush's formal withdrawal.

The Mexican Wall: In regards to Mr. Trump's proposed boarder wall, sources claim that a thirty-foot high, 1,900 mile long wall would require approximately $25 billion to construct (BBC News). As such, President Trump is effectively checked by a Congress that is reluctant to issue new government spending. While Mr. Trump has insisted that no American dollars will be spent in its construction, there is effectively no other way to generate the funds needed other than by Congress levying taxes or cutting existing

government programs. Either of these options holds the potential to decrease Mr. Trump's support for the issue and his overall popularity, which could result in the Republican Party losing control of one or both chambers of the legislature, or costing Mr. Trump his future reelection bid. While President Trump claims this is not the case, with his spokesman stating "that the president wanted a 20% tax on Mexican imports to pay for the wall (Ibid)," it is important to note that doing so would be a violation of international law, as it would violate the World Trade Organization's non-discrimination principle as such action can be perceived as an act of trade protectionism. Lastly, if such a tax were levied on Mexican imports in spite of its illegality, it would certainly result in "domestic audience costs" from those businesses that are adversely affected by the new taxes.

NAFTA: While it is true that the Constitution allows the President to unilaterally renegotiate NAFTA, Congress is under no legal obligation to ratify the new agreement. Similarly, while it is true that Mr. Trump can unilaterally withdraw from the trade agreement, said action would be purely symbolic as Congress has passed a plethora of domestic legislation to give life to the treaty and to allow the US to remain in compliance with its obligations in the past twenty three years. Also, it is looking increasingly difficult for Mr. Trump to obtain the two-thirds super majority needed for ratification as Republicans only narrowly control the chamber with key Republican Senators coming out against the renegotiation signaling that a new agreement is dead on arrival. Likewise, the renegotiation of NAFTA after over twenty three years of being in force is sure to cause significant domestic audience costs as Senator McCain noted that the facts "clearly show that the Clinton-era trade deal has benefitted Arizona, including allowing the state to import goods at a lower cost and boosting its ability to export products (Carney 2017, The Hill)." Additionally, according to the United States - Mexico Business Council, Mexico is the US's third largest goods trading partner and is its second largest export market. The trade in goods alone between the US and Mexico generated $236 billion in revenues for the US and supplied over 1.1 million jobs in 2014. With these numbers, it is going to be hard to convince US business interests and the American public that there needs to be an overhaul of the agreement.

NATO: Another item on Mr. Trump's agenda was to cut US spending to NATO if its allies do not voluntarily contribute additional funds. However, this is all a bluff as the President cannot unilaterally cut spending to an international organization as only Congress is invested with that authority, and neither is Mr. Trump able to impound funds granted by Congress to the organization. In light of the fact that a Republican controlled Senate is investigating Russian influence in the election and disagrees with Mr. Trump who claims that Russia has friendly intentions towards the US, it is highly unlikely that Congress would vote to defund NATO which was always seen as the main agent of containment against Russian aggression. Also, defunding NATO can have a serious blowback effect at the ballot box as a survey conducted by Reuters "found that 82 percent of American adults ... described Russia as a general "threat" to the United States (Reuters 2017)." Under such circumstances, it is highly unlikely that members of Congress will go along with the President's plan.

Conclusion

While the neo-realist paradigm of international relations holds that states are unitary actors with continual interests and preferences overtime despite what government is in power, this study shows that policy preferences and state interests are continuous overtime as a result of states being chaotic, composed of a myriad of actors of varying interests who legally and politically constrain the President from executing policy variation. As such, a US President proposing a radical departure from existing foreign policy will find it incredibly difficult to divorce himself from the decisions of his predecessors. While the Constitution grants Mr. Trump a whole host of powers he can use unilaterally, they are effectively castrated in the hands of an uncooperative Congress and American public.

References

BBC News. "Donald Trump's Mexico Wall: Who Is Going to Pay for It?" 6 Feb. 2017. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-37243269. Accessed 02/24/2017.

Carney, Jordan. "McCain 'Deeply Concerned' About Trump Renegotiating NAFTA." The Hill, 26 Jan. 2017. http://www.thehill.com/blogs/floor-action/senate/316384-mccain-deeply-concerned-about-trump-renegotiating-nafta. Accessed 02/24/2017.

Leeds, Brett Ashley. "Domestic Political Institutions, Credible Commitments, and
International Cooperation." American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 43, No. 4, Oct. 1999, pp 979-1002. Print.

Reuters. "After 2016 Campaign, More Americans Consider Russia a Threat: Reuters/Ipsos Poll." 13 Jan 2017. http://www.reuters.com/articles/us-usa-russia-poll-idUSKBN14X2IF. Accessed 02/24/2017.

Rich, William J. Modern Constitutional Law Volume 3 Government Structure. Eagan MN: Thompson Reuters, 2011. Print.

Skodvin, Tora and Andresen, Steinar. "An Agenda for Change in U.S. Climate Politics? Presidential Ambitions and Congressional Powers." International Environmental Agreements, Vol. 9, 2009, pp 263-280. Print.

United States – Mexico Business Council. http://www.usmexico.org/presidents/. Web.

Possibility of a Paradigm Shift US-Latin America-East Asia: Post 2016 US Presidential Election

by Kurt J Jamora

President Trump's policy, America First, is the center of confusion and contestation. The two primary focuses of the agenda are trade and immigration reform. Two regions that have felt the greatest effects of his agenda are Latin America and East Asia. The agenda is an aggressive shift in American policies that exhibit the catalyst of a paradigm shift. The shift is a potential change in both domestic and foreign policy.

One theoretical explanation that downplays the likelihood of a paradigm shift is human rationality principle. The principle is an assumption of that an idealized conception of human behavior that exhibits attributes of cooperation with other actors that are logical. Using this working definition it is plausible to re-asses the idea that President Trump will abruptly change US policies at home and abroad because doing so would lead to a shift in US hegemony abroad.

Foreign policy development is largely based on logical reasoning. Foreign policy has an inherent responsibility to act within rational and logical frameworks to ensure feasibility and maximize benefits of the winner. If we take a literal acceptance of many of the campaign rhetoric that circulated throughout the media, it is easy to fall into a spiral thought process that finds America retracting from the global super power status it has maintained.

By examining the relationships the US has maintained with Latin America and East Asia the belief of an imminent paradigm shift will become less persuasive. These relationships demonstrate America's political leverage and economic stability efforts to ensure US hegemony is maintained. A key element to my argument is an evaluation of China's current efforts to replace the US as the world hegemonic power.

The International Community

As of spring 2017 the Trump administration has continued to create an environment of hesitation to trust US trade involvement abroad (Washington Post, Mar 17). Outside of the executive order to remove the US out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) there has been little action taken on campaign promises to drastically reform US protectionism under America First agenda. At first glance, removing the US from the TPP is a landmark decision that confirmed the resolve of the newly elected President to make good on his promises. Thus far the removal from the TPP has been regarded as a shock and awe play rather than the beginning of a cataclysm of foreign policy shifts as the US remains in NATO, NAFTA, and the UN.

Currently. the Trump administration proposes to uproot nearly $500 billion in annual trade between the US and Mexico by renegotiating NAFTA (NYT, Mar 17). Although this renegotiation has not occurred there have been changes in foreign investment from the US into Mexico which has had significant impacts on Mexican currency already and distinct rise in tensions between the two nations economically.

Across the ocean relations with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have sustained significant setbacks due to the mere perception of uncertainty in US foreign policy. According to the chairman of the CIMB ASEAN Research Institute, Munjir Majid, "Business requires certainty to operate and thrive, especially when the ASEAN Economic Community is at a nascent state with teething issues" (2017). Majid is specifically referring to the ASEAN private sector that has identified immediate risk to the supply chain should US foreign investment shift. For example, Coca-Cola has a major distribution hub in Kuala Lumpur, the physical location and labor force employed to operate the facility brings economic stability to Singapore and Brunei. Protectionism policies of relocating the facility back to the US would only harm the beverage business in the US and destabilize a region as a result of massive unemployment spikes and a leap in trade costs to exports in the US. This example is an illustration of the ill-fated shifts America First agenda policies could mean for ASEAN and the US if implemented in the literal sense.

Latin America

Trump's aggressive rhetoric on immigration and trade has resulted in deep concerns in Latin America. Mexico has been the attention of growing concern for those in support and rejection of Trump's position on Mexico. Mexico is the flagship example of contention between the Trump administration and regional powers south of the border. The reasoning for this focus is due to the US-Mexico market relationship that has existed and ongoing border security dilemma. The bottom line is this: Mexico cannot afford to lose access to US markets and Mexico cannot sustain a flood of deported Mexicans from the US. A new US-Mexico arrangement made by the US under the Trump administration's campaign platform would have serious implications for Mexico. According to a Simon Whistler from Forbes, eighty percent of Mexican exports go directly to the US every year (Nov, 2016).

From a security perspective the more aggressive position of President Trump may lead to cross-border interests between the US and Mexico being re-juvinated. The path to achieving this objective is doubtfully going to be accomplished through government transparency which means a deeper level of trust and inter-governmental communication between the two nations will be required for moving forward. Mexican-US security relations are long overdue for a revision which would make capitalizing on this opportunity ideal for both countries. If Mexico took greater responsibility and capacity of support by enhancing security operations this would alleviate ongoing issues such as vigilantism on both sides of the border and thwart drug trafficking in the ideal sense.

A recent article by Business Insider's Christopher Woody identified the duality of increased border security operations. According to Christopher Woody, a clamp down on the border would increase organized crime activity by spurring competition on crossing points that are already unsecured however, cross border trafficking has been on the rise and does require immediate intervention (Nov, 2016). Additionally, the deportation immigration reforms proposed by President Trump would send a large flux of Mexicans back across the border where few employment opportunities are available placing a large strain on the Mexican labor force thus providing another outlet for criminal organizers to capitalize. These issues have obvious effects in the US for

which the Trump administration has provided no viable solution to ensure durable success.

Further south, millions of immigrants from El Salvador and Guatemala risk deportation which have a tri-lateral security consequence as well. Mexico, geographically situated between South America and the US, would have to deal with security issues from both north and south of their borders. This domino effect bleeds into other sectors of stability such as the economy of the region as well. In the case of Colombia, the nation is emerging from a long history of drug related conflicts, poverty, and economic struggle. Trump's retraction position on excessive foreign aid could have jeopardizing effects for the success of Colombia. The US, who is the orchestrator of the FARC-Colombian peace arrangement, retracting support from the peace treaty could send both parties back into a security dilemma. That possible outcome would undoubtedly spur conflict in the region that has had a track record of negative international effects such as increased drug activity in Mexican cities, American cities, and expansion of the Trans-American drug highway.

A recent development has been the abrupt retraction of the American private sector in Latin America. Foreign Policy reported that in 2016 the US and European private sectors began an abrupt withdrawal of the private sector (Mar, 2917). Furthermore, a more alarming shift has been an increased Latin American – China relationship over the past decade. The increasing uncertainty of US-Latin American economic ties has created distrust throughout the region of Latin America which has opened the prospects of Latin America choosing a different super power to establish a lasting economic relationship. Media attention has reported China's continuous efforts to expand within their regional sphere of influence in all directions of their borders but has placed little attention on the recent push into Latin America and the Caribbean. As of now, China seems poised to solidify a new relationship with Latin America.

In the 1990s inter US-NAFTA politics demonstrated a period of foreign direct investment which resulted in an explosion of development throughout Latin America cementing US hegemony in the region till this day. If China were to replace the US, unquestionably China by default would replace the US. A paradigm such as this would result in an abrupt geopolitical power transition.

East Asia

The US position towards East Asia historically been influenced by competition against China. The irony to America First agenda in East Asia means the US would fundamentally strengthen China's geopolitical power in the region with the US taking a road of isolation (Harvard Political Review, Mar 2017). Additionally, a retracted US security role in East Asia can represent a diminished role as a super power with substantiated influence. The previous administration maintained a position of power balance in Asia which favored equal responsibility and treatment among East Asian powers. America First agenda means a shift from that policy which would find the US maintaining unique relationships with each East Asian power separately and not as a region. This shift could be viewed as favoritism by supporting double standard policy agendas. According to the East Asia Forum, the paradigm shift in East Asia is a matter of willingness of the US to maintain its relationship through common democratic practice ideals throughout the region or will the relationship of the US be based on

market value alliance that encompasses brute strength and good business ventures only (Mar, 2017). These characteristics are in theory aligned with America First Agenda.

US secretary of state Rex Tillerson on his first visit to East Asia in March 2017 reported that military action against North Korea will remain an option on the table (scmp, Mar 17). This statement followed the first tri-lateral talk between South Korea, China, and the US in Asia. This meeting resulted in no policy shifts or policy drafts. Rather a conversation of good will and continued partnership received media attention with no other observable take away. This meeting was regarded as a significant step backwards as the lack of action confirmed the reality of uncertainty on behalf of US intentions.

An interview between CNN and Rodger Shanahan (professor at Sydney's Lowy Institute) identified a potential effect America First could have on Middle East- East Asian relations. According to Shanahan, America First would mean a less inclined US military position reducing operations and involvement in the middle east (Mar, 2017). Therefore the Middle East would be more open to partnership with China in order to cultivate more partnerships that are not hostile towards nations with Muslims; the primary religious group that received the most hostile rhetoric during the last campaign. Additionally, Middle Eastern nations deepening ties with East Asia is economically beneficial as East Asia continues to grow the demand for oil will certainly follow. Furthermore, China's One-Belt trade venture of linking Europe-Middle East- East Asia certainly would benefit from increased investments and deeper diplomatic ties enhancing cooperation between the regions.

America First agenda in regards to East Asia is not all negative. There is possibility for renewed geopolitical stability in terms of identifying specific roles between the US and other East Asian regional partners. One renewed possibility of development is the pursuit of multilayered functional cooperation (MFC). MFC would mean the US and East Asia formerly agree upon common interests in specific functional issues such as finance and security (Tanaka, Feb 17). Currently, many financial and security related subjects are resolved through annual meetings and closed door agreements. MFC would promote more transparent arrangements to be made in order to maximize efficiency, expand transparency, and ensure durable functioning partnerships in the future.

The future for East Asia and the US is uncertain, however it has arguably been that way since WWII. What is certain for the near future is that US-East Asia relations will remain relatively unchanged. The uncertainty within the region towards the future has resulted in a perception of increased hesitation to trust.

Conclusion

In conclusion there are uncertainties that the global community and American people desire to find clarity on. Confidence in US involvement in Latin America and East Asia has been shaken by the positions taken by the new US administration. A reduction of US involvement in Latin America and East Asia arguably will have degrading effects for geopolitical influence for the US that are logically the most unlikely course of action. The temptation to believe media and controversial sensationalism has demonstrated to be immensely effective which has prompted necessary evaluations such as what this essay has

presented. There is a lack of supporting evidence to validate the possibility of an imminent paradigm shift. However there is justified reasons for concern as to what the new administrations image at home and abroad will be over the next four years.

References

Ahmed, Azam
https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/25/world/americas/nafta-renegotiation-mexico.html?_r=0

Paletta, Damian
https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/new-rifts-emerge-as-trump-rejects-free-trade-statement-at-g20-meeting/2017/03/18/aa69b1a2-0bf3-11e7-a15fa58d4a988474_story.html?utm_term=.0c5aad2d76de

Gallagher, Kevin P.
http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/03/06/china-steps-into-the-latin-american-void-trump-has-left-behind/

Panda, Ankit
http://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2080262/tillersons-first-east-asia-tour-does-little-put-his

Smith, Sheila A.
http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2017/03/16/donald-trumps-america-first-agenda-in-asia/

Tan, CK
http://asia.nikkei.com/Business/Trends/ASEAN-businesses-want-clarity-from-Trump-on-trade

Tanaka, Hitoshi
http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2017/02/28/how-to-manage-geopolitical-instability-in-east-asia/

Westscott, Ben
http://www.cnn.com/2017/03/21/asia/china-israel-saudi-arabia/index.html

Whistler, Simon
https://www.forbes.com/sites/riskmap/2016/11/16/what-will-the-trump-presidency-mean-for-latin-america/#64d09a081b9c

Woody, Christopher
http://www.businessinsider.com/donald-trump-latin-america-policy-economy-violence-2016-11

Zhu, Henry
http://harvardpolitics.com/world/trumps-policy-strengthens-chinas-global-standing/

Trump's Plan to deport Undocumented Migrants may increase Violence in Central America

by Juliana Maria Marques Boyd

Introduction: For many decades, Central America has suffered an acute security issue as a result of drug trafficking. The so-called Northern Triangle of Central America (NTCA) formed by - Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras - constitutes a region with one of the highest murder rates caused by drug-gang wars. Despite the significant attention given to Mexico drug-cartels violence, Central America murder rates are five times higher than Mexico (Woodrow Wilson, 2011). In addition to high homicide rates, this region has not improved their socioeconomic conditions and face great social inequalities. According to the World Bank, in 2014, a large percentage of the population lived below the poverty line, 11.3 percent in El-Salvador, 24.1 in Guatemala, and 31.2 in Honduras (International Crisis Group, 2017). And yet, these countries have a weak State, fragile judicial system and corruption entrenched in the security system.

Central America which already faces a burden on crime, it is likely to see a worsening in security as president Donald Trump intends to deport many migrants, a number of who already have a criminal record. This current debate raises the question as to whether Trump's immigration proposals may negatively affect the current violence conditions in Central America. The situation could be aggravated because these nations are not prepared to receive a large influx of migrants who have not lived there for many years. Evidence for this hypothesis comes from the framework of the 2017 report of the international crises group that suggests that mass deportation from the U.S. back to these countries can contribute to the upsurge of gang crimes. At their native countries, they will face little economic opportunity and can become vulnerable to join organized crimes. Many deportees might reconnect with other family members and friends, but most of them might have been pulled apart from their family in the US, thus hampering the ability of reintegration in their countries of origin. Ultimately, the deportation of many people can diminish the sums of remittances in Central America, consequently affecting the livelihood of many people who depend on the money. In 2015, remittances accounted a large portion of the NTCA GDP, being 17% of El-Salvador, 10.3 in Guatemala, and 18.6 in Honduras International Crisis Group, 2017).

Overall, this article examines whether president Donald Trump's immigration plans will lead to the increase of violence in Central America. The first part of the paper addresses historical factors of the drivers of drug cartel and violence. The second and the last part of the paper suggests dynamics of Trump's Administration which aim to deport migrants to the northern Triangle.

History: There have been several factors that may trigger violence in Central America. However, drug trafficking may be the leading cause of Central America's current violence. This region has suffered many decades of armed conflict following a weak state, fragile judicial system, and inequality. As a result, the legacy of conflicts might have contributed to the current violence situation.

From 1960 to 1996, Guatemala suffered internal turmoil between government forces and militia groups. The conflict sprawled into non-combatant population by affecting more than 80 percent of indigenous population (Demombynes, 2011). In El Salvador, from 1980-1991 a left-wing insurgent force fought a military government. Dominguez (1989) argues that from 1950s to 1970s, in Central America and Latin America, the States' capacity extended under authoritarian regimes by seeking to exert power through the delimitation of national boundaries. He mentions that "these interstate and revolutionary conflicts have combined to unravel Central America's politics" (pg. 68). During this period state oppression increased in order to repress insurgencies groups in Central America.

The 2011 report published by the Woodrow Wilson highlights the changing dynamics in the drug trafficking business. During the 70s and 80s drug trafficking has dramatically strengthened criminal activities in Central America. This occurred due to the "successful international efforts to disrupt Colombian trafficking routes through the Caribbean and Miami, along with the demise of the Cali and Medellín cartels in the 1980s. This made Central America a strategically important area for the international drug trade because of its geography, the existing criminal networks with experience moving contraband and laundering money, and the abundance of weapons from the region's many armed conflicts" (p.4). As a result of the drug-trafficking crackdown in South America, countries geographically located close to Mexico such as: Guatemala, El-Salvador and Honduras, became important transportation routes to access Mexican large organizations which aimed to ultimately supply Northern Americans insatiable drug consumption. According to the U.S government half of illicit drugs coming into the United States through Mexico use Central America as its first point of entrance. The same report emphasizes that the increase in organized crimes today, it is a result of the Cold War period when security forces received training to curb internal turmoil. For instance, in El-Salvador, preceding security forces such as FMLN, over time evolved into criminal actors. Today these individuals underlie the base of organized crime.

Dammert (2013) mentions that transitional organized crime affects the economy, quality of life of their citizens, increases the process of privatization of security, and the militarization of the police. She mentions about a lack of technological capabilities, coordination among security institutions such as legal, police and prison system is one of the issues and hinder agencies to achieve a successful plan. In these nations, mostly of the prisons have turned into territories of impunity which gangs are in charge of governing the daily routine of inmates.

Overall, it is noticeable that the legacy of civil war plays a key role to the current violence conditions of these countries. The inherited training methods and the significant amount of weapons left during the Civil War period facilitated the emergence of new criminal groups. Most of the current criminals were once security forces which had police and military apparatus and training. As Demombynes put it (2011): " the large supply of arms generated in part by the civil conflicts, may also be a contributing factor" (p.7). Thus, precedents of civil wars play a significant role in the current levels of violence.

Taking these into consideration, one must not forget that corruption, weak judicial system, and inequality play a key role to fostering criminal

activates. Corruption is a problem entrenched in the police forces and judicial system. In many cases, local police are involved in illicit drug trafficking activities through bribery payments. In other words, the level of distrust from the population to the police is tremendous, and institutions that are suppose to protect citizens have endured years of impunity.

Trump's Immigration Crackdown Might Increase Violence in Central America

Trump's immigration crack down might increase violence in Central America. A region that is already aggravated by high levels of violence and crime can face an enormous security destabilization with the deportation of gang members. The implications of Trump's strict immigration policy against these individuals are still unknown, but historical facts such as: the Illegal Immigration Reform and the Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 show similar immigration actions enforced in the present can lead to the growth of narcotic-related violence. These reforms modified U.S immigration laws by "making minor offenses such as shoplifting and unlawful overstaying in the country causes for deportation" (International Crisis Group, 2017, pg.11). Under these laws from 1993 to 1999, 60,450 NTCA nationals were deported.

Many people believe that deportees would form new gangs and organize new criminal activities. In the 1980s, intense armed conflicts and economic hardship in the Northern Triangle region provoked a large number of asylum-seekers into the United States. In the U.S, Central American immigrants were estimate from 354,000 in 1980 to 1.1 million in 1990, and 2 million by 2000. The 1990 U.S Census informs that nearly 70 percent of all Central Americans in the U.S. came after 1980 and had a low level of education. In the early 1980s, in Los Angeles, Asian, African-American, and Mexican's population started to organize criminal activities. Central American migrants who were in a vast number living in poor areas of Los Angeles were often recruited to be part of these gangs (Migration Police Institute, 2006). However, in 1990s, municipal police forces in Lon Angeles, Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) along with Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) enforced immigration deportation where several migrants with criminal records were sent to their native countries. This regional actions supported by national policies have contributed to negative impacts in Central America, as Demombynes (2011) put it: "in the 1990s, many gang members were deported to their native countries—El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras—where they established local branches of their gangs but maintained connections to the American organizations," thus catalyzing drug criminal activity in Central America (pg.2).

Trump's proposals of endorsing remittance cuts may also lead to the increase of violence in these countries. Many migrants have heavily supported their family's basic needs through remittances. Latin America and the Caribbean accounted to a growth of 4.8 percent in remittances rate, in 2015. This occurred due to the recovery in labor markets in the United States. In 2015, the top ten remittance recipients were : Mexico ($25.7bn), Guatemala ($6.4bn), the Dominican Republic ($5.0bn), Colombia ($4.5bn), El Salvador ($4.4bn), Honduras ($3.8bn) (World Bank, 2016).

Similarly, Mexico could be severely affected by Trumps' plans in both ways: with cut of remittances and mass deportation. In 2014, Mexico was the world's 4th largest remittance recipient with $25 billion received. Mass deportation can be a significant problem too. For instance, Martin Estrada Luna was a high school dropout from Washington state and he was sent to Mexico in 2009 due to its criminal record of petty crimes such as burglary. In Mexico, he is known as "El Kilo" and has assumed a drug-leader position in which his gang -Zetas-, has orchestrated the mass killings of more than 250 people.

Overall, Trump plans to deport nearly 3 million people who have a grave criminal record can result in a spiral of violence and serious consequences. At first, this plan may sound appealing since many believe that criminals that committed grave crimes should be sent to their native countries. However, many mistakes can happen and people like Luna which had a minor conviction can be sent back and become a dangerous criminal. In addition, the current economic and social conditions of these countries can make the reintegration to these people even harder. Without jobs they are vulnerable and an easy target to join criminal activities. More importantly, some of them will go back to their country with the ability to communicate in English and with social networks in the US. These factors can facilitate the smuggling of drugs into the US as Mike Vigil, former chief of international operations for the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, argues: "deportees will likely embrace drug trafficking, using already established U.S. connections to increase the amount of heroin and other drugs sent across the border. Even deporting only, the felons would backfire by causing more violence in Mexico and Central America." Trump's immigration plan of sending millions of migrants can generate an opposite effect. This can occur since that maras gangs were formed in the aftermath of civil wars and by mass deportation from the U.S. (International Crisis Group, 2017).

Instead of undermining the drug activity in the US, it can galvanize the formation of new drug cartels in Central America. These drugs cartels aim to profit from the United States which is the primary drug consuming nation of the world.

Given these points, over time, a large influx of returnees along with the precarious living and economic conditions of these countries can contribute to spiral violence and even the creation of new criminal activities. Immigration policies which perhaps seek the improvement of security in the US need to be carefully analyzed in order to avoid the appearance of new criminal networks. The assistance of the international community is vital to help the political institutions at each of these country's national level in order to address security issues efficiently.

Conclusion

This article has demonstrated that Trump's immigration plans will increase violence in Central America. The current situation could be aggravated because these nations are not prepared to receive a large influx of migrants who have not lived there for many years. Historical facts (1990s) show that deportations led to the growth of narcotic-related violence in Central America. Throughout the years, Northern Triangle countries have not improved their socioeconomic conditions. Additionally, these countries have a weak State, fragile judicial system and corruption entrenched in the security system. Immigration policies which perhaps seek the improvement of security in the US need to be carefully analyzed

in order to avoid the appearance of new criminal networks. A call for international support in collaboration with these country's national level political institutions is vital to tackle humanitarian issues and diminish gangs-related crimes.

References

Agunias, D. (2006, April 1). Remittance Trends in Central America. Retrieved from http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/remittance-trends-central-america

CNN Money. (2016, September 1). Mexico gets more cash from its workers abroad than from oil. (CNN, Ed.)

Dammert, L. (2013). Security Challenges for Latin American Democratic Governance.

Demombynes, G. (2011). DRUG TRAFFICKING AND VIOLENCE IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND BEYOND. World Bank.

Dominguez, J. (1989). Political Change: Central America, South America and the Caribbean.
ENERGY ADVISOR. (2015, May 25). Retrieved from http://www.bakerinstitute.org/media/files/news/0429b5ea/LEA150529-Guaqueta.pdf

Hiskey, J. T., Córdova, A., Orcés, D., & Malone, M. (2016). Why They Are Fleeing and How U.S. Policies are Failing to Deter Them. American Immigration Council.

Inter-American Developmnet Bank. (2017). The Cost of Crime and Violence: New Evidences and Insights in Latin American and the Caribbean. Institutions for Development ; Institutional Capacity of the State Division.

International Crisis Group. (2017). Mafia of the Poor: Gang Violence and Extortion in Central America.

Johnson, M. H. (2006, April 1). National Policies and the Rise of Transnational Gangs. Migration Policy Institute .

Lesser, G., & Batalova, J. (2017, April 5). Central American Immigrants in the United States. Migration Policy Institute.

NBC NEWS. (2014, April 17). Organized Crime, Gangs Make Latin America Most Violent Region.

OECD Employment Outlook . (2016).

Stevenson, M. (2016, November 15). Retrieved from http://globalnews.ca/news/3067536/mexico-will-face-increased-cartel-activity-violence-thanks-to-trumps-deportation-policy-expert/

Stevenson, Mark. (2016, November 15). Mexico will face increased cartel activity, violence thanks to Trump's deportation policy: Expert. The Associated Press. Retrieved from http://globalnews.ca/news/3067536/mexico-will-face-increased-cartel-activity-violence-thanks-to-trumps-deportation-policy-expert/

The New York Times . (2016, Nov 12). Fleeing Gangs, Central American Families Surge Toward U.S. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/13/world/americas/fleeing-gangs-central-american-families-surge-toward-us.html?_r=1

Thestart.com. (2015, Feb 25). Retrieved from https://www.thestar.com/news/world/2017/02/25/as-trump-plans-to-deport-a-wave-of-bad-dudes-latin-america-is-already-bearing-a-massive-burden-of-crime-report-says.html

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2013). Global Study on Homicide. Retrieved from http://www.unodc.org/documents/gsh/pdfs/2014_GLOBAL_HOMICIDE_BOOK_web.pdf

VICE. (2016, Nov 14). Donald Trump's promise of mass deportation can't compete with migrants' desperation. Retrieved from https://news.vice.com/story/trumps-plans-wont-stop-desperate-central-americans-from-coming-to-the-u-s

Terror: The Trump Approach

by Tyler Mott

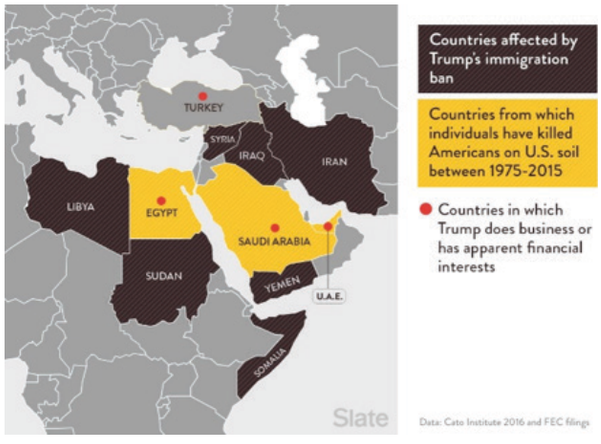
Background

With the onset of a new presidential administration, we can expect an array of new policies, both domestic and foreign to come along with it. Often times before the president has had a chance to begin physically approving new legislation, he has the ability, through rhetoric, to set a new agenda on different aspects of events occurring both internally and externally throughout his campaign. One issue in particular in which we can see these changes is in our fight against terrorism. For more than twenty years, we have been fighting a "War on Terror," beginning in the mid-1990s when Osama bin Laden along with his al-Qaeda cohorts began targeting not only the United States, but Western society as a whole. So what new angle is Donald Trump taking? you might be asking. As this article will discuss, he has decided to give the enemy a whole new name.

The United States has always had an overseas interest in the Middle East and it is no secret that oil has been at the center of it. Saudi Arabia has an estimated 262.3 billion barrels of oil hidden in the reserves underneath the arid desert. In combination with the rest of the Middle East, it represents over half of the world's oil reserves and therefore the entire world has had an interest in what goes on there. During the 1960's and 1970's we were heavily involved in the politics of Iran during the era of the Shah and during conflicts like the embassy hostage crisis. During the 1980's the Soviet Union was invading Afghanistan and the United States armed the opposition there in hopes of preventing the Soviets from claiming any land in the region. During the 1990's we took part in the Gulf war and the invasion of Iraq in 2003. This nearly 60 year long list of events shows that the United States has been involved in the Middle East for quite some time now and this has always been one of the key factors in identifying the motives of Terrorism under the most recent presidential administrations. According to Political Scientist Robert Pape, (terrorists) "are driven not by Islamism but by a clear strategic objective: to compel modern democracies to withdraw military forces from the territory that the terrorists view as their homeland" (McConnell) which is a great summation of what the United States foreign policy on this subject has been up until now.

Under the Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and Barack Obama presidencies, terrorism was looked at as a conflict over territory and only reluctantly referred to as "radical extremism" when describing specific organizations . This all changed on August 15th 2016, when Donald Trump was quoted saying "In the 20th Century,

the United States defeated Fascism, Nazism, and Communism. Now, a different threat challenges our world: Radical Islamic Terrorism." (Politico 2016) Simply through making this statement, President Trump single handedly changed the trajectory of the war we have been involved in, redirecting the focus and ultimately changing the possible solutions to the problem. By using the term "Radical Islamic Terrorism" specifically, he is taking the physical motives out of the picture and instead placing the blame for these attacks on the shoulders of a violent Ideology that has spread throughout the Muslim community around the world. The four main groups that are included when referring to "Radical Islamic Terrorism" include the Islamic State (or IS, located in both Iraq and Syria), Boko Haram (Nigeria), Taliban (Afghanistan) and Al-Qaeda (Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan and Saudi Arabia). These groups most often take full responsibility for terrorist activity occurring all over the world and even take responsibility for events that they are not closely linked to as long as there are casualties (Global Terrorism Index). As mentioned earlier, the previous administrations saw these groups as Insurgencies that simply wanted the democratic western world to stay off of their turf, but now in the age of Trump, they are now seen as violent radical Islamists.



Policy

President Trump's first action taken to counteract terrorism involved a travel ban from seven predominantly Muslim countries that, according to the President, are threats to national security: Iran, Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Libya, Yemen and Somalia, each of which have indeed been influenced by at least one of the core four terrorist groups, if not more. The travel ban was created to stop people coming from these countries for 90 days while the United States made efforts to strengthen the vetting process for travelers entering the country. Critics of the ban took issue with much of the content of his executive order which included provisions that involved the indefinite ban of Syrian refugees, giving preference towards Christian refugees and even banning the travel of people from these countries that had obtained proper documentation such as a green cards and/or work visas (EO #13769). The bill was ultimately struck down in federal courts shortly after it was implemented, with the judge citing that it was unconstitutional to discriminate based on religion of refugees and the fact that there was not proper evidence that these nations were in fact a threat to national security.

When justifying the reason for placing the new agenda on Radical Islamic terrorism which ultimately lead to instituting the travel ban, he refers to five recent events in particular:

#1 Fort hood November 5th, 2009: Nidal Hasan, a U.S Army Major opens fire killing 13 people and injuring 30 people. He was born in Virginia, radicalized here and had a history of mental illness

#2 Chattanooga July 16th, 2015: Muhammad Youssef Abdulazeez opens fire killing five people and injuring two. He was born in Kuwait, became a naturalized citizen while living in

Tennessee and was radicalized during various trips to the Middle East. He also had a record of drug abuse and mental illness

#3 San Bernardino December 2nd, 2015: Married couple, Syed Rizwan Farook and Tashfeen Malik open fire killing 14 people and injuring another 22. Farook was born in Chicago and Malik was born in Pakistan but lived States . Both were said to have been radicalized after a series of trips to Saudi Arabia. Farook was known to have had a troubled childhood and abusive parents.

#4 Orlando June 12th, 2016: Omar Mateen opens fire killing 49 people and injuring 53. Mateen was born in New York then moved to Florida where he had pledged to ISIS without any clear affiliation to the group. Mateen had visited Saudi Arabia in the past, yet also had a history of work/school related behavioral issues.

#5 Boston Marathon Bombing April 15th, 2013: Bombs placed by Dzhokar and Tamerlan Tsarnaev along the route of the marathon resulting in three people killed and hundreds injured. Dzhokar was born in Kyrgyzstan and Tamerlan was born in Kalmyk ASSR. Tamerlan had taken trips to Russia and the Caucasus before the attack where he was thought to be radicalized. Dzhokhar showed no signs of radicalization and was believed to be pressured by older brother to participate.

Each of these instances resulted in an awful attack with large numbers of casualties. It is true that each one of the perpetrators did pledge some sort of allegiance to Islam but let us compare these instances with the travel ban. Of the seven terrorists that committed these atrocities, three of them were born in America with others working towards attaining citizenship. In this case, the travel ban would have been completely ineffective because it would not have prevented these "homegrown or inspired" terrorists that had already been living here before they chose to attack. The four others that were foreign came from Kuwait, Pakistan, Russia/Caucasus and several of them had spent time in Saudi Arabia, therefore once again, the travel ban would not have prevented any of these people from coming here and carrying out these attacks had the ban been instituted earlier. This information was taken into consideration when the federal courts were trying to determine the legality of the proposed ban and was decided to be insufficient evidence of a national security threat.

On March 6th, 2017 President Trump signed a new executive order that was a revised version of the ban that he hoped would be able to stand in court and preserve its legality. The first of the changes involved removing Iraq off of the list after a massive lobbying effort by Iraqi government officials. In exchange for taking Iraq off of the list, the officials promised to be more open with their intelligence of the Islamic State, as well as improving the vetting measures for their citizens to travel abroad. The revised ban also placed exemptions on residents of the United States and people who have obtained work Visas or green cards. The indefinite ban on Syrian refugees was dropped and put under a 120-day freeze. Finally, the religious preference on refugees was also dropped from the bill (Thrush 2017). The President was confident that this bill was well put together and removed much of what caused the outrage about the last bill, but once again this bill was struck down in court due to the insufficient evidence that those countries are a threat to national security.

Issues with Policy

As mentioned above, the four main groups that are considered amongst the Radical Islamic Terrorists are the Islamic State, Boko Haram, Taliban and Al-Qaeda. These groups have fairly specific territories in which they operate and it is well known where they are typically active. The most casualties that occur as a result of these groups' attacks occur in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, Nigeria and Pakistan. If you compare these areas of high terrorist activity and the revised travel ban, you will notice that the only country that is represented on both lists is Syria. Although the other countries that are listed include failed states that indeed have serious terrorist activity, it seems very difficult to make a case for these countries to not be included. Another country that was not mentioned in either list but remains relevant in this discussion is Saudi Arabia. Many of the terrorists that were included in the attacks that Trump had mentioned had visited or spent time in Saudi Arabia before they were radicalized and planning their attacks on the United States. This coming after a serious speculation that the Saudi Arabian government may have taken part in financing the terrorists that participated in the attacks on September 11th, 2001 in New York City, makes for a very odd conversation as to why Saudi Arabia is not included in on the list of banned countries. Obviously the United States has alliances and needs to preserve those relationships and that would explain countries like Saudi Arabia or Pakistan not being included on the list but it also takes legitimacy away from the ban itself.

As mentioned earlier, another glaring issue with Trump's approach is that it does not seem to take into account any instances of homegrown terrorism or people that were simply "inspired" to commit these acts of jihad. Look for instance at the shootings in Fort Hood or in Orlando, he uses these events to legitimize the need for this ban, when these events would not have been affected by it. Another issue here is distinguishing what is and what is not to be considered terrorism. The shooting at the Black church in Charleston South Carolina carries many similarities to events that Trump referenced; perpetrator was born here, had a history of mental illness/drug abuse and committed a mass killing, the only difference being the absence of this Radical Islamic Ideology. These domestic events occur at a much higher frequency than those that are labeled as Terrorism, so perhaps a more efficient approach to fighting "Terrorism" may be to improve our own gun laws or make strides in treating mental illness rather than setting our focus overseas. Despite the obvious flaws in his initial efforts, all is not lost as this is only President Trump's first attempt at eliminating this threat. We cannot be sure what the future holds, but these attempts do go a long way in demonstrating this administrations agenda and thus, the Trump approach on Terror.

References

McConnell, Scott (2005). "The Logic of Suicide Terrorism". The American Conservative magazine. The American Conservative.

Politico Staff. "Full text: Donald Trump's speech on fighting terrorism." Politico. N.p., 15 Aug. 2016. Web.

Global Terrorism Index 2016 (PDF). Institute for Economics and Peace. 2016. p. 4.

Thrush, Glenn. "Trump's New Travel Ban Blocks Migrants From Six Nations, Sparing Iraq." New York Times. N.p., 6 Mar. 2017. Web.

Executive Order 13769 of January 27, 2017: Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States. Executive Office of the President

Transatlantic Xenophobia: Brexit and Trump

by Adam Goebler

(Photograph: https://twitter.com/ngel_farage/status/797584449047265281)

With the passage of the referendum for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to leave the European Union – popularly referred to as "Brexit," a portmanteau of the words "Britain" and "exit" – and the election of Donald J. Trump as President of the United States of America, 2016 may well be remembered as the harbinger of far-right nationalism in the West. But do these unexpected outcomes really signify the rise of a sweeping new political order, or were they merely momentous and coincidental aberrations, uniquely situated to the distinct national contexts of their respective campaigns? As of 2017, the answers to these questions are unknowable; it is simply too early to declare that the Anglo-American experience forebodes a larger Western trend, or even to determine whether these purported shifts in the US and Britain, from globalization to nationalism, are more paradigmatic or cosmetic. Although common nationalist themes found surprisingly receptive audiences from the American Rust Belt to the British Midlands, buoying Trump and Brexit, I contend that we must be wary of over-interpreting these electoral results. Dispensing with grandiose hypothetical notions about a broader international realignment, it is more instructive to analyze these votes in the contexts in which they occurred: driven, at least in part, by the winning campaigns' exploitation of voters' latent xenophobia, with remarkably effective dissemination of propaganda. Nativist strains have always existed in US and UK politics, but in recent decades, had been largely relegated to the political fringes. The celebration of multiculturalism, symbolically represented by the UK's membership in the borderless European Union, and the presidency of Barack Obama, had appeared to be a dominant political narrative in both countries. But in 2016, heretofore repudiated xenophobic ideologies were re-legitimized by the American and British electorates.

The United Kingdom seemed to be on a relatively stable political trajectory, from the time its populace voted in a referendum in 1975 to join what was then called the European Economic Community, until its fateful reconsideration in 2016. More recently, it eschewed upheaval at the polls twice in two years: then-Prime Minister David Cameron's Conservative Party was re-elected to a comfortable parliamentary majority in 2015; and Scots voted against a referendum for Scotland to secede from the UK in 2014, ironically in part due to concerns that as an independent state, it would no longer enjoy European Union membership. The narrowness of the 2016 decision to leave the EU – 51.9% in favor of the Leave campaign – laid bare the

significant geographic and demographic cleavages within British society, pitting older voters, England, and Wales against younger voters, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. And while the outcome shocked laymen and experts alike with its rapidity, it was in fact the consequence of an arduous and slow-burning campaign: the raison d'etre of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), and its then-leader, Nigel Farage. Prior to the Brexit referendum, Farage spent most of his nearly twenty years in British politics as an irreverent gadfly – a man who established his career as a contrarian bomb-thrower, to the extent that he was elected a Member of the European Parliament (MEP), one of the UK's representatives to the EU, despite wanting to see his own job eliminated. His penchant for showmanship has been bolstered by his public persona as a British everyman, frequently making media appearances with his trademark cigar or pint of beer in hand. Despite these personal quirks, carefully cultivated to make UKIP more palatable to the working class, his tendencies toward demagoguery and deception were readily apparent during the referendum campaign.

(The Guardian: Photograph: Mark Thomas/Rex/ Shutterstock)

Notably, two weeks before the referendum, Farage unveiled a poster at a rally, depicting "Islamic"-looking migrants on the queue of a border. The image was accompanied by an ominous caption: "BREAKING POINT: The EU has failed us all. We must break free of the EU and take back control of our borders" (Stewart and Mason). Beyond its loaded xenophobic and Islamophobic insinuations, the poster did not depict the mostly landlocked UK, which only shares a land border between British-controlled Northern Ireland and Ireland, but an image from the Croatian-Slovenian border in 2015. Farage defended the poster, contending that it accurately depicted the stark realities of a European Union without borders. In reality, it was a rank display of racist fear-mongering, with the prime objective of stoking hysteria to promote Brexit. While the official Leave campaign, led by mainstream Conservative Party leaders such as former London Mayor Boris Johnson and former Secretary of State for Justice Michael Gove, condemned its use and distanced itself from Farage and UKIP, it too engaged in a more tacit exploitation of xenophobic anxieties throughout the campaign. Johnson and Gove repeatedly warned of the notion that Turkey could one day join the European Union, a scenario which would grant its majority Muslim population unfettered travel to all member states (Chakrabortty). With increasing rates of migration to the UK, many economically disaffected British voters sought to pin their grievances to a nebulous scapegoat, whether immigrants, and/or Muslims, and/or "Brussels," the Belgian capital of the European Union, which is often used as a derisive catchall term analogous to "Washington" in the US. A day after Farage unveiled his poster, a pro-Remain Member of Parliament (MP), Jo Cox of the Labour Party, was assassinated by an ardent Brexit supporter, who reportedly shouted anti-EU slogans while shooting and stabbing her to death (Cobain). In spite of this tragedy, it was on the strength of regions that have traditionally favored the Labour Party in previous elections, such as Sunderland

in Northeast England, that Brexit succeeded.

Across the Atlantic, a similar slow-burning political shift was well underway, albeit unbeknownst to political elites. Donald J. Trump, the flamboyant real estate scion and reality television personality, waded onto the national political stage in 2011 by becoming the most prominent propagator of the racist conspiracy theory that former President Barack Obama, his future predecessor, was not born in the United States. This helped to raise Trump's profile as he stoked speculation, with regular cable news appearances, about a presidential campaign in 2012 that he ultimately declined to mount – a spectacle which deflated expectations about the seriousness of Trump's intentions when he began to publicly hint about a campaign for the 2016 presidential nomination. Nevertheless, Trump ultimately made his 2016 announcement speech by striking a similarly bombastic tone, using the platform to describe Mexicans: "They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people" ("Trump announces a presidential bid"). This would prove to be the first of several false, inflammatory, and demagogic remarks with racial implications that characterized Trump's ultimately successful campaign, the most severe of which was his call for "a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on" (Johnson).

The proposal to ban Muslims was almost universally repudiated as unconstitutional and antithetical to liberal values by elected officials of both major US parties, including Trump's future Vice President, then-Indiana Governor Mike Pence; and US House of Representatives Speaker Paul Ryan. But Trump's remarks did not occur in a vacuum; as the billionaire sought to brandish an unlikely populist persona, he stoked emerging nationalist and xenophobic ideological strains that had been long propagated by far-right media outlets, most prominently Breitbart News Network. For the duration of the primary and general election campaigns, Breitbart waged a coordinated effort to undermine Trump's Republican Party primary rivals, and his Democratic Party opponent for the presidency, former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton. Not coincidentally, former Breitbart executive chair Stephen Bannon was ultimately tapped for roles as Trump's campaign chief executive officer, and eventually, as his White House Chief Strategist. After a divisive and polarizing campaign, laden with innuendo and misinformation, few professional prognosticators believed that Trump could win the presidency as recently as Election Day in 2016. They were proven wrong by voters in states that hadn't voted for Republican presidential nominees since Ronald Reagan in 1984 and George H.W. Bush in 1988: Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Indeed, all three had voted to elect and re-elect Barack Obama by comfortable margins. And while Trump's margin of victory in each of these states was razor-thin, their combination easily won him the presidential election by a lopsided Electoral College margin, despite a significant deficit in the nationwide popular vote.

The analogy between the electoral success of Brexit and Trump is imperfect. The United Kingdom voted in a sui generis referendum, while the United States voted in its quadrennial federal election. Nigel Farage has never been elected to office beyond his protest MEP seat, and appears unlikely to emerge as a leading national figure; Donald Trump is now the President of the United States. Trump's presidency may only last four to eight years, while the renegotiation of Britain's

economic and political relationship with Europe could be permanent. Still, Trump and Farage have reveled in their intertwining trajectories. Trump, as a presidential candidate, praised the results of the Brexit referendum; Farage attended the Republican National Convention for Trump's presidential nomination, and campaigned for him at a rally in Mississippi. Farage was the first foreign politician to visit with the president-elect at Trump Tower after the US election; Trump went so far as to precipitate a minor diplomatic incident during the presidential transition, in which he called on Twitter for Farage to become the United Kingdom's Ambassador to the United States, drawing a pointed and negatory response from the British government (Knight).

Perhaps there is a deeper reason for their camaraderie. Farage had been a regular op-ed contributor to Breitbart, under the management of Bannon, since 2014. Furthermore, efforts to aid Trump's campaign and the Brexit referendum were bankrolled by Robert Mercer, a secretive billionaire hedge fund investor and longtime Bannon associate who owns a multimillion dollar stake in Breitbart (Mayer). Mercer's role was invisible but insidious, as The Guardian reported, having directed his data analytics firm, Camrbidge Analytica, to "build intimate psychometric profiles of voters to find and target their emotional triggers" on Facebook, in order to influence both the Brexit referendum and the US presidential campaign (Cadwalladr). Other vested interests that backed both campaigns remain largely opaque, and are worthy of further scrutiny.

Brexit and Trump were both supremely unexpected results that humiliated ruling political elites. Prime Minister David Cameron resigned the day after Brexit; with Trump's victory, the seemingly inevitable Clinton juggernaut was reduced to merely winning the popular vote, while President Obama was forced to reckon with a successor who once casted doubt upon his very legitimacy and citizenship. These outcomes could still be considered "flukes" at some point in the future, depending on whether the US and UK reverse course politically, as well as whether other Western countries fail to follow suit. Already, Trump is historically unpopular for a newly-elected president; a majority of Britons tell pollsters that they no longer favor leaving the European Union, a phenomenon dubbed "Regrexit"; and in the first significant test of Western nationalism in 2017, a far-right anti-Islam candidate, Geert Wilders, was defeated in the Netherlands, with the fate of far-right candidate Marine Le Pen in the French presidential election yet to be determined. Still, regardless of whether Trump is re-elected, Brexit is someday reneged upon, or other European countries decide to follow the UK's lead by leaving the European Union, 2016 will be remembered as an unlikely reactionary year, characterized by the injection of jarring setbacks against an emerging Anglo-American baseline of multiculturalism. This appears to be the case even if the metastasis of nationalism elsewhere in the West has already been contained. It is inescapable but to conclude that the parameters of acceptable public discourse have shifted, and consequently, overtly xenophobic narratives in British and American societies have begun to reach a creeping re-normalization. This has already been accompanied by a sharp rise in the number of reported hate crimes in both countries, as well as the emboldening and proliferation of racist organizations (O'Hara). The extent to which these shifts will extend to substantive policy changes on issues of immigration and trade, and whether or not these phenomena are transferrable to other

Western countries, remains unknown at this time. It is difficult to deduce with certainty whether American and British voters consciously pulled the lever for nationalism, xenophobia, or racism. But decisively, some did; and others, at the very least, were willing to overlook their open propagation.

References

Stewart, Heather, and Rowena Mason. "Nigel Farage's anti-migrant poster reported to police." Nigel Farage's anti-migrant poster reported to police. June 16, 2016.

Chakrabortty, Aditya. "After a campaign scarred by bigotry, it's become OK to be racist in Britain." The Guardian. June 28, 2016.

Cobain, Ian. "Jo Cox killed in 'brutal, Cowardly' and politically motivated murder, trial hears." The Guardian. November 14, 2016.

"Donald Trump announces a presidential bid." The Washington Post. June 16, 2015.

Johnson, Jenna. "Trump calls for 'total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States'." The Washington Post. December 7, 2015.

Knight, Sam. "NIGEL FARAGE on the Story Behind his Friendship with Trump" The New Yorker. November 30, 2016.

Mayer, Jane. "The Reclusive Hedge-Fund Tycoon Behind the Trump Presidency." The New Yorker. March 27, 2017.

Cadwalladr, Carole. "Robert Mercer: the big data billionaire waging war on mainstream media." The Guardian. February 26, 2017.

O'Hara, Mary. "Anti-Muslim groups have tripled. But this isn't just a US problem." The Guardian. February 21, 2017.

European Ignorance

by Xenia Marie Hestermann

The European media response to the results of the U.S. presidential election of 2016 was a dismissive type of arrogance. After the election night, the German media published articles like "Victory of the Destroyer" (Nelles 2016), "The White Revolution" (Tomik 2016), "Trump's victory is white, male, educationally weak" (Pauly 2016), "The nightmare only begins" (Kreye 2016), or "The biggest 'Fuck You' Ever" (Volmer 2016). Although not all of the articles are wrong in their analysis, the European arrogance presented after the election from the media and civil society shows a lack of understanding and ignorance of the fundamental problem within the U.S. It is true that the majority of Trump supporters were white and male. It is also true that under most European electoral systems, Trump would have needed to win the popular vote as well to become president. However, a different system requires detailed attention since it reflects the people it serves and the system where it exists. Democracy is the rule of the majority, and in the U.S., white people are in the majority. And they wanted Donald J. Trump as their new president, at least for the most part. Since democracy is the rule of the majority, and Caucasian people, specifically males, compromise the majority, it is not surprising that Donald J. Trump is the new president of the United States. Besides the mere admission that Trump won, Europe has to understand its lack of knowledge about the American system in order to resist and classify the Trump administration in the future. Therefore, this article tries to explain the results from an inside perspective, but as an outsider.

Differences Europeans should acknowledge

To begin, the duration of the whole election process in 2016, from the first candidate's announcement (Ted Cruz, on March 23, 2015) to the actual election, was 596 days. Historically, elections in Europe are significantly shorter, in contrast, with the U.K. having the longest duration at 139 days. The international comparison shows that 12 days, like it is regulated by law in Japan, are also sufficient. Nonetheless, the duration is not the only factor in the election, which influences votes over time and makes politics an annoying everyday affair. The duration of the campaign period matters, since parties and candidates have more time to actually change voters' decisions and to bring undecided voters to their side. Due to the duration, the whole election process takes over society, a phenomenon that has existed at least since the Watergate affair in the seventies. The American public loves to consume political journalism and reporting, which opens every detail of a candidate's life -- the relevant information and the inconsequential. Candidates have to endure the duration of the campaign and the fact that their entire private and public lives will get scrutinized and disassembled. Many

skeptics assumed that Trump, as a medial one-day wonder, would not be able to withstand the pressure and have outlined that Hillary Clinton, as an established elite, has more chances. As an old-established politician Hillary Clinton had, compared to Trump, a bunch of advantages such as experience with how to interact with the media on a more serious level than necessary in a MTV format, she had long-lasting connections to donors which helped her during the campaign, and rehearsed statements on all conceivable topics concerning climate change, healthcare, public education, and modern warfare to American membership in NATO or the UN, women rights, etc. Trump, on the other hand, was able to reposition and redefine himself from earlier statements, or even define new positions in a populist way, which made him heard by people who are more susceptible to populist statements. The German media referred to those as "educationally weak," this can be seen as a dismissive arrogance because to qualify them as dumb does not get to the heart of their reasoning, as my argumentation will show later on.

Furthermore, especially in comparison to Europe, money's impact on American election results is obvious since Trump, as a billionaire, was able to get elected from a non-political background. Meanwhile, countries worldwide can be distinguished by their legal restrictions regarding contributions and spending during elections, for parties and individual candidates. While the U.S. and Finland are the only countries in the world with contribution limits but no spending limits, Trump and Clinton never stopped raising money, often exchanging policy promises for political donations (Gold and Narayanswamy, 2016; Worland: 2016). To satisfy donors, Hillary Clinton's point of view was immensely influenced (it was suspected that she was pro-Wall Street after a speech in front of Wall Street representatives). Money in politics also contributes to the tremendous duration of the election because the huge sums donated to the campaigns allow them to maintain operations for much longer periods of time. More generally, the election is yet another example of how economic status is more significant in America than in European welfare states. This is not only because the U.S. provides limited welfare benefits compared to European welfare states, it is also because the economical status is strongly reflected in the educational system. Less privileged people, perhaps with an immigration background, or with a non-academic family background are less likely to attend college (Darling-Hammond 2001). It must be said at this point that a similar phenomenon occurs in Europe but mostly not due to financial issues or economical statuses, but rather because of immigration background or non-academic background.

Another distinct phenomenon of the U.S. elections is the importance of a candidate's personal identity, rather than his or her opinions on real issues like healthcare or foreign policy. Campaigns are far more personalized compared to European states, and in addition to the longer campaign duration, everything in a candidate's life matters. Trump's past and experience within the media, like his show The Apprenticeship or Battle of the Billionaires, also influenced his campaign strategy, which was fundamentally based on entertainment. Hillary Clinton, on the other hand, struggled as an old-fashioned politician to counteract Trump's media presence on Twitter and Facebook. Trump's campaign strategy, which made him feel "great again," was obviously spiked with populism and patriotic imagery, and was much more emotional than similar campaigns in other countries. The German Federal Agency

for Civic Education, for example, claims that the campaigning behavior in Europe, especially in Germany, has changed over recent years and has become more and more Americanized. The question of the trustworthiness of top candidates dominates the interest in their programs, and the vote is influenced by spontaneous moods and a candidate's media presence. From a European perspective we are excluding ignorance we do not take into account the entertainment, financial value associated with modern personalized political campaigns. It is necessary for Europeans to consider this factor to move from political ignorance to political awareness.

To truly understand the emotions and mind-sets of the people who voted for Trump, and to understand his presidency so far, one has to understand the crucial baseline of the American system, or at least a part of it since ones' economic financial status is a deeply rooted inequality through the whole society.

The United States is 320 million people divided in 50 states, represented through one president in a two party system, with deep cleavages within society and politics that are as big as the difference between the flora and fauna in Key West vs. Alaska. Issues as central such as abortion, the death penalty, LGBT rights, health care have long divided Americans.

In addition, understanding the electoral college system and its complexities is crucial in evaluating Trump's election, since this system is not replicated in Europe or anywhere else in the world. Such a system was designed to preserve individual freedoms while maintaining the power of the elite – namely, the white upper class. A system, where the fear of an overly powerful state is so big that some people insist on their rights within the second amendment of owning a gun. A system, where state interference is limited to the minimum, which made access to affordable healthcare over years impossible for the lower income class, and therefore, it is viewed as a privilege. This system benefits the individual and affords him many freedoms -- but only for those who already benefitted or were inherently raised in it. A system, where education is still a privilege in which minorities have limited access to. A system where the obesity rate is consistently one of the top 10 in the world but food companies that offer XXXL portions get subsidized. The power of lobbyists influences, to a tremendous extent, the outcome of policies. In fact, it is not surprising that Washington had 11,143 unique, registered lobbyists who have actively lobbied, in 2016, compared to Brussels, the EU's capital, where there are 30,000 lobbyists are – but 60% of it represented by NGOs. Note, Europeans have to recognize those numbers since it is suspected that corporations are getting more and more influence in the European Parliament too (https://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/).

The most incredible phenomenon is that regardless of the awareness of inequality and other problems, the high levels of nationalism with the country itself is noteworthy. The national pride Americans have, the belief in their constitution, and the individual freedom aggregates in America's biggest strength, its diversity. It is hard to accept that people who voted for Trump, and can be considered as far right, have the same proudness of being American as Bernie Sanders supporters. That this awareness of its own strength, the diversity in the US, led to a president who obviously is not able, like President Obama was, to create the 'we' before the 'I' should be sadly recognize.

References

BMBF-Internetredaktion. "'Bildung in Deutschland 2016' - BMBF." Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung - BMBF. N.p., n.d. Web. 28 Mar. 2017.

Darling-Hammond, Linda. "Unequal Opportunity: Race and Education | Brookings Institution." Brookings. N.p., 30 Nov. 2001. Web. 28 Mar. 2017.

Gold, Matea, and Anu Narayanswamy. "Clinton Blasts Wall Street, but Still Draws Millions in Contributions." Washington Post. N.p., n.d. Web. 12 Apr. 2017.

Reye, Andrian. "Der Spuk geht jetzt erst los." sueddeutsche.de 9 Nov. 2016. Sueddeutsche.de. Web. 28 Mar. 2017.

Nelles, Roland. "Sieg Des Zerstörers." Der Spiegel. Online. 11 Sept. 2016. Web.

Pauly, Marcel. "Trumps Sieg Ist Weiß, Männlich, Bildungsschwach." DIE WELT 11 Sept. 2016. Web.

Tomik, Stefan. "Wer wählte wen?: Die weiße Revolution." Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung 9 Nov. 2016. FAZ.NET. Web. 28 Mar. 2017.

Volmer, Hubertus. "Präsident Donald Trump: Das größte 'Fuck You' aller Zeiten." n-tv.de 11 Sept. 2016. Web. 28 Mar. 2017.

Worland, Justin. "Trump Promises Oil Industry Big But Skepticism Remains." Time. N.p., n.d. Web. 12 Apr. 2017.

Why women vote for right-wing parties

A closer look at the political agenda and parallels of policies concerning women of a German right-wing party and Donald Trump

by Gianna Martini

A shift to the right is going through western industrial countries. With the election of Donald Trump as the 45th President of the United States, the shift to the right-wing came for the USA more sudden than for Europe.

In a lot of European states, such as Great Britain, Poland, and the Netherlands, the political consent was shifting to the political right during the last couple of years. This political change came slowly and continues with every election. However, it shows that this is not only a one-time protest vote – a lot of people believe in the political agenda that right-wing parties promote. Nowadays a lot of parties emerge on the right spectrum next to the moderate conservatives.

Nevertheless, the contradiction in the popularity of right-wing parties is that they seem to make politics for only one specific group of people, who are male, Christian or not religious, and not migrants, which will be shown in the following.

The strange thing about that matter is that these parties do NOT get their votes only from this one specific group. Particularly, white women are voting remarkably often for right-wing parties (CNN Exit Polls). An example are the 53% of white women who voted for Donald Trump. In Germany, most of the voters for the right-wing party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) are male, however, a considerable percentage of AfD voters are women (Tomik).

To explain why women vote for right-wing parties, despite their policy positions against more gender equality, first, this article will describe what the German right-wing party AfD and the President of the United States Donald Trump stand for when it comes to women's rights and their place in society. In line with the general argument two important aspects of the human identity, race and gender, will be considered in detail. Finally, the article will conclude with the central findings and an answer to the research question will be given.

AfD

In their official political statement, the AfD (English: alternative for Germany) shows a clear agenda when it comes to the place of women in the society. They show a big commitment to a traditional family based on heteronormative couples. The AfD stands against the outsourcing of care-work for children. In their opinion, it is the best for children if mothers do not participate in the labor market and focus on care-work instead. Their goal is an enhanced status of care-work in comparison to labor. To stop the demographic change, the AfD proposes a higher economic incentive to increase birth rates (Grundsatzprogramm AfD 27) and to cut women`s reproductive rights, especially in terms of abortions, except if there are "medical or criminological" indications (Grundsatzprogramm AfD 31).

The AfD believes in fundamental differences between women and men, therefore they do not deem it necessary to put women and men on par,

to use gender neutral language or to have women quota for students at universities and in the labor market (Grundsatzprogramm AfD 41). They also seek a prohibition for the burka and niqab in public, as well as a ban of the hijab for public servants.

Donald Trump

During his campaign in 2016, Trump did not focus on policies which are directed at women. However, the following public statements show his opinions on gender equality. About "equal pay for equal work", he said "You're gonna make the same if you do as good as a job", which shows that he does not have a differentiated view or awareness of the labor market and relevant structures (Crockett).

Trump is also against abortions. Unless a woman's life is in danger, she was raped or the embryo is disabled, he propagates a punishment for women who get an abortion under different circumstances (Flegenheimer and Habermann).

About women getting sexually harassed at their workplace, he suggested the solution to such a problem would be for women to move on and find another company. He even claims that sexual harassment is an expected consequence when women and men work together (Pearson).

About his republican competitor, Carly Fiorina, he said in 2015, "Look at that face! Would anyone vote for that? Can you imagine that, the face of our next president?! I mean, she's a woman, and I'm not s`posedta [supposed to] say bad things, but really, folks, come on. Are we serious?" (Uchimiya). This quote shows that he expects Carly Fiorina to be unqualified for the presidency because she is a woman.

His most famous sexist quote was reported when he said in an interview from 2006 that he can "grab them [women] by the pussy" (Lusher).

With this sexist comment, he shows his objectification of women. It also illustrates that he regards women to be of less value than men.

It was shown that the devaluation of women from right-wing parties happens through a limitation of the choices women have, because of their (financial) dependence on others, like their husbands or the government. These are only the devaluations white women would face. Women of color and non-Christian women face even stronger devaluation under such politics, because they are not only devaluated as a woman, but also as a minority (Grundsatzprogramm AfD).

To get back to the research question, which introduced this article, the following section will describe why women give their vote to parties and a presidency candidate who devaluates them for being a woman.

Gender

The sociologist Birgit Meyer identifies three aspects why women could favor right-wing parties because of their socialization as women:

Firstly, they have a wish to adapt, to subdue, and for self-abandonment (215). The identification with old behavior patterns is a reason for a secure orientation, which can work against the losses of the modernization (Möller 40).

Secondly, the conformation of the patriarchal structures is not only a devaluation of women, but also a key to appreciation, love, and a revaluation of their "natural qualities" as women (Meyer 215). They access these values as a woman who sticks to only one identity: the identity of traditional women as housekeepers and caregivers.

Third, fear and self-hate are central aspects for the devaluation and discrimination of others. This unconscious contempt for themselves

is transferred to “strangers”. In the patriarchal culture, this behavior is tightly bound to a depreciation of women together with female values and abilities. Because women are raised and socialized in a patriarchal culture, these cultural aspects are also enrooted in women (Meyer 215).

Furthermore, right-wing parties offer a solution to the constant conflict of the two identities women have. These opposed identities are care and labor (Becker-Schmidt). Right-wing parties want to get back a focusing of women to only one identity in this conflict - the identity as a mother and housekeeper (Siller 244).

From a critical perspective, the notion that women should work differently than a men could be termed sexism. From a right-wing perspective, this is a naturally given gender allocation, which is threatened by the liberal politics, and which must be preserved and restored (Stöss 267).

A study from Stöss showed that in their voting behavior, women are often directed by their disappointment with established parties and by their aim for a solution for their everyday life problems as housewives and mothers. It is an important aspect for women to vote for right-wing parties because these parties have a political agenda for women who work in unpaid care. The agendas that promise to support women in their situation as a care-taker is more important for these women than the devaluating and even sexist issues right-wing parties stand for (Stöss 301).

Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that not every woman who votes for a right-wing party shares their agenda about traditional gender roles and the prohibition of abortions. There are two groups of women who favor the politics of the right-wing parties. One group supports the political agenda of right-wing parties with their traditional view on gender roles. The second group of women vouch for an egalitarian gender ratio. The first group votes for right-wing parties because of their traditional gender roles and the latter votes for them despite their view on gender (Stöss 273). The remaining question is why women of the second group support right-wing politics despite their devaluating policies for women. The answer could be found in the other identities women have. One identity with a big influence is race.

Race

In the US election, most of the women who voted for Trump were white. 52% of white women, 25% of Hispanic women, and only 4% of black women voted for him (CNN Exit Polls). This shows that the identification not only as a woman, but also as a white woman, is very important to answer the research-question, why women vote for right-wing parties.

Problems women have, e.g. because of their opposed identities labor and care could get externalized. This means that personal problems and reasons that could be found in the society are not noticed. The problems are being transferred to other themes and people - preferable to so-called strangers. This does not solve the problem, but it helps to transfer the problem away from their group of identification (Siller 192).

Thus, one of the reasons why (white) women vote for right-wing parties is not necessarily the neglect of sexism, but often an ethnic sexism. Racism offers women an (socially accepted) opportunity to reframe their experiences with sexual violence over the mechanism of an ethnical sexism. Sexual violence and harassment happen in multiple parts of society, but most of all in the

personal social settings. Because of the taboo of sexual violence in the society and the shame victims feel, an appropriate treatment is not possible for a lot of women. To secure (pseudo-) peace within the group (white) they share an identity with, the blocked experiences are often referred to men of a different group (of color). This concludes to downplaying the sexual violence of white men and to over-emphasize the sexual violence committed by men of color, even though these groups are statistically equally dangerous (Bitzan 97).

Conclusion

This article showed several motives why women vote for right-wing parties. The article excludes aspects that are relevant for men and women alike (e.g. that right-wing parties seem to give simple answers to simple questions - even though they might have a far more complex context). Instead, this article only focused on the question why women vote for right-wing parties in the context of womanhood. It was shown that the reasons why women vote for right-wing parties are manifold. Between the problem of socialization in a patriarchal and racist society, which cannot be eliminated in the short-term, one aspect was very striking: the problem women face because of their double integration in society, firstly on the labor market and secondly in care-work. It shows that there is no equality in personal matters. If this equality is not restored, women need support and appreciation for their work. They get this support and appreciation from right-wing parties. To prevent this mechanism, equality in personal matters must be restored. Thus, this issue isn`t only a political one, but an issue of the private life. Like history has shown, "The personal is political" (Hartmann 100).

References

Becker-Schmidt, Regina / Kanpp Gudrun-Axeli / Schmidt, Beate (1985): Eines ist zuwenig – beides ist zuviel. Erfahrungen von Arbeiterfrauen zwischen Familie und Fabrik. Verlag Neue Gesellschaft, Bonn.

Bitzan, Renate (2002): Frauen in der rechtsextremen Szene, in: Handbuch Rechtsradikalismus, Opladen, Leske + Budrich, 87-104.

CNN Exit Polls (2016): national president, http://edition.cnn.com/election/results/exit-polls/national/president, 28th of february.
Crockett, Emily (2016): Donald Trump has no plan for women in the workplace, so Ivanka made one up for him, http://www.vox.com/2016/7/21/12254496/donald-trump-ivanka-women-workplace-paid-leave, 28th of february 2016.

Flegenheimer, Matt & Habermann, Maggie (2016). Donald Trump, abortion foe, eyes 'punishment' for women, then recants, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/31/us/politics/donald-trump-abortion.html, 28th of february 2016.

Grundsatzprogramm der Alternative für Deutschland. Leitantrag der Bundesprogrammkommission und des Bundesvorstandes, Vorlage zum Bundesparteitag am 30.4.2016 / 01.05.2016, https://www.alternativefuer.de/programm/, 9th of march 2016.

Hartmann, Heidi (1997). "The unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism: Towards a more progressive union". In: Linda J. Nicholson (ed.). The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory. New York: Routledge.

Lusher, Adam (2016): Donald Trump: All the sexist things he said, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-elections/donald-trump-sexist-quotes-comments-tweets-grab-them-by-the-pussy-when-star-you-can-do-anything-a7353006.html, 1st of march 2016.

Meyer, Birgit (1993): Mädchen und Rechtsextremismus. Männliche Dominanzkultur und weibliche Unterordnung, in: Otto, Hans-Uwe/Merten, Roland (Ed.): Rechtsradikale Gewalt im vereinigten Deutschland. Jugend im gesellschaftlichen Umbruch, Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 211-218.

Möller, Kurt (1991): Geschlechtsspezifische Aspekte der Anfälligkeit für Rechtsextremismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, in: Frauenforschung. Informationsdienst des Forschungsinstituts Frau und Gesellschaft, Vol. 9, No. 3, 27-49.

Nagler, Jörg (2014): Gesellschaftsstruktur der USA, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, http://www.bpb.de/izpb/181064/gesellschaftsstruktur-der-usa?p=all, 17th of march 2017.

Pearson, Catherine (2016): 16 Real Things Trump Has Said About Women While Running For President, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/16-real-things-trump-has-said-about-women-while-for-running-for-president_us_57e14a5ae4b04a1497b6a29c, 28th of febrauary 2016.

Siller, Getrude (1997): Rechtsextremismus bei Frauen. Zusammenhänge zwischen geschlechtsspezifischen Erfahrungen und politischen Orientierungen, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Stöss, Richard (2009): Rechtsextremismus, Sexismus und Gender Gap, Sozialer und politischer Wandel, Gender und Wahlverhalten, in: Kühnel, Steffen/Niedermayer, Oskar/Westle, Bettina (Ed.): Wähler in Deutschland, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden.

Tomik, Stefan (2016): Jung, männlich – und enttäuscht, http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/afd-waehler-jung-maennlich-und-enttaeuscht-14123702.html, 28th of february.

Uchimiya, Ellen (2015): Donald Trump insults Carly Fiorina`s appearance, http://www.cbsnews.com/news/donald-trump-insults-carly-fiorinas-appearance/, 1st of march 2016.

The Women's March

by Özden Gül

The women's march that occurred this year in January, the day after the Presidential inauguration, exceeded expectations in the amount of support and solidarity from the protesters that joined in across the globe. The idea for the march is credited to Teresa Shook, a retired attorney and grandmother of four who lives in Hawaii, who created a Facebook page the night after election and suggested a protest (Tolentino). Shook was not alone; that same day a fashion designer from Brooklyn named Bob Bland also proposed a protest on Facebook and eventually both combined their ideas and as word began to spread they were able to assemble volunteers for the march. On January 21, 2017, beginning at 7am, hundreds of thousands of protesters began filling in the streets across the United States and organizers stated that the Women's march drew in nearly 5 million people overall (Malone and Gibson).

Teresa Shook (Bob Bland)

The outrage and resentment from Trump's campaign which included speech and behavior that was found to be particularly misogynistic, Trump's comments and policy positions towards a wide range of groups, including Mexican immigrants, Muslims, the disabled, and environmentalists – also stoked outrage among those who attended the march (Malone and Gibson). All of these issues brought together a massive response within the United States and around the world that blew away expectations of the Women's march organizers. Within the United States the crowds that showed up were so large that marching was nearly impossible, such as in Chicago where organizers had to halt the march and instead rallied at Grant Park as numbers reached as high as 150,000 (Przybyla and Schouten). The call to march proved successful in other cities throughout the US as in New York City 400,000 showed up, 100,000 in Boston, 100,000 in San Francisco, and in the heart of it all, in Washington DC an estimate of around 500,000 protesters arrived by morning which surpassed by far the projection of 200,000 (Przybyla and Schouten).

The anger and shock also fueled marches around the world as well. Across the globe, protesters marched in solidarity for women's rights, such as reproductive rights, but also for human rights that they feared would be in danger during Trump's presidency. Women and men staged

simultaneous protests in cities all over the world, including Berlin, London, Tokyo, Sydney, Nairobi, and elsewhere, to voice their opposition against the values they believe that Trump represents (Smith-Spark). While the numbers could not individually be verified, the global turnout for the Women's march was tallied through online march registrations and is estimated to have been at 4.6 million (Malone and Gibson). The marches held in European cities in particular were also fueled by those who were horrified and opposed to the rhetoric of far right groups that have been gaining momentum in Europe recently and so the Women's march became a symbol global symbol of resistance (Mayer). This symbol of resistance has not ended with the march, and the same organization that coordinated the women's march has launched a new campaign titled 10 Actions/100 Days. This campaign is titled as such because it is set up to take action on an issue every 10 days within 100 days. The campaign is currently on action #5 which is titled "reflect and resist". "Reflect and resist is "designed to educate some, and refresh others, through study, reflection, and courageous conversations, so that we can all be empowered by, and learn from, the work of activists who came before us, while being mindful not to perpetuate the mistakes of the past" (Women's March). Provided on the website are suggested books, articles, and films to help in engaging with the campaign. The website offers updates on their ongoing campaign and has a form available to fill in your name, email, and zip code so that you may be contacted on any updates for the next action they partake in. For more information on the Women's March and how you can participate in their 10 Actions/100 Days campaign, you can follow the link below:

https://www.womensmarch.com/.

References

Mayer, Vivienne. "How The Women's March On Washington Went Global." The Huffington Post. TheHuffingtonPost.com, Inc. , 5 Jan. 2017. Web. 28 Mar. 2017.

Przybyla, Heidi M., and Fredreka Schouten. "At 2.6 million strong, Women's Marches crush expectations." USA Today. USA Today Network, 21 Jan. 2017.

Smith-Spark, Laura. "Http://www.cnn.com/2017/01/21/politics/trump-women-march-on-washington/." CNN Politics. Turner Broadcasting System, Inc. , 21 Jan. 2017.

Tolentino, Jia. "THE SOMEHOW CONTROVERSIAL WOMEN'S MARCH ON WASHINGTON." The New Yorker. Condé Nast, 18 Jan. 2017.

Women's March. "Reflect and Resist." Women's March on Washington. N.p., n.d. Web. 28 Mar. 2017.

Anyone

by Raffi Kiureghian

Where
a draft
from the
train blows

cold, a tremor

my elbows, I
never see

so the wound-
'll flower?
not this
  blue
where no

and spent
$70 on
food, I don't think
money works
"it's just good
in theory"
into the sky

I once walked, it was
blue, with pink
the trees
and buildings, street
thinking
how can
we think we own

the night
comes in, the cat
wants it in
here, come
but he won't, he doesn't
listen to
me or
anyone, not even
the snow

glazes the branches, falls
doesn't listen to
anyone, not

Notes from Author

I wrote this poem a couple of weeks after the election. I thought of the first few lines while waiting at Grand Army Plaza for a train to Flatbush. I'd just bought groceries. Contained within the poem is skepticism about any good coming from the "wounds" of history, politics, and capitalism; skepticism about money's usefulness in facilitating the exchange of what human bodies need to survive (food, shelter, clothing); bewilderment that we as a species can come to believe we own anything; respect for my cat's wildness. It used to have the word "president," but when I revised it a couple of months later I decided to remove explicit mentions of the election. Trump's awful, but he's the symptom of deeper problems: capitalism, racism, misogyny, etc. So I took him out. This was fitting: the formal principle of the poem is absence, the felt absence of gaps in the poem, so the political situation became another absence.

Revolution Now More Than Ever

by Faizi Javaid

The 2016 presidential election has made our country more divided than ever. Although many view this situation as bleak, there is a potential platform where citizens can be more tolerant towards each other. By proposing free tuition to four year colleges for U.S. citizens nationwide, our nation-state will grow socially, economically and politically.

By allowing students to attend college for free, our society benefits in numerous ways. The more education our population, the more likely we can openly discuss issues without disrespecting one another. Heated topics such as healthcare and immigration reform as well as white privilege and police brutality can be conversed while genuinely listening to oppositional perspectives. This dialogue produces the best social policies and places facts over beliefs as disputed information would be unanimously verified.

By permitting students to enroll for free, our nation grows more inclusive and tolerant. I am not stating that the more educated a person is, the kinder they become. What I am asserting is that the more students attend a university, the more likelihood of them being exposed to different types of people and unique schools of thought. This exposure makes them more well-rounded and increases the chance of embracing diversity. Despite the fact this approach devalues a Bachelor's degree because of the surge in supply this method is worth the opportunity cost. It presents a platform for disadvantaged youth who traditionally could not afford tuition to enroll and better their lives.

Furthermore, providing the opportunity for free tuition advances our message to central authority. The more knowledgeable a society is, the more likelihood of its citizens having greater access to information and funds. Not only can this spark the American public to demonstrate their disapproval of particular policies (The Patriot Act, FISA courts, etc.), it mobilizes a rally more effectively and efficiently. By providing this plan, our country's citizens gain invaluable representation at the forefront of democracy. We can publicly debate popular issues politely, move the needle towards inclusivity and propel our unity through well prepared peaceful rallies.

Not only can this objective progress our nation socially, it propels our state economically. By executing this initiative, the U.S. can begin to redistribute wealth back from the one percent to the middle class. As more and more students participate in high skilled careers, the middle class will expand. The velocity of money will be reallocated to the point where investments will target the everyday man. Thus, the gap between the haves and the have nots will gradually shrink. Greater socioeconomic status spurs more innovation and productivity, resulting in a reintegration of financial capital towards the middle class.

Additionally, students graduating debt free serves the economy in various ways. On a micro level, the student will not graduate with the typical monetary burdens associated with acquiring a college degree. That income traditionally spent

on loans would be redirected into general circulation. On a macro level, America benefits because the danger of student debt collectively defaulting (which is worth $865 billion) is lowered. This debt is so incredibly high that it can plunge the economy back into recession. Although critics argue this removes interest rates which prevent banks from profiting, these financial firms can still apply the same tactics to first term home owners.

Finally, this paradigm shift helps the United States on a political level. By having more well-informed voters, politicians are incentivized to represent their constituents and not corporations. If an assemblyman, senator or even president decides to veer into special interests and dark money, a sophisticated society votes for their replacement in the next upcoming election.

An America that has the masses properly educated elects politicians that fixes problems resonating with everyday people, regardless of income. With this outlook, gerrymandering has the chance to be banned as unconstitutional. As politicians feel the base and political climate, they would be more inclined to focus on middle class struggles and ending partisan gridlock. Although this may sound farfetched, a college trained society can hold any politician's feet to the fire.

Despite the state of our country being discouraged by any chance of bipartisan resolutions, one solution is viable. By proposing free tuition to four year colleges for U.S. citizens nationwide, we can make our government function and represent their voters. A more informed society rebuilds our contrasting social views, refines our economy and reforms our corrupt political process.

Brooklyn College Against Trump

by Tyler Mott

The Presidency of Donald J. Trump has been met by a multitude of reactions found all around the world just as every other President in the history of the United States has and perhaps even more so because of his polarizing campaign. Just like the Presidents before him he is loved, hated or ignored by people everywhere and many people have taken either to the streets and/or social media to express these views. Here at Brooklyn College the student resistance group "Brooklyn College Against Trump" (or BCAT) meets every Thursday afternoon from 12:30-1:30 in room 2127 of Ingersoll Hall on the East Quad. Each meeting has been methodically planned to cover various topics in today's political sphere ranging from Racial Injustice, to immigration and Climate change. In addition to discussing a range of issues, each meeting is accompanied by a talk given by an instructor knowledgeable on the subject who leads the group into a discussion. On Thursday March 23rd, I attended the talk given by Professor Samir Chopra of the philosophy department, who was the speaker at the meeting entitled "Surveillance & Web Security." The lecture began with a very informative lesson on data collection and the legal methods used by the government to attain people's personal information. He then used the second half of the lecture to show the group some methods on how to improve your privacy, whether that be through anonymous browsing, or using end-to-end encrypted text messaging. At the conclusion of the lecture, the students of the group asked Professor Chopra some questions and shared their opinions on what was presented. Overall session was very informative and stimulating regardless of what your opinion might be on the subject.

The group's website (bc-at.net) contains the schedule for the meetings and speakers for each one, and the subject of their talk. You can also find on their website, galleries of photos and films of other protests that are going on around the world, documenting their fellow people speaking out for what they believe. Links to other websites can be found here as well as a list of other events that you are able to attend. A petition to turn the Brooklyn College Campus into a "Sanctuary Campus" will be found there as well. Sanctuary Campus status would limit the cooperation between the College and Immigration authorities to ensure the safety of our students from being investigated through school related channels. Finally the last tab on the website allows you to sign up for "activist training" which has classes for self-defense, demonstration management and non-violent civil disobedience. By promoting these classes the group hopes to create a more effective, respectable and non-violent resistance group with a powerful message that deserves to be heard.

Brooklyn College Faculty, Staff Resist!

by Xenia Marie Hestermann

The Brooklyn College Faculty and Staff Resist Group was created after the Trump administration took office and started spreading fear, frustration, and confusion within academics and the CUNY system. It is a platform to communicate and organize in response to the Trump administration's agenda and orders. Besides gathered information, which is provided for students to know their rights, the group started building 'welcome places' on Brooklyn College's campus as a place of retreat for everyone who feels affected or is concerned about current executive orders or presidential announcements. Additionally, the platform offers information about workshops, such as 'Train the Trainer' a workshop on how to give a 'know your rights' presentation for immigrants, or the 'Teach-in & Workshop Series on Resistance to the Trump Agenda'. Furthermore, it offers room for discussions, for exchanging information, and getting involved in a resistance from the academia of Brooklyn College. Brooklyn College Faculty and Staff Resist also works with other CUNY colleges together, in a network which allows to resist the Trump administration through a collective of scholars from different departments. The group meets weekly and is open to all faculty and staff members from Brooklyn College.

The Resistance

by Jason Capote

Ever since entering into the Republican Primaries in June 2015, anti-Trump protests have erupted across the country and around the world protesting his campaign rhetoric, his nomination for the presidency, his electoral win (in which many felt was stolen from Hilary Clinton as Mr. Trump only garnered an electoral vote win), his inauguration, and the policy options that were considered and executive orders issued during the early days of his presidency. Collectively dubbed by commentators as "The Resistance," these protests have taken various forms including marches, rallies, walk-outs, business closures and petitions, with the most infamous event being the Women's March on Washington D.C. (see article by Ozden Gul). While these protests have invigorated the progressive movement within the Democratic Party, have mobilized many first time protesters and may have led to a shift in tone in regards to the positions on immigration and health care held by both the Trump Administration and the Republican Party at large, many media outlets including the New York Times questions the sustainability of the movement noting the gap in social class of the participants as most of the demonstrators of recent events are largely white, educated and well paid enough that they can take off work to protest, the low turnout for recent events such as the Day Without a Woman demonstrations, and an overall appearance of "protest fatigue" among the American public and the major media outlets covering the events.

In spite of this, Al Jazeera reports that the one unexpected consequence of The Resistance is an upsurge in membership among socialist groups across the country for the first time in 97 years mainly being fueled by the political mobilization of college students who related to the candidacy of Senator Bernie Sanders. As such, I decided to meet with a group called the Socialist Alternative, a group who describes themselves as "a national organization fighting in our workplaces, communities, and campuses against the exploitation and injustices people face every day," and believing that "the Republicans and Democrats are both parties of big business, and "campaigning to build an independent, alternative party of workers and young people to fight for the interests of the millions, not the millionaires." The organization states that it is not a political party per se, but fights to elect independently minded socialists to public office and has had successes in the movement for the $15 an hour minimum wage movement that is moving across the country. After meeting with the organization myself, I sat down with one of its members, Mr. Eljeer Hawkins of the Queens, NY Branch to ask him a few questions about the movement and his views

on the Trump Presidency. Mr. Hawkins said that he is not surprised at the President's actions thus far, nor is he surprised at the racist overtones of his election campaign as he recalls that Mr. Trump had lead the hysteria against the boys accused of raping a jogger in the 1989 Central Park 5 Case. He claims that the organization does not see Mr. Trump as an ideologue, as his ideas and policy suggestions has thus far been fluid, but is rather a billionaire protecting his own interests. He does claim however that Mr. Trump is dangerous as he does have elements of demagogy, white-nationalism, and authoritarianism, and has become a "lightning rod for the ruling elite" through the use of racism, misogyny, and homophobia.

When asked about what are his greatest hopes for a Trump Presidency, Mr. Hawkins replied that currently there is "slim to no hope," but that liberal gains may come from powerful social movements. In this regard he compared the rise of Trump to the election and presidency of Richard M. Nixon. He notes that like Mr. Trump, Richard Nixon ran his campaign on a law and order platform, and came to prominence by fear mongering by working with Senator McCarthy similar to how Donald Trump used the construct of illegal aliens committing crimes to win elections. Despite this, there is hope for the future as Mr. Trump may be moved to progressive action by mass protests similar to how Richard Nixon was moved to pass the environmental initiatives as well as moving forward with the civil rights agenda despite clamping down on the activities of the Black Panthers.

As for his greatest fears from a Trump Presidency are the overall prospects of war, an unfettered neoliberal trade agenda, and no restrictions on the movement of capital, coupled with an unchecked ideologue in House Speaker Paul Ryan, which he claims could lead to tremendous setbacks for working class people, especially if "Ryan Care" is passed. Mr. Hawkins is also concerned about Mr. Trump's so-called "Budget of Cruelty," which attacks the living standards of some of America's most vulnerable populations such as cutting Meals on Wheels and senior care services for the elderly and eliminating PBS and child care services that mainly benefit the children of the working class. He is also afraid of an even greater expansion of presidential powers, even more so then those claimed by Former Presidents Bush and Obama in the wake of 9/11 and the use of the office of the president as a platform for the "naked expression of racism, sexism, and homophobia, more then that we have seen in decades." He did state, however, that he and the organization as a whole believes that the People's vote for Donald Trump was the result of an overwhelming rejection of the status quo for both major political parties.

When asked more specifically about the mission of the Socialist Alternative movement, Mr. Hawkins states that it is an internationalist, working class movement that believes that working class people should have a greater voice in democratic society and should be able to determine how resources are distributed and how to best be able to dismantle racism, sexism, and homophobia. He claims that the organization hopes to accomplish a total defeat of Mr. Trump's policies and wants to move the country toward a single-payer, Medicaid for all health care system similar to the ones in every other modern industrialized democracy in the world. To achieve this, the organization staged a nationwide and global protest movement as part of the May Day Movement and says that the organization is open for anyone to join who expresses interest to one of its existing members at any of their protest movements.

For more information on the organization and its scheduled protests, check out the website at https://www.socialistalternative.org

Politics and Perspective: The Other Side of America First Through the Lens of Film

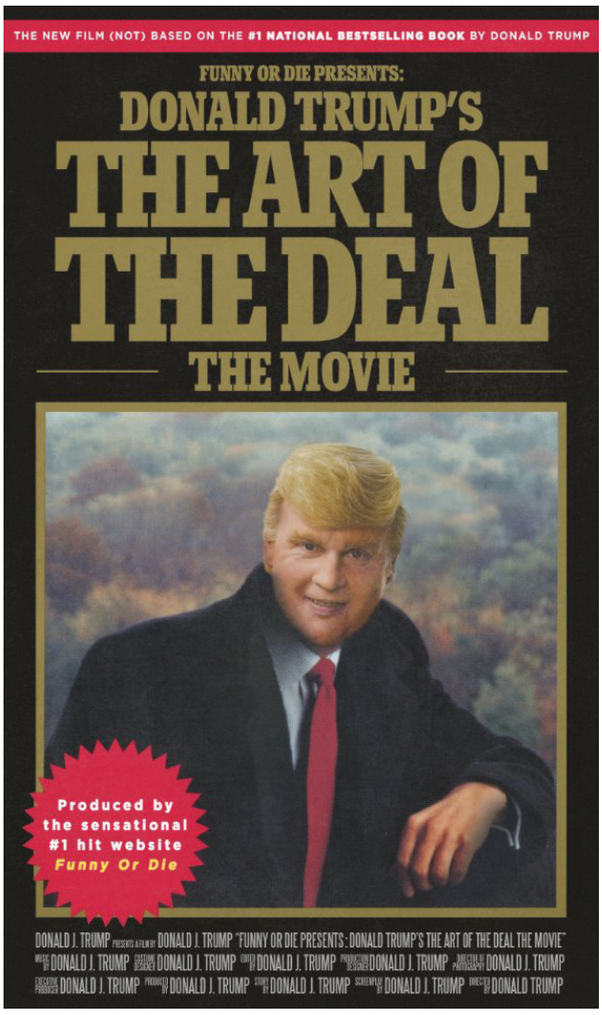
by Kurt J Jamora

The overall context looking ahead during the early days of President Trump's implementation of America First is a period of great unknown. On a positive note, this time period is an excellent opportunity to also stop, turn on your tv and/or streaming service on any device and watch some insightful films and documentaries to expand your knowledge base of the issues, conflicts, countries, and people that are effected daily by the actions of government.

Over the course of one month I was able to watch five films of a broad spectrum that reminded me of how diverse the world really is and how fragile the balance of power is. The five films I watched that will be reviewed in this article are as follows: Cartel Land, The Art of the Deal, How to Win the US Presidency, Afghanistan the Great Game, and The Man in The High Castle. Additionally I will recommend a series of other films that you can watch should you find yourself hungry for more related works.

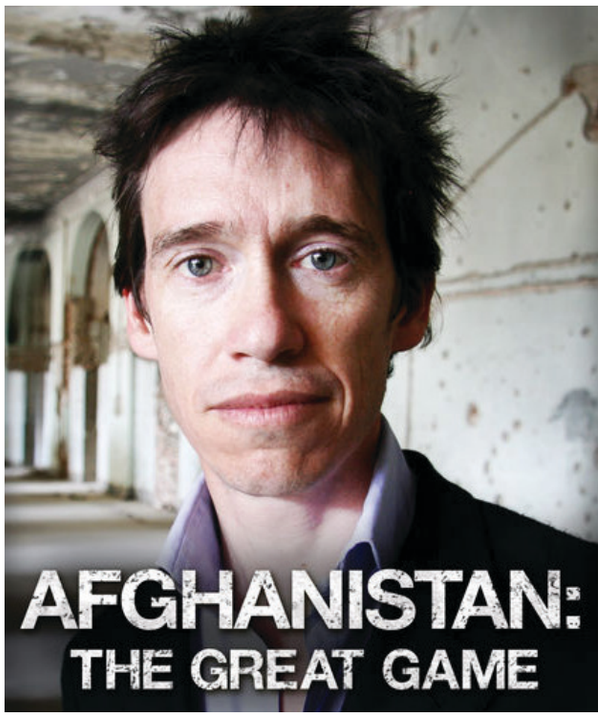
As you can already tell the titles are diverse and range from the serious overtones of drug cartels and the history of conflict in Afghanistan to fiction based work where the Nazis and Imperial Japan have defeated the allies (should have given you a spoiler alert). You may ask at this point: why does any of that matter when relating the relevance of the entertainment content to President Trump's first months in office? My answer to you is the focal points of America First agenda of trade, immigration, and protectionism. The key focal points to America First have both direct and indirect effects on the American way of life and the international community. As the world deepens in transnational networks the changes in one nation will undoubtedly have effects felt in other countries.

Cartel Land is a documentary made in 2015 by Matthew Heineman that explores the drug war in Mexico from the perspective of the drug traffickers, vigilante groups in Mexico, Autodefensas (vigilante groups in Mexico), and the Arizona Border Recon (vigilante group in America). Both Mexican and US citizens who live on both sides of the border have grown frustrated with what they feel is a lack of government action and democratic satisfaction. The vigilante groups take matters into their own hands by fighting back against the drug cartels. However, does power corrupt?, Is it within their right to organize and fight back with violence? Do the governments support these groups and others like them? Take a look for yourself and ask what would you do?

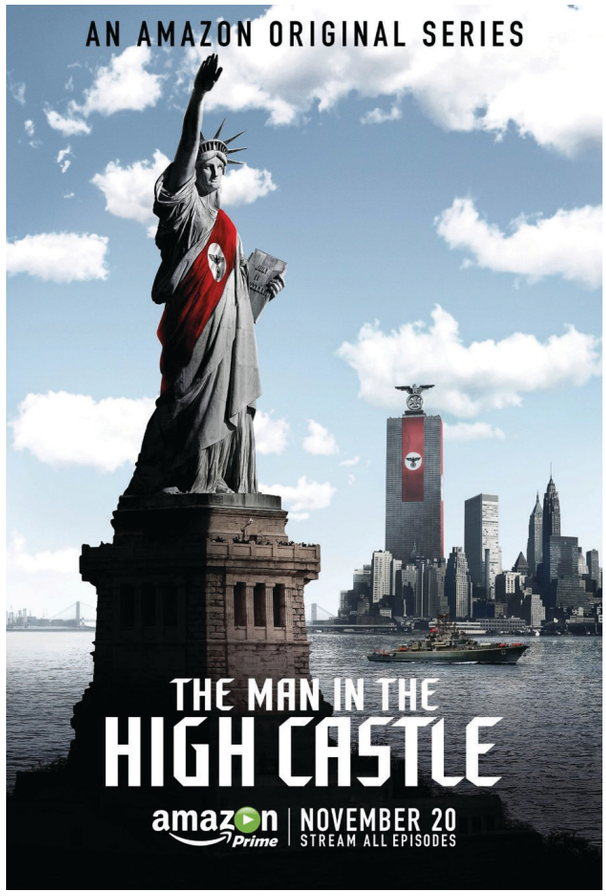


The Art of the Deal a 2016 American satire that is loosely based on the 1987 book The Art of the Deal. Directed by Ron Howard and starring Johnny Depp the film explores issues from the 2016 Presidential Election such as identity, racism, money, and inequality The film takes an obvious left position that builds an image of hypocrisy of President Trump. I found the film entertaining due to the whiteness and spot on representation of President Trump. From a applicable to furthering knowledge perspective I found the satirical art form an opportunity to openly find dark humor of many serious issues from the 2016 Presidential Campaign that will eventually be overlooked such as the prejudice overtone rhetoric or the America First agenda that proposed the US taking an isolation approach. Many of these aggressive positions were in fact long standing beliefs in President Trumps ideology throughout his previous corporate tycoon personality in New York City real-estate. If you want to laugh and see an artistic form of the Donald Trump ideology, check out this film.

How to Win the US Presidency offers an alternative view of how US presidential election races have been throughout history and the message it sends the British community. Between 2008-2016 British film maker Cal Seville sought to follow the US presidential election campaign and chronicle key events that are typical throughout other campaigns in American history. Seville sections the documentary into four main categories: money, look, family, and the message. These sections are filled with archival footage that show a very repetitive sequence of events in American presidential campaigns. The films completion was made prior to the 2016 Presidential election which was intentional in order to make an assertion how an individual with enough financial support and persuasive rhetoric can win the election despite what polling numbers claim to predict. A well made film with a unique alternate perspective that reminds the audience just how foreseeable Donald Trump's election to president was actually quite predictable despite what media outlets were anticipating as a certain Hillary Clinton win.



Afghanistan the Great Game is a captivating insight into the war in Afghanistan from a historical objective perspective of Rory Stewart in 2012. The film is a two part documentary series that explores the history of foreign intervention in Afghanistan from the experience of the British, Russians, and now the US. Episode one explores the historical experience with the British interventions in Afghanistan with distinctly similar parallels to that of the US/Coalition forces today. The most compelling argument presented in episode one is that despite both super powers great wealth and resources to conduct expeditionary military action, ill-fated campaigns were caused by little background information on understanding the enemy, people, and terrain prior to initiating operations. The second episode explores the story of the Soviets and the tragic end that the US can still avoid. However, the episode dives into a darker past of the US in Afghanistan that reveals the covert war the US fought through arms trafficking and CIA backed operations during the Soviet-Afghan war. The residual effects of the covert war is felt today as the US lead Coalition in Afghanistan fights an enemy that was armed and trained by the CIA. At the conclusion of the series the parting message of the director is one of identifying the pitfall of nations finding it relatively easy to invade but immensely difficult to leave in the future. If you want to understand the history of war in Afghanistan through archival footage and current scholarship this is an obvious must see two part series.



The Man In the High Castle is an Amazon exclusive series that is based on Philip Dick's dystopian alternative history novel. In a world where the Axis powers, Imperial Japan and Nazi Germany, defeat the allied powers; America is divided into three main geographic spheres of influence. In the west Imperial Japan occupies territories extending from Seattle to the border of Mexico. In middle America, primarily the central plains, a nomadic way of life where American insurgents operate resemble a stereotypical wild west environment. The east coast of America

is occupied by Nazi Germany where American culture has been fused with Nazi ideology. At the core of the series are concepts of identity, free-will, history, prejudice, power, class struggle, gender, and politics. Although fiction, the story parallels many of the issues that our reality in the 1960s of race, gender, politics, and religion struggled with and still do to this day. The series centers around several main characters, all of whom have dynamic backstories, however there is a constant overtone of a struggle for power that will result in the fate of Imperial Japan and Nazi Germany engaging in a third world war. This looming conflict is highly reminiscent of Soviet and US power struggles of the Cold War era to which the Japan-Nazi power struggle is themed on. For an exciting alternative perspective of history that mirrors our contemporary struggles, do not pass up the opportunity to dive into both seasons of The Man in the High Castle!

Recommended Future Title Screenings

Returning to our reality there are countless films that can be reviewed in order to reflect on the current developments in America. To mention a few titles that I recommend you see that will further expand your knowledge and perspective are as follows: Trumped, Cries from Syria, Legion of Brothers, and The Force.

Trumped is a documentary released in February of 2017 that presented insider footage of President Trump's campaign race. Directed by Ted Bourne, Mary Robertson, and Banks Tarver the film spans a period of over two years to include exclusive footage of the primaries, debates, and swearing into office of the 45th President of the United States. The film is unbiased which allows you the viewer to either give in to your beliefs or reserve them in order to analyze fact from fiction of how Donald Trump became the 45th President of the United States.

Cries from Syria is an investigative documentary released in March of 2017 by director Evgeny Afineevsky. The film focuses on child protestors, revolutionary movements, civil society, and real narratives of Syrian defectors of the government who have taken action against Syria's oppressive regime. Despite hardship and loss there is a constant glimmer of hope portrayed in the film that tells the real story of those who resist when all odds are against them.

Legion of Brothers is an upcoming documentary about the real stories of US Special Operations Soldiers who were operating in Afghanistan immediately following the events of September the 11th 2001 to overthrow the Taliban.]Directed by Greg Barker the film moves ack and forth through the past and present to illuminate the audience as to the background context of Afghanistan and how it continues to effect operations today where being misinformed is often the point of which life and death is a result of poor understanding of the operational environment.

The Force documents two violent years that Oakland City Police Department faced where ethnicity, identity, corruption, and violence plagued a city and a police department that sustained a deteriorating image in public view. The documentary is hailed for being able to present multiple viewpoints without ever seeming to solely take one side of the debate. The film will not provide answers to questions such as: how do we fix the problem or who is to blame?

Title, Layout & Covfefe
Florian Martini