My Theory on the Trump's Phenomenon. Why Donald Trump? And Why Now?

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Abstract: The rise of Donald Trump as a serious political contender for the President of the United States has baffled political experts, party establishment, media pundits and ordinary citizens in the US, and captivated the attention of the world. This survey article attempts to provide some of the reasons why Trump has been successful in the Republican Party primaries' election cycle, and why he is to be taken seriously in his quests for the nomination of his party and thus the Presidency of the United States. The article concludes by reiterating the reasons why Mr. Trump has become the GOP front- runner in these primaries and why he will be a serious candidate for the President of the United States if he is the nominee of his Party.

My 10 Reasons for Trumpism

1. Introduction

The rise of Donald Trump as a political outsider has shattered a lot of preconceived notions of what it takes to be a successful political contender for the US Presidency. This rise has baffled media pundits as well as the so-called political experts and the likes of Karl Rove and all other anointed political consultants. This does not stop there. His rise and success so far has also captivated the world alike just as Obama was able

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to hypnotize the world during his own 2008 election campaign and early years of his 'Hope Presidency' in 2009 and 2010.

The Trump's Phenomenon: A Movement?

This Trump's *phenomenon* has taken the Republican Establishment by the storm and revolutionized the whole political landscape and calculus of the United States. That is, the old rules of political playbook are literally thrown out of the window and everybody is simply scrambling to understand what the whole thing is all about. And for that matter, political scientists will be teaching it for many years to come. Therefore, what the Donald has done so far is a political revolution and its effects will be felt many years from now. And if Mr. Trump were to become the Republican nominee and go on to win the Presidency in November, he would certainly become a transformation President just like Obama has, for better or worse, earned that right in his own way.

Now to understand the meteoric rise of Trump as a candidate on his way to the nomination of the Republican Party is very simple to anyone who has observed the domestic political dynamics of the US and its foreign policy in the last quarter of a century. On the domestic front, a number of key points ought to be brought forth in order to understand why Mr. Trump has such a pluralistic appeal across the board with a large segment of the American population. On the foreign front, other key developments that have taken place since the end of the Cold War are also, to a certain extent, sufficient reasons for why Mr. Trump's messages are resonating with millions of Americans and becoming more and more receptive to millions more even if they do not admit it publicly. This is so because of the entrenched culture of political correctness that has permeated the American society since the Clinton's Presidency, and the discourse of the dominant left-leaning academic establishment in many American Universities, and the overwhelming liberal media bias in the American political narrative.

2. The Rationale of the Trump's Phenomenon

1.) First, the legacy of President Clinton. The hijacking of the Republican economic policy by former President Clinton on his campaign trail to the White House in 1992, and his so-called centrist policies after the resounding congressional defeat of the Democrats in 1994 by the Republicans set the stage for the feckless and spineless attitude of the Republican establishment towards its electoral base. This party leadership or establishment, or what some people call today the country club Republicans or RINO (Republicans in Name Only) have since then, steadily betrayed their base and become the mouthpiece of corporate interests. (1) That is, the Republican political establishment in Washington simply became aloof from the needs and cries of its constituents. As a result of that, it gradually became hostage to the whims of the donors and lobbyists and special interests. Thus, this slow and gradual lack of loyalty of the People's Representatives in Washington sowed the seed of the apathy that millions of American voters have been showing to the political class and Congress in particular. As a matter of fact, it is worth recalling that the conventional wisdom may claim that the income inequality that has been affecting a large segment of the American population, the mass incarceration of many African American males (2), the welfare reform, the spending cuts of many federal programs for the poor, and America's aggressive intervention abroad, could all be engineered from the Administration of Bush 43. Nevertheless, this is all not true. These above-mentioned policies stretch back to the years of Bill Clinton as President. And consequently, the inability or sheer incompetence of the Members of the Congress from both parties, i.e., the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, to address the economic needs and social concerns of a large segment of the American voters and working families in particular, is at the root of the anger that millions of Trump supporters are showing today.

2.) The Trade Deals. The passage of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 and the offensive charm of President Clinton to slowly weaken the Unions and expose the working American families to relentless competition from the globalized world economy, planted the seed of the discontentment of the independents, Democrats, low-working class America, and all other angry voters that are flocking to Mr. Trump. Hence, NAFTA, with all fairness, could be considered among one of the most important political legacies of Bill Clinton, together with the repeal of the Glass Seagal Act in 1999. (3)

Mr. Trump's denunciation of the bad trade deals made in the name of free trade, and the never ending closing of factories, and the incessant outsourcing and offshoring of millions of American jobs to countries such as China, Mexico, Indonesia, Vietnam and India, just to cite a few, resonate very strongly primarily with the blue collar working people that are not sold on the virtue of free trade. For, they do not see any benefits of free trade while they are losing their jobs to foreigners, and as a consequence, many of them cannot simply find any meaningful work in this globalized and über competitive US job market. This situation is also forcefully brought forth by Mr. Trump when he constantly talks about the trade deficits that the US runs with China, Japan, and Mexico, and many among others. And his denouncing of NAFTA (4) and soon to be the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) (5) has for example, resonated more with the White working American class and skeptics of the economic globalization in general. When he says, "it is not free trade, this is horrible stupid trade, folks, we need to get smart, thousands of jobs go to Ireland, Nabisco, Ford, go to Mexico, Mexico is a small version of China", his audience overwhelmingly agree with him. In a sense, Mr. Trump is giving voice to people who cannot publicly express their outrage and frustrations against policies that they feel cheat them and career

politicians that they feel have abandoned them. And as Mr. Trump has said it several times himself during his campaign rallies, "I am just a Messenger."

3.) Globalization. The effects of the economic globalization and the relative decline of the American dominance in world trade and global economic production (6) has left millions of American workers unemployed and feeling resentful of their economic conditions. Those affected by the "Tsunami" of globalization feel betrayed by Washington, and in particular, the Republican voters feel abandoned by their leaders and thus grow angrier of their lot. They feel like the American dream that they have been promised generation after generation and expect to achieve is slipping away, and that their children will not even come close to dreaming of it, let alone hoping to do better than their battered parents. This economic despair was exacerbated by the financial crisis of 07 and 08, and its consequences have been devastating to millions of middle class and working American families. (7)

This fear of the future and the anger that many supporters of Trump display and express is deeply rooted in economic displacement and the lack of hope in what the future holds not only for them but also for their children. And rightly so, many millions of Americans simply do not see any way out for their children and grand-children that are saddled with incredible amounts of college debts that would impair them from starting their own families and living their own American dream. This lack of hope in the future is what drives millions of independents, Democrats, formerly uninterested voters, legal immigrants, women, old, young, business people, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans to Mr. Trump. And coupled with all that, Mr. Trump's track record in business and high finance and successful career as a builder has also become a magnet to his supporters and detractors alike. Furthermore, in time of crisis, people always look for a strong leader and someone who has time and again demonstrated that they can provide safety and security and leadership. And in that, Mr. Trump exudes more than his fair share as a successful business mogul. In fact, this is one of his attracting points that millions of his voters find very appealing and are drawn to.

4.) Immigration: When Donald Trump declared himself as a Candidate for President of the United States on June 16, 2015, no one within the political establishment and the media pundit class took him seriously. However, in two or three weeks' time, his candidacy had gained traction and the media buzz had become all about what Trump says and what he is going to say next. This change of fortune has got to do with his early pronouncements on the issues of immigration and trade. Mr. Trump said that "Mexico is not sending its best, but criminals and rapists." This bold statement against a neighboring country and its resident community within the US took off as a wildfire, and became the evening news talking points. Now, together with trade issues, jobs outsourcing by US companies, and border security concerns, immigration has been the main policy point of Mr. Trump's platform on his campaign trails, and during almost all his media appearances. His view on illegal migrants took a sharp turn when the unfortunate San Bernardino, Paris, and Brussels attacks took place. In the wake of Paris attack, Mr. Trump made another bold policy statement that got the attention of everyone in America and the world at large when he said the US government should temporarily ban the entry of Muslims in America until "We know what is going on", as he put it. This proclamation brought him rebukes not only from the White House, political opposition and even his Papacy himself but also from some elements within the Republican Party such as Jeb Bush. Pope Francis even suggested that Mr. Trump is not "*a Christian*" for calling for a deportation of undocumented immigrants and pledging to build a wall on southern border between the US and Mexico. (8)

U.S. immigration policy has been one of the cornerstones of political debates for decades in Washington, State Capitals, and Municipalities around the country. Federal, State, and local policy makers have been grappling with the issues of US labor demands and border security concerns for years. As is to be expected, these two concerns have pitted the private corporate interests against the national interest which lie in border security and national sovereignty. Congress has for years failed to pass а comprehensive immigration reform that satisfies all stakeholders in that matter. As a consequence of this policy absence, the decisions on the immigration policy reform have since then been moved into the executive and judicial branches of the government, and the debate on it has ever since, become partisan and politically charged. Then comes the Donald and reignites the debate with incendiary comments on the 'illegal immigrants' and makes it a focal point for the border security concerns of millions of his supporters and opponents of immigration in general. In fact, he presents illegal immigration as an existential threat for America's future when he says "No border No country, Folks." And in light of the ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) backed terrorist attacks and the crisis of migrants and refugees across Western Europe, this resonates well with his supporters and ordinary American citizens. Furthermore, immigration in general is viewed by many of Trump's supporters as a new battle ground for social, political and cultural preservation of what America used to be and ought to be. This is the message behind "We want our country back" that many supporters of Mr. Trump utter during his rallies.

5.) Middle Class. The foundation of the American prosperity and the dream to climb the social and economic ladder in the aftermath of WWII was, up until recently, represented by the middle-class. However, since the late '80s, the middle class has been steadily losing ground when compared to the gains of the top rich class or what we call today the One Percent, which has gotten richer beyond anyone's imagination. In fact, the base of that middle

class was actually in the hands of the blue-collar working class. Mostly White working families that used to sustain the drive to climb the economic ladder and become part of the American dream that everyone aspires to. However, with the weakening of the Unions, and the shipping of millions of jobs overseas, attaining the American dream and becoming part of that middle class has simply become an impossible proposition for millions of American families. Furthermore, the explosion and easy access to credit cards geared towards the same middle class, in order to persuade it to maintain its lifestyle, has pushed it further and further in debt while its wages have stagnated and its job prospects have become precarious than ever. In the meantime, the white collar professional class, especially the financial industry type, has seen its net worth go over the roof. This dichotomy of economic gains within the American society has made the issues of income opportunity and inequality so blatant for everyone to see, courtesy of the financial and economic crisis of '07 and '08.

As an example, the Occupy Wall Street Movement and the visible discontent of a large segment of the American population in regard to its economic conditions, is one of the reasons why so many people are driven to Trump. This may seem contradictory given that Trump is part of the same establishment that a large number of his own supporters loathe. Nonetheless, his appeal to millions of middle class (white collar, blue collar) and uncountable low-working class Americans is based on the fact that they like what they hear from him, and he seems genuine in addressing issues that are dear to them. That said, apart from the border security of the US that he is constantly talking about during his rallies through his famous "I will build the wall and Mexico will pay for it", what drives most of Trump's supporters to him is economic anxiety. To borrow Clintons' campaign slogan of 1992, "It's the Economy Stupid." Though there is a host of reasons why people support Trump, the truth of the matter is people are mad about something and they want that thing to be

fixed. They feel like Mr. Trump can make a difference, and they believe that the establishment has failed and shafted them, and he alone can fix the problems for them and for the country in general. So, the likes of "*Joe the plumber*" or millions of "*Trumpsters or Trumpites*" of today, simply feel and believe that Trump will make a difference for them. Besides, they do not care about what his critics say of him or how much he contradicts himself on issues that will easily destroy another political figure in the US. And whether those critics are the Republican establishment, Democrats, political pundits or king-makers and the elite media class, it just does not matter to them.

6.) China as an economic superpower. The successful rise of China on the world stage and the transformation of its backwater economy into the second largest economy in the world put a dent into the American Exceptionalism (AE). (9) Many Americans have come to believe and internalize the notion of being exceptional as a God given right. This has been truer since the end of the Second World War. Unfortunately, long gone is the day when the United States was responsible of 60 percent of global industrial production. (10) As a matter of clarification, this was so because of the destruction of the Western European and Japanese economies during the Second World War and the structural economic conditions of the world at that time. But, no matter. Millions of Americans were never taught that this was a special time in the global economic structure of the 20th Century. This Chinese economic miracle, coupled with the Japanese one of the late 70s and early to mid-80s, has provoked a national resentment and fear of the future in some sectors of the American population. Mr. Trump has marvelously tapped into that, and as a result, people that are not happy about America losing its 'Economic Superpower' status, have responded to him accordingly. This in particular is true with the working people that have seen their jobs being outsourced and shipped away to places like China, India, Vietnam, Mexico, South Korea, Brazil, Russia, etc. For, they have to live with countless closed factories

in their respective states, and in many instances, they fall into poverty and can no longer enjoy the cheap consumer goods that are manufactured in and imported from those above-mentioned countries. This is very much so in the hearland of America in places like Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Michigan. Consequently, they search and look for a culprit for their economic distress, and in this instance, Trump points fingers at China among many other culprits. Now, whether his accusation towards China as the main cause of the economic distress of the working class America is factually substantiated is beyond the scope of this paper. What matters to us at this juncture is to understand why this particular class of Americans is driven to him.

Furthermore, when the rise and fast industrialization of Tiger Countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, and the emerging markets like Brazil and Russia are added to the equation, America's best days and dominance in the world economy are simply behind her. Rightly so, this stark reality has fostered anger, anxiety, and fear in the heart of many well-informed and struggling American families. The perception of abandonment of this affected and distraught working class America, especially among the working White and Black alike, simply drive millions of them to Trump. In addition, Trump's down to earth language on issues that are dear to the working men and women is another reason why he is so attractive to millions of them across the country. Even though his overwhelming supporters at this stage are White America and mainly largely White Men, his message resonates with millions more of Blacks and other minorities as well. Though it is true that so far they have not all come out and publicly support him yet, we believe that this assertion will be tested in November if and when Mr. Trump becomes the nominee of the Republican Party and runs for the White House.

7.) Global Terrorism and the War on Terror. The event of the September 11 brought about a tremendous change within the fabric of the American society. And as such, it dealt a huge blow to the security and safety that the American people had enjoyed since the end of World War II. In a way, September 11 shattered the myth of a self-confident American, and planted doubt and fear about what tomorrow had in store for the country and for an average person that felt defenseless before a host of problems that he or she had never faced before. This is in effect, one of the root causes of why American voters have become so disenchanted with the whole political game in Washington and openly distrust career politicians today. They feel unprotected by them and at the same time they know that something is wrong with their country. As a result of this disenchantment with the political class, civil discourse is thrown out of the window and a political adversary is seen as an enemy, and Washington political establishment is no longer held in high esteem. Consequently, America's political culture ever since has been gravitating more and more towards a third world political combat of nastiness and crude approach to power grab. Then, there comes Trump. And his bombastic approach and straight shooter style rings bell with the alluded disenchanted voters. Interestingly, on the contrary, the political class and the media elites that are both despised and loathed by a large segment of the American society have missed Trump's appeal to those voters and naturally have become his ardent critics. In fact, they are the ones that fuel the rise of "# Never Trump" movement. For, they claim that he is unsophisticated, unworthy of the White House, and lack sufficient policy knowledge and temperament to be a Commander in Chief of the United States. (11)

Furthermore, it is worth recalling that for over half of a century, Americans never knew what is like to be attacked on their own soil. The memory of Pearl Harbor is long gone in the minds of millions of them. And to be attacked by an outside sinister force such as the Al-Qaeda in 2001, America's entire invincibility myth

was shaken at its core, and the whole security discourse of the country changed accordingly. Though it is true that domestic terrorism has been part of the American society since its foundation, its occurrence however, has always been sporadic and treated as a blip into the security of the Nation and the safety of the People. (12) For instance, prominent cases on the domestic terrorism in the US that come to mind since the early '90s are the following: The New York City, New York World Trade Center bombing (1993), the Waco, Texas Killing (1993), the North Caldwell, New Jersey Unabomber mail bomb (1994), the Oklahoma City, Oklahoma bombing, (1995), and as of late, the San Bernardino, California killing (2015). (13) Still, those abovecited domestic terrorist cases cannot be equated to the existential threat to America that Al-Qaeda was representing a few years ago and that ISIS is purported to be showing today. In fact, the War on Terror was put in motion by President Bush 43 as a response to terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda and against any sponsoring government such as the Taliban that would give cover to malignant organizations that would pose threats to the US and its allies. Donald Trump constantly mentions on his campaign trails that "We can't even beat ISIS and that our Military is depleted." In essence, what Trump means by saying that is to make sure that his supporters and foes alike understand that he is not to be messed with as President; and this is another strong point of his that his supporters have grown accustomed to liking. That is, the perception of a strong leader that can protect them and be strong on national security.

8.) OBAMA. The Presidency of Obama was thought by millions of people around the world and in the United States in particular, to bring a fresh way of doing politics and miraculously solve all the social ills and economic despair of America and the world at large. Countless social observers and millions of Americans who deposited their faith and hope in Obama thought that he was the one that was going to bring all Americans together and heal the

'Racial Divide'. Or to quote Obama himself, "We are the ones that we have been waiting for." Unfortunately, those expectations have not been met, to say the least, and Obama has not performed political miracle. Now, it is true that blames are to be spread equally to both the Democrats and Republicans for the apparent failure of the Obama Administration (s) to not deliver all the loftier promises that he made to the country. And it is true as well that many Republican politicians and their Members in Congress took pleasure in obstructing Obama in any policy initiative, so long as it was to score a political point against him. This deliberate obstruction by the Republican Party and its law-makers to any policy initiative from the Obama administration exacerbated the political gridlock that had become the way of doing politics in Washington. Unfortunately, this "Us against Them" political mindset has become the new normal in American politics since the Monica Lewinsky scandal and the failed attempt to impeach former President Clinton in 1994. In addition, the eruption of the Tea Party movement on the American political scene (14), and the inability of the Republican establishment in Washington to respond to the needs of its constituencies, have deepened the mistrust that the Republican base and rank and file have been harboring towards its leadership. Moreover, the birther movement, led principally by the Tea Party activists and Donald Trump himself, further exacerbated the confrontation between the Obama supporters and their Republican counterparts.

On the other hand, the strategic mistake that Obama himself made by doggedly pushing for the 'Obama Care' cost him a huge political capital early on in his Presidency; even though he was able to pull it off at the end. Nevertheless, the political cost of that policy is already being felt during this campaign cycle. That is to say, each one of the Republican candidates has thus far explicitly or implicitly vowed to repeal and replace it. Whether they mean it or not or will have a better health care policy of their own remain to be seen. In addition, Obama's foreign policy has also rubbed many of the Republican establishment the wrong way. His lack of chemistry, to put it mildly, with Netanyahu or their lack of agreement on key policy directions ranging from Iran to Syria and the Israeli-Palestinians issues, *inter alia*, has also pushed so many Republicans (the neocons in particular) to openly be hostile to him and rally against his policies. In fact, some of them have gone as far as they could to publicly deride him. Furthermore, Obama's deal with Iran has also become another point of contention with some members of the Republican establishment and almost all the candidates for the White House in this election cycle. Mr. Trump as well as Mr. Cruz and Marco Rubio have incessantly all denounced that deal during their numerous election rallies and Republican primary debates; and to be honest, Trump has been the most vocal in doing so.

9.) American Exceptionalism. When Donald Trump says, "folks, we do not win anymore, and when was the last time that we win anything, we do not win in trade, we cannot beat ISIS", what he is talking about is America's losing its preeminent role in the world affairs, be it in trade and economics or in global security and leadership matters. This is in essence, what Trump's America First Policy discourse is about. Even though some people interpret it as just Trump stoking emotion out of his supporters, the truth of the matter is, this is all about American Exceptionalism. That is, there was a time when America used to win everything and the rest of the world would just be happy with the crumbs. Unfortunately, those days are way over for her. Today, even the Military Might of America is called into question. Case in point is that the war in Iraq and the war in Afghanistan have been a disaster (some will say a defeat) for America and a stain in its foreign policy objectives and global leadership. In addition, as of late, the resurgent Russia led by Putin has demonstrated, to the chagrin of many hawks and neoconservatives in Washington, the limitations of America's military might under this current Administration. This became apparent to everyone when Mr. Putin called out Obama's red line

bluff towards the regime of Bashar Al Assad, and thus averted the regime change in Syria that many "*inside the belt warmongers*" were concocting and vociferously advocating for. Moreover, the disaster that has ensued in Libya after the *NATO* led operation to oust Qaddafi, backed by the Obama Administration, has also demonstrated how far the US could go in its *Regime Change Policy* in foreign lands. Therefore, these cited events clearly show that America can no longer get its way in world affairs as it pleases, despite its feared military and technology superiority. Then, there comes the Donald and promises to restore all of that.

10.) Trump's Foreign Policy Doctrine.

"It is not free trade. This is horrible stupid trade. Folks, we need to get smart. Thousands of jobs go to Ireland. Nabisco, Ford, go to Mexico. Mexico is a small version of China." (15) Upon hearing all that, one can say that Donald Trump's foreign policy vision and leadership of the US in the world in this troubled time is still evolving. However, one can also claim that, based on his stump speeches on the campaign trails and numerous interviews, his foreign policy prescriptions are based on the following pillars: Patriotism, Economic Nationalism, Strong Border Security and America First. This is basically what "Trumpism" is about. As Pat Buchanan has noted:

patriotism, preserving and protecting the unique character of our nation and people, economic nationalism, America First, staying out of other nation's wars-these are as much the propellants of Trumpism as is the decline of the American working and middle class. (16)

Now to understand the rationale behind Trump's vision for the US leadership in the world, one has got to understand that for Mr. Trump, everything is viewed and shaped through the prism of deals and transactions. And as Buchanan has succinctly observed: *Trump subjects U.S. commitments to a cost-benefits analysis, as seen from the standpoint of cold national interest.* (17) Therefore,

as a case in point, when Mr. Trump says "NATO is obsolete and needs to be readjusted. It does not fight terrorism and the world has changed and America should no longer be the police of the world", what he is saying is that in terms of cost-analysis, this alliance is no longer profitable to the US, and if the United States wants to keep it as is, it has got to be paid accordingly. The same goes with the security and defense policy that the US has with countries such as South Korea, Japan and Saudi Arabia. Mr. Trump wants those countries to pay fairly for the defense that the US provides them. And as regards to Nuclear Policy for instance, he would not even mind if that policy were to be changed as well. As he said it himself, "Japan and South Korea may go nuclear at one point. The Nuclear Arms Race is already an ongoing reality. South Korea has a maniac next door (North Korea, emphasis added)." Therefore, either they pay accordingly for the American defense or security (foot the bill) or they will have to learn to defend themselves. The same goes for countries such as Saudi Arabia and all other free riders within NATO and countries that fall under some sort of American defense protection and security umbrella. Basically, what 'Trumpism' in foreign policy is advocating for is that there will be no more free lunch under Mr. Trump's Presidency. And besides, President Trump will first and foremost, take care of America and then protect his friends and allies who pay the bill. This is in a nutshell what the US leadership will look like under Mr. Trump. As a result of that, the post-Cold War foreign policy consensus among liberal interventionists and neoconservatives will be put under serious and strenuous challenge in the years to come. All the while, his supporters on the contrary are enthusiastic to hear him blast all the free-rider countries and denounce the post-WWII security and defense arrangements such as NATO. Besides, they are also very receptive to hear him call into question other US security and defense treaties with countries like South Korea, Japan, Germany and Saudi Arabia.

3. Conclusion

The rise of Donald Trump as a serious political contender for the US Presidency is a direct result of the political gridlock that has besieged Washington for many years. This political dysfunction can be traced to the years of the Presidency of Bill Clinton when the Republicans were early Administration. In addition, opposed to his ideological confrontation and political polarization between the two parties in Washington took a nasty turn after the Monica Lewinski scandal. This open hostility (confrontation rather than cooperation) between the Democrats and Republicans, coupled with Congress's inability to provide solutions to the social and economic problems of ordinary American citizens, further eroded their trust towards their political Representatives. Also, the inability of Congress since the early '90s to address the immigration issues decisively and prepare the working class and protect the middle class from the transformation of the industrial economy to the digital economy, spurred by the economic globalization, further dampened the spirits of a large segment of American voters. These unresolved issues are the bedrock upon which Donald Trump has built his political brand during this election cycle. His quests for the nomination of the Republican Party and the assault onto the US Presidency are all based on these issues. Moreover, the waning of the US hegemony in global leadership and the effects of the September 11 attack on the American psyche and domestic security, and the rise of economic giants such as China and the resurgent of Russia as a global power, have all unmasqued and compounded the US domestic political dysfunction. These above-mentioned issues have been in plain sight for any astute observer of the US domestic and foreign policy predicaments since the end of the Cold War. Besides, the gradual transformation of the US domestic culture, due to the rising number of the US born citizens of foreign parents and legal and illegal immigrants, has also created cultural and social anxiety in many Americans. Again, Donald Trump has astutely tapped into those social, cultural, and economic anxieties that millions of Americans feel unease and are angry about. Those are the so-called silent majority. For, they feel betrayed by their office Representatives in Washington and around the country for not being able to solve those

pressing challenges and problems, and at the same time feel helpless before a host of problems that the new globalized and digital/technological economy present to them in the US competitive market place. Furthermore, they feel insecure as well about the future of the country and their own safety before the growing threat of global terrorism and organizations such as ISIS.

4. Notes

- 1 See David Frum, "The Great Republican Revolt: The GOP planned a dynastic restoration in 2016. Instead, it triggered an internal class war. Can the party reconcile the demands of its donors with the interests of its rank and file?" *The Atlantic*, Jan/Feb 2016 ISSUE, on line [http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/01/the-great-republican-revolt/419118/].
- 2 See Dan Merica, "Bill Clinton says he made mass incarceration issue worse", *CNN*, July 15, 2015, on line [http://edition.cnn.com/2015/07/15/politics/bill-clinton-1994-crimebill/].
- 3 See "25 People to Blame for the Financial Crisis", *Time*, on line [http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1877 351_1877350_1877322, 00.html].
- 4 President Clinton signed NAFTA into law in 1993. For further information, see This Day in History 1993 NAFTA signed into law, on line [http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/nafta-signed-into-law].
- 5 See Trans-Pacific Partnership- Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia-The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) is a trade agreement among twelve Pacific Rim countries signed on 4 February 2016 in Auckland, New Zealand, after seven years of negotiations, which has not entered into force, on line [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trans-Pacific_Partnership].
- 6 See Vaclav Smil Summer 2011 in "The Manufacturing of Decline", on line [http://thebreakthrough.org/index.php/journal/past-issues/issue-1/the-manufacturing-of-decline].

- 7 See President Obama full interview with Chris Wallace, Fox News Sunday, 4/10/16, available on line [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FHFMcsoKMcs].
- 8 See Daniel Burke, CNN Religion Editor, February 19, 2016 in "Pope suggests Trump 'is not Christian', available on line [http://edition.cnn.com/2016/02/18/politics/pope-francis-trump-christian-wall/].
- 9 For a good introduction to the concept of American Exceptionalism and what it means, see James W. Ceaser in "The Origins and Character of American Exceptionalism", on line [http://www.polisci.wisc.edu/Uploads/Documents/Ceaser.pdf].
- 10 William H. Branson, Herbert Giersch and Peter G. Peterson, "Trends in United States International Trade and Investment since World War II", in *The American Economy in Transition*, University of Chicago Press, 1980. On line [http://www.nber.org/chapters/c11297.pdf].
- 11 See "Conservatives against Trump", *National Review* by NR Symposium January 21 2016 10: 00 PM. On line [http://c7.nrostatic.com/article/430126/donald-trump-conservativesoppose-nomination].
- 12 See Terrorist attacks and related incidents in the United State compiled by Wm. Robert Johnston last updated 16 February 2016, on line [http://www.johnstonsarchive.net/terrorism/wrip225ahtml].
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 See a Short History of the Tea Party Movement by Rebecca Ballhaus available on line in [http://blogs.wsj.com/washwire/2014/02/27/a-short-history-of-the-tea-party-movement/].
- 15 See Donald Trump Fox News Town Hall with Greta Van Susteren (4-3-16), available on line [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VhoxMvyLRPs].
- 16 See Pat Buchanan in "What Trump Has Wrought" Pat Buchanan: Candidate unleashed 'the mightiest force of the 21st century: nationalism' Published: 04/04/2016 at 7:39 PM. On line [http://mobile.wnd.com/2016/04/what-trump-has-wrought/].
- 17 Ibid.