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## SUMMARY

The period which started with Donald Trump's victory in 2016 US presidential election campaign (which came as quite a surprise for so many) and with his inauguration in January 2017, opened a unique page in the US contemporary history given the sea change in domestic and foreign policy of the nation. Mr. Trump's peculiar qualities and mode of behavior, non-typical for a political leader of such stature, have made many observers regard him as a very special phenomenon. Both for the American establishment and the elites of the Euro-Atlantic community, Donald Trump has turned out to be quite a «non-systemic» politician. It is a well-known fact that the 45<sup>th</sup> US President was not at all welcome by the majority of the country's political elite, while enjoying a fairly broad support from those groups of Americans whose interests (and sometimes even emotional hardships) have been neglected by the establishment for so long. What we have been witnessing is the emergence of a striking personality representing a new type of populism, in many ways different from those varieties of this ideology that have recently proliferated both in Europe and other parts of the world.

Irrespective of the results of the 2020 presidential election, Donald Trump has already become «a character for history books», which makes the analysis of his election victory and subsequent politics as the head of state a highly relevant subject for scholars. He has demonstrated, in words and in deeds, his sincere commitment for repudiation – or at least a thorough revision – of much of the prevailing traditional principles in political decision-making, both with regard to his own country and the “collective West” as a whole.

Consequently, the Trump phenomenon symbolizes an extremely significant episode (and a factor of uncertainty!) not only in the life of one, albeit a very influential, country but in the whole global system, including all American partners on the international arena, Russia being no exception. The US president has a strong political identity and resolve: he simultaneously initiated an overhaul in his country on the inside and a restructuring of its foreign policy – all with the objective to restore the lost US greatness.

The slogan «America First», so close to Donald Trump's vision, most accurately reflects the main vector of the US policies under the new President. America, he believes, must regain the positions of the world leader, lost over recent decades, while the American people ought to prosper and grow richer. Donald Trump is convinced that he has been privileged to «Make America Great Again». This said, particular attention is paid by him to enhancing the effectiveness of ongoing efforts, above all, in a «narrow», i.e. financial, sense, which is illustrative of Donald Trump's so called business mentality.

Within this general framework, this book aims to identify the phenomenon of the 45<sup>th</sup> US President through the prism of objective and subjective factors that

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brought him to power. The book traces the evolution of the American power structure and institutions as well as recent social and economic changes in the country, focusing also on various problems of the US current foreign policy.

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The book is arranged along thematic and geographical lines, with topics gradually shifting from general theoretical concepts to domestic economic and socio-political ones and, finally, to the Trump Administration's foreign policy agenda.

In *Section I* an attempt is made to explore domestic and international factors that led to the election of Donald Trump as President. *Chapter «Trump's coming to power against the background of America's loss of leadership in the processes of economic globalization»* focuses on how the country had been gradually losing its leadership in the processes of economic globalization. The US declining share in the global manufacturing, trade and trans-border investments is shown – first and foremost, to the advantage of China and emerging economies in general. At the same time, as the chapter argues, the country still possesses many competitive advantages and, also, the capacity to maintain its traditional positions in many fields, this being the point of view which Trump is, at least, trying to prove. The author describes the main aspects of the transformation of the US foreign economic ties, with special attention paid to the changes in production linkages inside the country as well as its foreign economic relations in the current situation of COVID-19.

In contrast to the previous chapter, which looks at the issues of the US leadership as if from the outside, *Chapter «The rise and fall of the "American dream": Social and economic consequences of globalization and information revolution»* presents an analysis of domestic economic and social changes in the United States. It argues that Trump's victory was determined by economic factors which had been in action over the last decades prior to his presidency. In focus are fundamental industrial and trade developments of the country since the end of WWII up to the advent of globalization. The chapter shows how dynamic the changes in economic structure were, while social structure, with inertia inherent in it, was unable to keep up with internationalization processes in the global marketplace. The author points at the lines of social divisions, brought about by globalization, between the winners in the «global completion», who had managed to find their place in the global economy, and those who ended up off the hinges and fell victim to de-industrialization. In this context, the evolution of the «American dream» is traced. The social composition of the «losers» is rather diverse. Among them, there are low-skilled workers, individual entrepreneurs, intellectuals, and businessmen working on the domestic market. It is these social groups that ensured Donald Trump's victory in the 2016 election and supported many of his initiatives, including the policies aimed at re-industrialization.

*Chapter «The presidential campaign of 2016: Electoral cleavages, their political interpretation and social background»* further examines the societal aspect of the results of the 2016 presidential election. By taking a mathematical modeling approach, the author demonstrates that, in addition to the main electoral cleavage between the supporters of Donald Trump and those who supported Hillary

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Clinton, there was yet another cleavage (albeit weakly expressed), visible in the attempts to offer an alternative to the two-party politics. It is noted in the chapter that the split among the supporters of the two leading candidates touched upon practically all important aspects of the national agenda, but was most pronounced in relation to environmental issues. That is where the watershed lies between those Americans who are willing to practice some kind of economic self-restraint and those who would never sacrifice even a bit of their comfortable life. In conclusion, it is shown that this divide, as far as its social foundation goes, manifests itself in a wide range of ways, related to the age of respondents, their family background, education, income levels, etc. As for the second electoral divide, it refers to the libertarian alternative put forward by Gary Johnson and, as such, lacks a clearly identifiable social base.

*Chapter «Trump's presidency as a factor of polarization of the American society»* shows how Trump's election victory (2016) and subsequent policies of his Administration deepened divisions within the American society. One of the explanations of Trump's coming to power, the author writes, was his virtuosic exploitation of inter-party contradictions and dissatisfaction of various ethno-confessional groups of the American society. The republican candidate managed to secure support of a sizable part of the democratic electorate, losing, at that, a part of traditional pro-republican voters. The right-wing populist rhetoric (with elements of right radicalism) and policies of the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States strengthen the trend towards nationalism in the country. To conclude, «trumpism» has in many ways reinforced (in effect, «cemented») the civil strife in the United States of America.

*Chapter «The American society in the "Trump era" as mirrored in public opinion (according to mass polls in the United States)»* builds on the issues raised in the previous chapters, focusing on the public perception of Donald Trump as sitting president. The study is based on sociological surveys regularly undertaken by Gallup, Inc. It is emphasized that the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States took office having an all-time low presidential approval ratings (less than 40% of respondents). The chapter traces fluctuations of this indicator from 2017 to 2020, ranking its major factors as follows: general dissatisfaction with the government, disillusionment with its decisions related to control and containment of immigration, its policies in health care, in race and ethno-confessional matters. Special attention is paid to the public perception of the US foreign policy – particularly, its «cold war» politics towards Russia. Also, the author traces the evolution of public perceptions of Donald Trump by the supporters of the Republican Party, on the one hand, and the Democratic Party, on the other hand. In the meantime, as the author claims, during Trump's presidency, there have been notable changes in public attitudes towards the «American dream» mythology. It is important to note, as the author concludes, a two-way process: not only is Donald Trump changing the American political landscape but the society is also influencing him, for which reason his ratings are so sensitive to the critical scrutiny of public opinion.

*Section II* of the book examines the political and philosophical aspects of the Donald Trump phenomenon. In this part, the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States is

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depicted as a herald and a leading figure of the American right-wing populism. The primary emphasis is put on analysis of this phenomenon in the context of historic and contemporary development of the United States; besides, the authors look at it in comparison with similar figures in the other part of Euro-Atlantic community.

*Chapter «The populism phenomenon: American dimension»* poses the question on the distinctive characteristics of Donald Trump's populism. It is pointed out that populism in the United States has always played the role of a «sweeper» of the political arena, showing up unexpectedly and vanishing just as quickly. Analyzing this phenomenon, the authors turn to the careers of the politicians with populist tendencies from the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, including those who belonged to the famous «Tea party movement». There is a certain pattern revealing the logic of Trump's electoral victory under the right-wing populist slogans. It is noted that such slogans perfectly blend with Trump's image as a successful businessman who embodies the very essence of the «American dream». The authors of the chapter claim that the emergence of the extravagant politician with right-wing populist views compelled the American political elite to seek new approaches to the governance of the country and winning back the trust of millions of Americans. Motivations of those electoral groups whose support was crucial in the election of the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States are examined. In conclusion, the authors focus on the duration and eventual completion of the current phase of right-wing populism in the United States.

The same theme is further elaborated in *Chapter «Historic and evolutionary types of populist promise of “government of the people, by the people, for the people”»*. Taking a historic approach, the author describes the nature of populism at the global level, then coming to its peculiarities in the American case. It is argued that a regular, blatant addressing to the people as the source of power has always yielded significant benefits, promoting a politician's image and enabling him or her, at times, to obscure certain practical setbacks of populist policies. Consequently, this factor can substantially strengthen the resilience of such politicians, enabling them to fend attacks from both the left wing of the political spectrum and its center. As for Donald Trump and his team, the author concludes, they have harnessed advantages of the right-wing populist policies fairly well.

The picture of contemporary political studies in the «new populism», which, among other ideological currents, includes Trump phenomenon, is presented in *Chapter «Western political science reaction to the “new populism”»*. The rise of populism in the leading Western countries at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century drove many political scholars to look for new concepts and expand the field of their studies. Reviewing various theoretical approaches, the author points to the growing influence of the ideological (ideational) variety of populism as an ideological current that proclaims the supremacy of the «people», denounces the «elite» and accentuates the antagonism between them. Emphasizing the ideological, discursive nature of populism, this approach simultaneously makes it possible to analyze procedural and structural aspects of this phenomenon, including characteristics of the relevant political actors (parties, movements, leaders, etc.) as well as parameters of the social and economic environment of the time. Further, the chapter puts forward a research program aimed at synthesizing various subject fields and methodological

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approaches as well as implementation of large-scale, global and macro-regional projects. With regard to the studies on relationship between populism and democracy, the author points at the trend within which these two concepts are understood as deeply and ambivalently inter-connected. That makes it possible to study populism not only as a menace but also as a symptom of serious problems inherent in contemporary liberal democracy. In general, this stimulates more focused, objective and critical studies both of populism and democracy, including oligarchic and authoritarian trends in today's Western political life. Finally, the chapter points out that the Western political science lacks specific and differentiated programs and projects aimed at countering populism, which is often due to the fact that many important aspects of this phenomenon are still far from being sufficiently explored.

*Chapter «Brothers in arms or competitors in the world politics? Donald Trump and the European right-wing populism in the mirror of comparative political studies»* focuses on comparison of the ideological foundations, historical trajectories and characteristic features of the right-wing populism in the United States and the countries of the European Union. The author identifies their common denominators on either side of the Euro-Atlantic community, such as the negative perception of globalization and dismantlement of the welfare state, the crisis of the liberal identity, etc. In this context, the common motivation of the right-wing populists is shown – their desire to transfer power into the hands of masses and to remove oligarchic clans from governance. To achieve their objectives, the right-wing populists, both in the US and the EU countries, are ready to use a broad variety of methods. There is also a trend towards increasingly autocratic methods of political action among the populist leaders. However, such a situation is more prevalent in European states than in the United States, which may be explained by the differences in their political systems. At the same time, these two types of populism differ in other respects. They are not alike organizationally (parties in Europe vs movements in the United States) and they differ in their levels of radicalism. The levels of their penetration into the highest echelons of power are also different. The transatlantic alliance of the right-wing populists, in the author's opinion, is practically impossible, due to vast differences between their national brands. As a matter of fact, they are critical of each other and have diverse interests on the international scene.

*Section III* deals with the economic and social policies of the Trump Administration. The chapter serving as a framework for further analysis in this part of the book is *«The American institute of Presidency in the current situation»*, where the author explores the legal instruments that are at the disposal of American presidents. In this context, the chapter looks at a number of violations of the American constitution that, in the perception of Trump's opponents, have been perpetrated by the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the country, above all, as far as the Constitutional amendments are concerned. It is noted that Donald Trump has, in a number of cases, disrespected those conventional norms that regulate the behavior of independent actors in the government and disregarded the obligatory need to distinctly separate public and private interests of government officials. As a result, the presidential power has, to some degree, undergone de-legitimation during his tenure. Therefore, the opposition political forces have possessed certain legal «windows of opportunities»

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to fight for Trump's removal from office. Finally, legal patterns of the interaction of the President Administration with legislation and judiciary are described.

*Chapter «Impeachment of the President: Political survival games»* explores the attempted process of Donald Trump's inquiry as a reflection of a deep political crisis, involving every state institution. The author claims that Trump's impeachment has little resemblance to the conventional judicial process that enables the society to exclude the head of state, who had acted unlawfully, from office. It became a mighty weapon in the hands of Democrats by cutting off Donald Trump's capacity to implement his electoral program and by calling into question his chances for re-election. There is also a «second edition» of Trump's impeachment which manifests itself in the current situation with his opponents fiercely struggling against the Administration's efforts on overcoming the social and economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic. As a possible forecasting model that would enable researchers to describe the prospects of this political struggle, the chapter analyzes other failed attempts to remove the US presidents from power, namely the cases of Andrew Johnson and William Jefferson Clinton. Despite the fact that both politicians were eventually acquitted, the author concludes, these impeachment processes had a negative effect both on the presidents, with the political forces they represented, and the institute of presidential power, exacerbating the political schisms in the society.

*Chapter «Economic policies of the Trump Administration: The Presidential factor»* further elaborates on the theme of American presidency, this time with regard to the Trump Administration's economic policy. The author postulates that the key role in setting economic priorities of the country, especially in industrial and trade issues, belongs to plutocracy, that is to American oligarchic elites. Donald Trump's great personal role in steering the national economic development is emphasized, for he has evidently sought to use his own rich experience of a high-powered businessman in governing the whole country. It is indicative that the election of Donald Trump and the economic agenda he put forward immediately caused a rapid growth of the Dow Jones Industrial Average. In the chapter, the author also highlights the institutional changes in the country, such as the diminishing role of the National Economic Council and the Council of Economic Advisers as well as the efforts on «trumpization» of the Federal Reserve System. Special attention is paid to the fiscal policies of the Administration, especially in the light of the rising national debt of the United States.

*Chapter «Economic dynamics and electoral processes»* highlights the interdependency between electoral processes in the United States and the economic development of the country. It is noted that in the presidential campaign of 2016 Hillary Clinton failed to capitalize on the economic achievements of the Obama Administration, which she could have done considering the social memory of the voter. By contrast, Donald Trump was much more successful. The key aspect of his economic agenda was the projected re-industrialization of the country. In pursuing this strategy his Administration came to provide massive economic support to the six «critical states» – Florida, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The impact of Trump's economic policies on the business cycles in the country is also examined in the chapter.

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In close connection with the economic policies of the 45<sup>th</sup> US President, the book analyzes the social issues of his tenure, which is the subject of *Chapter «The social dimension of Donald Trump's policies»*. Here it is acknowledged that the economic development from 2017 to 2019 was accompanied by growth in average household incomes, simultaneous decline in inflation and unemployment; the number of those who live below the poverty line also decreased. Against this background, the author discusses the transformation of the state budget allocation, the role of public pensions safeguards and their special importance for the low-income groups. A largely positive motivational effect of Trump's tax reform on business activities in the United States is noted. The COVID-19 pandemic has brought changes to Trump's social agenda. The pandemic and its economic consequences have necessitated a large-scale state support to American households and entrepreneurs, this being regarded by the Trump Administration as an emergency task, while restoration of economic growth is seen as a foundation for the social protection of Americans.

*Chapter «The US labor market and immigration policies in the age of Trump»* offers a detailed analysis of Donald Trump's radical approaches to the labor market reforms and implementation of immigration policies. The author looks at the elements of the «trumponomics» that have given a mighty impetus to the decline in the registered unemployment, quite unprecedented over the last few decades, and increase in the employment which resulted in the large-scale labor market changes from 2017 to 2020. The «intensive care» indirect interventions into the labor market (through tax, investment and foreign trade policies), enunciated by Donald Trump back in the election campaign and carried out in the first three years of his tenure, made it possible for the country to achieve dynamic positive transformations, first and foremost through stimulating job creation in the manufacturing industries. The chapter also notes that the overheating of the American labor market in the first years of Donald Trump's presidency was fraught with serious risks and, as it had happened many times before, could have pushed the American economy into recession. But the danger did not come from there. Whereas in February 2020 the lowest unemployment rate for the entire postwar period was registered, it was already in spring that the unemployment reached an unprecedented scale. And this was caused not by Donald Trump's policies (although his mistakes also mattered) but by an unexpected *force majeure* factor, which has ruined nearly all of the optimistic expectations of the President. In this context, the chapter assesses the current consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic for the American economy and the recovery prospects of the US markets.

The next *Chapter «New standards of professional education as a means of the US domestic and foreign policies»* focuses on educational issues in the context of Donald Trump's economic policies, aimed at the re-industrialization of the country. The author notes the Administration's commitment to a large-scale involvement of the private sector in professional education, notably in connection with the increased economic competition with China. Its support of the institutions of STEM-education is emphasized. In conclusion, the author describes possible prospects for a closer, symbiotic in its essence, partnership between government,

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state and local authorities, private and public institutions in the field of professional education.

The section concludes with *Chapter «Science, technology and innovation policy of the Trump Administration»*. The author claims that, although the emphasis placed on direct support for innovations was reduced, the federal policies in this field remain quite significant. Their specifics today are determined by external factors. The most important of them is confrontation with China, which necessitated the development of large-scale programs aimed at promoting «breakthrough» technologies, notably related to artificial intelligence and the US «Moon initiative». In other promising areas (like drones, certain digital technologies, etc.), the government has preferred to employ indirect support measures, including those of «friendly» regulation. At that, the logic of the science and technology policies under Donald Trump has followed the longstanding trends, including those that promoted public-private partnerships and implied expanded «privatization» of certain functions in managing science and technology development.

Donald Trump as a phenomenon of American culture is a subject of the *Section IV*. As it is shown in *Chapter «Trump as a character in the interior of American culture»* Trump is a typical «homo americanicus» with a psychology and cultural level of a «mass man», hence his negative image in the eyes of the cultural elite of the country. One can find Trump's «predecessors», i.e. politicians prone to «performance» and populism, in American literature which is a sensitive seismograph of a public life. The traits of Trump and «trumpism» are common to the characters of Sinclair Lewis, S.E. King, R.P. Warren, Ph.M. Roth, D.F. Wallace, and other writers. Trump is presented as a product of the Protestant culture or, more to the point, its «modernized» American version – Norman Peale's «gospel of positive thinking». The author studies Trump's relationships with mass literature, cinema, TV, and fine arts and finds a kind of paradox: mass culture taught Trump the «techniques» of influencing the mass consciousness. In fact, mass culture brought him to the White House, but now it is parodying and rejecting him. Trump is shown as a politician who is ethically and aesthetically rejected by many people in the United States and elsewhere. But it is evident that, despite his eccentricity, he fits into the national cultural discourse, which includes politics. And for the time being, he is not a «trespasser»: he does not infringe on the traditional American political norms and does not trespass the borderline that separates the democratic history of the United States from the expanse of «alternative history», which many American writers anticipated and warned against its possibility and at present half (at least) of the electorate of a «split» America is worried about it and does their best to avoid it.

*Chapter «Trump's philosophy: Ideological and political aspects»* presents the ideological platform of «trumpism» as a resultant of six major currents of conservative philosophy. It is noted that practically all of these currents evolved when the conservative orthodoxy went through a crisis during and after «bushism» (named after President J.W. Bush). The author of the chapter points out that the first of them was neo-conservatism and characterizes its main representatives in the Trump Administration (whose staff has repeatedly changed). The second current is represented by the libertarians (who had a prominent role in the «Tea party

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movement»). Further, two other influential ideological trends which warrant special attention are paleo-conservatives along with the «alternative right», that split with them even before «trumpism» took shape. The chapter traces similarities (which are quite numerous) and differences between Donald Trump's views and those of the representatives of each mentioned currents (at times, quite substantial, notably in questions pertaining to the use of force). Finally, there are two more currents that the chapter touches upon, though slightly less influential, namely of economic nationalism and post-liberalism. The author traces the impacts of each ideological group on the Trump Administration from 2017 to 2020, marking intermediate achievements and failures.

The re-construction of Trump's image in its entirety and diversity would not be possible without the President's language profile, which is the subject of *Chapter «Donald Trump: The language profile of the politician»*. Here Donald Trump's language characteristics are examined as a manifestation of his system of beliefs concerning «the country and the world», the constituents' needs, «the right way» and his own mission. In this context, the compositional features of Donald Trump's speeches are analyzed – first, as a presidential candidate and then, as an incumbent president. After that the authors look at the patterns of Trump's communicative strategies that enable him to appear before the American voters in different positive roles – as a fighter, a patriot, a reformer, etc. In conclusion, the chapter assesses the essential and formal characteristics of Donald Trump's vocabulary as well as stylistic means that he uses on different occasions, such as epithet, metaphor, comparison, hyperbole, parallelism of speech constructions, repetitions, parcellations, etc.

*Chapter «New media, “fake news”, and Trump's public communication»* looks at the role of various mass media during presidential election campaigns, beginning with the 1960s. It is noted that the campaign of 2016, in this context, clearly stood out. The political rivalry abandons television (and other traditional media) and drifts to the «new media» of electronic communication, following the new electorate, mostly the young, who now prevails in the new information space. As Donald Trump drew on the Internet resources, notably Twitter, much more actively and efficiently than Hillary Clinton did, this became one of the crucial factors of his success. The republican candidate did not mince his words, criticizing journalists (habitually associated them with «fake news») and, at the same time, demonstrated his own accessibility and readiness to discuss any, even the most sensitive and urgent, subjects. In fact, Trump's electoral campaign turned into one huge show. The chapter gives a definition of «fake news» and highlights the role of this phenomenon in the socio-cultural and political life of the United States in the second half of the 2010s. The author notes that it is the speed of information dissemination in public networks and the absence of any kind of control over them that constantly produce misleading communication. As Trump's case shows, the countering of «fake news» is possible only in the strategies that take into account the realities of today's network world.

*Section V* concludes the part of the book which is arranged in accordance with «the problem principle» of analysis (as opposed to the geographical approach). In what follows, the authors focus on the issues of international security in

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a broad sense, i.e. considering both military and non-military aspects of the problem.

*Chapter «The war of sanctions as a road to a new economic order?»* explores the imposition and use of sanctions by the Trump Administration and their psychological role as a means of achieving the desired results not only in the trade and industrial fields but in foreign policy in general. Indeed, it is not Donald Trump who first invented sanctions, but his Administration uses them actively as an additional means in trade conflicts. The increase in the US sanctions efficiency is explained by the broad implementation of «secondary» sanctions, mainly against the EU partners. These sanctions support the US unfair economic activities against Russia, China and middle-sized countries like Iran or Cuba due to the extraterritoriality principle. Businessmen and their private companies from third countries usually prefer to pay money to the US budget as «punishment» and to stop economic contacts with American «enemies» because they are really apprehensive about the US outrage in law enforcement against corporations abroad. However, international rejection of the American dominance is increasing and the author of this chapter suggests that the war of sanctions can hardly be a successful strategy for the United States in the long run, especially when a polycentric world becomes a reality of a new global order.

*Chapter «International legal strategies of the Trump Administration»* explores the policies that the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States implements in the field of international legal co-operation with a purpose of achieving his Administration's international and domestic objectives. The weakening of multilateral institutions and legal regimes, reducing the US dependence on them, revision of international trade accords and unilateral impositions of trade restrictions are among these strategies. In this context, the author gives examples of such policies in the second half of the 2010s, notably with respect to certain UN bodies, to a number of regional organizations and agreements as well as to bilateral relations with American partners. The intention of the Trump Administration to shift the centers of collective decision-making to bilateral and local international formats is highlighted. The legal aspects of Donald Trump's policies towards multilateral trade agreements are also analyzed. Finally, the author looks at the criticisms of such policies and characterizes some of the counter-strategies that are being submitted by Trump's opponents.

*Chapter «The Trump Administration and international security treaties»* explores Donald Trump's approach to the use of diplomatic and military instruments in international relations, looking, in this context, at his Administration stance on major international agreements. The author offers a definition of «trumpism» as a special tactics in the security and defense fields, attempting, at that, to define an objective common denominator in unpredictable (at least, at the first glance) actions of the 45<sup>th</sup> US President in the field of international security. As the chapter argues, «trumpism» is made up of the following components – the desire to secure maximum gains for Donald Trump himself (including those that could improve his image in the immediate term), to increase the effectiveness of the US foreign policy and to expand the potential of various foreign policy instruments (including military capabilities). The author describes the character, objectives and substance

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of those transformations that, during Trump's tenure, have taken place in the US relationship with their European partners, following which the author identifies the major efforts of the 45<sup>th</sup> US President aimed at reformatting the Middle East regional system by means of pressure on the main «trouble spots» in the regional security and defense.

*Chapter «The US strategy in the field of cyber-security and cyber-defense during Donald Trump's White House tenure»* offers an analysis of the US strategy and tactics in today's cyber spaces. The doctrinal level of the US policies in this field is studied. The author emphasizes the fact that, in many respects, they draw on the work done by Trump's predecessor. In this context, the author undertakes a comparative analysis of the main provisions of the two Strategies of the US National Security, those of 2015 and 2017, and highlights the expansion of the mandate of special services in the field of cyber-security, notably after the adoption of the «CLOUD Act». Further, the chapter traces the evolution of the «information war» and «psychological operation» concepts during Donald Trump's tenure. The author notes the existence of the «doctrinal expense» for the special services operations in the field of cyber-security as well as the impact of this factor on the system of international security in general. Under Donald Trump, there has dramatically accelerated the creation of various cyber-commands built upon the extensive web of intelligence centers and cyber-operations support bases. In late 2016 and in early 2017, they completed, in collaboration with the US intelligence community, the development of a universal organizational and technological scheme of information operations, successfully testing it in such scandalous operations as «Panama papers», WADA and «the poisoning of the Skripals». With regard to new forms and methods of instigating «color revolutions», it was under Donald Trump in early 2019 that the United States developed an extremely dangerous technology for organizing state coups, known as the «Venezuela precedent».

*Chapter «The crisis in the system of arms control and the non-proliferation regime»* aims at analyzing the role of the Trump Administration in the ongoing crisis over arms control, primarily in the strategic weaponry. The author presents an overall assessment of the state of affairs in this field by the middle of the 2010s, following which the text looks at the Trump Administration policies aimed at withdrawal from the greatest possible number of existing agreements with the intent to attain a «free hand» approach in this area, and analyzes the US decision to denounce the Treaty on Medium and Shorter Range Missiles (1987), which is one of the pillars of the US-Russia interaction in security and defense matters. In conclusion, the chapter deals with the formal and factual implications of the «China factor» in the US foreign policy and assesses the prospects of the New START agreement.

*Section VI* brings together chapters on the Trump Administration policies towards the countries of the Euro-Atlantic community. *Chapter «Trans-Atlantic relations: The reflection of objective trends or Donald Trump's subjectivist approach»* gives a multidimensional picture of the deep crisis in relations between the United States and their NATO partners. Unpredictability being Donald Trump's visiting card, this trait of his manifests itself in matters of security and

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defense as well. The author highlights the evolution of Donald Trump's stance on whether NATO still possesses any practical value for the transatlantic relations, following which the author turns to the differences in military expenditures (both in absolute and relative terms) between the US and the European members of NATO, and analyzes how this issue is understood in the Trump Administration and whether the US pressure on their partners could be effective. Also, the chapter focuses on the issue of the backlash, both symmetrical and asymmetrical, of the EU countries, (most notably of Germany and France) against the trumpist policies in the field of security and defense. In this context, special attention is paid to the Permanent Structured Cooperation. Also, the author thoroughly examines the results of the NATO London summit, proceeding from which the author sums up the facts pertaining to the practical consequences and peculiarities of the current decline in mutual trust between the trans-Atlantic partners.

*Chapter «Donald Trump's response to Brexit»* looks at the US-UK relations during Donald Trump's presidency and focuses on the evolution of Washington's stance on Brexit. Whereas the Obama Administration sought to discourage Britain's withdrawal from the EU, which supposedly would have run counter to the US interests, the Trump Administration, on the contrary, systematically encouraged Brexit as something that was undermining supranational structures. The chapter studies the specific features of negotiations between the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States and the Prime Minister Theresa May. Still more clearly, Donald Trump's strategy aimed at de-globalization manifested itself when Boris Johnson came to power. At the same time, between Washington and London there emerged contradictions over international problems and bilateral relations, which hampered the conclusion of a trade agreement between them after Brexit. To conclude, the author highlights the impact of the Brexit factor upon the domestic political strife in the lead-up to the presidential election in the United States (2020).

*Chapter «The United States and Germany»* focuses on the characteristic features of the German-American dialogue in the second half of the 2010s. Looking at the US-German relations since WWII, the author describes those challenges and opportunities that have arisen since the interstate relations entered a new era. The reason why Germany (along with the EU in general) is the principal target of Donald Trump's criticism within the Euro-Atlantic community is examined. Special attention is paid to the mutual perceptions of the two states during Donald Trump's presidency – both at the governmental and societal levels. Besides, differences between the states are analyzed with regard to NATO and, in this context, the prospects for the United States to maintain their massive military presence in Germany. In the conclusion, the chapter looks at the trade conflicts between the two states and their impact upon the German economy.

*Chapter «Donald Trump and Franco-American relations»* thoroughly explores the characteristic features of bilateral relations between the two countries, stating that the reasons for the highly critical attitude of the French establishment towards the policies of 45<sup>th</sup> US President stem from their «unilateral» character and the tendency to disregard the interests of the allies. The fact that the Trump Administration ignores the «factor of mighty statehood», which is so important to the foreign policy planning of the Fifth Republic, has become a massive

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irritating problem in bilateral relations. In this context, what should also be noted are Emmanuel Macron's unsuccessful efforts to mediate the end of trade conflict between the US and the countries participating in the EU. The author also highlights Paris's initiatives and practical steps taken to enhance EU capacities in the field of security and defense and to strengthen the Germany-France tandem as a counterweight to Washington's disruptive policies.

*Chapter «The United States and Italy»* explores the dialogue between the United States and Italian Republic by the beginning of the 2020s. In a historical retrospective, it is evident that after WWII the official Rome was ready to adhere to the US foreign policy, especially in the field of security and defense. Later on, however, the situation changed. The growing desire of the Italian Republic to diversify its international contacts, however, where possible, not to the detriment of its dialogue with the United States, – and that is how things stand during Donald Trump's tenure. Despite the fact that American presidents come and go, while there is, also, a high turnover of Italy's prime ministers, belonging to different political forces, it cannot be expected that there would be any substantial changes in the strategic ties which emerged after WWII, i.e. in strategic military and political partnership between the US and Italy and in the strong dependence of the latter on finances and economy of the major power in the capitalist world. However, the global economic crisis that erupted due to the COVID-19 pandemic forebodes has dire consequences for the two countries and would foster re-examination of foreign policy principles affecting bilateral relations.

*Section VII* looks at Donald Trump's diplomacy towards non-Western countries, whose role in the global politics has been steadily increasing. One of the most important factors transforming today's international order is the relations between the United States and China, this being the subject of *Chapter «A turning point in the US-China relations»*. The author describes the interdependence of these two countries as the global centers of production and consumption, and argues that in the dichotomy «cooperation – competition» the latter component was routinely strengthening even before Donald Trump's rise to power, but in his tenure competition turned into a tough confrontation. The chapter traces the dynamics of contacts between the Chinese and US leaders and analyzes the development of a massive trade conflict between the two countries, clearing up its rationale for either side and focusing on its prospects. Special attention is paid to the American perception of the Chinese initiative «One belt – One road» and such problems as political development in Hong Kong, significance of Xinjiang province to the interstate dialogue and, finally, a dramatic cooling of relations due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

*Chapter «Deep freeze in the US-Russian relations»* explores the relationship between the two countries during Donald Trump's tenure. It is noted that the degradation of bilateral contacts fully manifested itself at the end of Barack Obama's presidency, when this trend reached its peak in the attempts to find a «Russian connection» in Hillary Clinton's electoral failure and Donald Trump's victory. The chapter describes the unfolding of the «Russiagate» debacle with its chilling effect on any subsequent efforts with regard to unfreezing the United States-Russia dialogue. Special attention is drawn to the increasing divergence in Washington

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and Moscow views on arms control. The risks inherent in the US desire to withdraw from the agreements in this field are highlighted. To conclude, the author identifies major «trouble spots» and challenges to the constructive dialogue over military conflict in Ukraine, searches for ways to overcome the ongoing geopolitical rivalry in other parts of the post-Soviet space, and suggests how the relations between Moscow and Washington could overcome the present deadlock.

As a follow-up to the foregoing analysis, in *Chapter «Power shifts in the US-China-Russia triangle»* the author argues that, even in the absence of any formalized trilateral interactions, there emerges a specific «force field» exerting a powerful impact on the whole world system. The configuration of the triangle is fairly steady, but inside of it, continuous changes of the balance are taking place, with each side being sufficiently autonomous, so that one is able to create situations of strategic uncertainty for the others. Analyzing publications of the prominent authors representing the US scientific and political establishment, the author shows how important to the official Washington weakening of the Russia-China partnership would be, greatly enhancing the US ability to «deter China». The Trump Administration has not been able to implement these plans; on the contrary, the deterioration of relations with the United States has become an additional impetus for rapprochement both for Russia and China. In this context, the chapter looks at the Moscow-Beijing collaboration in finances, investments and technologies as well as in the fields of security and defense. The reasons why Washington is so preoccupied with the Russia-China strategic partnership are explained. In the author's opinion, despite the fact that Beijing's and Moscow's interests differ in a number of ways, they are close like never before in understanding their common strategic objective – to ensure a non-catastrophic dismantle of the US-centric world order. It is not clear, however, whether China and Russia would be able to offer not only an instrumental alternative to the egoistic US hegemony but also a markedly new agenda for collective actions in the international arena – a new philosophy which would be responsive to the needs of the larger part of the world.

*Chapter «The Indo-Pacific region: Donald Trump's vision»* provides a conceptual description of the Indo-Pacific region, characterizes its resource potential (above all, the military one), which the United States could harness in this strategic area. The dynamics of the US trade with the ASEAN countries as a way to forge bi- and multilateral relations is explored. The challenges coming to the United States from this region at the beginning of the 2020s are identified. The author brings out the positions held by the establishments of India, Bangladesh, Sri-Lanka, the Maldives Republic with regard to their understanding of the Indo-Pacific concept. The risks inherent in the Indo-Pacific project to the countries of Southeast Asia in the framework of their relations with China and the United States during Donald Trump's tenure are elaborated. In conclusion, the author highlights the positions of the ASEAN countries pertaining to Donald Trump's initiative on forging a common institutional base for the Indo-Pacific region.

*Chapter «The Middle East in the US foreign policy: Neither leave nor stay»* explores the main features of the US policy towards the Middle East during Donald Trump's presidency. Tracing the evolution of the US role in the region since the 1950s, the author assesses its current opportunities (above all, in the context of bi-

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lateral relations and the parameters of the military presence). In focus is the common perception of the Trump Administration in the Middle East states, including American allies in the region. Special attention is paid to the roots and consequences of the confrontation between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran. In conclusion, the author highlights the US approach to the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, paying special attention to the so called «deal of the century» promulgated by the Trump Administration in January 2020, and its impact upon the situation in the Middle East.

*Chapter «Donald Trump's policy towards Latin America»* explores the Latin-American vector of the US diplomacy in the second half of the 2010s. The author analyzes how the establishments in South America perceived Trump's presidential victory and how strong the influence of «trumpism» on the transformation of political configuration in this part of the world is. In the focus is the US de-facto return to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine and the Big Stick diplomacy. The author describes factors that determine the dynamics of the crisis in the US-Mexico relations; special attention is paid to the current level of dialogue between the US and Brazil after Jair Bolsonaro, whose ideological platform seems to be very close to Donald Trump's, came to power in Brazil in 2018. The chapter highlights the change in the terms of trade between the «two Americas», notably the revision of the NAFTA provisions. A special angle considered by the author is the Trump Administration politics towards the Caribbean countries. Further, a special emphasis is placed on the US politics in relation to the Venezuela crisis. The author identifies goals which the Trump Administration pursues in the country through support of opposition as well as a rather extensive set of tools which Washington is ready to apply there. To conclude, the author looks at the prospects for the relationship between the «two Americas», provided that the «trumpism factor» will still be there in the medium term. What is most probable is that in its relations with Latin America Washington will further rely upon instruments of economic diplomacy, including protectionism, economic sanctions and «hard power» policy methods.

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Summing up, it is pertinent to say that while examining the Trump phenomenon in the book a wide spectrum of topics in various social studies and humanities was covered. This approach, being a distinctive feature of the Institute of Scientific information for Social Sciences (INION) since its foundation, supported and reinforced by INION's traditionally steady collaboration with leading Moscow academic research centers, has made it possible to carry out this large-scale multidisciplinary project. The methods of analysis of Donald Trump's presidency, typical for political studies and economics, have been complemented by the ones employed in sociology, philosophy, literature, and language studies. The conclusions made in the book by well-known experts in American studies have been supported by renowned Russian scholars active in the studies of Western Europe, South Asia and the Asia-Pacific region, the Middle East, and Latin America.