



Donald Trump: International Economics and Economic Globalization (Economic Policy)

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<https://doi.org/10.69760/egille.2504001>

Abstract

The main objective of this paper is to examine Trump's foreign policy in the context of economic globalization from the perspective of international economics, which is carried out through documentary analysis.

The main research question is: What is Trump's foreign policy in the context of economic globalization from the perspective of international economics? The results show that the American political space has become extremely polarized and partisan after Trump came to power. Democrats and Republicans have become increasingly inflexible on many issues.

As a populist president, Trump faces increasing demands from the public, mainly Republican voters, on the economy, and this has made the domestic environment of America increasingly important to Trump, to the point where some have called it a new isolationist policy in America. Trump's foreign policy is based on self-interest. He prefers self-interest and economic nationalism to the globalization of the international economy, and views economic globalization with skepticism.

Trump does not pay attention to economic globalization, and under the pretext of nationalism, he is canceling or reforming some trade agreements. Trump is opposed to the establishment of a liberal order in America and seeks to end it, believing that the global economy is not beneficial to America, and he seeks to fundamentally redefine America's national interests. Trump's protectionist policies will worsen the situation in the world economy. This policy will affect the international monetary and financial system.

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Such a policy would destabilize the international financial system by disrupting global trade, financial and monetary flows, and creating currency wars. With these interpretations, Trump's ideas could confront the world with a trade deadlock and, in addition to reducing the current turmoil, could lead to an increase in political disagreements even among America's partners and allies.

Keywords: Foreign policy, Trump, globalization, economy, international economy.

Introduction

The foreign policy of any country is the product of that country's internal discussions in various political, economic, security and cultural fields and includes the determination, implementation and provision of a series of national goals and interests that are carried out by states in the international arena (Qanbari,2018:8). The importance of understanding the foreign policy of the United States of America is due to its expansion and scope throughout the world, which plays an irreplaceable role in discussions, conflicts, Alliances, coalitions, wars, etc. in different regions are obvious to everyone.

After the two great world wars, the United States of America emerged as one of the most powerful countries in the world and with the collapse of the Soviet Union, it became a world superpower. Whether we call it a pole in a unipolar world or an empire and ruler of the world, it must be acknowledged that the policies adopted by this country have a great impact on all countries.

After World War II, the United States, taking advantage of its advanced and wealthy economy and the severe shocks and losses of the industrial powers of that time, was able to emerge as a new force in the international economic arena. And as one of the great powers of the world, it became known as the most effective and influential player in creating and expanding the components of the world order and guaranteeing them.

During the era of various American presidents, the central interest in the region Foreign policy has always been a topic of discussion, but the frankness of Trump's foreign policy rhetoric and approach has not only embittered the international community, but also the United States. Trump is committed to improving the global standing of the United States, but he has no way of dealing with his core allies; he has not yet managed to transform himself into a popular president (Lars,2017: 14- 2).

The purpose of this article is to examine Trump's foreign policy in the world. The globalization of the economy is from the perspective of international economics. And the main question is what will American foreign policy be like in the international economic sphere under Trump? What are Trump's strategies for globalization of the American economy in the international economic sphere? Will he act like previous presidents? Will he have a new program for the political economy of America in mind?

Will he continue to sign free trade agreements in trade transactions? Is it relevant? This research was conducted by studying Internet articles, books, and specialized journals in political science



and international relations using a library method. The model used in this research will be the realist model, which is the dominant and mainstream theory of international relations.

In relation to Trump's foreign policy, numerous perspectives and texts have been designed and published, which are relevant to the current research approach that focuses on Trump's foreign policy in globalization. Economics is based on the perspective of international economics, they can be divided into 2 general groups:

1. Sources that have dealt with Trump's foreign policy. Trump's foreign policy is considered to have roots in realism and pragmatism, and in some cases, nationalism. The sources that have referred to this matter can be named as follows: Michelle H. Fuchs, (2019) Karimifard, (2018) Qanbari, (2018) Suleimanzadeh et al., (2018) Mahmoud Yazdanfam, (2016) Daniel Quinn Mills and Steven Rosefield, (2017) Elilee, (2017) 2 Lars, (2017)

2. Sources that have addressed the relationship between Trump's foreign policy and the international economy. These sources address the characteristics of Trump's foreign policy, including unilateralism, and its relationship with an emphasis on the national interests of the United States and an economy-oriented approach. In this regard, the following sources can be mentioned: Justin Cooper (2019), Barati (2018), Bigdali and Khobeiri (2017), Kratmarr (2017), Coles (2017), Walt (2016), as can be seen, most of the sources cited differ from the present paper in terms of the type of relationship between the research variables. In this sense, they mainly focus on Trump's foreign policy and less mention the factor of "economic globalization," which constitutes the novelty of the present study.

Theoretical foundations.

Globalization of the economy

Today, some writers have introduced globalization as a stage of capitalism or late modernity, and some have introduced it as a new way of thinking (Skollett 2000:141). Globalization has been defined as a process that, based on international strategies, aims to expand commercial activities on a global scale and has been precipitated by technological advances and economic, political, and environmental developments with the facilitation of global communications (Nicholas (2019), Pearce and Robinson (2011) define globalization from another perspective as a strategy of discovering opportunities in different parts of the world and using them to optimize the activities of an organization. (Zahedi, 2011)

The first, oldest and most important field that is mentioned in discussions related to globalization is the "economy" and its various sub-sectors. Various institutions and organizations are responsible for organizing globalization. The economy is international and global.

Economic globalization describes the ways in which "national and regional economies, societies, and cultures are integrated through global networks of trade, communications, migration, and transportation" (Amadeo, 2019).



Antony McGraw notes that economic globalization refers to a profound transformation in the world economy, the creation of a global common market, and the disappearance of nation-states as economic entities. It is. Petro Wilkin defines globalization as a process of change in the capitalist world order and a process that intensifies a set of structural and ideological tendencies (Haji Yousefi, 2002). Economic globalization is considered the most prominent and specific example of globalization.

Foreign Policy The study of foreign policy is somehow related to discussions related to domestic politics and international relations. Some scholars As Rozna and Wallace see domestic policy and foreign policy as two separate domains.

Foreign policy is essentially about the activities of a country in the external environment and conditions (Halstey, 1982), ; In this context, foreign policy can be defined as a strategy or program of activities carried out by the decision-makers of a country towards other countries or international institutions to achieve goals that are called the national interests of that country. Foreign policy is also a process involving specific objectives, specific external factors related to the aforementioned objectives, the ability of the country to achieve the desired results, the development of a beneficial strategy, the implementation of the strategy, its evaluation and control (Jack and Roy, 1988).

Morgenta is a pioneer of theorists after World War II in international relations and foreign policy. In his book, he endorsed the logical or rational approach, writing: “We (the analyst) We put ourselves in the place of a politician who has to solve some foreign policy problem of a nation under certain conditions. And we ask ourselves, in such conditions, what other logical ways are there that a politician could choose (assuming that he always behaves rationally) to solve this problem, and which of these logical ways is this politician likely to choose? (Morgenta, 1970: 185)

In the discussion of foreign policy, the neorealists They believe that the structure of the international system affects the foreign policy of countries in various ways. They believe that foreign policy does not operate in a vacuum and that in the sphere of national interests of political units, although they are in conflict with each other, global coordinating forces are also expanding. Neorealists believe that without considering the mutual functioning of the components of the international system (including actors, foreign policy decision-making processes, the form and manner of the norms that dominate relations) It is impossible to analyze the foreign policy of countries (Shafii, 2017: 118).

What is important for neorealists in making foreign policy is that in the anarchic international environment, which is a matter of survival and security, decision-makers behave the same in policymaking. Generally, within the framework of neorealism theory, the efforts of states are divided into two groups: internal efforts to increase political, economic and military capabilities and external efforts to strengthen alliances. The self and weakening of opposing alliances is based on.



International economics is an interdisciplinary field of study that has close links to international relations and benefits from the scientific achievements of political scientists, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, historians, and geographers. Theorists of international political economy often believe in the interconnectedness of the political, economic, and social aspects of international relations and This is why some economists criticize it for being economist or focusing exclusively on economics and ignoring political factors. Some political scientists also criticize it for being politicist or ignoring economic structures and processes.

International political economy deals with the interaction between the state and the market, and beyond the interactions between the two, this science also examines the relations of states with multinational corporations, the most important non-state actors in the world economy. In addition to these corporations, international political economy researchers are now paying more attention to other non-state actors, including labor groups, non-governmental organizations, and social movements that are known to represent various interests, including the environment, women, human rights, and the disadvantaged (Griffiths: 2009, 65).

Realism

Realism theory is considered one of the basic approaches to international relations, which has a pessimistic and skeptical view of political events (Kerimi Fard 2018:287). This theory came to dominate international relations after World War II.

States, as the main players in international relations, consider the survival and achievement of security, self-help, and the strategy of alliance or coalition to confront threats in their work. William Wolforth, a realist, emphasizes the following components of this view:

"States are the main players in international relations, universal moral principles do not apply to states, states calculate interests based on material power, international law and institutions play a marginal and subordinate role in international relations, the international system is non-authoritarian, states are They do not have enough trust and confidence, they consider force to be a useful and useful element in international relations, the balance of power policy dominates international relations (Wohlforth, 2008:32).

Regarding Trump's foreign policy and his approach to the theory of realism, the analysis is carried out as follows: In his speech in April 2016, Trump considered Obama's foreign policy operations (such as the war with Iraq) to be wrong and accused him of weakening America and its interests. (Trump. 2016:5) The neorealist Stephen Walt believes that Trump's approach to the Iraq war is close to realism; although he believes that some of his statements are contradictory and contain elements of realism (Walt. 2016:2), thus encouraging other countries to confront emerging powers in Europe, Northeast Asia, and the Persian Gulf, dealing with countries that are ignorant of their internal nature and character, and threatening to The use of force in foreign policy, foreign economic policies, disregard for democracy and human rights in foreign relations, and disregard for international institutions and organizations such as the European Union, NATO, the Paris Agreement, and other signs of realism in Trump's foreign policy. Although critics believe that



Trump's way of thinking is predatory in nature and is at odds with the concept of realism (Paul Pillar 2018; Gideon Rose 2017; Daniel Drezner ,2016,)

Isolationism - Internationalism

There are two main approaches to US foreign policy, isolationism and internationalism, such that the foreign policy of this country can be considered a conflict between the traditions of isolationism and internationalism.

Isolationism has been the policy of the United States since its founding until World War I. Trump's foreign policy is also the destruction of "internationalism"; an idea that has been around since the 1950s. It forms the ideological foundation and basis of American foreign policy. Trumpism, as an intellectual and political current, has been supported in some liberal societies (Alili,2017:3), America's withdrawal from the Paris Climate Accord, the Trans-Pacific Partnership, nationalist "America First" policies, economic protectionism, and a kind of self-imposed isolationism (Cruz ,2017).

Therefore, Trump's foreign policy in the region The action can be grouped into two strategies: "America First" and "America Resurgence." Today, with regard to Trump's foreign policy views and approaches, researchers have revived the debates on isolationism and internationalism (Brandz, 2017), because Trump, in his election speeches, has ignored America's role in the world as one of the important pillars creating the post-World War II world order. (Haar, 2016), but despite widespread criticism and backlash from the American public for its isolationist policies and its perceived internationalist approach and belief that America is the cause of the world order, Trump has abandoned many of the fundamental aspects of his "America First" agenda, including announcing the abolition of NATO and launching a trade war with China, in response to the realities of the situation (Brandz, 2017).

Pragmatism

America sees freedom and independence as ideals of goodness for all, but it is only the protector and hero of its own nation. In this context, some commentators call Trump's foreign policy "interest-driven."

Trump seeks to maximize America's financial and geostrategic interests and bilateral relations with its allies. As mentioned, the idea of "America First" is put forward by Trump. According to him, America seeks to strengthen its country and is not inclined to intervene in foreign conflicts, in order to defend freedom and democracy (Circavoy, 2016:3).

Trump's advisors and allies have been formed by ideological and pragmatic individuals. Theorists like Steve Bannon, expressing their hatred for the current situation, are ready to return to America's golden age by carrying out an emotional and sentimental rebellion.

This is true in both domestic and foreign affairs. The Trump administration is a watchword. The operative wing, believing in an "America First" approach, is willing to consider interaction and



cooperation in foreign policy. The president's position is often unknown. In addition to hearing the views of both wings, he also faces issues with personal biases and preferences. The resignation or dismissal of some ideological figures such as Steve Bannon shows that Trump is more influenced by the operative wing. (Lars,2017:4)

Explanation of the Theories of International Political Economy

Theories in the field of international political economy, like all other major issues of international relations, are presented around the three main axes of liberalism, realism and Marxism. The most important liberal theories of political economy are the theory of global dualism, interdependence, a world without borders and the end of the nation-state and the end of history and the victory of liberal democracy.

The most important theories of realists In the field of international political economy, the theory of uncertainty in the world is the stability of hegemonic and dominant international regimes. Also, important theories that have been put forward in the field of Marxist perspectives are theories on the subject of capitalist exploitation in the context of globalization, the world order-criticism of globalization, and the crisis of legitimacy. In general, international political economy is an analytical and economic method composed of theories and theories from four areas: Academic specifics include international politics, international economics, domestic politics, and domestic economics.

This scientific discipline, by utilizing economic and political theories (domestic and international) while analyzing a set of issues arising from the interaction of power and wealth, helps us better understand the complex aspects and dimensions of international relations and their effects on the political and economic behavior of countries.

Karl Polanyi, in his classic work, *The Great Transition*, while emphasizing the fact that the main axis of the modern economic and political system was the self-regulating market, has listed these four areas in the second half of the nineteenth century. In his opinion, international economy was represented by the gold standard monetary system, international politics by the balance of power system, domestic economy or market economy, and domestic politics or the liberal state (Omidbakhsh, 2005:6)

The World Economy after World War II with an Emphasis on the Principles of Liberalism And free trade expanded dramatically, although until the end of the Cold War, the planned economy or the economy based on the principles of Marxism was always at odds with the liberals and challenged their principles, but without a doubt the clear winner of this silent battle was the liberals.

The United States, as the dominant power, sought to establish its hegemonic order in the form of a liberal political economy (which dominated the relations of this country and its other allies). It played a role in five important areas: trade, finance, military and security issues, vital economic resources, and international political issues.



US hegemony was based on two factors: international legitimacy and the establishment of free trade and international alliances with its allies (Craner, 1983: 355). Economic growth and development in the capitalist countries of the liberal world was one of the main goals of the United States of America. This goal was to achieve a lasting peace and the prevention of another world war were pursued by America.

At this time, America enjoyed a superior position and a special place in the world, its high productive capacity and the ability to compete with other economic powers in the world allowed America to impose economic and political liberalism on itself and others and dominate the world, in other words, the liberal Keynesian theory and growth, taking advantage of the support of America became the dominant ideology in the liberal international political economy system after World War II (Cohen, Powell, and Belches, 1996: 34).

Trump's Economic Policy

Presidents, as the highest executive authority in the countries, as well as prime ministers, have their own unique ways of leading society. The president's personality at work, how he communicates with others, how he obtains information, and the type of mindset of the president are effective in a country's approach to foreign policy and decision-making in this area (Carbo, Juliet, 1997:553). Every president has control over the foreign policy process of his country and the final decisions in this area are made by him.

From the economic perspective, what made America rise to the leadership position of a large part of the world in 1945, having abandoned traditional isolationist thinking and assumed a global role, was a combination of realism and idealism that drove this country to spread free trade in the world.

They were aware that America needed access to markets for its goods for domestic economic development, and it was for this reason that the abundant emphasis on free access to markets and raw materials was one of the life-giving pillars of national interests came into being (Dehshiyar, 2007:163).

This strategic shift in American foreign policy was in a situation where the former superpowers such as France and England, even despite their victory over Germany and Japan, were no longer able to play the role of a global superpower due to the devastation and economic problems resulting from the war.

In this regard, America, with its privileged position, created international institutions such as the Organization of The United Nations, which emphasized the peaceful resolution of disputes, was the main priority of its foreign policy in order to pursue its national interests in the new space. The foreign policy of the Barack Obama administration has always followed the logic of "liberal internationalism" (Ranshan, 2012: 15).

Internationalists agree on prioritizing international goals over national ones, focusing on the whole world rather than specific countries and regions. Geography, multilateralism instead of



unilateralism, playing a legitimate and participatory leadership role instead of weak and one-sided leadership, and on the other hand, agreeing to engage in international affairs, relatively opposed to militarism and interventionism, strongly in favor of globalization (economics), and committed to moral commitments. Obama, by adopting a liberal internationalist approach, seeks to improve the position of the United States and transform it into a hegemon. Multilateralism is a contrast to the Bush administration, when the US played an imperial role (David and Grondin, 2016: 222). Krautmarr (2017) believes that in the area of foreign policy, Trump is redefining America's core national interests.

From Trump's perspective, Obama's foreign policy was a zero-sum game in which America lost. Foreign industries have advanced at America's expense. And America has provided abundant financial assistance to the armies of other countries while the American treasury has been depleted. The origin of Trump's declared and implemented policies in terms of a set of beliefs goes back to his economic approach first and foremost. It is even said that Trump's approach to the Middle East is a combination of militarism with economic nationalism (Masalnajd, 2018: 38), Trump is called an economic nationalist and a mercantilist.

Trump's divergence from trade He favors convergence and believes that increased convergence in the economic and trade spheres will ultimately weaken the U.S. economy and harm American citizens. Trump's opposition to NAFTA and other international economic institutions falls within this framework. This type of Trump's attitude is not even acceptable to some of his fellow Republicans (Krimifard, 2018: 14), Trump's extremes in economic nationalism have led to In fact, Trumpism is a form of isolationism.

Of course, such a view is not far from the logic of isolationism. Because the logic of isolationism believes that the United States should avoid making dangerous external commitments so as not to harm its economy, society, and government system at home. However, we cannot call America's foreign policy in this era isolationism. Some believe that by taking into account the slogan "America First" or that Make America Great Again.

The logic of Trump's foreign policy will be a combination of isolationism, unilateralism, and hegemony. It is obvious that such a negative perception of trade convergence will have an impact on US foreign policy, especially as the United States is an international hegemonic power and the world's largest economy with a very complex set of interdependencies.

Especially since Trump, with his slogans Just like "America First" and its inclusion in the text of the United States' domestic and foreign policy, it somehow positions itself as the standard-bearer of a nationalist foreign policy. People's personalities have a direct impact on their performance. But sometimes this impact is doubled. Personal characteristics have a greater impact on the player's tasks in the following situations:

- 1- Ambiguous situations such as new, complex, or contradictory situations.
- 2- The player's original desires and desires are in conflict with prevailing trends.



3- The player is involved in political issues.

4-. They demand high-level political activity (Greenstein, 1969:46, 1).

It seems that the Trump administration, due to the creation of political and structural gaps within the United States and the disregard for the historical foundations of the international system and American foreign policy, will face major obstacles and problems in securing American goals and interests, and will inevitably have to adjust its public positions in foreign policy.

"Daniel Quinn Mills" and "Steven Rosefield" (2017) believe that democratic nationalism means that the entire American society is one big family whose members have legitimate needs for their own survival, which of course take precedence over the needs of people outside the United States. According to the authors, although Donald Trump has expressed these needs and the need to address them, he has no solution to them. They believe that the framework for change that he has proposed for American foreign policy It has been designed and arranged in such a way that not only Donald Trump, but any other president who takes his place, will be able to implement it, relying on the power of America.

Interestingly, in the criteria for evaluating Trump's foreign policy, the economic indicator also has a more prominent role. Trump presents himself as America's savior and the solution to the problems that, in his opinion, Obama has created over the past eight years.

Of course, Trump He also criticizes the military policies of the former Soviet Union on several fronts. In his view, the policies of the former Soviet Union led to America's defeat in all past wars, and as a result, the military image of the United States has been tarnished.

However, the American political space has become increasingly polarized and fanatical since Trump came to power. Democrats and Republicans have become increasingly inflexible on many issues. Trump, as a The populist president is facing increasing public demand for economic stimulus, and this has made America's domestic environment increasingly important to Trump, to the point where some have called it a new isolationist policy in America.

Conclusion and Scientific Achievement of the Research

With the coming to power of the Trump administration, the direction of American foreign policy has undergone significant changes and has evolved from liberal internationalism to a combination of neo-isolationism and realism.

The most important indicators of this type of orientation are prioritizing national goals, adopting unilateral policies, opposing America's legitimate leadership and partnership role, aversion to economic globalization, and America's lack of commitment to moral commitments and international norms.

One of the characteristics of Trump's doctrine is "strategic ambiguity," especially during the election, when his views changed by the hour. From the perspective of Gideon Rose, the head of the Fars Party, how to shape a coherent and effective foreign policy in this situation is immediately



ambiguous, and the government's efforts to accomplish this important task will be interesting to watch. In a general conclusion, it can be said that Trump does not fit into the category of neoconservatives or liberal interventionists, and because he is not inclined to compromise, he cannot be placed in the ranks of multilateral diplomats.

Trump also has no place in the group of those who consider America's long-term alliances to be very important and unchangeable. But since Trump's view of the world and his understanding of statesmanship reflect a coherent theory of international relations, it can be said that he has a realistic, pragmatic, and Machiavellian approach to foreign policy. Because he considers peace through the enhancement of American power and focuses on American national security interests in foreign policy.

Herbert Raymond McMaster, Trump's national security adviser (2017), and Gary Cohn, director of the National Economic Council, emphasize in an article in *The Wall Street Journal* that America First does not mean America alone. It is a commitment to protecting and advancing America's vital interests, while strengthening cooperation and relationships with America's partners and allies and increasing their respect for America.

Therefore, in the final conclusion of the article, it can be said that the foreign policy of the United States during the presidency of Donald Trump, which is rooted in nationalist views with an emphasis on the national interests of the United States and an economy-oriented approach; as well as the impact of some institutionalized features of this country's foreign policy, including unilateralism, can, intentionally or unintentionally, lead to the weakening of the musts and mustn'ts of collective security. Ultimately, the intensification of this process will lead to an increase in the degree of autonomy of states, leading to anarchy prevailing in the international system.

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Received: 06.20.2025

Revised: 06.25.2025

Accepted: 07.02.2025

Published: 07.06.2025



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Euro-Global Journal of Linguistics and Language Education
Vilnius, Lithuania