TRUMP’S INTERNATIONAL POLICIES: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

By Sumedha Kalra
From SLS,Pune

Abstract
Donald Trump was sworn in as the 45th President of the United States and his early campaign days were a mirror for the decisions he has taken and implemented in the present State. As promised by him he has brought about a change to the Paris Climate Agreement, Immigration ban and the Trade policies. President Trump promises to deliver and “Make America Great Again” but the looming question is how far would he go? This paper focuses on these crucial international policies of President Trump and their impact on the other countries. There have been instances where his decisions supersede the law itself and have severe implications worldwide. This paper also gets into the intricacies and pros and cons of withdrawal from these international policies.

Keywords:
Trade policies, Immigration ban, Paris climate Agreement, impact, worldwide

Introduction

Since Donald Trump has been elected as the 45th President of the United States there has been uncertainty among nations worldwide regarding his international policies. Certain policies have been discussed herein and he has fulfilled his campaign promises for the worse. The ideologies of President Trump are reflected in the opinion he holds and statements he makes; to begin with his ideas on global warming are that “The concept of global warming was created by and for the Chinese in order to make the U.S manufacturing non-competitive.” Moreover, he wants to “eliminate harmful and unnecessary policies such as the Climate Action Plan & Waters of the U.S. Rule.”

The same views were reiterated during his campaign where he expressed ways to divert the resources to augment jobs and introduce America’s first Energy Plan.

Each country has a set of laws that help govern and administer polices. When it comes to United States (hereinafter, “US”) one sees that they follow certain statutes and regulations. The governing body for environment protection is the Environmental Protection Agency (hereinafter, “EPA”) which sets out a goal that they want to achieve and pass statutes accordingly. The statues allow the EPA to pass regulations and receive funding from the Congress. Presidential


Executive Orders also happen to play a role in these decisions.

There are certain acts in place to govern the same such as The Clean Air Act of 1970, The Clean Water Act of 1972, The National Environmental Policy Act of 1970 (NEPA), and The Endangered Species Act of 1973. The last 30 years have gone by without any major changes to the legislation that keeps the environmental laws in check. US have withdrawn from the Paris Climate Agreement, which will be discussed in detail highlighting the issues and consequences.

With respect to his viewpoints on immigration ban and trade policy he had released a campaign ad which showed dozens of dark skinned persons swarming across a border with a narrator saying, “He’ll stop illegal immigration by building a wall on our southern border that Mexico will pay for.”

US immigration laws are not the easiest to deal with. It is a rigorous process governed by the Immigration and Naturalization Act, (INA) 1965. Immigration to the United States is based upon the following principles: the reunification of families, admitting immigrants with skills that are valuable to the US economy, protecting refugees, and promoting diversity.

President Trump has laid out a permanent ban on eight countries. The final verdict of the US Supreme Court is yet to be out, but certain changes have been made to make it legally more acceptable. The downside is that President Trump ignores the various benefits that immigration offers to the economy. The National Academy of Sciences concluded, “Immigration supplies workers, which increases GDP and has helped the United States avoid the fate of stagnant economies created by purely demographic forces.” It has also helped in the field of entrepreneurship. “Immigrant business owners make significant contributions to business income, generating $67 billion of the

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5 The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, also known as the Hart-Celler Act, abolished an earlier quota system based on national origin and established a new immigration policy based on reuniting immigrant families and attracting skilled labor to the United States.
7 The National academics of Sciences Engineering Medicine, September 21, 2016
$577 billion in U.S. business income, as estimated from 2000 U.S. Census data,”

Even highly skilled, efficient and diverse workforce has come into the picture and there has been an increase in the per capita income due to immigration. In 2013, for example, immigrants added $1.6 trillion to total the US gross domestic product. His decisions on trade policy will have far reaching effects in the days to come and has been heavily criticized by the other nations. Further light will be shed on two important trade policies that are Trans Pacific Partnership and North American Free Trade Agreement.

Is Trans Pacific Partnership (herein after, “TPP”) a boon or a bane? For China it serves to be a boon considering the circumstances and the shoes they get to fill in, replacing US and making ties with their allies. “It’s a giant gift to the Chinese because they now can pitch themselves as the driver of trade liberalisation.”

US is on the losing end, it serves as a bane because they are turning down a deal made with 11 major countries and suffering in terms of business, jobs and position that could strengthen their exports. In President Trump’s own words TPP is of great danger and it would be the death blow for American manufacturing. The economic leverage of US would pass on to an international commission which would protect the interests of foreign countries over and above of US. It would further open the markets to aggressive currency cheaters, that’s what they are, cheaters.

North American Free Trade Agreement (herein after, “NAFTA”) attempts are being made to try and save what is left of the 23 year old deal and to include provisions to make it more favourable to deal is a boon for China, Live mint (Jan. 24, 2017, 3:53 PM), http://www.livemint.com/Politics/wYiMMntUc9syHuZrFLv22L/Why-Donald-Trumps-withdrawal-from-Asia-trade-deal-a-boon.html


13 The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is a piece of regulation implemented January 1, 1994 simultaneously in Mexico, Canada and the United States that eliminates most tariffs on trade between these nations.
the US but according to President Trump if that can’t be done it would be terminated from their end. And he has stated his views of the same “Take a look at NAFTA, one of the worst deals ever made by any country, having to do with economic development. It’s economy underdevelopment, as far as our country is concerned.”

With regard to NAFTA sunset clause has to be given due regard since it could become an integral part of renewing or terminating the agreement. Terminating the deal will have far fetching effects and leave a resonating impact not only on the countries involved but also on the industries. What President Trump is so keen on implementing in the deal that, it would take “free” out of free trade agreement and would impose a dominating upper hand of US on Mexico and Canada.

Paris Climate
The President’s understanding on global warming is quite clear in his own words, “Is our country still spending on the Global Warming Hoax?”

The Paris Climate Agreement was adopted by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) on 4th November, 2016 and the main target was to keep the global mean temperature below 2 degree Celsius above the preindustrial level.

The Agreement is considered an “international treaty” under international law, but not all provisions are legally binding. In the actual sense the principal of “Pacta sunt servanda” applies meaning that the Parties must follow the commitments in good faith. The only binding obligations are with regard to maintaining nationally determined contributions (NDC’s) mitigation measures, transparency, financial contribution, accountability for anthropogenic measures and progress reports. No matter how the Agreement is shaped, it lacks a fully fledged legal obligation. In the true sense it still has a ‘normative’ standing and will have

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15 Meera Jagannathan, Here are all the terrible things President Trump has said about NAFTA — before deciding to stick with it, New York daily news (Apr. 27, 2017, 9:26 AM), http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/terrible-president-trump-nafta-article-1.3107104
17 In 1992, countries joined an international treaty, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, as a framework for international cooperation to combat climate change by limiting average global temperature increases and the resulting climate change, and coping with impacts that were, by then, inevitable.
18 International Agreement concluded between states in written form and will be governed by international law (Art. 2.1 (a) Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties – VCLT)
19 According to Article 4 paragraph 2 of the Paris Agreement, each Party shall prepare, communicate and maintain successive nationally determined contributions (NDCs) that it intends to achieve.
implications on the law and policies of a country.

If not given due regard, it will raise questions about the international standing of a country and the commitments made by them, the measures taken for preventing further climate change and global practices of a country. That’s where the Trump administration would have a fall out. On 1st June, 2017 he announced the withdrawal of US from the Paris Climate Agreement while keeping the option to return in the future open. His actions reflect that global climate change is of no significance to him and how he’s putting behind all the work done by the Obama administration, such as the Climate Action Plan, the Moratorium on federal coal program, Waters of the US and Clean Power Plan.

Countries are bound in certain ways by Article 28 of the Agreement since it does not allow them to withdraw, before three years from the date on which this Agreement had entered into force for a Party; the Party may withdraw from this Agreement by giving written notification to the Depositary. Any such withdrawal shall take effect upon expiry of one year from the date of receipt by the Depositary of the notification of withdrawal, or on such later date as may be specified in the notification of withdrawal. This means that US would still be a party to it until November 2020, however, it is pertinent to note that by then the Presidential elections will also be in place. The quickest way out would be if US were to exit the UNFCCC altogether which would take a year from the time notice is given under Article 25 of the Agreement.

The UNFCCC is somewhat related to Article II of the US Constitution and is likely to have implications if a President were to withdraw, but the Constitution remains silent on terminating treaties, and whether a president could act independently and withdraw from an Article II treaty. Despite the measures and troubles taken by President Trump, if the withdrawal is not followed through from the UNFCCC, they will be bound to follow the commitments made and financial support promised. Another viable option for the Trump administration would be downgrading the NDCs, it might benefit the US and President Trump’s ideology but it would destroy the very foundation of the Agreement and what it stands for.

If the withdrawal goes through now and they get the opportunity to rejoin later, it would be an abuse of power and reflection of world dominance that US exerts. If US takes the back seat and it is willingly approved of, the only thing that remains is to wait till 2020 for another leader to rise up to the opportunity and

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undo the damage done by the Trump administration.

But for now, “As President Trump indicated in his June 1 announcement and subsequently, he is open to re-engaging in the Paris Agreement if the U.S. can identify terms that are more favorable to the U.S., its businesses, its workers, its people, and its taxpayers,” 22 his motive behind the entire fiasco has been quite unreasonable and more damaging to the environment than ever, such as “America First Energy Plan” and the need to create “energy independence”. Furthermore, he believes that that Paris Climate Agreement is not in the best interests of US and how it has the effect of “lost jobs, lower wages, shuttered factories” and that it will lead to a “massive redistribution of wealth to other countries.” 23

The only sign of hope for US is that they will continue to participate in further negotiations and treaties including the 23rd Conference of the Parties of UNFCCC. For now all we can do is aspire to not see President Trump’s policies and moves making US, the global power, fall like a house of cards. It has been rightly said that the US is “Better out than in”.

Personal efforts are being made by the states, citizens and companies to meet the demands of reduced emissions under “America’s Pledge”. And prove a point to the Trump administration that even though they have backed out, and have no faith in environment protection the citizens do.

**Immigration and Travel ban**

As countries across the world are opening their homes and welcoming refugees and immigrants, President Trump decides to revert to his old ways. Back in 1973, the US Department of Justice sued Trump for violating Fair Housing Act of 1968; the case got dragged on till 1975 with no respite with the Justice Officials concluding that “an underlying pattern of discrimination continues to exist in the Trump management organization”. 24

He has used the same tactics and policies over and over again similar to the immigration ban, being an attempt to discriminate, create racial bias and to single out countries with Muslim roots. His shallow attempts fall short of it, since he tries to mask his actual motives, unfortunately it ends up blowing in his face.

President Trump said, “To be clear, this is not a Muslim ban, as the media is falsely reporting. This is not about religion — this is about terror and keeping our country safe.” 25 These statements cannot be held true since the

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23 Navroz K Dubash, “Trumps toxic announcement on climate change”, June 17, 2017 Vol LII NO 24 Economic and Political WEEKLY
25 Office of the Press Secretary, President Donald J. Trump Statement Regarding Recent Executive
most recent and gruesome attacks on US soil were by the US citizens themselves or by other nationals having no trace or relation to the banned countries. Thereafter, true facts were brought forth by Giuliani who said, “When [Trump] first announced it, he said ‘Muslim ban.’ He called me up, he said, ‘Put a commission together, show me the right way to do it legally.’”

The ban was announced on January 27, 2017 and further made changes in March, 2017 to ensure that it was legally correct and acceptable. The ban initially covered 7 countries that are considered the source of “radical Islamic terrorism” which included Iran, Iraq, Libya, Yemen, Syria, Somalia and Sudan for a period of 90 days. Later, Iraq was excluded from the same stating that there will be hands on support and the two countries having the same end goal and will strive to defeat ISIS. The ban was also applicable to additional refugees for a period of 120 days and a ban on Syrian refugees for good. Emphasis on allowing Christian Syrian refugees and minorities was also favoured over Muslim ones, which was a clear violation and a discriminatory rule, also later struck down.

Later on the Supreme Court upheld the temporary ban but set a major exception that if there is evidence of a “bona fide relation” in the US then the person is permitted to get a visa. The ban excluded businessmen, educational ties, visas holders and permanent residents.

As we have seen President Trump’s attempts can only take him so far, since the travel ban is outrageous and the various acts and doctrines will explain how it is arbitrary and unconstitutional. If it were the 1900’s the case would be altogether different and plausibly be passed under the ‘Plenary power doctrine’ but in the present times it cannot be misused to cover immigration ban based on religion or national origin.

The tone of the doctrine had been set in light of the Chinese exclusion case, but present times and rules are changing. The travel ban is violating the protection awarded under the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment and also the

26 Christopher Mathias, There Have Been No Fatal Terror Attacks In The U.S. By Immigrants From The 7 Banned Muslim Countries, HuffPost (Jan. 28, 2017), https://www.huffingtonpost.in/entry/no-terror-attacks-muslim-ban-7-countries-trump_us_588b5a1fe4b0230ce61b4b93


28 See Chae Chan Ping v. United States, 130 U.S. 581 (1889)

29 U.S. CONST. amend. I (“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”).
(INA) 1952. Section 212(f) of the Act, 1952\(^{30}\) has to be read in accordance with Section 202(a)(1)(A)\(^ {31}\) which basically sheds light on the fact that immigrant entry and granting visa can be denied under special circumstances, but the same should not be based on sex, place of birth, nationality, place of residence and race.

The current scenario seems dicey till the verdict is given but we could count on the Supreme Court to undo the damage done in this case and put an end to the discriminatory ban and doctrine which is rusty and needs to be done away with.

The new order passed a permanent ban on various countries and is indefinite in nature. Ban affects the following: nationals of Chad, Yemen and Libya even the ones with business and tourist visas. Iranian citizens, exceptions being student and visitor visas holders. Somali immigrants, Venezuelan government officials, Syrian and North Korean officials also form a part of the travel ban.

The scheduled hearing of the Supreme Court regarding the travel ban did not go ahead considering a more thought out and executed travel ban was put into place.

**Trade Policies: TPP and NAFTA**

TPP is an agreement that accelerates trade, economic growth and included 12 countries that surround the Pacific Ocean. It worked on reducing trade barriers, less stringent policies and cutting down the tariffs to allow better flow of agricultural and industrial goods. TPP was designed to help make a change with regard to communications, trade, environment and labour.

His (Trump's) views on TPP seem to be no less astonishing than everything else he has ever said. He has criticized TPP calling it “continuing rape of our country and that trade relations should be looked at “almost as a war.”\(^ {32}\) He bases his reasoning for the same by stating that there would be many more bilateral deals and US could be a part of any, if only the world trade and globalization worked the same way. He takes a stance to defend America and make it great again, expanding trade in a way that is free and fair to all Americans. Every action we take with respect to trade will be designed to increase our economic growth, promote job creation in US, promote reciprocity with the trading partners, strengthen our manufacturing base and ability to defend them, and expand the agricultural and service industry exports.\(^ {33}\)

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\(^{30}\) Immigration and Nationality Act § 212(f).

\(^{31}\) Immigration and Nationality Act § 202(a)(1)(A)

\(^{32}\) Allan Smith, How Trump killed Obama's vaunted trade deal - and why it could affect the US for decades/articleshow/57039337.cms

TPP was a better deal for US to flourish with all other 11 countries rather than being in bilateral deals with them. Major advantage has been passed on to China and now they can continue being the superpower that controls the game in Asian trade investment. It has been a disastrous move for the employment opportunities, reputation and net growth of US.

Trans pacific partnership and the path ahead, though seems rocky after US withdrawal, other nations are determined to go ahead. The stakes are high regarding the success of the agreement and there is a long way to go. Firstly, there will be issues standing in the way of the Chinese economy, following which the clauses and requirements would require to be altered to cater to the needs of other countries. Required changes are that, "if Japan and the 10 other signatories are to keep the TPP alive, they would need, at the very least, to revise a clause that says the deal will come into effect only when ratified by six countries representing 85 percent of the combined economic value of the 12 original members. Without the United States, that threshold cannot be reached."34

Developing countries like Malaysia and Vietnam maybe on the losing side since they will no longer have ties with the US economy under TPP.

Japan is keen on preserving most of the agreement in its original form in order to keep the door open for US to rejoin. It seems difficult under Trump administration that things would actually change for better.

North American Free Trade Agreement is a trade deal between America, Canada and Mexico. Neither US law, in particular Section 125(a) of the Trade Act of 1974, nor Article 2205 of the NAFTA expressly authorize the President to withdraw from the agreement unilaterally.35 The basis for such agreements is that the President cannot withdraw unilaterally from such trade agreements without prior approval of the Congress. But given the power that the President has with regard to foreign affairs it can be seen as a possibility. If that goes ahead, heavy tariffs would be imminent between US and Mexico, and US and Canada. The cost of imports from Mexico would increase. Before NAFTA, Mexican tariffs on US imports were 250 percent higher than US tariffs on Mexican imports, so President Trump threatened to impose a 35 percent tariff on Mexican imports; by law, he can only raise tariffs by 15 percent for 150 days without congressional approval.36

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Even if the termination powers cannot be solely exercised by the President, he still has the power to levy heavy tariffs on other country imports forming a part of NAFTA.

In the present scenario there are talks about renegotiating NAFTA to be more suitable to Trump administration. President Trump plans on reducing the trade deficits with regard to Mexico, to get rid of unfair subsidies and protect intellectual properties. US would ensure that the Commerce Department would take measures to avoid lumber dumping by Canada which affects the US companies and impose 20% tariffs if it continues to do so. President Trump also wants to get rid of the VAT imposed on US exports from Mexico. He even wants to put an end to the maquiladora program, which actually is beneficial to US since it does not impose restrictions on production of goods, except handguns and firearms. For radioactive and nuclear components, prior permission is to be taken only then a manufacturing permit will be granted for the same. He also wants to add “sunset clause” \(^ {37}\) to the agreement. If such negotiations go ahead and are actually implemented the trade agreement would in its entirety be dominated by US, and that’s just what the world needs more dominance by an already existing superpower to feed on the developed and developing countries and hinder their growth.

Besides this, the US economy would hit a low since inflation will increase by levying heavy tariffs. NAFTA had lead to earnings worth $1.15 trillion in 2015; US growth increase by 0.5%, the job market had a boon of 5 million new job openings. The import from Mexico would take a huge hit in terms of earnings and terrorize the flow of goods as well as the prices.

For every trade deal President Trump seems to have the ideology that a bilateral agreement would be more beneficial to US and it would have more to gain that in multilateral agreements. It seems to be some sort of pattern he is trying to implement, first withdrawal from TPP now trying similar strategies with NAFTA.

**Conclusion**

It is a warning sign to the countries to be aware of whom they are transacting business with, a country that has Trump administration who will do whatever it takes to get their way out, even if it is the wrong way. He will turn a blind eye to it like all the changes he is trying to implement in the laws and policies. Even when it goes against the laws and as we can see he happens to be digging his own grave which could lead to the possibility for impeachment.\(^ {38}\)

President Trump happens to have the policy to blame everything that is wrong with US on the other countries and how they are responsible for every mishap.

\(^ {37}\) The agreement would terminate after five years unless all three countries voted to continue it.

\(^ {38}\) Book by Allan Lichtman
“What we have is the same mentality of abusing power of taking power into your own hands and saying, “I’m first not ‘America First’. Trump has put himself above the law and that’s the mentality that will bring the President down”.\(^{39}\)

President Trump so far has successfully created chaos and confusion both domestically and internationally. Eventually, one will see how the Trump administration is stepping backward when it comes to environmental challenges and undoing years worth of hard work. He has already taken a step back from the Paris Climate Agreement and plans to do so even with Clean Power Plan which served as the means of achieving the end goal. Currently EPA’s strategic plan has deliberately skipped on phrases such as “climate change”, “carbon dioxide” and “greenhouse gas emissions”.

EPA spokesperson Liz Bowman told the news outlet that “providing more Americans with access to clean air, land, and water” was the focus of the agency.\(^{40}\) The EPA’s focus has changed since the Obama administration and it has become more industry oriented. On 6\(^{th}\) November, 2017 Syria signed the Paris Climate Agreement and US became the single country to pull out of the agreement. The astonishing question looming over every citizen and country is ‘Why is it that everyone, but President Trump understands the climate change impact?’

When we talk about the immigration ban, the fiasco began with "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States"\(^{41}\), executive orders being passed and has ended in a permanent travel ban on 8 countries. Although, the people, accepted as bona fide relations would be accepted, it would still exclude quiet a few tourists and refugees.

This comes at a time to make travel ban more acceptable legally and to restrain any efforts to pull it back. President Trump’s ideology has the biggest hand behind all these game changing decisions. As many attempts are made to mask the so called “Muslim ban” it all goes in vain. If not the American citizens rest of the world can see right through him.

President Trump believes that TPP serves as a major setback and is disadvantageous to the US. The fate of TPP is in the hands of the other countries since they are the remaining parties to it. US has the option to join it back in the future, though it seems unlikely till the reigns are in President Trump’s hands.

\(^{39}\) The case for impeachment by Allan Lichtman


NAFTA was a good trade deal among the others but the future seems rocky as discussions to keep it afloat are ongoing. There’s a long way to go with the negotiations and the upcoming midterm elections will add no relief to it, rather prolong it. So far it had worked out well for US, Canada and Mexico but President Trump’s attempts to destroy it and build a Mexico border wall serves as an ultimate nail in the coffin for their trade deals.

But as examples of carelessness multiply, the ranks of Trump’s critics will swell. And they’ll begin; soon, to point out that carelessness isn’t much of an excuse. Not for a man whose job description, right there in the Constitution, says his first duty is to “take care that the laws be faithfully executed.”  

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