

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF - M'SILA

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

N° :.....



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES
STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE
OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

Radicalism in the Republican Party. Case study:

Donald Trump

**Thesis Submitted to the Department of English in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Master Degree**

Submitted By:

DILMI Samah

METTAH Hayat

Supervised By:

Mrs. HERIZI Nassira

Academic Year: 2016 /2017

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF - M'SILA

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

N°:.....



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES

STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE

OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

**Radicalism in the Republican Party. Case Study:
Donald Trump**

**Thesis Submitted to the Department of English in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Master Degree**

By: DILMI Samah and METTAH Hayat

Publically defended before the following committee:

Mrs. HABI Linda	University of M'sila	Chairperson
Mrs. HERIZI Nassira	University of M'sila	Supervisor
Mr. BOUNAAS Chaouki	University of M'sila	Examiner

Academic Year : 2016 /2017

Acknowledgement

All Praise is to Allah, who has helped and guided us along the year to fulfill this work. Thanks to Allah, the most graceful, the most compassionate and the Almighty, we were able to achieve this success.

Our sincere and honest gratitude is addressed to our respectful supervisor Mrs. Herizi, for her patience, her endless advices, her efforts and support. She wisely conducted us all the way and kindheartedly worked with us to increase our potential and satisfy our thirst for knowledge.

Our appreciations and gratitude are to Mr. GOUFFI Mohammed who advised, and indeed encouraged us to work on this topic. He was always ready to provide us with insightful comments and brilliant ideas.

We would also like to thank the board of examiners for accepting to analyse and refine this work.

We are so indebted to all the teachers who have been teaching us throughout our university studies at the English department at M'sila University.

Our heartfelt gratitude also goes to our parents, for their constant support and encouragement, for everything they have done to see us successful in our lives.

Last but not least, our special merit and thankfulness is for everyone who helped, supported, and encouraged us to fulfill this work.

Thanks all of you.

Dedication I

First of all, this work is dedicated to the persons who are enlightening my life, to my beloved parents. They give me everything I need just to see me happy and successful in my life.

I am so indebted for their care, love and endless support.

Whatever to say I cannot thank them for everything they offered for me.

Dear father and mother, thank you so much.

I also want to dedicate this work to my brothers Aymen and Sallah Dine, and my sisters Rima and Leila.

To my best friends Soria and Hayat with whom I spent nice moments that I will never forget, and I feel lucky to have such friends.

I will not forget to dedicate it to my colleagues in teaching and all workers of Khaled Ibn Al Walid Middle school.

Special dedications are for a nice person who assisted me in my work: to Soufiane.

To all my friends and the persons who love and support me.

Samah

Dedication II

This work is dedicated to :

My beloved parents to whom I owe my life, smile and success.

My sisters Yosra, Somia, Khawla and my brother Omar.

My freinds Chafia, Hanane, Samah, Somia, Iman, and Zaineb.

Everyone who knows and supports me by way or by another.

Hayat

Abstract

In its early days, the Republican Party favored a large government to end the institution of slavery and ensure a better life for all Americans without regard to race .Over time, however, the party's policies changed and Republicans championed a small government. Additionally, the party witnessed the emergence of extreme groups such as the Radical Republicans who represented the far left wing and the Neoconservatives who embodied the far right wing. Donald Trump, the current president of the United States who belongs to the far right wing has been the appropriate example to depict the rise of the radical voice in the party. In the present study we try to answer questions as what were the main shifts in the Republican Party's principles ? and what were the reasons for the rise of the new radical Republican Trump ? . The ultimate aim of the study is to analyze the factors that paved the way for the emergence of some radical voices in the party, especially the factors that helped Trump's rise and thus the far right wing. The analysis shows that Trump gave birth to many radical ideas and that the main reasons behind the success of Trump are the effectiveness of his message and common people' hatred to American politicians.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	I
Dedication I.....	II
Dedication II.....	III
Abstract	IV
Table of Contents	V
General Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism	
Introduction.....	6
I.1. Politics, Political Parties and the Republican Party in Nineteenth Century America.....	7
I.1.1. Building the Nation and the First Seeds of Political Parties.....	8
I.1.2. The Two Party System as the New Framework to the American Politics.....	12
I.1.2.1. The Jacksonian Democrats and the Whigs Policies.....	12
I.1.2.2.The Democratic Party Policies versus the Republicans'.....	14
I.2.The Radicalization of the Grand Old Party from the Left to the Right Wing.....	16
I.2.1.The Beginning of the Party as Left Wing.....	16
I.2.2.The First Radical Republicans.....	17
I.2.3.The Party of Big Business.....	20
I.2.4.The Creation of the Bull Moose Party.....	23
I.2.5.The Transition to the Party of Small Government.....	26
I.2.6.The Effect of the Great Depression on the Republican Party.....	28
I.2.7. Modern Republicans.....	29

I.2.8.The Transformation to the Right Wing.....	30
I.2.8.1.The First Signs of Modern Conservatism.....	30
I.2.8.2.Nixon’s Stance toward Modern Conservatism.....	31
I.2.8.3.The Neo-Conservatism in the Republican Party through Reagan and Bush Policies.....	32
Conclusion.....	36
 Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party: Donald Trump	
Introduction.....	38
II.1. Donald Trump the Controversial Personality: from a Businessman to the President of the United States of America.....	39
II.1.1. Donald Trump the Successful Man from the Business World.....	39
II.1.2.Trump’s Way towards Politics.....	40
II.1.3. Donald Trump the Authoritarian Leader.....	42
II.1.4.Donald Trump to the Presidency of the United States of America.....	43
II.2.Donald Trump’s Campaign and Top Promises.....	45
II.2.1.Building a Great Wall.....	47
II.2.2.Creating Millions of Jobs.....	49
II.2.2.1. Cutting Taxes.....	49
II.2.2.2. Bringing Jobs Back through Trade Reforms.....	49
II.2.2.3.Rebuilding Infrastructure.....	51
II.2.3.Banning Muslims from Entering the US	51
II.2.4.Repealing Obama Care.....	52
II.2.5.Maintaining Social Security.....	53
II.2.6.Fighting the Islamic State In Iraq and Syria.....	54

II.3.How did Donald Trump Win the 2016 US. Presidential Elections?.....	56
II.3.1.The Internal Factors for Trump’s Rise	57
II.3. 1.1. The Interior Division of the Party.....	57
II.3.1.2.Who is Behind Trump Success? The Tea Party or the Establishment?.....	58
II.3.2.The External Factors Behind Donald Trump’s Win	60
II.3.2.1.Islamophobia, America’s War on Terror and the Radical Islamic Speech.....	61
II.3.2.2. Immigration Reforms to Make America Great Again.....	64
II.3.2.3. The White Working Class: the Powerful Force that Pushed Trump toward the White House.....	67
II.3.2.4. Were Russian Hackers Really Behind Trump's Triumph?.....	70
II.4.Reflections on Donald Trump the President.....	72
II.4.1.Americans Say Yes For Trump!.....	73
II.5.Trump’s Main Policies in his First 100 Days.....	78
Conclusion.....	82
General Conclusion.....	83
Bibliography.....	87
Arabic Abstract.....	102

General Introduction

General Introduction

After the War of Independence, Americans achieved their first goal which was to be free and independent. However, they did not seem to be so successful in achieving their second goal which was to build a great and powerful nation. Instead of being united under one government, Americans were to be alienated. The states wanted to keep their own autonomy, governments and goals. They were not organized and the Articles of Confederation exemplified the anarchy in the country. However, after drafting the Constitution, Americans were thinking seriously and practically to form a united government and to construct a strong nation.

Within that period, the signs of a modern nation began to emerge. One of the aspects of this modern nation was the emergence of political parties that began to be formed almost immediately as the country began to take shape. Within few years, it was the rise of the two-party system; two political parties that are dominating the modern politics of the USA; the Democratic Party and the Republican Party.

The Republican Party was established in the mid nineteenth century. Its origins were back to the Anti-Federalists, or the Democratic Republicans as they were firstly known, the group that appeared in the early stages of the political history, opposed the power of strong central government, and supported the states' rights. The party started as the individual rights defender and anti-slavery movement, and grew later on to be a political party that, since then, has been influencing everything in America, as well as playing a leading role in the US government.

From its first establishment in the mid-nineteenth century, the Republican Party was known as the Left Wing party and stood for Liberal policies, as to support a strong central government. However, around the turn of the twentieth century the winds of change hit the party with the

General Introduction

coming of a new generation of presidents. The Republicans' opinions and views towards local and foreign issues began to be changed, and even so some basic principles were prone to a radical change. They began to change to the Right Wing, or to be Conservatives. They shifted their policies concerning social and economic issues, and they became in favor of states' rights rather than strong central government.

This great transfer in the Republican Party's history was known as "Radicalism", and was adopted by many significant leaders in the party who were known as Radical Republicans. They brought new ideas and policies that would play a great role in the coming age of American history. Nowadays, the Republicans are totally different from how they had started. The coming of Donald Trump, the newly elected President, on the head of the Party reinforces this Radicalism with his ideals.

Indeed, Trump wins the sympathy of the Americans, who vote in favor of him over Clinton knowing that he has no sufficient political experience to be in charge of a great nation like the United States, mainly because he campaigned for the change that Americans were seeking.

Donald Trump, the Radical Republican and the extremist as he is known, intends to radicalize America's internal situation and its foreign affairs. With new, different, and strong policies, he is also willing to repeal and change the Republican Party's core values and principles even if they have been the cornerstones of the party since it has early been established.

This study's significance is lying on the fact that it goes through an analysis of one of the main and influential political parties in the USA, the Republican Party. The data shown in this research are intending to enrich the readers' knowledge about the policies of this party and how these latter were being changed through time and affected by the rise of radicalism

General Introduction

within the party to an extent that political pundits and experts are agreeing on one opinion that the Republican party nowadays is totally different from the past Grand Old Republican party.

In our research we shed light on the Republican Party and the rise of Radicalism within the party, and the shift from the Left Wing, or liberal policies, to the Right Wing, in which they tend to hold conservative policies. Furthermore, we examine the rise of the new radical voice in the party Donald Trump as case study. Trump is an extreme radical Republican who favors the change, and he is even intending to radicalize the Republican Party's main beliefs, core principles and policies. Through his declarations, it is obvious that he has radical ideas which are totally different from the conservative party. This study is intended to examine his ideas and whether they are practically feasible or not. Thus, our research basic questions are as follows:

1. How was Radicalism raised in the Republican Party to be switched from the Left Wing policies to the Right Wing conservatism?
2. Being a "Radical Republican", to what extent were Donald Trump's new ideals and policies different from the Grand Old Republican Party's long standings?
3. What were the main factors behind Donald Trump's rise?

The present study makes use of the descriptive method in the first chapter to search data about the history of the American politics and Republican Party, as well as to give an overview about the rise of Radicalism in the party. In the second chapter, in addition to the political analysis which is intended to examine Donald Trump's radical ideas and decisions, we also adopt the discourse analysis method to study Trump' rhetoric speech and his interpersonal skills and controversial personality .

General Introduction

For data collection tools, we use historical and political books as well as some articles and writings about the topic from websites. Furthermore, we refer to Trump's speech, TV shows, as well as media channels' coverage.

This research is designed to have two chapters. The first one is a historical background about the rise of political parties in America including the Republican Party and the rise of the "radical Republicans". Furthermore, we discuss how the party's core principles and policies have been changed through history.

In the second chapter, we deal with Donald Trump as a "radical Republican" to our analysis of the rise of "radicalism" in the Republican Party. We focus on Trump's personality as the President of the United States of America, and his radical policies and reforms that he has been promising to perform along his presidential campaign. In addition, we analyze the main reasons that contributed to the rise and success of Donald Trump to be the President of the United States of America. Finally, we propose reflections on his first 100 days in the White House and how his radical and extreme ideas and policies would influence the Republican Party, as well as future America.

Chapter One: The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

Introduction

After the War of Independence, Americans agreed on creating the US constitution which stated the government's main functions, the states' rights, and Americans' rights and liberties. Ironically, instead of unifying Americans, the US constitution brought about other divisions. The majority of statesmen did not make consensus about its main principles and amendments, and had sharp differences of opinions. Consequently, these disagreements had divided the American people into groups which were the first signs of political parties in America.

In this chapter, we use the descriptive method to give a general background about the rise of political parties in America. But, the main concern of this chapter is to examine one of the main and influential political parties in America; the Republican Party and the change of the party's ideology and policies from liberalism to conservatism. This great transfer in the Republican Party was done by a group of "radical Republicans" who called for "radicalism" in the party. We analyze how the Republicans had begun as left wing party and changed their policies along time to represent the right wing to an extent that the nowadays Republican Party's policies are almost totally different of what the party was based on during its early foundations.

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

I.1. Politics, Political Parties and the Republican Party in Nineteenth Century America

The fact that there were no political parties in America after the independence is due to the chaos and sharp divisions that Americans had long suffered from during the British rule. Indeed, all Americans, the elite class, statesmen, politicians, writers, journalists and all educators agreed on not to be divided and engaged within sanctions or parties, mainly because they feared that the young nation could be disunited and fall in chaos again. After a long time in distraction and division, Americans were willing to build a real united states with a constitution to which all Americans had to be adhered.

The founding fathers of America ratified the U.S. Constitution in 1787, in which they did not define partisanship, or set laws concerning political parties. They had determined to save the newly united nation from being disunited, or tearing apart again. The Founders wanted to ensure union in the government, and protect it from political parties "through various constitutional arrangements, such as separation of powers, checks and balances system, federalism, and indirect election of the president by an electoral college" (Bibby 1).

President George Washington was non-partisan to any specific political party. He did not support the policies, views or beliefs of a single political party. As it is mentioned in Davis' book, George Washington warned the nation of forming political parties in his Farewell Address when he said:

“I have already intimated to you the danger of Parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on Geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the Spirit of

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

Party, generally. This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human Mind. It exists under different shapes in all Governments, more or less stifled, controlled [sic], or repressed; but, in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy". (139-140)

However, the drafting of the constitution was the first step toward the forming of the first political parties in America. Instead of unifying Americans, the constitution caused disputes among politicians over its amendments and many other national issues. Thus, these disagreements paved the way to the emergence of political parties. During the early stages of forming the government, these disputes and contradictions had created rivalries in politics with different ideals, principles, and opinions. As a result, these divisions might threaten the union of the government.

The United States began to establish political parties, which widely had been extending on a national scale and use elections to transit governmental authority from one faction to another. Around the 1830s, as it was mentioned by Bibby, these political parties became one of the salient parts of the government, and they had prominent roles in enacting new laws and decision making concerning national issues (1).

I.1.1. Building the Nation and the First Seeds of Political Parties

One may say that political rivalries began to emerge during the hardest period for Americans, a period in which they were trying to enact constitutional laws that could unify the US States after being disordered by the Articles of Confederation.

According to Sogrin, "Factional cleavages" had been explicitly formed in the Congress during the years 1789 and 1790. President George Washington appointed Alexander Hamilton

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

and Thomas Jefferson on the secretary of the treasury and the secretary of the state, respectively. These appointments were the first turning point in the history of American politics, mainly because those two men were debating on many issues concerning the constitution and the government, as they believed in different ideals and principles. Hamilton claimed that Jefferson created a party which was "subversive of the principles of good government and dangerous to the union, peace and happiness of the country." One month later, Jefferson replied on Hamilton's claims when he declared that he was "daring to call the Republican Party *a Faction*" (35-37).

Thus, Hamilton and Jefferson had founded two factions which would be the first base to political parties in America. The two factions generated different political ideologies and principles, gathered supporters, and thus intensified divisions among Americans. These groups had been divided according to the principles, the goals and needs of their members.

Hamilton, along with his supporters such as Madison, and Jay defended the constitution, and they wrote articles to explain the real meaning, the purpose, and the importance of such great document for American people. Those eloquent and highly educated writers published their writings in papers known as "*The Federalist*" (Beard 124).

Hamilton, as the head of the Treasury department, had put all of his interest and genius on funding the national as well as the states' debts, and to fill in the treasury with money, and to promote the economy. According to Barney, to fulfill his program, Hamilton set out a series of tariffs, mainly to protect the American manufacturers, and funded the US National Bank to restore the value of the American coin. "Hamiltonian" economic policies had played a great role in pushing forward the nation to develop its internal trade network, and thus to encourage local production and industries. Thanks to these measures, the American industrial and economic sectors were in salient and increased growth (127).

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

Furthermore, Hamilton had adopted pure mercantile policies, and was supported by businessmen, bankers, manufactures, and the working class in general, with a direct help from the British. Thus, he preferred strong foreign relationships with Great Britain. The Federalists preferred a strong and firm central government which would ensure control over the states and prevent any civil disobedience, or rejection of government's legislated laws. That is to say that the Hamiltonian Federalists wanted to assume the power of the federal government over the states (Ritchie and Broussard 340).

As Sogrin stated, the significant success of Hamilton's policies provoked Jefferson to bring about the idea of creating political faction that would gather the Anti-Federalists around one table to unify their ideas. This step intensified the political cleavages in the United States of America (40). Thomas Jefferson, and his followers, strongly opposed Hamilton's ideas and policies, thus they were known as the Anti-Federalists. He embodied his attitudes and policies in a political party which would be known as the Democratic-Republicans.

Democratic-Republicans opposed the ratification of the Constitution, as this latter's amendments did not ensure certain people's rights such as "freedom of speech and religion". Those who opposed the constitution protested; "We, 'the low-born,'"..., "will now admit the 'six hundred well-born' immediately to establish this most noble, most excellent, and truly divine constitution." "The President will become a king; Congress will be as tyrannical as Parliament in the old days; the states will be swallowed up; the rights of the people will be trampled upon; the poor man's justice will be lost in the endless delays of the federal courts"(Beard 124).

The Democratic-Republicans believed that Hamilton and the supporters of a strong central government wanted to recreate "an American form of monarchy". For them, a document as the Constitution would ensure a government that, as Thomas Paine said, "...Was but a

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

necessary evil"(Davis 128). As the party's basic tenant was the rejection of a strong central government which would be run only by the rich and the elites and the high educated people. Jefferson believed that ordinary people had the abilities, and efficient talents to run the government and their own affairs.

Along with his followers, Jefferson worked out to limit the authority of the government, and to grant the states more rights and power to control the nation affairs, and to run their own local affairs without government interference. For Jefferson's followers, the strong government would tyrannize its people, take over their basic rights, and hinder the states' rights, and their abilities to contribute in the development of the local issues, or in the nation's foreign affairs.

The Jeffersonian supported the small workers, farmers, and the poor classes, and unlike the Federalists' mercantile policies, they had agricultural tendencies, and much of their interest was toward farming. Thus, their political base was in the south. Concerning foreign policy, the party opposed the Federalist support for the British, and preferred the French to be the nation's partner in many issues (Ritchie 240).

It was argued by Ford that Hamilton's economic policies contributed with a great portion in the US economic growth. However, as the Democratic-Republicans said, his commercial interests were seemed to be in favor of the few people of the high class to have more wealth and power. In addition, they believed that the adoption of the " British mercantilism", rather than creating a free market and benefiting the US economy, would bind the American market (43).

The Federalists and Democratic-Republicans political rivalries has been intensified as each faction was trying to affirm its principles and policies to be better for the society, and even

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

expressed a great hostility towards anyone who might oppose their policies. In addition, each party attempted to gather public around their objectives with the use of any means.

With the election of the Republican Thomas Jefferson as the US President, the Republican Party dominated the political arena in the following years with the decline of the Federalists' party. The period from about 1800 until 1820 was known as the Era of Good Feelings, mainly because America was in a relief from the political conflicts (Ware 71).

The Era of Good Feelings, precisely during Monroe's Presidency, was characterized by "one-party rule" and calm political climate. Americans unified their efforts to develop their local economy, especially with the advent of the Industrial Revolution, and to secure their borders and strengthen the foreign relationships especially with peace agreements with Great Britain (Davis 160).

I.1.2. The Two-Party System as the New Framework to the American Politics

Politics in America had been transformed into a new age with the birth of the "two-party" system, within which two political parties would dominate the government, run their own policies, and affect every aspect and issue in the nation. This system was firstly formed by two main parties; the Democrats and the Whigs. Then, years later, the Republican and the Democratic parties had been the main parts of this system, and they would be known as America's two great political parties to take the full control of the US government.

I.1.2.1. The Jacksonian Democrats and the Whigs Policies

When Andrew Jackson became the new president of the USA things began to change. At the beginning, he was the people's choice, however, through his two first terms he began to offer more power to the legislative branch. This latter reason, along with other measures and

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

policies, arouse opposition around Jackson's rule (Beard 261). Consequently, as it was discussed by Klinghard, the Democratic-Republican Party had been split into two factions that eventually would form the Democrats, or the Jacksonian Democrats, and the Whigs parties. Those two new political parties had officially established the two-party system (8).

Vlasova wrote in his essay, "Democrats and Whigs An Exercise in Quantitative Analysis", that the establishment of the Democratic and Whigs factions around 1820s until 1830s was due to some changes that were brought into the American "sociopolitical system", the Industrial Revolution, the Westward expansion, the growing South, and other salient problems such as immigration and foreign relations (46).

The Whigs were in favor of powerful government mainly to advance the nation's economy, and to improve a progressive society. The Whig party formers adopted the Federalists principles and policies, such as to support the national government, and to improve the US economy by giving more interest to the financial and commercial issues, mainly to produce a competent American market which would be able to protect the American industry from the British monopoly (Ford 34).

The Democrats and the Whigs had positively affected both the government and the public institutions. They played a great role in managing the nation's issues, and their policies were salient concerning these latter, and to bring about consensus in the nation's political agenda and the execution of power. The two parties had unified their efforts to build communicative channels between the politicians in the national government and the states' government scales, as well as to widen this communication to the public scale.

Indeed, during this period the public integration into the political process and the electoral participation had doubled, and political "decision making" was open for more and large

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

participation from all society's parts. The significant role that the Whigs and Democrats had on the US government and their immense policies and measure which were to be taken, had justified the importance of political parties in the society, by contrast to what it was known. Thus, Americans called them "enlighteners" (Vlasova 49).

I.1.2.2. The Democratic Party Policies versus the Republicans'

"The politicization of the slavery issue", as it is mentioned by Kihira, along with other issues and differences between the North and the South which led the country into a civil war, had bitterly divided the nation. This division would be later flamed by two major political parties of the time; the Republican Party who replaced the Whig party, and the Democratic Party (30).

After a successful era in politics and the establishment of the two-party system that was held by the Democrats and the Whigs, this latter came to an end after a crisis that drove the party into its decline. However, it was sooner replaced by the Republican Party, giving a further development to the "two-party system".

The Democratic Party was continuity to the Jacksonian first Democratic Party. The Democrats have always been opposing the restricted economy and to impose tariffs on imported goods. They mainly encouraged free trade, and attempted to adopt policies which may contribute in the advancement of US economy which, according to them must be integrated to open markets, and the local producers should be competent to foreigners to affirm the progress of the American economy (Foner 90).

On May 9, 1854, Ripon, Wisconsin, it was the birthday of the Republican Party as a result of antislavery movement. (Davis 204). It was built on the ashes of the Whig party, under the name of the "Republican" to refer to Democratic-Republican Party that was early

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

established by Thomas Jefferson. As it was mentioned before, the Republican party had been first arouse as an anti-slavery movement, which was led by a group of abolitionists with the aim of using politics in favor of ending slavery in America by legislation.

The party that once began as an abolitionist movement advanced latter to hold political principles and large political agenda. They held "conservative economic plans", as it is mentioned by Wagner, to support the local economies, to put taxes on foreign goods, and to promote the growing West. The Republican Party had reached its success with the election of Abraham Lincoln as the president of the United States of America (14).

In addition to the support that the Republicans had been receiving in the fight for freeing the blacks, opposition to the Democrats was rising. The Republicans had strengthened their holds in the US government to be the first party in power, especially after the election of the Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln as the President of the United States of America. Lincoln drove the party to its success when he saved the nation from being divided and he abolished slavery in all the states after ending the tragedy of the Civil War (Gienapp 82).

Around 1896, the Republican Party was known to be conservative, especially concerning social and economic issues, as to enact high tariffs on foreign goods (Dueck 4; Wagner 14). In his essay "Conservatism versus Revolution", Kormilets argued that the Republicans tried to protect the US economy and markets from foreign competition; they introduced tariffs and taxes on imported goods (100, 101).

Since the establishment of the two-party system in America around 1830s which would be fully developed around 1850, the Democratic and the Republican parties were dominating the US government, and had been playing a great role in shaping the American politics. From the Jeffersonian Republicans and Federalists at the early stages of forming the nation, to the

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

Democrats and Republicans, with some short term appearance of some political parties, the role and importance of political parties were varying over time according to social changes, affecting America on the governmental scale, as well as on the social one as to change the Americans' lives, thoughts, and their attitudes towards politics.

I.2. The Radicalization of the Grand Old Party from the Left to the Right Wing

Tracing the history of the Republican Party shows how the party has changed dramatically since its founding. Republican Party has undergone a radical transformation from its founding ideological principles. The Republicans used to be liberal concerning some issues as the role of government, but they are now the conservative party. Indeed, the radical voice was present in the party through extreme groups that had different appeals.

I.2 .1. The Beginning of the Party as Left Wing

Through a simple comparison between the principles adopted by the party today and the policies adopted by the first Republican president, one can understand how the party switched its direction from the left wing to the right wing. The Republican Party today tends to support public policies that limit the size of government, cut taxes, support free trade, maximize military spending, and decrease local spending as well as welfare state.

Today, the Republicans oppose the liberal ideas they were coming up with. Lincoln's first concern was to abolish slavery and guarantee equal rights, opportunities, and freedoms for the people of the country. Thus, he expanded the role of the federal government to reduce the power of the South. In addition, the first Republican president advocated governmental spending on building the Western lands and called for more spending on public education (Haught).

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

I.2.2. The First Radical Republicans

The term radicalism is popularly used to denote individuals, movements, and activists who seek to make extreme changes in the system and government for the benefits of people as they argued. The first seeds of radicalism and the Radical Republicans in the party returned back to the American civil war and the reconstruction period. Their aim was to stop the institution of slavery, push it back, challenge the moderate presidents, and give better living conditions for the Blacks.

The Radical Republicans were a faction of American politicians within the Republican Party from 1854 until 1877. During wartime, they advocated the abolition of slavery as well as the emancipation of slaves. Later, they struggled to give equal rights for the newly freed slaves. The most influential Radical Republicans were Benjamin Wade, Charles Sumner, Zachariah Chandler, Thaddeus Stevens, and Benjamin Butler (Zuszek 534).

Generally speaking, the Republican Party before and during the Civil War opposed slavery. It was the party of northerners who did not need slaves to work lands for them. The American Civil War was a major conflict between the United States and eleven Southern States which declared their secession when the Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln won the presidency in 1860. They believed that he would make slavery illegal (O'callaghan 44 -50).

During the civil war there was a split in the Republican Party between the Moderates and the Radical Republicans. On one hand, the Moderates had less aggressive attitudes to the war and advocated slowly emancipation. On the other hand, the Radicals called for a more aggressive conduct of the war and immediate emancipation. It was clear that Abraham Lincoln was with Moderates since he believed in unionism and opposed immediate emancipation (Zuszek 531).

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

Abraham Lincoln was the first Republican president, elected in 1860. He reinforced the first principles of the Party through expanding the role of the federal government over states and creating a National Banking System (Lopez).

He declared The Emancipation Proclamation in 1861 which stated that all slaves in rebelling states were free "...on the first day of January. . . all persons held slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people where of shall then in a rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free "(Wagner 20). The Radical Republicans opposed him and argued that he was too slow in supporting the freedom of the blacks (Ibid).

By the end of the war, Lincoln was tolerant of his attitudes toward the south. He believed that the secession was an action by some disloyal citizens since the southern states had never legally left the Union. The federal government had to deal with these members instead of punishing whole states. In 1863, he proposed a plan to bring the south back into the union. According to his plan when ten percent of the voting population of the 1860 election had taken an oath of loyalty and established a government, it would be recognized.

The Radical Republicans in the congress were not satisfied with Lincoln's plan; they advocated a severe punishment for all the seceded states for causing the war. They issued The Wade-Davis Bill which demonstrated that the congress would accept the reconstruction only in case of fifty percent of a state's white voting population had taken an oath of allegiance. Lincoln considered the bill as punitive and vetoed it (Ritchie and Broussard 605-606).

Andrew Johnson shared the same ideas of Lincoln concerning the way to deal with the southern states. Johnson issued The Amnesty and Pardon Act to allow the confederate states to restore some political rights. He declared that since the south promised to be loyal to the

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

federal government, they had right to choose their state' assemblies and run their affairs. The southern states were also required to hold conventions in order to repeal the act of secession, swear allegiance to the union, and abolish slavery.

The Radical Republicans were upset because Johnson's plan, just like the previous plan, failed to address the needs of the newly freed slaves. The Radicals controlled the congress during the reconstruction era and brought extreme changes in American society. The congress ratified the Thirteenth Amendment in December 1865; it officially ended the institution of slavery. The Fourteenth Amendment granted former protection for the blacks and the Fifteenth Amendment in 1869 gave the blacks the right to vote (Ibid 610-612).

Their second concern was the punishment of the south. The Reconstruction Act of 1867 prevented former confederate leaders from holding offices and divided the south into five military districts administrated by union generals (Davis 245).

The Radical Republicans tried also to prevent the southerners from regaining control of the state governments through several ways for instance Carpetbaggers; a group of northerners who went to the south in order to make money out of the reconstruction. Republican carpetbaggers held offices as constitutional convention delegates, judges, local and state government officials (Ibid 249).

It is true that the Southerners were forced to redefine their world but not to change their racist ideas toward the Blacks. The Ku Klux Klan was an organization to spread horror and prevent the blacks from participating in society. Further, the Black Code was issued by southerners to restrict the freedom of the blacks. They were prevented from voting, attending the same schools, owning lands or serving for juries. As reaction to all of these racist behaviors, the congress passed The Civil Right Act of 1866 which declared every one born in

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

America is an American citizen without regard to his race or color and had right to enjoy the same rights and liberties in America (Ibid 245).

Thanks to the Radical Republicans, African Americans engaged in politics and started to hold important offices. Hiram Revels elected to US senate as the first black senator, Josper J Wright elected to South Carolina Supreme Court, Blanche Kelso elected in 1875 as senator of Mississippi for six years. The power and the influence of the Radical Republicans ended in the congress with the end of the reconstruction in 1875. After 1875 the southerners reasserted their dominance and the blacks suffered from segregation and discrimination particularly under Jim Crow Law (*US History* 184).

I.2.3. The Party of Big Business

In the years that followed the Reconstruction, the party took new direction far from supporting the rights of the blacks. Republicans' interests and ideas have changed toward economic expansion, large scale manufacturing, supporting high protective tariffs to protect the nation's industries.

The Gilded Age lasted between 1870s and 1900s. The term was first used by Mark Twain who claimed that the period was not as wealthy as it looked and that it was glittering on the surface but corrupt underneath. The Republican presidents dominated power during the Gilded Age. They are known in history as the forgettable presidents for the cause that America reached a period of corruption and powerful business leaders dominated power instead of government (Gould 62).

Despite that the United States reached a time of industrialization and huge economic development, Republican presidents failed to stop corruption. Ulysses Grant (1869 -1877), a Republican President was skillful as general, but not as president, his two terms were a period

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

of political corruption. Spoils system dominated; it is a kind of corruption in government where a person in authority rewards his friends and relatives with specific privileges and political positions. Grant himself inserted a number of his wife's family members into federal government positions. Political bosses were a group of people who ran local business and politics; they forced lower class to pay protection money and immigrants to vote for specific candidates in exchange for citizenship. Moreover, his presidency was a time of several scandals for example the whiskey Ring (Spiller et al 100).

Members of the Republican Party expressed dissatisfaction with their colleagues' inability to control corruption. By the end of the first term of Ulysses Grant, a new group of the Republicans appeared known as Liberal Republicans. They expressed their anger toward corruption which characterized Grant's first term. They nominated Horace Greeley as their candidate for president against Grant. Greeley was a journalist who opposed slavery during the civil war and was a supporter of equality and freedom. He lost the election to Grant who was reelected for a second term (Tulloch 38).

Indeed, Mugwumps were a member of the Republican Party who advocated honest government and supported the Democratic presidential candidate Grover Cleveland because they saw their candidate James G Blaine as corrupt. There was a claim that Blaine as congressman had accepted secretly money from railroad companies to vote for certain legislation. Grover Cleveland won the presidency and Mugwumps returned back to the Republican Party. It was the first defeat to the Republican Party since Abraham Lincoln (Ibid 39-42).

The Republicans supported higher tariff to protect American industry. McKinley Tariff was passed by congress in 1890; its purpose was to protect American local industry from

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

competition of other European nations by deciding to tax incoming goods on high rate (Ritchie 328).

The McKinley Tariff of 1890 had harmful effects on farmers. They were forced to buy expensive manufactured products at the same time they sold their harvests on unprotected markets. Farmers of the south and the west unified their efforts with urban industrial workers in the North East and Midwest to form the Populist Party which represented the interests of the working class. The party expressed their dissatisfaction with higher tariffs, political corruption, railroads and business trusts (Ibid 347).

The Tariff was a direct reason behind the massive defeat of Benjamin Harrison (1889-1893) in the election of 1892. On one side, the democrats condemned Republicans and accused them of being a party of higher taxes. On the other side, the tariff increased the costs for all Americans in term of purchasing power. Within few months prices rose and American consumers were not satisfied. Because of his support to the tariff, Harrison lost reelection to Grover Cleveland in both houses and popular vote in 1892 (Kazin 698).

In foreign Affairs, The Republicans tried to make the United States a leader of The Western Hemisphere. It emerged as colonial empire through gaining Puerto-Rico, Guam, and the Philippines from the Spanish American War. The Spanish American War broke out to liberate Cuba from Spanish oppression. In 1895, the Cubans rebelled against the Spaniard, they burned villages and sugar plantations, the Spanish arrested the rebels to jail camps and 200,000 were killed (Beard 360-363). After this tragedy, President William McKinley stated that Spain should withdraw from Cuba.

American newspapers wrote about the suffrage of revolutionaries in Cuba. Stories grew out about the cruel treatment of the Cubans by the Spanish and how they suffered from

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

poverty, starvation, and imprisonment. Yellow journalism exaggerated and often narrated false stories to gain public sympathy with Cubans. Maine was an American ship which was sent into Havana in 1998 as kind of sympathy with the rebels. The Maine exploded in Havana and took the lives of 260 soldiers (Ibid). The disaster happened as result of mine; American ordinary citizens as well as politicians were convinced that Spain was the responsible for the disaster. A day after the Maine accident, The U.S. officially entered the war with Spain.

The war fought in both Cuba and Philippines. It was brief because of the huge number of the American forces; the Spanish forces were less in comparison to the Americans. In 1898, the U.S. Navy destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay under the leadership of George Dewey. The war of Santiago started On July 3rd, Spanish fleet was sunk and Santiago was captured. The treaty of Paris was signed On December 10th, 1898. It ended the Spanish empire in the Western Hemisphere and made America a world power (Ibid).

America was also interested in building economic relationships with Far East because of the growth of Asian markets. The Secretary of War during the presidency of McKinley, John Hay, declared the open door notes in 1899. The Open Door policy asked for equal treatment for American commerce in China just like the other European nations. McKinley supported the policy that called for free trade and opening China's markets to all countries (Ibid 367-369).

I.2.4. The Creation of the Bull Moose Party

Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909) was the last major Republican liberal. After his term, the party knew radical changes and transformed into the party that supported small government. The last liberal president, just like Lincoln, believed that a strong federal government was the only solution to deal with the unethical activities of big businessmen and corporations. He

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

expanded the role of the government beyond that of helping big businesses and corporations (Kazin 75).

Because of the Gilded Age and industrialization, the American society became divided into two main categories; the industrialist millionaires who raised their wealth and lower class who suffered from poverty and struggled to earn their food. The first goal of big businessmen was to get profit with no consideration to the plight of the workers and the underprivileged. (*US History* 205).

A reform movement called progressivism appeared and lasted from the 1890s through the 19 20s. American authors and journalists like Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair, and Frank Norris questioned the material success of the few at the expense of the majority and translated the social problems of farmers and workers in factories into pieces of literature. The progressive movement swept the nation, its main demand was social reforms that included an increase in government regulation of business (Johnson 43).

Roosevelt supported progressive reforms through his program that became known as the Square Deal. The aim of the program was to provide social justice for all people, regulate railroads rates, food industry, and the protection of US' natural resources. The president passed acts as The Elkins Act in 1903. Thanks to rebates, large corporations paid less for shipping than farmers; The Elkins Act prohibited railroads from accepting rebates and made it clear that all customers had to pay the same rates for shipping their products (Lopez).

Upton Sinclair in his novel *Jungle* exposed unhealthy conditions under which meat was packed and the horrors of meat packing industry. In order to check his claim the president ordered the Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson to investigate packing house conditions. Wilson's report further strengthened the claim which was made by Sinclair. As reaction,

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

Roosevelt passed The Meat Inspection Act meant that meat shipped across states lines would be subject to federal inspection. Furthermore, to protect citizens' health he passed The Pure Food and the Drug act which outlawed food and drug containing harmful ingredients (Gould 120).

Roosevelt adopted a system of conservation. The president, like many other Americans saw the need to protect the natural resources from exploitation and pollution problems. He passed The Newlands Reclamation Act in 1902 in order to start irrigation projects to make dry lands productive. During his presidency, he had created five national parks, for example Yellowstone National Park, four game refuges, fifty-one national bird reservations as well as the National Forest Service (Remini 194).

In international affairs Theodore Roosevelt supported interventionism. One of his greatest achievements was the construction of The Panama Canal. He further confirmed Monroe Doctrine throughout the adaptation of his Corollary Doctrine. The policy from one side gave The U.S. right to intervene in Caribbean nations and from the other side hoped to limit the existence of the European powers there. The Dominican Republic failed to repay its loans to European powers. Europeans threatened to attack it to enforce payment of debts. In order not to give European countries a chance to take control of the Dominican Republic, Roosevelt intervened and convinced creditors to take over the debts (Reeves 37-38).

Theodore Roosevelt did not run for a third term, instead he supported William Howard Taft, a friend and Secretary of War during his second term. William Howard Taft was easily elected as president in 1908. Simply because a majority of Americans expected that he would continue the progressive reforms and policies started by Theodore Roosevelt But he did not (Wagner 54-55).

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

During Taft's campaign election, the Republicans promised the public to lower tariffs on imported goods. The president called for a special session in the congress in 1909 to discuss the issue of tariff. Senator Payne suggested a bill that lowered tariff on many imported goods. The conservative Republicans refused it and Nelson Aldrich proposed an alternative bill that lowered the tariff only on a few items and increased it on many other products .The bill was signed by Taft officially on April 9, 1909. It became known as The Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act. The president described the new act as "the best tariff bill the Republican Party had ever passed" (Gould 132).

Roosevelt felt that his successor, William Howard Taft (1857-1930), was leading America to the right wing. So, Roosevelt returned to politics. The Progressive Republicans left the Republicans Party; they formed The Bull Moose Party under the commandment of Theodore Roosevelt. There were three candidates for the election of 1912; William Howard Taft from the Republican Party, Theodore Roosevelt from The Bull Moose Party, and Woodrow Wilson from the Democratic Party. Wilson easily took the election as a result of the split in the Republican Party. Although the leaders of the progressive and Republican Parties understood their mistake and reunited again after Wilson victory, the Republicans did not regain the presidency until 1920s (Wagner 54-56).

I.2.5. The Transition to the Party of Small Government

The radicalization of the Republican Party was not a short journey. The Republicans took a long time to change from liberal ideas to more conservative stances. Leaders of the party started to advocate conservative ideas such as limited government, lower taxes, and reject welfare programs in the 1920s. The U.S was ruled between the 1920s and 1930s by three Republican presidents; Warren Harding (1921-1923), Calvin Coolidge (1923-1929), Herbert Hoover (1929 -1933).

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

Warren Harding supported limited government, tax reduction, particularly for corporation and wealthy people in order to deal with the post world war crisis. The number of unemployment increased because of the great number of soldiers who returned back by the end of the war. According to Harding, the wealthy would start businesses, built large corporations, introduce big companies, and push America out of hard time (Wagner 60).

His successor, Calvin Coolidge rejected unemployment insurance and government programs to help ordinary people. He was a great believer in individualism and Laissez Faire. The best way to help both people and nation's growth was to help business. In order to support business, the role of the federal government should be limited. It should stay out of big business. Indeed, he was convinced that the success of the economy in general and industry in specific depended on lowering taxes (Wagner 61).

In international affairs, Harding promised "A Return to Normalcy", Republicans shared with the American citizens the same isolationist attitude. After the end of the First World War, the United States adopted isolationism, a political doctrine of non-involvement in foreign political affairs which aimed to keep America away from making alliances with foreign nations.

Public opinion grew against U.S. involvement in the League of Nation .They believed that the involvement with other countries might lead to another war , the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 affirmed that the European countries did understand nothing, neither from the world war I nor from the integration into the League of Nation (Clancey et al 205-206).

Coolidge also favored to keep the U.S. out of international affairs and of the League of Nations. He asserted that "we can best serve our country and most successfully discharge our

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

obligations to humanity by continuing to be openly and candidly, intensely and scrupulously, American'' (Spiller et al 206).

I.2.6. The Effect of The Great Depression on the Republican party

The Great Depression is described as economic recession that began in the United States; on October 29, 1929, following the crash of the U.S stock market. The prices in New York stock Exchange, Wall Street, dropped sharply. The Depression lasted nearly a decade and caused massive levels of poverty, hunger, homelessness, and unemployment. Additional effects included the collapse of Banks and factories (Johnson 47).

Economists argued that one of the factors which contributed to the crisis was government inaction. The Hoover's Administration did nothing to fix the crisis; rather Hoover took small actions that were ineffective and not enough to face the depression. Hoover's policies toward the depression came from his beliefs; he felt that government should play a limited role. When the depression swept America, Hoover refused the intervention of the federal government as well as government assistance programs. Indeed, he stated that both local and state governments should cooperate with each other to find a solution and asked Americans to be charitable (*Miller Center*).

With time, it was obvious that his policies were not wise decisions. The federal government had to intervene and to lend money to banks at low interest rates. Hoover signed the Smooth-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930, the tariff that isolated Americans further from foreign markets. The Act may have made life more difficult for most Americans. People blamed Herbert Hoover because he did not use federal money for direct aid to citizens. Furthermore, his opponent painted him as uncaring toward people. After the great depression people lost

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

confidence in the Republican candidates and the Republicans would not regain the presidency for the next two decades (Davis346-347).

I.2.7. Modern Republicans

In the election of 1952, the General Eisenhower (1953-1961) won the presidency. The new President Dwight D. Eisenhower radicalized the party and refused some conservative ideas as limiting social program. He was a moderate Republican who favored a mixture between liberal and conservative ideas. The first challenge he faced was the demand of the conservative Republicans who opposed Franklin's New Deal program and government direct intervention. They asked the new Republican president to remove the New Deal, limit the role of government, and reduce government spending.

Eisenhower first concern was ordinary people who favored the New Deal. He declared an approach known as Modern Republicanism which sought to balance government intervention with individual freedom. On one hand, Eisenhower did not eliminate the New Deal but further expand it by increasing the minimum wage, providing assistance to the ill and aged, creating the Department of Health and Education. On the other hand, he advocated corporate America as well as free enterprises by reducing taxes. Further, the federal government gave some of its oil lands to the states so that states could lease oil right to corporations (*Miller Center*).

Modern Republicans stood against segregation and discrimination based on race and color of skin. Eisenhower's era was a period of a civil right movement. African American intellectuals united and tried to challenge racism and inequalities. The civil right movement was a nonviolent protest, which began with the Montgomery Bus Boycott. It also shed light on issues as *Brown V. Broad of Education*.

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

Linda Brown had to travel 21 Block to her black school while she lived 3 blocks from a white elementary school. Thurgood Marshal was a lawyer who condemned segregation in schools and challenged ‘‘separate but equal’’. The Supreme Court made school segregation unconstitutional and promoted integration.

Rosa Bark was a member of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, who arrested for her refusal to give up her seat to a white man in public bus. Her arrest angered blacks who started the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955 under the leadership of Martin Luther King. The boycott lasted thirteen months and ended when the Supreme Court declared that segregation of busses was unconstitutional. Eisenhower kept silent; he did not oppose the court’s decisions (*US History* 285-286).

With the broke out of the cold war, the Republicans abandoned their isolationist ideas. They transformed toward internationalism. Eisenhower as president followed the path of both Truman and Franklin Roosevelt. He believed in Domino theory which stated that if one country fell to communism, its neighbors would soon follow. During his presidency, the conflict between the U.S. and USSR spread to different areas over the world for example Vietnam, Egypt, and Korea. To contain the spread of communism and gain the struggle, America used whatever way possible even military forces or nuclear weapon (Spiller et al 221).

I.2.8. The Transformation toward the Right Wing

I. 2. 8. 1. The First Signs of Modern Conservatism

In post Second World War, the Republican Party transformed to conservatism. Conservatism based on small government, lower taxes, individual freedom, and anti-communism. In the election of 1964, the Republicans chose the extreme conservative Barry

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

Goldwater as their candidate. During his presidential campaign, Goldwater declared his core beliefs without regard to what the most Americans wanted and this led to his catastrophic defeat to the Democratic candidate Lyndon B. Johnson. He admired small government, Goldwater voted against the civil right act not for the cause that he was racist but because he believed that it was the state's responsibility to end segregation.

Goldwater rejected social welfare programs and stated that he would combat communism and go to war in Vietnam. Because of his declarations, he lost the votes of both the soldiers and African Americans. True that Goldwater lost the election of 1964, but he set the platform for the conservative movement which reached its peak during the Reagan administration (Wagner 75-78).

I.2.7.2. Nixon's Stance toward Modern Conservatism

Richard Nixon (1969-1974) won the election of 1968 with support of the conservatives. They respected him for standing by Goldwater in 1964 and thought that he shared their concerns of anti-communism, small government and reduction of social programs. The surprise was that Nixon refused to govern from purely conservative perspective. In fact, some critics categorized Nixon as conservative while other considered him as liberal simply because of the contradiction which characterized his policies. Generally speaking, he was moderate. As conservative, he decreased the power and the influence of the federal government when he instituted a policy of revenue-sharing; federal money given to the states and could be spent any way the states wanted. As liberal, He extended social programs initiated by Lyndon Johnson through giving families of no income federal support (Garry 25).

Both Nixon and the conservatives regarded communism as a threat to the U.S. interests, but they had different visions on the proper means to deal with The Soviet Union. Whereas

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

Nixon sought to reduce tension with China and Soviet Union, the conservatives called for more aggressive attitude toward both countries. Nixon with his vice president Kissinger offered a strategy known as détente; a term given to an approach based on a relaxation of tension between USSR and U.S. The United States and the Soviet Union signed an agreements concerning arms control. The conservatives were convinced that the best way to defeat communism was to show power and strength. They considered Nixon's approach inadequate and defensive (Gilliland 34).

I.2.8.3. The Neo-Conservatism in the Republican Party through Reagan and Bush Policies

With the Republican Party domination of the USA government during the last decades of the twentieth century, conservatism continued to be the main articulator of the party's political principles whether concerning domestic or foreign affairs. Nevertheless, radicalism was being raised again in the Republican Party, precisely during the Presidential terms of the Republican Presidents; Ronald Reagan and George. W. Bush. As it is mentioned by Dueck, the situation in the US government began to change radically with the coming of "energized conservatives" in the Republican Party who would take the holds of power in the White House and the government. Consequently, they dominated the political arena and their policies were influential to the United States' foreign affairs and its relations with the whole world (190).

Indeed, the new radical group are conservatives but they are known to be "neo-conservatives". They opposed social policies and conventional liberal measures. Concerning the neo-conservatives' policies on economy, they supported massive government spending, or "supply-side", on the internal improvements, as well as free-market principles. Furthermore,

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

they do not care much about other issues such as poverty, soft power, environmental concerns, or international trade (Agnew and Rosenzweig 163).

Radicalism in the Republican Party was explicitly shown in their shift towards the strong military policies, and all of their focus was put on the military side. Those "Radical Republicans" considered the military actions as inevitable to ensure US powerful holds over the whole world. For Schulzinger, the neo-conservative foreign policy was based on expanding and strengthening America's military power. "Global unilateralism" was a basic tenant in the neo-conservatives' political agenda, mainly to present the United States of America a hegemonic power in the world (268).

According to Halper and Clarke, they expressed a hostile attitude over "nonmilitary multilateral institutions", "conventional diplomatic agencies", and "international treaties and agreements". They claimed that treaties and conventions would just "constrain and control American power." The neo-conservatives' political agendas strongly rejected terms such as "Good relations", "Deterrence", "containment", "realism", "collective security", "confidence building", "dialogue" and "consensus", which, according to them, seem to be ineffective in today's global scale (11-13).

Reagan's political neo-conservative attitudes in the Republican party brought him on the head of the party and then straight on to the Presidency of the United States of America during the years 1981-1989s (Agnew and Rosenzweig 163). During Ronald Reagan's Presidency, the Republican political platform aimed at enhancing the nation's economy and strengthening America's military power. To show the US power to the world and confront the Soviet Union and weaken its holds in Europe and over the world, President Reagan planned to build a strong US army to assure the nation's peace, but "peace through strength." Reagan's

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

promise to restore America's power and economic strength gathered around him all Americans who were willing to support him (Wagner 82).

It was claimed by Dueck that Ronald Reagan was known to be conservative leader in the Republican Party, however, with daring and bold measures. He strengthened the party more than it was ever since its formation when he went further to make coalitions and alliances with "previously Democratic southerners, evangelicals, culturally traditionalist Catholics, and national security hawks" (189). Indeed, the Reagan administration and neo-conservative policies were successful to an extent that they had been established as the Republican orthodoxy.

President Bush had followed the paths of his predecessor Republicans and their neo-conservative policies when he emphasized on the military side and foreign policies more than other issues. Perhaps Bush's most noticeable achievement, and indeed a decisive decision that changed the US stances towards foreign relations, was his declaration of war against terrorism. He publicly declared: "We do not need a permission slip to defend America" (Lakoff 4). During this period, the Republicans were enjoying a great triumph over the Democrats and dominating the US government (Wagner 88).

The Republican Party's radicalism and shift in main policies have been influential, not only in the party, but also to the United States domestic and foreign affairs. George Lakoff have discussed in his essay, "Don't Think of an Elephant", that with George W. Bush's Presidency the USA witnessed critical changes in foreign policy, especially with the rise of radical politicians who changed the United States of America's national security policy. Bush's radical policies and transforms were seem to be out of the right old path. Hence, Lakoff said: "We found ourselves living in a country where what was considered extreme just a decade ago was now national policy" (13).

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

Through this analysis to Ronald Reagan and George .W. Bush administrations and their use of neo-conservative policies, we notice that they disarrayed from the paths of the old Republican Party ideals and policies which were changed and affected by the rise of radicalism. According to Halper and Clarke, "the neo-conservatives have betrayed long-established Republican foreign policy principles in which pragmatism and balance play key roles and that, in doing so, they have poorly served the nation and the world beyond"(15).

Chapter One : The Republican Party and the Rise of Radicalism

Conclusion

The core beliefs of the Republican Party have changed dramatically since its foundation in Ripon according to different circumstances. The Republicans were once the liberal party, but with radical changes, they are now the conservative party. They began in 1854 under the leadership of prominent figures as Abraham Lincoln, who supported a strong central government and government spending. Radicalism has been part of the party from the beginning; the Radical Republicans emerged during the American Civil War and the Reconstruction era as proponents of the blacks. They opposed both Lincoln and Johnson; the aim was to give the blacks their basic rights as American citizens. In spite of hard efforts made by the radical republicans, blacks' rights stood just laws on papers.

The Republicans advocated their liberal views on the role of the government until the 1920s when presidents such as Calvin Coolidge and Warren Harding favored small government as well as free market. The party moved to more conservative stance during the presidency of Ronald Reagan, who set the standard of the conservative Republicans by supporting lower taxes, small government, the rights to carry arms, more individual freedom, a strong military opposition to communism and a smaller welfare state.

In Foreign affairs, the Republican policies toward specific issues were a mixture of isolationism and interventionism. Generally speaking, Republican presidents tried to establish the United States as power in the Western Hemisphere. With the rest of the world, Republicans transformed from isolationism to internationalism. Until the Second World War the Republican presidents refused to interfere in world affairs. Under the rule of ambitious presidents as Eisenhower, Reagan, and Bush, the United States took the leadership of the world.

**Chapter Two : The Radical Voice in Republican
Party :Donald Trump**

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

Introduction

The businessman, Real Estate developer, and Reality TV show star, Donald Trump is the Republican nominee to the 2016 US Presidential elections. Trump enters the presidential race with no political experience. Thus, no one has expected him to pass even the Republican primaries, especially with such figures in the Republican Party as Marco Rubio. However, he breaks these expectations and even wins over the Democratic nominee, Hillary Clinton, in historical presidential elections that ever happened in the USA.

Trump is known to be a "radical" and "extremist" who is intended to go on deep changes and reforms that he has been calling for along his campaign, and even promising to realize the change whatever the consequences would be. Indeed, his "radicalism" and other attitudes as to be "extremist" and "xenophobic" are among the main reasons that lead Donald Trump to win the sympathy of the majority of Americans, as well as the race to the White House.

In this chapter, we shed light on Donald Trump as businessman and TV show star, then as a politician who would be the president of the United States of America. Then, we are going to examine his "radicalism" through analyzing his top promises which he has been calling for in his campaign. Furthermore, we analyze how this radicalism along with many other internal and external reasons contributed in the rise and the win of Donald Trump.

Finally, we conclude with some reflections on some of his first 100 days policies as the President. To gather these information, we rely on the articles, Trump' speeches, TV shows and the large media coverage on Donald Trump. To analyze these data, we use the analytical and discourse analysis methods.

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

II.1. Donald Trump the Controversial Personality: from a Businessman to the President of the United States of America

During the course of the US Presidential elections, Donald Trump becomes the most controversial personality in America and gets the whole world attention. He is a businessman, real estate developer, reality television star, and recently the US President. 2015 was a turning period in his life as he became a famous personality, especially that his electoral campaign has received unprecedented media coverage and international attention.

Trump won the US Presidency in 2016, in a surprise victory against his Democratic opponent Hillary Clinton. The world was shocked as were the Americans, since the new president has no sufficient political experience. Beside his lack of political experience, the question is how he would avoid conflicts of interest with his presidency in the White House and his business activities.

II.1.1. Donald Trump the Successful Man from the Business World

According to Michael D'Antonio, in an interview with a CNN reporter, Donald Trump was an energetic and active child. Thus, he was sent to the New York Military Academy when he was 13 years old. This event was a turning in his life, since he was well disciplined, graduated from the Academy then from university, and built a successful business carrier(*CNN.com*).

In 1971, becoming in charge of the whole company which would be known as the Trump Organization, Trump was brilliant in finance and smart in managing business. He expanded the family's wealth into other various business activities, including building projects, real estate development, organizations, hotels, towers, casinos, and even a university, in addition to other business as beauty and sport organizations. His success is extended to trade and

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

commercial products, when he licensed his name as a trade mark even on a large number of projects and properties of other people (*The Biography.com*).

According to Cox, Trump is the director of Trump Hotels and Casino Resorts, in addition to be the proprietor of three Atlantic City casinos. Donald Trump, who is known as the New York real estate developer, is acknowledged by almost all Americans as great, successful and brilliant businessman in nowadays America. In 2004, Trump became more famous after his Reality TV show "The Apprentice" on the NBC channel, where he hosted aspiring entrepreneurs and offered the winners jobs and position in the Trump companies (40).

Trump's media carrier had been started early in his life. In 1975, he was on a TV show in Manhattan. D' Antonio said that Donald Trump has been a "theatrical character", who always attempted to gather attention and was the main figure in many newspapers in the United States of America. In fact, Donald has built good relationship with the press and was in the New York Times "as a rising tycoon". Nevertheless, Trump was sparkling in the media center of New York, and eventually being well known to everybody in America, and a famous personality on a national scale (*CNN.com*).

II.1.2. Trump's Way towards Politics

In 1987, after accomplishing many successful achievements in the business field, Trump turned his interest towards politics. He entered the world of politics through registering in the Democratic Party prior to 1987. However, he changed his party's affiliation many times since 1988, when he adopted to the Republican Party until 1999 as he affiliated to the Reform party. Two years later, Trump reconnected his membership to the Democratic Party for nine years, to come back in 2009 to the Republican Party. In 2011, Trump decided to be independent, but

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

for just five months, when he finally decided to be Republican in 2012 till the present day (*Wikipedia.com*).

Donald Trump ambitions in politics were more than being mere politician, but to be in high offices as a state Governor or US president. Indeed, along his political affiliations within many parties, Trump was involved in electoral races to be the Governor of New York in 2006 and 2014, as well to the Presidency of the United States of America in 1988, 1999, 2004, and 2012 (*Ibid*).

In May 2016, Donald Trump became the Republican nominee for the Presidency of the United States of America. In his article "Too much or too little democracy? Some reflections on Democracy for Realists", Mann stated that Trump is "arguably the most unlikely, unsuitable, and unpopular presidential nominee of a major party in American history." He would not be a successful president of USA, mainly because he is a businessman, a reality TV show star and has no political experience. Trump is lacking the skills to be fully capable of managing the White House and being in charge of the presidency of the whole American nation.

In an article that is entitled "The Politics of Business, and the Business of Politics, in the World of Donald J. Trump", Coates wrote that Donald Trump is considered to be a great businessman, and his skills in world of business would be reflected as another success in the political field along his presidency in the White House. For Trump, Washington DC is corrupted by the activities of politicians, and he went further to label them as "stupid". He claimed that those persons in public offices failed in running their works properly, mainly because they are politicians with no skills, likewise businessmen.

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

Along his presidential campaign, Donald Trump promised to fight corruption in the capital Washington. DC and suggested to remove those corrupted politicians from their holds and appoint persons who have a successful business career, even if they had no prior political involvement. Trump considered not being involved in politics as strength not weakness.

II.1.3. Donald Trump the Authoritarian Leader

One of the main reasons for Trump's success in the presidential elections is that he tends to be "authoritarian". This is a growing political group within American politics who expect people to obey their rules and policies with a rejection of the outsider especially if he threatens their security and interests. Mac Williams, a researcher who studies authoritarianism, claimed that the authoritarian voter "is characterized by a desire for order and a fear of outsiders" (Taub 2).

In her book "The Authoritarian Dynamic", Stenner stated that many authoritarians reject the outsider such as Muslims or Hispanic emigrants, especially when they are endangered by such strangers. In addition, they refuse any changes to the conventional norms of the society, such the increasing diversity within population, or any other change that they believe will profoundly alter the social order which they want to protect (113).

Taub argued that most of Republicans support the Authoritarian philosophy. She gave arguments to her claim when she said that in South Carolina, the polls has shown that 75 of Republican voters approved emigration reforms and the exclusion of Muslims from the United States, a third of voters support banning gays and lesbians from the country, and 20 claimed that Lincoln had taken the wrong decision when freeing the slaves(4).

When authoritarians feel insecurity, whether socially or physically, they would aspire for a strong leader who promises to take any actions and extreme policies to protect them from

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

outsiders and their threats. Donald Trump seems to be the perfect leader who has the typically basic authoritarian leadership characteristics; to be simple, powerful and punitive. These authoritarian features helped to the success of Donald Trump. This group adopts radical and even extreme ideas and policies that divided the party's members and created a new political party that is totally different of the early established Republican Party. Consequently, the rise of American authoritarianism within the Republican Party is about to bring deep changes which seems to have last longing effects after the elections.

II.1.4.Donald Trump for the Presidency of the United States of America

All Americans firmly believe in American "Exceptionalism". This idea has a powerful sounding in articulating politics in the USA. Donald Trump attracted the American voters when he used as his campaign's slogan: "Make America Great Again." Trump called for and promised to restore the great and glorious past of the great nation of America when he publically said: "we're not a strong country anymore"... "We will have so much winning if I get elected, that you may get bored with winning." Trump is clearly stating if he would be the president, he will make America exceptional again (Restad 4).

Indeed, Donald Trump uses the sentence "Make America Great Again" as a slogan to his campaign to be a powerful reason for his success, mainly because he knew well that Americans want the change to be done right in this time and to restore the glorious past of their nation. Simply, they traditionally and strongly believe that America is "exceptional" and should be great. Trump even wrote a book of "How to Make America Great Again", in which he detailed how he would make America great again. He mentioned:

"...I want to bring America back, to make it great and prosperous again, and to be sure we are respected by our allies and feared by our

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

adversaries. It's time for action...In this book, I outline my vision to make America great again, including: how to fix our failing economy; how to reform health care...; how to rebuild our military ...; how to immediately bring jobs back to America by closing our doors to illegal immigrants, and pressuring businesses to produce their goods at home. This book is my blueprint for how to make America great again. It's not hard. We just need someone with the courage to say what needs to be said."

Donald Trump's first goal is to "make America great again". He is willing to make deep reforms and strong policies to change what Americans need to change in America. To fulfill his program, Trump is intending to do even extreme policies and actions particularly which are concerning foreign affairs, and crucial issues in deep America.

Many politicians, whether Republicans or Democrats, are waiting with fear the consequences of Trump's policies and decisions concerning the different issues locally or internationally. Any unexpected wrong decisions would stir the public rage and worsen the relationship between people and the government (O'Neill and Landgraf 20).

The president-elect Donald Trump said in his Victory Speech: "I will be President for all Americans and this is so important for me"..."Every single American will have the opportunity to realize his or her full potential. The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no long" (Sky News).

After Donald Trump has been succeeding into the presidency of the United States of America, the whole world was shocked as he promised to bring about radical policies which would result in influential consequences. He is planning to build a great wall in the borders of

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

Mexico, to deport all illegal immigrants, and to ban all Muslims from entering America (Eiermann).

In their article "Donald Trump's Win Starts a New Era for Republicans" that was published in the Wall Street Journal on November 9th 2016, Epstein and Hook stated that the President-Elect Donald Trump starts a new era in the Republican party with his radical ideologies, and creates an emergency time within the party's walls making his members to seek a position in its holds as well in the government. He overcomes the Bush and Clinton political governments with almost totally different policies. Since he promised to radicalize the party's conservative ideology, many Republicans stood against Trump's proposals especially which are concerning trade and foreign policy.

II.2.Trump's Campaign and Top Promises

In June 16, 2015, Trump officially announced his intention to run for president on the Republican ticket for the 2016 elections at Trump Tower in New York City. He joined a list of several candidates who declared their desire to struggle for the Republican nomination. Trump was an exceptional candidate. He was the hero of the US media thanks to his inflammatory remarks about all the current local or international issues(Diamond).

Trump's slogan throughout his campaign was "Make America Great Again". In fact, the slogan is not a Trump's invention; it was used before by Ronald Reagan. The four words of his slogan carry a strong message; Trump expressed his nostalgia for days ago where America has seen progress and prosperity, he also stressed that America today suffers from deterioration, and finally he called people to cooperate with him in order to bring back the strength of America, America's prestige and, above all, America's prosperity (Engel).

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

Psychologically speaking, the Trump's appeal was especially directed to those who suffer poverty, deprivation, and lost their faith in the American dream as well as the American greatness. Eoghan McDermott, a director of communication clinic, stated that Trump's slogan was appealed to people who "felt they were becoming marginalized under Obama (Barry).

Donald Trump led unique campaign. He visited different places in America and delivered unexpected speeches. What characterized the Trump's campaign was his absolute openness, his racist ideas, his criticisms of many US politicians, and his angry tone. Throughout his campaign, Trump transformed America into the dark place full of corruption, inequality, crimes, and terrorists. His aim was to exploit people's anger from politicians and to convince them that he would be their savior. George Lakoff, Director of the Center for the Neural Mind and Society, stated in his article "Understanding Trump": "People are angry and he speaks to their anger. People don't think much of Congress and want a non-politician".

Trump repeated the phrase "I am your voice" in his speeches. In fact, Billionaire Trump used emotion as a weapon to gain public support. As if he had tried to deliver a message consisting of two parts; the first part stated that he was capable of understanding the plight of ordinary people, their fears and wishes, the second one asked them for their trust as well as support (Kirby).

When Trump was delivering his speeches, he did not adhere to what was written. He often transformed into insulting his rivals, either from the Democratic Party or even from his Party. During his struggle for republican nominations, Trump humiliated the Republican candidates as low energy Jeb. Later, he turned toward Hillary Clinton and described her as crooked Hillary. Moreover, Trump was not ashamed of insulting Republican leaders just

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

because they opposed him. He declared that George W. Bush had lied over the issue of mass destruction in Iraq (Lee).

Throughout both his primary and general election campaign, Trump declared his thoughts on immigration, trade deals, health care, social security, jobs and terrorism. Despite criticism, Trump insisted on his ideas and said that he would try to apply them if he became the next president. Here are some of the plans he promised to do if he wins the elections:

II.2.1. Building a Great Wall

In his candidacy announcement at Trump Tower, Donald Trump stated his view on immigrants, he described Mexican immigrants as “criminals” and “rapists”. According to Trump, it is necessary to build a wall along the southern U.S. borders in order to save America’s borders and put an end to illegal immigration (Qiu). During his presidential announcement campaign in June 16, 2016, he declared:

When Mexico sends its people, they are not sending their best. They are not sending you. They are not sending you. They are sending people that have lots of problems, and they are bringing those problems with us, they are bringing drugs and they are bringing crime, they’re rapists, and some are good people. (*Time .com*)

When the Republican candidate delivered his speech, he tried to make a connection with his audiences. He frequently made eye contact with his audiences who stand in different corners. More than that, he pointed at them by using his right hand when he said "they are not sending you" as a way to confirm that his message is addressed to them who are the best people. His use of the right hand indicates the extreme right wing that seeking for changes and ending immigration.

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

In Phoenix, Arizona in August 31, 2016, with the aim of giving more clarification on illegal immigration, Trump started his speech by referring to his meeting with the Mexican president Enrique Pena Nieto and their agreement "on the importance of ending the illegal flow of drugs, cash, guns, and people across our border, and to put the cartels out of business " (*New York Times.com*).

A summary of what he said in the speech can be mentioned in two key points; his plan to fight illegal immigration as well as the negative effects of immigrants on Americans' social and economic life. First, He pressed his hard-line stance toward illegal immigration by declaring his intention to deport undocumented immigrants to their original countries.

The second point Trump spoke about was the harmful effects of illegal immigrants on American. Trump spoke at length and described illegal immigrants as a source of corruption, crimes, drugs, illegal acts. Moreover, they are the direct reason behind the desperation and destruction of American families. To strengthen his position, he relied on concrete example by mentioning for "innocent Americans" who were victims of illegal immigrants for instance Grant Ronnebeck from Arizona, Sarrah Root, and Kate Steinle. In an attempt to highlight the status of many American families, he said:" Countless number of innocent lives has been stolen because our politicians have failed in their duty to secure our borders I have met with many of the great parents who lost their children to sanctuary cities and open borders So many, many people. So sad" (Ibid)

Economically speaking, Trump accused illegal immigrants of stealing jobs and wages from American employees "most illegal immigrants are lower skilled workers with less education, who compete directly against vulnerable American workers ...they are hurting a lot of our people that can not get jobs under any circumstances" (Ibid).

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

II.2.2.Creating Millions of Jobs

Trump focused heavily on the concerns of people in his campaign. One of the most remarkable promises he made was his pledge to be the greatest job- producing president in the United States history (Qiu). He presented his plan in detail and pledged to create millions of jobs through the following potential measures:

II.2.2.1.Cutting Taxes

Like most Republicans, Trump sees tax cuts as essential to push the economy forward and improve citizens' lives. His tax plan proposes tax cuts for individuals and businesses. The Republican candidate confirmed that the companies left the country due to high taxes. By reducing the corporate tax rate from 35 to 15 percent, Trump will encourage many companies and new factories to open its doors for American workers while at the same time improving the incomes of worker (Flitter).

II.2.2.2. Bringing Jobs Back through Trade Reforms

Throughout his speeches, Trump clearly wants to end some free trade agreements. The billionaire considered both The North America Free Trade Agreement and the Trans-Pacific Partnership as a source of damage on the US economy and job opportunities. He promised to renegotiate the first agreement if elected president and withdraw from the second one (Crieg, Mullery, and Yellin).

The North America Free Trade Agreement is a trade agreement made between the governments of Mexico, Canada, and the United States for the purpose of eliminating trade barriers, tariffs and increasing investment among them. It became effective In January1, 1994, during the presidency of Bill Clinton. Thanks to the agreement, some American companies

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

are shifting to Mexico because of cheap labor and causing a massive loss to the United States in term of job opportunities. The rest of the companies are threatening US workers to leave whenever they ask for higher wages (Kimberly).

Addressing the Michigan crowd on 8 August 2016, Trump stated: "Michigan lost more than 1 in 4 of its manufacturing jobs since NAFTA. As you know, NAFTA was signed by President Bill Clinton. It was supported by Hillary Clinton" (*Time .com*). After that, the Republican candidate tried to support his claim when he said "In April 2016, Ford motor company announced plans to invest \$ 1.6 billion constructing an auto plant in Mexico" (Ibid).

The billionaire visited the state again and delivered his last speech before the general election on 8 November 2016. He pledged to bring companies back to the region and with them jobs "we are going to bring back the automobile industry to Michigan, bigger and better and stronger than before" (Giaritelli).

Donald Trump made ending Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal a key promise of his campaign. It is an expanded version of NAFTA signed by Barack Obama and the fruit of seven years' discussion between the United States and eleven members, including Japan, Malaysia, Vietnam, Singapore, Brunei, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Mexico, Chile, and Peru. The agreement based on lowering tariffs and trade barriers between the members. The main aims of the agreement are to challenge China and its growing role in Asia (Ramirez).

He promised to put an end to the agreement due to its negative effects on American workers and manufacturers. Trump expressed his dissatisfaction because the agreement Just like NAFTA leads to the travel of American jobs overseas. He appealed to the American workers and promised if elected president, he would seek for fairer trade deals. In Michigan, he continued: "Just imagine how many more automobile jobs will be lost if Hillary gets her

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

wish and approves the TPP. That is why I have announced we will withdraw from the deal before that can ever happen" (*Time. com*).

It seems that Trump revealed his positions on trade agreements in manufacturing states as Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. These states have lost a lot since the signing of the NAFTA agreement.

II.2.2.3.Rebuilding Infrastructures

In a number of his speeches, Trump strongly criticized the current state of infrastructures in America. He compared the roads and airports of New York as if they belonged to a country from the third world and not for the first power in the world. Contrary to the principles of the Republican Party, He promised big government spending to repair roads, Airports, bridges. Therefore, the restoration process will provide thousands of jobs for citizens (Ferris).

II.2.3. Banning Muslims from Entering the US

In order to gain broad public support, Trump played the role of protector in his campaign. In his speech in New York in December 7, 2015, Trump expressed the need to ban all Muslims from entering the United States. According to Trump, he has no personal feeling against Muslims and he is not advocating religious discrimination toward Muslims and Islam. His main target is to ensure the US security. Trump painted Muslims as a threat to the American security and supported his claim by referring to San Bernando shooting (Diamond).

For Trump, the reasons for Muslims' hatred of Americans are unknown and until the Americans understand these motives, American leaders should stand in front of the threat "Until we are able to determine and understand this problem and the dangerous threat it poses,

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

our country cannot be the victims of horrendous attacks by people that believe only in jihad, and have no sense of reason or respect for human life" (Horton).

Moreover, in a television interview with CNN, Trump asserted that Muslims have an inner sense of hatred toward America. Trump made no distinction between the radical Muslims and Muslims since both of them belong to the same religion. He crossed all the boundaries when he accused Islam of being a religion with a great enmity and hatred for America "I think Islam hates us" . He added: "We have to be very vigilant. We have to be very careful. And we can't allow people coming into this country who have this hatred of the United States" (Schleifer).

Trump said all these racist attitudes, forgetting the fact that there are also American Muslims. His position on Muslims may make their lives difficult in America, the country of freedom and tolerance. On one hand, Trump claimed he will seek to serve the Americans and on the other hand, he deprived some Americans the right to a secure life even before his inauguration as president.

II.2.4.Repealing Obama Care

Obama Care, officially called the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, is a healthcare reform law signed by Barack Obama in 2010. The main aim of the program is to provide universal health insurance to American citizens at low cost. It is regarded as the most important reform of the health-care system since 1965. The system bases on three main principles; it requires companies to provide health insurance for its employees if they have more than fifty workers, obliges citizens to insure themselves by imposing fine in case of violation, and gives federal aids for those who are not able insure themselves (Kimberly).

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

Although the goal of Obama Care is to provide care for all American citizens, many of them expressed their displeasure and rejection of the program. For them, the law restricts their liberties as they are obliged to insure themselves (Luhby).

From the beginning, the law faced Republican opposition; they rejected it during the congressional vote in 2010. They justified their opposition by stating that the program leads to the direct intervention of the federal government and increase government spending. They considered the law as unfair since it imposes higher taxes on the hard workers from one hand and provides free health care for another group on the other hand.

The Republicans claimed also that the law affects both production and workers directly. Compelling companies to insure its workers will reduce profit consequently; companies will depend only on a limited number of workers. The Republican candidate agreed with them and promised to replace the law with program less expensive and more comprehensive (Marty).

II.2.5.Maintaining Social Security

The beginning of social security in America dates back to the era of the president Franklin D. Roosevelt, who enacted Social Security Act in 1935 to help the unemployed and the elderly. Today, different categories benefit from social security, for instance the retirees, disabled workers, spouses and widows of beneficiaries (*Whole History*).

In her article "Donald Trump's Top ten campaign promises", Linda Qiu explained that in a discussion between the candidate Donald Trump and House Speaker Paul Ryan, Trump said "There's no way a Republican is going to beat a Democrat when the Republican is saying, 'We're going to cut your Social Security' and the Democrat is saying, 'We're going to keep it and give you more'".

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

Unlike his Republican rivals, Trump reassured the American people of retaining social security if elected president. Throughout his speeches, he asserted that it is unfair to cancel social security. In June 13, 2015, he told a crowd at Phoenix: “We’re going to save your Social Security without killing it like so many people want to do” (*The Wall Street Examiner*).

In February 13, 2016, Trump delivered a speech at South Carolina:

I’m going to save Social Security. You have tremendous waste, fraud and abuse. We have in Social Security thousands of people over 106 years old. You know they don’t exist. There’s tremendous waste, fraud and abuse, and we’re going to get it. But we’re not going to hurt the people who have been paying into Social Security their whole life and then all of a sudden they’re supposed to get less. (*The CBC News .com*)

From the lines above, it’s obvious that trump intended to keep social security by fighting fraud on social security money and through payroll taxes. But the question that arises is whether trump would be able to honor the pledge with lower taxes.

II.2.6.Fighting the Islamic State In Iraq and Syria

The issue of terrorism is an important matter for Americans and American politicians. ISIS and how to put an end to terrorism were a key point in Trump’s campaign. At the start of his campaign, he accused both the Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton of being the real founders of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (Corasaniti).

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

At a rally in Sunrise, Florida, In August 2016, Trump said “In fact, in many respects, you know they honor President Obama, ISIS is honoring President Obama. He is the founder of ISIS. He is the founder of ISIS. He’s the founder. He founded ISIS” (Ibid).

He added: “And I would say the co-founder would be crooked Hillary Clinton. Co-founder. Crooked Hillary Clinton”. Trump justified his claim by saying that because of the wrong decisions of the Democrats and their withdrawal from Iraq, ISIS controlled the region and began to expand its influence (Ibid).

Speaking to the crowd of Ohio, Trump began by talking about America’s achievement and the success of its leaders in combating Nasism, Fascism, and Communism. After that, he transformed to blame the Obama’s administration for the widespread of terrorism. Thanks to Obama’s intervention in countries such as Libya and Syria, the Middle East has become under the control of ISIS.

Then, the billionaire revealed his position toward war with Iraq as ordinary citizen when he stated " I was an opponent of the Iraq war from the beginning- a major difference between me and my opponent .Though I was a private citizen...I expressed my private doubts about the invasion" (*Politico.com*) .

It seems that Trump tried to show his intelligence and wisdom to attract his audience .His words are expressive and mentioning for a wise man who knows how to deal with difficult situations. He asked people to give him a chance because good decisions are not made only by politicians, but an ordinary man like him can be also a good decision maker.

The Republican candidate discussed his plan to fight terrorism. First, he suggested cutting off funding for terrorism by seizing oil. For Trump, the United States has the right to take the oil due to its material and human losses in the war against terrorism. He stated:" I have long

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

said that we should have kept the oil in Iraq-another area where my judgment has been proven correct. According to CNN, ISIS made as much \$500 million in oil sales in 2014 alone, fueling and funding its reign of terror. If we had controlled the oil, we could have prevented the rise of ISIS in Iraq (Ibid).

In addition, he stressed the need to cooperate with allies to eliminate terrorist organizations, for example with Egypt, Jordan. According to Trump, Russia has gone a long way in fighting terrorism in Syria and America has to support her.

Finally, he moved on to something more important to Americans, which is how to fight terrorism within the US territories. Trump stressed that stopping terrorism can be achieved only through banning Muslims from entering the United States. He expressed his dissatisfaction with the Clinton's position and her support for welcoming the Syrian refugees.

Trump argued that the prevention of Syrian refugees from entering US is necessary to save the country. According to Trump, there are individuals who are involved in ISIS, they enter America as refugees and then pose threat to the security of the nation (Ibid).

II.3.How Did Donald Trump Win the 2016 US Presidential Elections?

A year ago, no one expected that Donald Trump may win the American presidency. His success was a shock to most Americans and the world at large. During his campaign, Trump turned to be a television star thanks to his unexpected actions and comments. The American media as well as political analysts considered him as an aggressive character who knows nothing about politics.

Trump challenged everyone and proved that he is an artful. Initially, He defeated sixteen Republican candidates and took the Republican nomination. Then, he ended the dream of the

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

democratic candidate Hillary Clinton and became the forty fifth president of the United States. Political analysts and reporters studied the factors that helped Trump's rise and tried to find a convincing explanation for his success. They tried to answer questions as: who is to blame for the rise of Trump? The Republicans, the Democrats, or other contributing factors?

II.3.1.The Internal Factors for Trump's Rise

The Republican Party is responsible for the success of Donald Trump. In 2016, an unprecedented number of Republican candidates participated in the primaries. They all ran out of the presidential race one by one. Trump defeated sixteen Republican candidates, including "Low Energy" Jeb Bush,"Little "Marco Rubio,""Lying" Ted Cruz by winning a majority of the primaries and caucuses. As an anti-establishment candidate, he won the hearts of many Republican voters, for example, in Indiana and Michigan (Jopson and Savastopulo).

II.3.1.1 The Interior Division of the Republican Party

Politicians and Analysts agreed that several factors within the Republican Party itself helped Trump to win the nomination. Analysts and media confirmed that Trump had no chance of winning' the party votes because of his aggressive attitudes and lack of political experience. Leaders of the Party as well as candidates were convinced that Trump would have no effects on the Republicans and they relied on analysis by senior analysts in Washington. At the beginning of the race, the intention was not to overthrow Trump, but rather to fight each other's (Larison).

Pascal-Emmanuel Gorbey in his article "Why the conservatives failed to stop Trump " suggested that the internal tension inside the party was a decisive reason that paved the way for trump to get the nomination. Instead of the Republicans stood beyond one candidate to

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

combat Trump and his radical ideas, different factions fought each other to win the nomination. No one took actions to fight Trump.

According to the writer: "every one of the viable candidates represented a faction of the Republican Party: evangelicals for Ted Cruz, upper-middle-class conservatives for Marco Rubio, establishment for Mitt Romney. And these factions increasingly can't stand one another". Even when the party realized Trump's seriousness, there was no candidate who is acceptable to all factions.

II.2.3.2. Who Behind Trump Success? The Tea Party or the Establishment?

When Trump began his campaign and put forward his hostile ideas, many politicians blamed the Tea Party movement. They saw that Trump was constructed by the movement and the Republican opposition to Obama. Harry Reid, Senate minority leader said "Republicans have spent the past eight years stocking the fire of resentment and hatred, building Trump piece by piece"(Carney).

Under the Leadership of Sarah Palin and Ron Paul, this movement emerged strongly on the US political scene after the financial crisis of 2009 that exhausted the US economy, and the government had to intervene in an unprecedented way to support banks and companies. The movement attacked the President Barack Obama who raised taxes to rescue the US economy. The first goals of the movement were to reduce taxes as well as government spending.

In addition, Both Trump and the party activists demanded immigration reforms and the abolition of Obama's Health Care. Although leaders of the Tea Party favored Ted Cruz, a number of them liked Trump and believed that he was the best to defeat the establishment as well as to fulfill their demands (Ball).

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

The former leaders of the Tea Party defended the movement and insisted that the establishment also contributed to the rise of Trump. For Eric Erickson, if there was not much discontent and anger from the Republican leaders, the Republican voters would not vote for Trump. Over the years, the establishment made promises that have not been accomplished. As a result, Republican voters became convinced that the establishment's appeals are just claims to reach power and would never be fulfilled (Ibid).

By introducing himself as an outsider, Trump attracted a number of Republican voters; particularly the blue Collar white Americans. This category constitutes a large proportion of the Republican voters. After many years of marginalization, they found someone who could speak their language and understand their plight. Trump directed his message to this group and was able to defeat the Republicans as well as the Democrats thanks to them.

In 1860 the Republican Party was established as a reaction against the institution of slavery and for the promotion of black rights. However, in 1960 the same party reached power by declaring the opposite direction. When the civil right revolution expanded over the country, the Republicans did not advocate it. Whereas Goldwater refused to vote for the act of 1964 simply because he opposed big government, Lyndon Johnson issued acts to end segregation in school, workplaces, universities, and restaurants. So, the Republicans attracted southerners while the Blacks became supporters of the Democrat (Gerstle).

From the Bush era until the present day, the daily lives of the blue white collars have deteriorated. The Republicans favored free trades and the interest of corporations. A large number of them voted in the Republican primaries after long time just to ensure the rise of their candidate Trump. The billionaire gave them hope for a better future when he promised them to bring back jobs and reduce taxes (Noah).

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

Immigration is another factor that is important for the Republican voters either they are activists in the Tea Party movement or the blue white collar. In an article entitled "How Donald Trump won the nomination", John Cassidy argued that Trump prepared his agenda according to the appeals the Republican voters.

Anthony Zurcher in his article "Five Reasons Trump Still Tops the Polls" agreed with Cassidy and claimed that Donald Trump succeeded in attracting the Republican voters by focusing on sensitive points as immigrants. Zurcher stated "According to CNN survey, 63 percent of the Republicans support deporting 11 million illegal immigrant, 23% back Mr. Trump".

II.3.2.The External Factors Behind Donald Trump's Win

Donald Trump's rise was articulated by the social and the economic changes which were pervading the American scene during the last recent years. The growing population and the increasing flows of emigrants to the American lands have urged Americans to protect themselves and their interests from the outsiders or foreigners who would threaten even their security. Economically, the white working class has been also moved to protect their interests from the new comers who would compete them in the market of work.

Indeed, the Republican nominee Donald Trump was smarter than his opponents in dealing with the American voters when he has started with an influential idea that was the base of his campaign; Americans want the change. He knew that despite the fact that his ideas are known to be extreme, they were influential and more favorable to Americans. Trump has pledged to the American people, if he would be their president, to make reforms in immigration policies. In his speeches, Donald Trump declared that he is going to build a wall on the Mexican border and deport 11 million unauthorized immigrants. The white working class was also

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

attracted by his promises when he announced to tear up free trade agreements and bring back manufacturing jobs (Gaughan).

Indeed, Trump's radical policies, whether in the Republican Party or in all what is concerning the United States of America, and his militant attitudes towards Muslims and other foreigners has stimulated Americans to vote in favor of the Republican nominee. The Russian Hacks to the US electoral campaign also played a major role in the triumph of Donald Trump.

II.3.2.1. Islamophobia, America's War on Terror and the Radical Islamic Speech

Donald Trump said:

Now, a different threat challenges our world: Radical Islamic Terrorism...We cannot let this evil continue. Nor can we let the hateful ideology of Radical Islam – its oppression of women, gays, children, and nonbelievers – be allowed to reside or spread within our own countries. We will defeat Radical Islamic Terrorism, just as we have defeated every threat we have faced in every age before.

(Understanding the Threat: Radical Islam and the Age of Terror)

Recently, many experts argued that for the majority of Americans Islam has been always associated to terrorism who threatened the US security and caused a lot of pain to the American people who would never forget the horrible events of 11 September. Donald Trump used this feeling of hatred towards Islam, or Islamophobia, as a winning card in his campaign by stimulating the American voter through the calling of fighting Islam and the Islamic State. Since the first days of his campaign, the President-Elected Donald Trump promised to fight Radical Islam which is the main source of terrorism.

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

According to Ramakrishna in his article "Radical Islamic Terrorism: What's in a Name?", the wide spread of the terror group ISIS all around the world has been the main reason for the increasing feelings of Islamophobia. Trump's administration has put this reason as an argument to start the war against the "Radical Islamic Terrorism". Trump is going to focus on strong military strategies that would defeat the Islamic State in 30 days and to "eradicate radical Islamic terrorism from the face of the earth" (1-5).

Before and after 11 September terrorist attacks in USA, Muslims in America have been suffering great hostility and an increasing militant attitude from Americans. Recently, Islamophobia and violence towards Muslims have increased in great rates in America, including murders, physical and verbal assaults, threats against persons and institutions, and many other acts of vandalism and destruction.

This scary increase of hatred towards Muslims is mainly due to Donald Trump's announcements of many "anti-Muslim statements" since the early days of his presidential campaign, especially with the rise of a lot of terror attacks in many places in the world between 2015 and 2016, including France, Germany, and Belgium, as well as USA. Rather than calling for tolerance and global peace, Donald Trump's "Islamophobic Political Rhetoric" even more fueled the problem of Islamophobia and raised the victims of violence among Muslims, and even other minorities, in the United States of America (Abdelkader 6-25).

Political analysts and experts claim that politicians and statesmen in America are using the Paris attacks as a pretext to justify their Islamophobic speeches, and anti-Muslim extremist attitudes. Anti-Muslim extremists strongly believe that Islam and terror are partners in what they call "civilization jihad", and they have to fight this threatening phenomenon before it pervade the American lands.

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

Cherkaoui stated in "The Mediatized Islamophobia in America: What is Beyond Othering Muslims?", that Trump is raising his Islamophobic speech to be even more militant when he once declared in a convention of the Republican Party in Ohio: "radical Islam is anti-woman, anti-gay, and anti-American. I refuse to allow America to become a place where gay people, Christian people, and Jewish people are the targets of persecution and intimidation by radical Islamic preachers of hate and violence". It is clearly obvious that Donald Trump's success to reach the White House is related to his Islamophobic slogans and his extremist ideas towards Islam as the new "Other" and the original stem of terrorism (4, 5).

Trump declared in his address of "Understanding the Threat: Radical Islam and the Age of Terror" that:

A review by the U.S. Senate Immigration Subcommittee has identified 380 foreign-born individuals charged with terrorism or terrorism-related offenses between 9/11 and 2014, and many more since then. We also know that ISIS recruits refugees after their entrance into the country – as we have seen with the Somali refugee population in Minnesota.

He promised Americans to protect them from Radical Islam terrorism, and to ban Muslims, who are causing terror in the world and would threaten them, to enter the United States of America. He publicly declared: "for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on" (Cherkaoui 5).

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

The president-elect Donald Trump confirms his people that he will assure his promises and to take new immigration policies in the next few days of his Presidency. He said in "Understanding The Threat: Radical Islam and the Age of Terror":

To put these new procedures in place, we will have to temporarily suspend immigration from some of the most dangerous and volatile regions of the world that have a history of exporting terrorism...We will stop processing visas from those areas until such time as it is deemed safe to resume based on new circumstances or new procedures.

Abdelkader argued that Americans express hatred towards Muslims more than other religious groups, mainly, due to the fact that the majority of them often relate such views of "Radical Islam" or "Islamic terrorism" to the Muslim community and the religion of Islam. One of Trump supporters once said: "We have a problem in this country. It's called Muslims. Our current president is one ... we have training camps growing where they want to kill us ... when can we get rid of them?"(26).

As Americans fear the threat of Muslims' terrorism, they would vote for policies that would protect them and keep Muslims out of their country. Trump was the best choice to bring about these actions into reality. Thus, we can say that Islamophobia was another winning card that Donald Trump has used to enter the White House.

II.3.2.2. Immigration Reforms to Make America Great Again

With the increasing rise of Islamophobia, which the president elect Donald Trump has fueled from the early stages of his campaign, new immigration policies are going to be taken on the excuse of protecting America from the outsiders and their terrorism.

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

For Cherkaoui, as it is written in his article "The Rise of Right-wing Politics in America", terrorism, white supremacy, extreme right wing, nativist, and isolationist politics are considered to be the pillars to these immigration reforms, that Trump promised to do. These reforms are addressed not just for Muslims, but for all other illegal immigrants, as Mexicans, to whom Trump has promised to make a large and force deportation policies, in addition to build a wall at the length of the U.S Mexican borders (8).

One of president elect Donald Trump's immigration reforms is his call to expel the already living Muslims in America, and prevent any new Muslim comers. On January 27, 2017, the President Donald Trump announced Executive Order No. 13,769: "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States." On March 6, 2017, he announced another Executive Order, No. 13,780: "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States" (The United States District Court).

These Orders are addressed to ban temporarily the entry of emigrants, as "refugees, visa holders or immigrants", from specific countries: Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen into the United States. The Order has made an exception for diplomats or government officials of those countries. This action also has to suspend visa demands from these countries or any other lands that seem to have risk or threat the US security (Sidley).

Concerning these new policies, Donald Trump carried on his address "Understanding The Threat: Radical Islam and the Age of Terror" that: "...To put these new procedures in place, we will have to temporarily suspend immigration from some of the most dangerous and volatile regions of the world that have a history of exporting terrorism...We will stop processing visas from those areas until such time as it is deemed safe to resume based on new circumstances or new procedures."

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

In his article "Deportations to Begin" that was published in The Boston Globe Sunday, April 9th, 2017, the writer mentioned that Donald Trump "calls on Congress to fund a "massive deportation force" by tripling the number of federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents", in order to complete the full expel of all immigrants within two years. The writer suggests that the new president will take other measures concerning his immigration reforms as to change or repeal many of ex President Obama's executive actions and policies on immigration, for instance, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, and Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents.

Trump opposed President Barack Obama's executive actions on immigration which gave some privileges to immigrants who "have resided in the United States for a number of years and either came as children or are the parents of U.S. citizens or permanent resident children". Another immigration measure that would be taken by President Donald Trump is to put an end to birthright citizenship for children whom their parents were not born in America (Erickson and Kelley).

One of the main reform policies that Donald Trump is willing to perform concerning immigration is to build a wall on the Mexican borders. This plan is designed mainly to protect the southern part of the United States of America from Mexican illegal immigrants. "Mexico is sending "rapists" who are "bringing drugs" and "bringing crime", Donald Trump says (Erickson and Kelley).

In his immigration reform paper "Immigration Reform That Will Make America Great Again" Trump writes:

A nation without borders is not a nation. There must be a wall across the southern border"... "I would build a great wall, and nobody builds

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively. I will build a great, great wall on our southern border.

And I will have Mexico pay for that wall. Mark my words.

Trump is going to finance this great wall by the money of Mexicans who are illegally living in the American lands, and raising the charge of visas for both Mexican diplomats and businessmen who are running property within the United States of America. Despite the fact that "building a wall across the southern border of the United States could cost upwards to \$25 billion with an annual maintenance expense of roughly \$700 million", Americans approved Trump's policy and supported him in his campaign (McIntosh and Bogden).

Although Donald Trump was strongly criticized for his extremist attitudes towards Muslims, Mexicans, and other minorities who are immigrants in America, he put these "xenophobic" and "nationalistic" policies at the top of his campaign. He has well understood that they would lead him to stimulate the American voter. This latter expresses great hostility towards these minorities, thus he is willing to support the leader who would take strong actions and policies against them (Gaughan).

II.3.2.3. The White Working Class: the Powerful Force that Pushed Trump toward the White House

In the late few years, the American economy is getting worse, and the most affected are the working classes and the poor people in deep American cities and counties. In the United States of America, whites without college degrees, or the group of white working class made up the majority of the public and the majority of voters.

Friedman raised a question about the reasons behind the working class support for Trump and he replied in his article "Why Does the (White) Lower Middle Class Vote Republican?",

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

that the majority of American workers are oppressed and of low wages, and they are complaining of their presidents' policies, mainly Obama and other Republicans as Hillary Clinton. Those workers are intending to vote for the candidate who would satisfy their needs, and to enhance their economic situation.

Democrats have been known as the party of the white working class, and Republicans, the party of the college educated. However, the roles are now seemed to be reversed and changed. The Democratic Party members are working on a program of high wages, protecting union rights, free medical care programs for working class Americans and safety regulations for the working place. The working class called for stronger policies and bold actions that seem to be effective to change their situation.

Donald Trump reforms and policies are designed to minimize taxes, restrict union rights, get off Obama Care, and reduce such restricts on business. Another policy that the Republicans would perform in favor of the working class is to expel immigrants and Muslims from the United States of America's work market, mainly because they dominate the chances of work at the expense of the other Americans (Friedman).

According to Mark McIntosh and Steven Bogden, Donald Trump, who would come with these policies, won the support of the working class . He promised to radicalize their situation with new policies that would even go to do a "Brexit" revolution in America, to restore the old industrial economy, repeal trade deals, and put tariffs on imports. In addition, he would support the American workers resentment and objection to the globalization and the trade relationships with foreign countries, which would harm the American economy rather than encouraging local investments and rising job chances for Americans.

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

He said about protecting the American worker: "I will announce my intention to renegotiate NAFTA or withdraw from the deal under Article 2205. I will announce our withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership. I will direct the Secretary of the Treasury to label China a currency manipulator". He carried on his speech, as it is mentioned in "The \$900 Billion Question: How to Address Illegal Immigration in America" by McIntosh and Bogden, to say: "A nation that does not serve its own citizens is not a nation. Any immigration plan must improve jobs, wages and security for all Americans."

In an article entitled "How Trump won: The revenge of working-class whites" by Jim Tankersley, recent statistics shows that Whites without a college degree are occupying the third of the portion of American voters, and Trump won 39% (Tankersley) of the whole rate of this portion, especially in the Rust Belt states; Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. It was shown that these voters have expressed deep racial and cultural anxieties have stood against illegal immigrants, and show hostility toward the corruption of Washington's politicians.

Donald Trump promised to execute economic reforms, such as vast programs and policies to create jobs, particularly the poor classes, public investment, and advancing the work markets. The economy pundit Dr Shane Oliver argues that Trump's economic policies would change and help thriving the US economy.

He mentions this in his article, "The US presidential election: Trump the populist versus Clinton the centrist. Implications for investors", as he says: "The Reaganesque combination of big tax cuts and increased defense and infrastructure spending will provide an initial fiscal stimulus and with reduced regulation, a bit of a supply side boost"(Shane).

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

The working class white voters were a crucial reason for the rise of Donald Trump. They have been a powerful force for him, and an important factor that cast the Republican nominee's ballots at the last stages of the elections. The American working class called for a person who can satisfy their needs and would take whatever actions to change their situation, and Trump was the best leader for them as a great portion of his concern was to recover the power of the US economy.

II.3.2.4. Were Russian Hackers Really Behind Trump's Triumph?

Donald Trump is going to radicalize many things in America, whether locally or internationally. Concerning his new foreign policies, he is willing to change the United States' relations with many countries in the world. Trump has focused a lot in his speeches to enhance the relations and make wormer ties with Russia, and he even has praised the Russian president Putin a strong leader.

In an article that was entitled "Moscow had contacts with Trump team during campaign, Russian diplomat says" and published in the Washington Post on November 10th, 2016, the writer stated that Trump's strong relationships with Russia gathered around him suspicions to be possibly a partner in the scandal of the Russian intervention in the 2016 presidential election. Russians hacked the Democratic National Committee and the emails of Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta.

He continued in his article to mention an interview with the Interfax news agency in which Deputy Foreign Minister Sergei Ryabkov stated that "Moscow had contacts with Trump team during campaign...Obviously, we know most of the people from his entourage...We have just begun to consider ways of building dialogue with the future Donald Trump administration and channels we will be using for those purposes." These statements

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

came out to make more suspicions on the Russian participation in the victory of Donald Trump. Investigations that were done by the American intelligence sources shown that members of Trump's campaign were in contact with Russian government officials both before and after the presidential election.

In a document that was released by the Congress of the United States of America, they urged the FBI Director James Comey to open investigations about Russian interference in the presidential elections. The Congress members stated that on July 22, 2016 around 20,000 secret pages of documents of the Democratic National Committee, and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee were released by the famous site WikiLeaks (House of Representatives Judiciary Committee).

These cyber hacks may probably be done by the Russian officials to influence the presidential elections to be for the favor of Donald Trump. The Congress members' assumptions were based on a basic data which detailed the Trump administration members' relations to Russia before and after the campaign. They relied their suspicions toward Donald Trump and his officials good relations to Russia, and his new foreign policies which seem to be favorable to Russia and its interests such as to break the US attachment to NATO.

On October 16, 2016, the United States' Director of National Intelligence James Clapper and Secretary of Homeland Security Jeh Johnson declared that the "US Intelligence Community is confident that the Russian Government directed the recent compromises of e-mails from US persons and institutions, including from US political organizations." The head of the National Security Agency Michael Rogers on the other hand also said that "There shouldn't be any doubt in anybody's minds, this was not something that was done casually, this was not something that was done by chance, this was not a target that was selected purely

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

arbitrarily. This was a conscious effort by a nation-state to attempt to achieve a specific effect” (National Security and International Policy Team).

The United States’ intelligence agencies including the CIA, FBI and NSA, reported that the Kremlin and the Russian government had direct relations in changing the results of the US 2016 Presidential Elections. They stated: "We assess Russian President Vladimir Putin ordered an influence campaign in 2016 aimed at the US presidential election...Russia’s goals were to undermine public faith in the US democratic process, denigrate Secretary Clinton, and harm her electability and potential presidency...We further assess Putin and the Russian Government developed a clear preference for President-elect Trump"(The Biography).

The big loser of this hacking scandal was the Democratic nominee Hilary Clinton when thousands of her secret documents and mails were released to her opponents. Nevertheless, the Russian hacks to the US presidential elections has played a great and decisive role in the success of Donald Trump and paved him the way to the White House.

II.4.Reflections on Donald Trump the President and his First 100 days policies

When Donald Trump announced that he was entering the race for the White House in June 2015, few people have predicted the businessman to win over the experienced politician Hillary Clinton. However, this Donald has been out of these expectations as he won at the end an astonishing victory over his rival, the Democratic nominee, Hillary Clinton.

The majority of the American people voted for Donald Trump the President just because of his bold character and his radical, extreme policies. They chose him over the experienced politician Hillary Clinton to be their president for the next four years. Americans, as well as the whole world, are waiting for what he would perform in his first 100 days in the White

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

House. A lot of expectations are rising everyday about which of Trump's previous campaign policies to be realized.

II.4.1.Americans Say Yes for Donald Trump!

As we have seen in the previous section, there are many reasons for Trump's rise. Trump, in the early stages of his campaign, pledged to make America great again. He promised the American people to bring the real change, to enhance the white working class situation, and to make reforms and strong policies concerning immigration, economy, and foreign affairs.

In fact, when we made an analysis to some of Trump supporters' speeches, we have found some reflections that show other reasons for the victory of Donald Trump. The Democrat, Hillary Clinton, along with the American people political unawareness and their hate to the stereotyped politicians, were also behind Donald Trump winning of the majority of the American voters.

Hillary Clinton is, indeed among the main reasons of Donald Trump's victory. From the beginning of her campaign, she did not seem to be so convincible to the majority of Americans, who have seen her as a mere extended version of her husband ex President Bill Clinton and the other Democrat Barak Obama. Her campaign has not defined a clear message for the American voter, or strong policies that would change the situation in the United States of America.

For the majority of Americans, Hillary did not seem to change her previous positions and policies, even though they failed to satisfy the American people. "I was a Democrat for 39 years, but my children and grandchildren need an America that is out of debt. All that Obama did was double the debt since he took office. I will feel a whole lot safer than I ever would with Hillary", says Nate from Pennsylvania. Rachael is another supporter of Trump says: "I

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

don't want the Clinton legacy continued in the White House. We impeached one Clinton, and there is too much scandal that revolves around the other. Why would I want that legacy in my government?" (*The Guardian.com*)

The straw that breaks the camel's back, and was Hillary's shameful defeat, was when James Comey the FBI Director, sent an email to the Congress in which he revealed his intention to begin an investigation about Hillary's suspicious emails. As was mentioned in the Congress' members letter to the FBI Director James Comey, Clinton used a personal email address for all her State Department business. Furthermore, as we said in a previous section, the Russian hackings to the US elections made it worse for Hillary Clinton (House of Representatives Judiciary Committee).

This incident, with other facts that damaged Hillary Clinton's reputation, has put her at the tornado's eye, and to be known as corrupt to the majority of the American people, who said that she is dishonest. "I want to change America to serve the people instead of a political system that wants to serve itself. My life won't change much, except I will have more hope that my government is trying to make our country strong instead of pandering to its own liberal interests"(*The Guardian.com*).

Donald Trump, the Republican nominee, breaks away from the traditional image of a politician that people had enough of the stereotyped politics. Americans are, indeed, angry with their political establishment, and the previous presidents who passed across the White House and generally failed to fulfill their promises. They accuse President Obama and his members in the government of their mistakes, as they were not capable of producing a better American nation, as they have been promising.

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

In fact, the 2016 presidential elections revealed a wide gap between Americans and politics, as it under-covered the people political unawareness. "Donald Trump might not have political experience but I truly believe he has the American people's interest at heart", say one Trump's supporters. This statement reveals that majority of Americans did vote for Trump just because he is not politician, and because he said many things to please many people, even if it is the most of the times controversial. "He may say controversial things, but at least he tells you what he thinks. I certainly disagree with anyone that has behaved in a racist or sexist way. However, I feel like I know where I stand with Trump. He says what he thinks, right or wrong, and I know what I'm dealing with", says Rachael from Indiana, according to The Guardian report.

People in the United States of America have explicitly expressed their hate towards politicians who are lying and totally failed to realize what they have promised. Donald Trump, likewise those politicians, was strong and bold in his speeches toward the American people promising to protect them and change their situation.

Thus, he won the majority's vote, even if they know that most of his statements are unreasonable, and that he has no political experience to put him as a successful president of the United States of America. As was reported in the BBC News, the majority of his supporters favored his strong sounding speeches in which he would satisfy their needs. "Donald Trump is very real and very sincere. We're tired of being cheated. The more they try to attack him, the more we love him." "I backed Trump from the beginning. Because he calls things out. He does not allow lies to live. He just exposes things. You get what he really believes in, even if everything that he says isn't what is the right thing exactly", as it was stated by some of his supporters.

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

Americans also hoped that the President-elect business experience would be reflected as a success on the US. Economy. "Trump is a self-made man...I hope that Trump's experience as a businessman will enable our country to operate more effectively when it comes to managing our money...He knows how to make deals, deals that will make America prosperous again." Trump's focus on the economic side gave him the priority to win the majority of votes in the polls. "...My main hope is that he will help balance our budget, and secondly that he will help our economy to remain strong" (*BBC News.com*).

His plans to make deep reforms that to change the workers and the poor people's situation, and to bring millions of jobs, have stirred the great portion of Americans to vote for him. Being stimulated by his programs, the white working class also moved on to back and support his campaign, and even to be a main factor that changes the results at the last moment in favor of the Republican nominee. Arlene from New Jersey supports this claim as she says: "We need to bring jobs back to our country, make the economy stronger and hopefully unite all people... He's for the people!"

The President Donald Trump and many businessmen as the government members are expected to enact profound and strong policies which would have great effects on the economy. Americans want to see the successful businessman touch on their economy's power. "Passionate, driven, confident, motivated...I think I've seen him really successful as a businessman, so I'd like to see how he'd be as a leader of the United States". "I think he's really someone who understands economics and international finance on a global level in many ways beyond just theory but real first-hand experience" said Taylar Martin and Issac Eves respectively (*BBC News*).

Trump is a deal maker who knows well how to deal and negotiate hard, and the people around him are bold to make big changes in economics, as in foreign policy, education and

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

environmental policies. The president-elect immigration reforms and strong policies towards immigrants, specifically Muslims and Mexicans, gave him the support of a great number of Americans who totally agreed him on his actions, as one of his supporters said: "We need to close the borders... It has to be done the right way and they can't just come into our country and expect us to take care of them, take our jobs, and then for us to have to support them, and all the things America has to do to help them out" (Dalio).

To many people politics has come to be irrelevant, and it has come to be seen as more about ideological issues than about enhancing people's lives. Simply, Americans had enough with politics and want such a strong leader who would take whatever actions to make their lives better, and Donald Trump is the best man who was chosen by the American people to be their savior, and to bring about the great America that was once. "When Trump says make America great again, I fully agree with him", said an American.

The majority of experts, as all Americans are expecting the Trump presidency to bring about a deep change whether for the United States, and even would reflect on the whole world, as to change America's foreign policies and its relationships with many countries in the world. Concerning foreign policy, Trump's stances seem to be aggressive, especially towards some countries as China, Iran, Mexico, Islamic countries, and Russia. Most of the experts and pundits are expecting Trump Presidency to change the sings of the global geopolitical map, as to transform, if not to say totally, the US traditional foreign policies and its conventional relationships with the whole world (Dalio).

Trump's radicalism would change the Republican Party, or let we say create a brand new party, as Donald Trump promised to radicalize the main beliefs and the core principles that the party has been long established on. One of the Republican main figures, Marco Rubio,

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

said that Trump "...will split the Republican Party and it will be the end of the modern conservative movement."

II.5.Trump's Main Policies in his First 100 Days

Trump revealed his plans for first 100 days of his presidency in his speech at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in October 23, 2016. His speech became known as "Donald Trump's contract with American voters" which based on three main principles; cleaning up Washington, saving American workers, and national security. The Republican candidate borrowed from Lincoln's speech in 1963, vowing to replace the current Washington with government "for and by the people" (Martosko).

In fact Trump did not come up with new plans; instead he focused on his previous promises. Among the key points he declared were term limits for members of congress, removing illegal immigrants, cancelling all executive orders issued by president Obama including Obama Care, renegotiating or withdrawal from trade agreements, including the North American Free Agreement and the Transatlantic Pacific Partnership, building a wall, eliminating all the payment to the UN climate changes programs and the use of these funds to repair infrastructures in the United States (Labianco).

Since Trump took office as president of the United States in January 20, 2017, he has issued many executive orders. He used his constitutional executive power to fulfill his promises as candidate. Hours after taking office, Trump signed his first executive decree against Obama healthcare. The new president promised that the program would be changed and repealed as soon as possible after a consultation with congress (Mason and Rampton).

As president, he signed an executive order In January 25, 2017, to start building a wall between the United States and Mexico with the aim of preventing the flow of illegal

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

immigrants and the smuggling of goods and drugs. The decision stressed the relation between the two countries. The new president wanted Mexico to pay the costs of building a wall, but the Mexican president refused his request. The Mexican president canceled his full visit to Washington (Brown).

In terms of trade relations, he announced America's withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement in January 23, 2017. He expressed the importance of this step to improve the status of workers and industry. In order to bring more jobs, Trump gave the green light to continue construction of Keystone XL and Dakota oil pipelines.

The most controversial order Trump signed was about immigrants and refugees. His decision prevented refugees from all over the world from entering The US for 120 days and Syrian refugees indefinitely. Moreover, the new president issued a ban on visitors from seven Islamic countries including Iraq, Yemen, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, and Iran. He justified his action by stating that these actions are necessary to protect Americans from terrorist attacks. Trump's decision was met by demonstrations within America and from various countries of the world where people condemned Trump and his racist decisions against Muslims.

In January 25, 2017, Trump issued another executive order under which all illegal immigrants must be deported. He ordered mayors of American Cities to arrest all unregistered immigrants. More than that, he threatened to cut off federal funding for cities that refused to comply with orders. Local authorities and heads of some municipalities as New York and Boston expressed their rejection of this presidential decision.

Concerning energy and the environment, Trump canceled Obama's law on climate change in March 28, 2017. The former president Obama signed the law in 2015 with the aim of reducing thermal emissions and imposing restrictions on the use of US energy. Despite the

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

warning of environmental organization and scientists, Trump does not believe that man is the cause of global warning. The businessman simply canceled the agreement with the purpose of bringing new job opportunities. (Ibid)

There is a big difference between saying and applying. Trump as new president faced many difficulties in carrying out his promises. Simply because the system of government in the US depends on checks and balance under which the president's decision alone is not enough to make laws. Trump's administration has faced many setbacks since he entered the white house, especially his decisions concerning immigrants and Obama Care. His setbacks weakened his prestige. Many of his supporters were disappointed when their god lost to the power of law.

Trump's decision to ban travel to America by people in seven countries has angered world opinion and a proportion of Americans as well. The new president started his struggle with the courts when a judge of a federal court in Washington known as James Robert refused his order and considered it unconstitutional. Despite the fact that the administration issued a new ban that prevented people of six countries, including Syria, Libya, Iran, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen from entering America for 90 days excluding Iraq from the decree ,federal courts in Maryland and Hawaii have suspended the application of the decree. Trump's ban of Muslims immigration was considered as a violation of the US constitution, which states the freedom of religion. Thus, the legislative branch did not ratify Trump's proposals (Liptak).

Members of Congress met with the new president to study Obama health care. It was expected to be replaced easily as Republicans have a majority of seats in the House of Representatives. But the surprise was that Trump failed to reach an agreement with Republicans. Trump was forced to withdraw his new program because it did not earn enough voters. In addition to the Democrats who refused to cancel the project, some Republicans

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

have not been convinced of the new plan since it has kept some of the Obama care' principles (Holand and Lawden).

Trump's reaction after the failure of his new program was violent. He expressed his frustration and declared war on members of his party. Moreover, he promised to end the political life of number of conservatives and contribute to their defeat in the following midterm congressional elections (Davis, Kaplan, Pear).

Additionally, the new president transformed into the Middle East. Although Trump praised Bashar El-Assad and his efforts to fight terrorism, he changed his position after taking office. Based on Trump order, American ships launched 59 cruise missiles at a Syrian military airfield In April 6, 2017, as a reaction to Syrian chemical weapons attack that killed innocent citizens. In a note Trump said for a reporter "it's in this vital national security of the United states to prevent and deter the use of deadly chemical weapons".

For Trump, the Syrian president exceeded the limits of the law "There can be no dispute that Syria used banned chemical weapons, violated its obligations under the Chemical Weapons Convention and ignored the urging of the UN Security Council. Years of previous attempts at changing Assad's behavior have all failed and failed very dramatically" (Diamond and Starr).

Chapter Two: The Radical Voice in the Republican Party :Donald Trump

Conclusion

During his campaign, Trump introduced his radical ideas, which are somewhat inconsistent with the principles of the Republican Party. Conservatives have generally favored free trade as they consider the policy's overall contribution to the economy to be much greater. Trump, however, promised to end free trade deals as NAFTA and Transpacific Partnership. In addition, Republicans oppose government spending and social security, but their new representative Trump sees the need to rebuild the infrastructure and keep social security.

Trump's arrival to power opened the way for the extreme right wing to take control of the Republican Party as well as the US. Through the previous analysis we can say that everyone is responsible for the rise of Trump, the Republicans not to challenge trump from the start, and their ignorance. Democrats also contributed to the rise of Trump due to the bad background of their candidate, Hillary Clinton. The main reason for Trump's rise is the effectiveness of his message. Trump made many promises that attracted voters, especially the white workers. They found in Trump's commitment to return jobs and deport illegal immigrants solutions to their daily problems. Finally, Islam phobia played a role in the success of the Republican Candidate Trump, who played a role of protector for all Americans.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

Through the previous analysis one can understand that the principles of the Republican Party have changed to a great extent since its foundation. The party started as Leftist, but with time and for different reasons, the party turned into the Right Wing.

Although leaders of the newly independent America, as George Washington, opposed the establishment of the political parties, it was something inevitable because of the wide divergence of views. The Republican Party was born in 1854 as Left Wing party with the support of abolitionists and those who were in favor of a strong federal government for instance, Abraham Lincoln (1861-1865), the first Republican president, used the power of the federal government to destroy the slavery institution.

Although the Republicans had set their policies and agreed on the core principles since the early establishment, a movement of Radical Republicans from the far left wing appeared after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. The Radical Republicans were a group in congress that used the power of the federal government to a great extent and forced southerners to give the Blacks some rights.

After the strong waves of Radicalism that had hit the Republican Party's routes, the party was being radicalized at each time with the coming of new groups of Republicans to the party. During the 1890s, the Republicans' interests have changed and centered on the business, and the party became known as the party of big business. Hence, the Republicans began to support industry, high tariffs and manufacturing. Between 1880 and 1920, Progressivism was prevailing as a movement in America, when its leaders aimed at showing and repealing the plights of workers as well as farmers. The next Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909), had taken into consideration the demands of urban workers and the rural poor people, and he supported strong central government to end corruption.

General Conclusion

In 1920s, Republicans, such as Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover, favored small government and lower taxes. Their policies radicalized the party and made it more conservative. Then, the coming of Dwight Eisenhower (1953-1961), brought other changes since he favored a mixture between conservative and liberal policies. Thus, his policy was known as Modern Republicanism. To regain power again, the Republicans were required to satisfy the needs and concerns of voters. Their new political platform tended to reduce taxes and further extended New Deal programs.

After the 1960s, the Republican Party was clearly transforming to the Right Wing. The party with Barry Goldwater would hold conservative stances such as small government, cut taxes, few spending, anti-communism and against welfare program. The conservative movement reached its peak during Reagan's Presidency (1981-1989). However, the party's conservatism was also being radicalized by radical members who called themselves Neoconservatives.

In the 2016 US Presidential Elections, a more Republican radical voice “Trump” broke all the predictions when he won the race towards the White House. His ideas are quite different from those of the conservative Party. Trump belongs to the extreme right wing. Indeed some of Trump’s promises including bringing jobs, ending immigration, limiting trade deals, repealing Obama care, keeping social security, fighting terrorism, and rebuilding infrastructure paved the way for him to the White House .

Some Republican Party leaders like George Washington and Mitt Romney have expressed their rejection of Trump. However, the new representative of the Republican Party challenged the conservatives when he put forward his ideas, which are partly inconsistent with party’s principles. He supported social security as well as government spending which are not parts of the conservatism. They also stressed on the basis that they cannot ignore everything Trump

General Conclusion

has said and did. His inflammatory statements and his reactions reveal a character unfit for the leader of the Republican Party.

After the shock, analysts and reporters tried to explain Trump's rise. They blamed the Republicans who failed to curb him. Some politicians have suggested that Trump's radical ideas are largely derived from the Tea Party movement. In 2009, the Tea movement appeared to stand against tax increases, federal government spending, Obama healthcare, and immigration. In the primaries of the Republican Party, many activists of the movement supported Trump, for the simple reason that he represented their movement in one way or another.

The former member of the Tea Party Movement, Eric Erickson, accused the Republican establishment of contributing to the success of Trump. In the few past years, the party's elite failed to achieve its promises to the Republican voters. Most of the white workers today are Republican voters. Their demands are simple and can be summed up in three main points; job opportunities, few taxes, and higher wages that cover the cost of their daily lives. But as the elites failed to realize their demands, they chose a candidate that has no relation with the establishment.

The Democrats also bear a part of the responsibility. Most Americans are convinced that Obama and his policies did not change their daily suffering. According to Americans, Hillary Clinton as Secretary of state has upheld many wrong decisions, for example the war against Iraq which led to the death of thousands of American soldiers.

Additional factors that helped Trump's rise include immigration, white workers, and Islamophobia. White workers were the source of Trump's strength in his struggle with Republicans and Democrats. Trump's promises attracted this class, which is tired of politicians' lies. The white workers saw Trump as strong character who would provide more jobs, and save them from immigrants who steal their jobs and homes and pay no taxes. The

General Conclusion

billionaire also created an atmosphere where America is threatened by radical Muslims. Through his agendas, peace and security in US will be maintained despite the Islamic state's efforts. Therefore, America has to fight Islamic State all over the world for the safety of Americans.

In the first 100 days, the new president tried to keep his promises, but it was not an easy task. The system of government in America does not depend solely on the decisions of the president. There are also the legislative and the judicial branches. Moreover, the system of check and balance gives each branch the authority to oppose other branches and to override their decisions. When Trump signed his order to ban Muslims from entering the US, the federal courts considered it unconstitutional. Indeed, the congress refused to repeal Obama Care and adopted Trump's new program.

The current US president has caused great controversy since he entered the presidential race. But the present study did not tackle many important questions for the fact that the radical republican Trump has just taken office, and it is too early to have a clear and deep understanding and analysis of what is going on in terms of the echo of Trump's policy in the Republican party, the White House and in America in general. After one year or more such questions will be very attractive areas for study to many researchers who will have a better opportunity to provide more accurate answers about the rise of the radical republican Trump and the influence of his ideas as well as policies on Americas life, American politics and foreign relations and on the whole world. The main question then will be whether Americans' choice of more radical presidents can bring more security or more threat to America?

Bibliography

Bibliography

❖ Books

- Agnew , Jean-Christophe , and Rosenzweig Roy. *A Companion to Post-1945 America*. Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishing , 2002.
- Barney, William L. *A Companion to 19th-Century America*. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing , 2001.
- Beard , Charles A. and Beard Mary R. *History of the United States*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921.
- Clancey, Tim , et al .*The United States,1763-2001*. Routledge :Taylor and Francis Group, 2005.
- Davis, C. Kenneth. *Everything you Need to Know about American History but Never Learned*. New York: Perfect Bound, 2002.
- Dueck, Colin . *Hard line : The Republican Party and U.S. Foreign Policy Since World War II*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Foner, Eric. *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Ford , Lacy K. *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Malden , USA: Blackwell Publishing , 2005.
- Gienapp, William E. *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852–1856*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Gould , L. Lewis. *The Republicans : A History of The Grand Old Party*. New York : Oxford University Press , 2014.

Bibliography

- Halper, Stefan , and Clarke Jonathan . *America Alone: The Neo-Conservatives and the Global Order* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Jhonson, Christine. *USA History In Brief*. United States Department of State : Bureau of International Information Programs , 2010.
- Kazin ,Michael , Rothman , Adam , and Edwards Rebecca , eds . *The Princeton Encyclopedia of American Political History*. Princeton :Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Klinghard , Daniel. *The Nationalization of American Political Parties, 1880-1896*. United States of America: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Kormilets, A. Alexander . Conservatism versus Revolution: The Erosion of the Conservative Political Tradition in the United States of America. *Russian-American Dialogue on the History of U.S. Political Parties*. Volume 4. Ed. Joel H. Silbey. The United States of America: University of Missouri Press, 2000. 98-124.
- Lakoff , George. *Don't Think of an Elephant: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate*. Vermont: Chelsea Green, 2004 .
- O'callaghan , Bryn . *An Illustrated History of The USA* . Longmen , 2004.
- Reeves , C. Thomas . *Twentieth –Century America A Brief History*. New York :Oxford University Press , 2001.
- Remini ,V . Robert. *A Short History of The United States* .New York :Harper Collins ,2008 .
- Ritchie, A. Donald, and Broussard Albert S. *American History: The Early Years to 1877*. United States of America: The McGraw-Hill Companies , 2001.
- Ritchie , Donald A . *American History The Modern Era Since 1865*. United States of America : The McGraw-Hill Companies , 2001.

Bibliography

- Schulzinger , Robert D. *A Companion to American Foreign Relations*. Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
- Silbey , J. H. *From “essential to the existence of our institutions” to “rapacious enemies of honest and responsible government” : The rise and fall of American political parties, 1790 – 2000*. In L. S. Maisel (ed.), *The parties respond: Changes in American parties and campaigns (4th ed.)*. New York: Westview Press, 2002.
- Sogrin , V. Vladimir. *The Origins of the American Political Parties in the United States. Russian-American Dialogue on the History of U.S. Political Parties*. Volume 4. Ed . Joel H. Silbey. The United States of America: University of Missouri Press, 2000. 35-48.
- Stenner , Karen. *The Authoritarian Dynamic*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Suczek , Richard , ed . *Encyclopedia of the Reconstruction Era*. Westport, Connecticut :Green wood , 2001.
- Trump , Donald J. *Crippled America: How to Make America Great Again*. The United States of America: Threshold Editions, 2015.
- Tulloch, Hugh. *The Routledge Companion to The American Civil War Era*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- *US History*. wikibook org , March 13,2013.
- Vlasova , M. A. *Democrats and Whigs An Exercise in Quantitative Analysis. Russian-American Dialogue on the History of U.S. Political Parties*. Volume 4. Ed. Joel H. Silbey. The United States of America: University of Missouri Press, 2000. 49-66.
- Wagner, Heather Lehr. *The History of the Republican party*. The United States of America: Chelsea House, 2007.

Bibliography

- Ware, Alan. *Political Conflict in America*. The United States: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- ❖ **Dissertations :**
- Gilliland , Eric Patric. *Richard Nixon, Détente, and the Conservative Movement* .Diss (Master Thesis). Wright State University , 2006 .
- ❖ **Articles and Websites :**
- Abdelkader, Engy. "When Islamophobia Turns Violent: The 2016 US. Presidential Elections." *The Bridge Initiative*. Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding George Town University. 2 Mai 2016. <http://bridge.georgetown.edu/when-islamophobia-turns-violent-the-2016-u-s-presidential-elections/>. 20 February 2017.
- Ball , Molly. Is the Tea Party Responsible for Donald Trump? ".*The Atlantic*. May 10, 2016.<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/05/did-the-tea-party-create-donald-trump/482004/> .16 March , 2017.
- Barry, Aoife. "What made Trump's Make America Great Again slogan so powerful?". *the journal .ie* (2017) . <http://www.thejournal.ie/trump-slogan-make-america-great-again-3071552-Nov2016/>. 5 March , 2017 .
- Bibby , John F. " Political Parties in the United States." *Diplomatic Mission to Germany*. August 2002 .<https://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/gov/partiesej2000.htm> .6 November, 2016
- Brown , Nicole . "Trump's executive orders: Actions the president can take, explained" . *am NEW YORK* . March 28 , 2017 .

Bibliography

<http://www.amny.com/news/politics/trump-s-executive-orders-actions-the-president-can-take-explained-1.13008065> . 13 April 2017.

- Kirby , Brendan . "Trump to the Marginalized: 'I Am Your Voice' " . *Polizette* .22 July 2016. <http://www.lifezetete.com/polizette/>. March 2 , 2017.
- Cherkaoui, Mohammed. "The Mediatized Islamophobia in America: What is Beyond Othering Muslims?"*Al Jazeera Centre for Studies*. Part 2(1-14).10 November 2016. <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2016/11/161110110140429.html>. 20 February 2017.
- _____ . "Donald Trump: The Rise of Right-wing Politics in America". *Al Jazeera Centre for Studies* . 19 July 2016 : (1-12) .
<http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2016/07/clone.of.donald-trump-rise-wing-politics-america-1.html>. 20 February 2017.
- Corasaniti , Nick . " Donald Trump Calls Obama 'Founder of ISIS' and Says It Honors Him".*The New York Times*, August 10,2016.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/us/politics/trump-rally.html>. April 20,2017.
- Coates, David. " The Politics of Business, and the Business Of Politics, in the World of Donald J. Trump." *The Huffington Post*, 17 February 2017.
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/the-politics-of-business-and-the-business-of-politics_us_58a6f1c0e4b026a89a7a298b. 28 March 2017.
- Cox, Rob . "Donald Trump makes bad role model ". Financial Insights About The President-Elect. *Reuters Breaking views*. 1 April 2004.
<https://twitter.com/ReutersOpinion/status/799721646932299776>. 28 March 2017.

Bibliography

- Dalio, Ray. "Reflections on the Trump Presidency, One Month after the Election". *Pinebase*. 20 December 2016. <http://www.pinebaseglobal.com/reflections-on-the-trump-presidency-one-month-after-the-election-ray-dalio-pulse-linkedin/>. 29 March 2017.
- "Deportations to Begin." *The Boston Globe*. 9 April 2017. <http://www.ebay.com/itm/BOSTON-GLOBE-APRIL-9-2017-NEWSPAPER-034-PRESIDENT-TRUMP-DEPORTATIONS-BEGIN-034-/131995256075>. 15 April 2017.
- Diamond ,Jerney ."Donald Trump jumps in: The Donald's latest White House run is officialllyon".*CNNPolitics* .June17,2015.<http://edition.cnn.com/2015/06/16/politics/donald-trump-2016-announcement-el>. February 8,2017.
- _____ . Donald Trump: Ban all Muslim travel to U.S . CNN Politics . December 12,2015. <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/12/07/politics/donald-trump-muslim-ban-immigration/elections/>. March 5,2017
- Diamond , Jeremy , and Stars Barbara. " Trump Launches Military Strike Against Syria".*CNN Politics* . Avril 7,2017. <http://edition.cnn.com/2017/04/06/politics/donald-trump-syria-military/>.20 April , 2017 .
- "Donald Trump's Economic Speech in Detroit" . Editorial . *Time* . 8 August , 2016 . <http://time.com/4443382/donald-trump-economic-speech-detroit-transcript/>.February 2, 2017.
- "Donald Trump's election victory speech".Editorial . *Sky News*. 09 November 2016. <http://news.sky.com/story/donald-trumps-election-victory-speech-full-transcript-10651128> . 28 March 2017.

Bibliography

- "Donald Trump Biography" . *The Biography.com*. A&E Television Networks. 28 March 2017. <http://www.biography.com/people/donald-trump-9511238>. 28 March 2017.
- Eiermann, Martin. "How Donald Trump Fits into the History of American Populism." Editorial . *Huffington Post*. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/martin-eiermann-/donald-trump-american-populism_b_9368030.html. 27 March 2017.
- "Election 2016: Trump Voters on Why They Backed Him".Editorial . *BBC NEWS*. 09 November 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/election-us-2016-36253275>. 28 March 2017.
- Engel,Palmar. "How Trump came up with his slogan 'Make America Great Again'". *Business Insider* .18 January 2017. <http://www.businessinsider.fr/us/trump-make-america-great-again-slogan-history-2017-1/>. February 28,2016
- Epstein , Reid J. and Hook Janet . "Donald Trump's Win Starts a New Era for Republicans" .*TheWallStreetJournal*(2016) .<http://www.wsj.com/articles/donaldtrump-swinstartsaneweraforrepublicans>.25 December 2016.
- Erickson, Ryan , and Kelley Angela .”How the GOP Candidates’ Views on Immigration Mirror ‘The Donald’” . *Center for American Progress Action Fund* . 22 September2015.<https://www.americanprogressaction.org/issues/immigration/reports/2015/09/22/121403/the-trump-effect-how-the-gop-candidates-views-on-immigration-mirror-the-donald/9> . 1 April 2017.
- Ferris, Sarah." Trump Compares US Airoports to Third-World Country".*Politico*. September 26 ,2016 .<http://www.refinery29.com/2017/01/137787/donald-trump-executive-order-tpp-withdrawal> .March 10 ,2016.

Bibliography

- Filipov, David , and Roth Andrew ."Moscow had contacts with Trump team during campaign , Russian diplomat says." *The Washington Post*.10 November 2016. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/moscow-had-contacts-with-trump-team-during-campaign-russian-diplomat-says/2016/11/10/28fb82fa-a73d-11e69bd6184ab22d218e_story.html?utm_term=.f3c34ba88494. 27 March 2017
- Flitter, Emily. "Trump plan cuts corporate taxes, promises sweeping reform ". *Reuters*. 28 september 2015. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-trump-id>. March 8,2017.
- Friedman, Leon ." Why Does the (White) Lower Middle Class Vote Republican?". *The Huffington Post*. 31 October 2016.http://www.huffingtonpost.com/leon-friedman/why-does-the-white-lower- b_8442162.html .28 March 2017.
- "Full text :Donald Trump’s speech on fighting terrorism".Editorial. *Politico*,15 August 2016.<http://www.politico.com/story/2016/08/donald-trump-terrorism-speech-227025>. March 7, 2017.
- Garry, Patrick M. "A Turning Point for Modern Conservatism". *Modern Age* 49 .1 (Winter 2007) :P,24-35.
- Gaughan, Anthony J. "Donald Trump Won the Presidency because Celebrity Beats Substance." *Quartz*. 9 November 2016. <https://qz.com/832830/election-2016-how-did-donald-trump-win/>. 27 March 2017.
- Gerstle Gary. Radical Republicans : the Radicalization of the Republican Party. *Ziet Online*. 5, April 2017.<http://www.zeit.de/wissen/geschichte/2017-03/radical-republicans-usa-gop-obamacare-donald-trump>. 15 April, 2017.
- Giaritelli, Anna. "Trump's final speech a message of hope to Michigan voters".*Washington Examiner*. Nov 8, 2016 www.washingtonexaminer.com/trumps-final-speech-a-message-of-hope-to-michigan-voters/article/260676. April 2,2017 .

Bibliography

- "Goodlatte and Gowdy Lead Letter Signed by 200 Members Pressing Director Comey About Clinton Investigation." *House of Representatives Judiciary Committee*. 11 July 2016.<https://judiciary.house.gov/press-release/goodlatte-gowdy-lead-letter-signed-200-members-pressing-director-comey-clinton-investigation/>. 20 December 2016.
- " How FDR Made History with the Social Security Act ". History Hole . 2016/07/27. <http://historyhole.com/how-fdr-made-history-with-the-social-security-act/>. March 1, 2017.
- Gobry , Pascal-Emmanuel ."Why conservatives failed to stop Donald Trump".*The Week* . July 19 ,2016 . <http://theweek.com/articles/636633/why-conservatives-failed-stop-donald-trump>. February 6, 2017.
- Carney, Jordian."Harry Reid: Trump is GOP's'Frankenstein monster'". *The Hill*. February 3,2016.<http://thehill.com/blogs/floor-action/senate/271469-reid-trump-is-the-gops-frankenstein> .March 24 , 2017.
- Hirschfeld, Julie, Kaplan, Thomas, and Pear Robert."Trump Worns House Republicans Repeal Healthcare Law or Lose your seats". *New York Times* . March 17, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/21/us/politics/house-republicans-health-care-donald-trump.html> .April 20,2017.
- Holand ,Steve , and Lawder David . "Trump Tastes Failures As U.S. House Healthcare Bill Collapses". *Reuters* . March 25,2017. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-obamacare-idUSKBN16V149>. April 18,2017.

Bibliography

- Horton , Helena ."Muslim ban statement 'removed' from Donald Trump's website". *TheTelegraNews*.November10,2016.<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/11/10/muslim-ban-statement-removed-from-donald-trumps-website/> .February 13, 2017 .
- "Immigration Reform That Will Make America Great Again: The Three Core Principles of Donald J. Trump's Immigration Plan." *Oregonians For Immigration Reform*.16 August 2015. <http://www.oregonir.org/issues/immigration-reform-will-make-america-great-again>. 27 December 2017.
- Jopson, Barney. And Savastopulo Demetri ."How Trump won the nomination". *Financial times*, May 4,2016. <https://www.ft.com/content/4bb06e32-11ce-11e6-91da-096d89bd2173> . March 12, 2017.
- Kihira, Eisaku. "The Politicization of the Slavery Issue in the Early American Republic." *The Japanese Journal of American Studies*, No. 24 (2013) :29-44. www.jaas.gr.jp/jjas/PDF/2013/02Kihira.pdf. 2 January 2017.
- Kimberly, Amadeo. " 6 Problems with NAFTA". *the balance* . November 30, 2016. <https://www.thebalance.com/disadvantages-of-nafta-3306273>. March 1, 2017.
- _____."Obamacare Explained". *The balance* . 27 Mach 2017. <https://www.thebalance.com/obamacare-explained-3306058> . April 7, 2017.
- Krieg ,Gregory , Mullery ,Will, and Yellin Tal ."Trump's Promises : Repeal and replaceObamacare".*CNNPolitics*.April19 ,2016 .<http://edition.cnn.com/interactive/2017/politics/tracking-trumps-promises> . March 5, 2017 .
- Labianco,Tom. "Donald Trump Outline His Policy Plan for 100 Days " .*CNN Politics*. November 22,2016. <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/21/politics/donald-trump-outlines-policy-plan-for-first-100-days/>. April 5,2017.

Bibliography

- Lakoff, George. "Understanding Trump". *Chicago Press*. July 13, 2016. <https://georgelakoff.com/2016/07/23/understanding-trump-2/>. 8 April 2017.
- Lee, J M ."How Donald Trump blasted George W. Bush in S.C. -- and still won ".*CNN Politics*. February 22 , 2016. <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/02/20/politics/donald-trump-south-carolina-military/>. April 2 ,2017.
- Liptak , Adam . "Court Refuses to Reinstate Travel Ban , Dealing Trump another Legal Loss ". *New York Times* . February 9 , 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/09/us/politics/appeals-court-trump-travel-ban.html>. March 7,2017.
- Lopez , Angelo."The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Republican". *Everyday Citizens* March10,2010.http://www.everydaycitizen.com/2010/03/the_rise_and_fall_of_the_progressive.html. January 23,2017.
- Luhby, Tami. "Why so many people hate Obamacare". *CNN Money* , 6 January 2016. <http://money.cnn.com/2017/01/05/news/economy/why-people-hate-obamacare/>. February 5,2017
- Mann, Thomas E. "Too Much or Too Little Democracy? Some Reflections on Democracy for Realists." *Center for Effective Public Management* (13 June 2016):1-12.The Brookings Institution, Massachusetts. <https://www.brookings.edu/research/too-much-or-too-little-democracy-some-reflections-on-democracy-for-realists/>.6 November 2016.
- McAdam, Douglas John. " Making Sense of the Rise and Impact of Donald Trump." *Scholars Strategy Network, Basic Facts*. June 2016. <http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/brief/making-sense-rise-and-impact-donald-trump>. 6 November 2016.

Bibliography

- Mc Intosh, Mark and Bogden, Steven. "The \$900 Billion Question: How to Address Illegal Immigration in America. A Complete Fiscal Analysis Of Donald J. Trump's Immigration Reform Plan." January 2016. <https://relayto.com/matt-politicano/SgjVWUIx>. 28 March 2017.
- Martosko , David." Trump Promises 'The Kind Of Change That only arrives Once in a Lifetimes".Dailymail,October10,2016.<https://www.donaldjtrump.com/press-releases/icymi-dailymail-trumps-the-kind-of-change-that-only-arrives-once-in-a-lifet>. March 3, 2017.
- Marty, Robin." Why Republicans Hate Obamacare So Much".*The Cosmopolitan*. January 10,2016. <http://www.cosmopolitan.com/politics/a8582164/republicans-hate-obamacare-affordable-care-act/>. March 4 ,2017.
- Mason, Jeff , and Rapton Reberta ."Trump, In Overal Signs First Order on ObamaCare". *Reuters* . January 21, 2017. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-executiveorder-idUSKBN155010> .February 5,2017.
- Oliver, Shane. "The US presidential election: "Trump the populist versus Clinton the centrist. Implications for investors." *Oliver's Insights*. AMP Capital. 21 September 2016. <http://www.ampcapital.com.au/article-detail?alias=/olivers-insights/september-2016/us-presidential-election>. 30 December 2017.
- "Order Granting Motion for Temporary Restraining Order." *In the United States District Court for the District of Hawai'i*. CV. NO. 17-00050 DKW-KSC.15 March 2017. <http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/sites/default/files/OrderGrantingTRO.pdf>. 28 March 2017.
- President Eisenhower Domestic Affairs ". University of Virginia , Miller Center . 2017. <https://millercenter.org/president/eisenhower/domestic-affairs>.14 Febraury 2017

Bibliography

- President Hoover Domestic Policy. University of Virginia, Miller Center .2017. <http://millercenter.org/president/biography/Hoover-domestic-affairs>). February 2017.
- "President Trump Issues Executive Order Temporarily Banning Travel to U.S. by Nationals of Seven Countries." *Sidley*. 30 January 2017. <http://www.sidley.com/news/2017-01-30-immigration-update20> . February 5, 2017.
- Qiu, Linda . "Donald Trump's Top 10 Campaign Promises". *PolitiFact*. 15 July , 2016. <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2016/jul/15/donald-trumps-top-10-campaign-promises/>. January 15, 2017.
- Ramakrishna, Kumar. "The Rise of Trump and Its Global Implications "Radical Islamic Terrorism": What's in a Name?"S. *Rajaratnam School of International Studies*. Nanyang Technological University. 7 February 2017. <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/rsis/co17023-the-rise-of-trump-and-its-global-implications-radical-islamic-terrorism-whats-in-a-name/>. 20 February 2017.
- Ramirez, Andrea Gonzalez . "What The Hell Is The TTP and What Does It Have to Do with Me ? ". *Refinery 29* . January 25, 2017 . <http://www.refinery29.com/2017/01/137787/donald-trump-executive-order-tpp-withdrawal> . March 19, 2017.
- Restad , Hilde Eliassen . "Donald Trump's calls to "Make America great again" show that American Exceptionalism is still a powerful idea". *CC BY-NC 3.0 2015 LSE USAPP*. 4 March 2016. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2016/03/04/donald-trumps-calls-to-make-america-great-again-show-that-american-exceptionalism-is-still-a-powerful-idea/>. 25 February 2017.
- Schleifer , Theodore . " Donald Trump: 'I think Islam hates us' ". *CNN Politics* . March 10, 2016 . <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/03/09/politics/donald-trump-islam-hates-us/>. March 29 , 2017.

Bibliography

- Smith, David. "How Trump won the election: volatility and a common touch." *The Guardian*. 9 November 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/09/how-did-donald-trump-win-analysis>. 27 March 2017.
- Tankersley, Jim. "How Trump Won: The Revenge of Working-Class Whites." *The Washington Post*. 9 November 2016. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2016/11/09/how-trump-won-the-revenge-of-working-class-whites/?utm_term=.d987f23f0cb1 . 28 March 2017.
- Taub, Amanda. "The rise of American authoritarianism." *Vox*. *March 1, 2016*. <http://www.vox.com/2016/3/1/11127424/trump-authoritarianism>. 25 November 2016.
- "The CBS News Republican debate transcript, annotated" . *CBC News* . February 13, 2016. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/02/13/the-cbs-republican-debate-transcript-annotated/>. April 23, 2017.
- "Transcript of Donald Trump's Immigration Speech". Editorial .*The New York Times*. September 1, 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/02/us/politics/transcript-trump-immigration-speech.html> .February 23 ,2017.
- "Trump Will Make Social Security Cuts If This Appointee Gets His Way" .*The Wall Street Examiner* .March 9, 2017 .<http://wallstreetexaminer.com/2017/03/trump-will-make-social-security-cuts-appointee-gets-way/>. March 28 , 2017.
- "Trump's Worrisome Ties to Russia." *CAP National Security and International Policy Team*. Center for American Progress. 21 December 2016. <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2016/12/21/295592/moscow-on-the-potomac/>. 20 February 2017.
- Trump, Donald J. Donald J. Trump Addresses Radical Islam and the Age of Terror: [Understanding The Threat: Radical Islam and the Age of Terror](#). *Trump Pence Make*

Bibliography

America Great Again. Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. 15 August 2016.

<https://www.donaldjtrump.com/press-releases/donald-j.-trump-addresses-radical-islam-and-the-age-of-terror>. 26 March 2017.

- "Who is Donald Trump?" An interview with Michael D'Antonio. *CNN News*. Sun July 10, 2016. Cable News Network. Turner Broadcasting System, Inc. [http://HYPERLINK\"http://www.cnn.com/2016/.../donald-trump-biography-michael-dantonio](http://HYPERLINK\). 28 March 2017.
- O'Neill, Kevin ,and Landgraf Charles . "2016 Post Election Analysis: The Policy Choices, Challenges, and Consequences of an Outsider in the White House. What You Need to Know After the 2016." *Arnold & Porter Kaye Scholer*. 9 November 2016. <http://www.apks.com/en/perspectives/publications/2016/11/pea-2016-what-you-need-to-know>. 25 December 2016.
- Wikipedia."DonaldTrump".*WikimediaFoundation*.2017.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Donald_Trump. 2017.28March
- "Why Did People Vote for Donald Trump?Voters Explain". *The Guardian*. 9 November 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/09/why-did-people-vote-for-donald-trump-us-voters-explain>. 28 March 2017.
- Zurcher , Anthony ." Five reasons Trump still tops the polls ". *BBC News* . 27 July 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-33660969>.February 26, 2017.

بداياته, الجمهوري حكومة مركزية قوية لإنهاء العبودية و لأجل ضمان حياة أفضل لجميع الأمريكيين بغض النظر عن العرق. إلا أنه وعبر الزمن تغيرت سياسات الحزب سلطة حكومية , لك شهد الحزب ظهور العديد من الجماعات المتشددة مثل الجمهوريين الراديكاليين بين التيار اليساري بين جسدوا التيار اليميني المتشدد. دونالد ترامب الرئيس الحالي لأمريكا و ال يمثل التيار اليميني المتشدد هو المثال الأنسب لتجسيد تصاعد الصوت الراديكالي . ه

عن أسئلة مثل ما هي أهم التغييرات الجمهوري الراديكالي

الجدد للحزب الهدف الأول من الدراسة هو تحليل العوامل التي مهدت الطريق لظهور بعض الراديكالية اليمين المتشدد. التحليل أظهر أن أهم أسباب ترامب هي فعالية رسالته و كره عامية الناس للسياسيين الأمريكيين.