

Trump Presidency

Can he carry out his policy agenda?

Donald Trump rode a populist wave to the presidency, vowing to roll back government regulations, renegotiate free-trade agreements, repeal the Affordable Care Act, cut taxes and rebuild infrastructure. It's all part of his plan, he says, to accelerate economic growth, revive manufacturing and help the working class. But critics say his policies could ignite a trade war and eventually harm the economy. They also worry about how racial and religious minorities will fare during the next four years. Trump's Cabinet selections are proving controversial as well. Supporters praise them as talented and successful; others see some of them as out-of-touch millionaires and billionaires too closely tied to Wall Street and the industries they are supposed to oversee. Trump's foreign policy team is heavy on military experience but is facing questions about its diplomatic experience, possible ties to Russia and how it will deal with complex challenges, ranging from terrorism to China's and Russia's growing assertiveness.



President-elect Donald Trump, speaking in Des Moines, Iowa, on Dec. 8 during his "thank you tour," has said he will put America first again by sparking economic growth, challenging free-trade agreements, restricting immigration and re-evaluating foreign alliances. He also has pledged to help workers by reviving manufacturing and placing renewed attention on left-behind communities.

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**CQ Researcher • Jan. 6, 2017 • www.cqresearcher.com
Volume 27, Number 1 • Pages 1-24**

Jan. 6, 2017
Volume 27, Number 1

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CQ Researcher (ISSN 1056-2036) is printed on acid-free paper. Published weekly, except (March wk. 4) (May wk. 4) (July wks. 1, 2) (Aug. wks. 2, 3) (Nov. wk. 4) and (Dec. wks. 3, 4). Published by SAGE Publications, Inc., 2455 Teller Rd., Thousand Oaks, CA 91320. Annual full-service subscriptions start at \$1,131. For pricing, call 1-800-818-7243. To purchase a *CQ Researcher* report in print or electronic format (PDF), visit www.cqpress.com or call 866-427-7737. Single reports start at \$15. Bulk purchase discounts and electronic-rights licensing are also available. Periodicals postage paid at Thousand Oaks, California, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *CQ Researcher*, 2600 Virginia Ave., N.W., Suite 600, Washington, DC 20037.

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Trump Presidency

BY BARBARA MANTEL

THE ISSUES

Donald Trump, the populist disrupter who set off a political earthquake by winning the Nov. 8 presidential election, continues to shake up the American landscape as his Jan. 20 inauguration nears.

In a storm of tweets, Cabinet appointments and controversies since becoming the president-elect, Trump has called the Democrats sore losers; horrified environmentalists with the selection of a climate-change skeptic to head the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA); mocked the CIA and its findings about Russia's suspected meddling in the election; angered China with his questioning of long-time U.S. policies on Taiwan; and done little to assuage the fears of civil-rights advocates worried about how Muslims and other minorities will fare over the next four years.

At the same time, Trump has thrilled many of his supporters by nominating conservatives for sensitive Cabinet posts; sparked a stock market surge with his plans to cut taxes and federal regulations; energized rank-and-file workers by pushing Carrier Corp. to reverse its plan to move some factory jobs from Indiana to Mexico; and pleased deficit hawks by threatening to pull the plug on expensive military weapons programs such as the F-35 fighter plane.¹

"Things will change. I know he's not going to be perfect. But he's got a heart," said Doug Ratliff, of the battered coal-country town of Richlands, Va., who owns strip malls in the area. "And he gives people hope."²

Since Trump pulled off an upset against Democratic nominee Hillary



Trump protesters rally in Chicago on Nov. 19. Critics fear his presidency will harm civil liberties and set back race relations. Anti-Trump groups include Muslims worried about being targeted by a national watch list, gays and transgender people afraid their gains of the past eight years will be erased and women's rights groups angered by Trump's misogynistic statements. Critics also worry Trump's policies could eliminate medical insurance for millions.

Clinton — winning the Electoral College and losing the popular vote — many Americans have tried to discern what the mercurial businessman and former reality-television star will do in office. Recent polling finds that only 41 percent of American adults approve of the job Trump is doing so far, and just 40 percent approve of his Cabinet selections and other high-level appointments. Those are historically low numbers for a president-elect during the postelection "honeymoon" phase.³

Trump and his strongest defenders appear unperturbed by the tepid support. During a "thank-you" tour visit to Cincinnati on Dec. 1, a confident Trump told a raucous crowd that he will restore America's greatness. "Never again will anyone's interests come before the in-

terests of the American people," Trump declared. "It's not going to happen."⁴

Although Trump has sent conflicting messages about the details of his intentions, he has indicated he plans to press ahead with the ambitious agenda he outlined during his campaign, including restricting immigration, curbing free trade and repealing the Affordable Care Act (ACA), President Obama's signature legislative achievement.

In addition, Trump wants to:

- Rebuild roads, bridges, the electricity grid and other infrastructure by issuing tax credits to encourage private investment.
- Place a moratorium on new government regulations and roll back rules that "destroy jobs."
- Lower personal income tax rates and collapse seven tax brackets into three and eliminate the estate tax.
- Lower the business tax rate from 35 percent to 15 percent, and tax repatriated corporate profits held offshore at a onetime rate of 10 percent.

Renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and stiffen punishment for countries engaging in unfair trade practices.⁵

The Trump team says his policies will work synergistically to boost economic growth to as much as 4 percent annually and create 25 million jobs over 10 years — goals many economists doubt are feasible. Gregory Daco, chief U.S. economist at Oxford Economics, a global economic advisory firm headquartered in Oxford, England, says he is skeptical that Trump's plans will spark such robust growth. The positive effects of personal income tax cuts on consumer spending will be less than Trump thinks

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Trump Turns to Conservatives, Business Executives

To staff his administration, President-elect Donald Trump is relying on loyalists from the campaign trail, titans from the business world, conservatives from Congress and retired generals from the military. Trump's Cabinet nominees are notable for their wealth — they had combined assets of nearly \$10 billion as of late December, according to The Wall Street Journal, the highest of any Cabinet in U.S. history.

Key Cabinet Appointments



Elaine Chao
Secretary of Transportation
 Served for eight years as President George W. Bush's secretary of Labor. Married to Majority Leader Sen. Mitch McConnell, R-Ky.



Betsy DeVos
Secretary of Education
 Prominent GOP advocate for school choice, charter schools and voucher programs.



James Mattis
Secretary of Defense
 Retired general who led a Marine division to Baghdad in the 2003 invasion of Iraq.



Steven Mnuchin
Secretary of the Treasury
 Former Goldman Sachs executive and hedge fund owner. Will take the lead to enact Trump's proposed economic policy changes.



Rick Perry
Secretary of Energy
 Former Texas governor. Proposed eliminating the Energy Department in 2011 while seeking Republican nomination for president.



Andrew Puzder
Secretary of Labor
 Top Trump campaign donor and CEO of parent company of food chains Hardee's and Carl's Jr.



Wilbur Ross
Secretary of Commerce
 Billionaire investor has advocated for steep tariffs and will be in charge of trade deals.



Rex Tillerson
Secretary of State
 President and CEO of Exxon Mobil. Is close to Russian President Vladimir Putin.



Ryan Zinke
Secretary of the Interior
 Republican U.S. representative from Montana. Is skeptical of the science behind human-caused climate change.

Other Key Appointments



Stephen Bannon
Chief Strategist
 Former executive chair at so-called "alt-right" media company Breitbart who played an instrumental role in Trump's election.



Gary Cohn
Director of the National Economic Council
 Former options trader and president of Goldman Sachs.



Kellyanne Conway
Counselor
 Former Trump campaign manager and Republican pollster and strategist. Upon appointment became the highest-ranking woman in the White House.



Michael Flynn
National Security Adviser
 Retired Army lieutenant general and former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency. Has encouraged closer relations with Russia.



Carl Icahn
Special Adviser on Regulatory Reform
 Billionaire investor and economic adviser during Trump's campaign. Will help select new Securities and Exchange Commission chairman.



Peter Navarro
Director of Trade and Industrial Policy
 Professor at the University of California, Irvine. China critic and only credentialed economist in Trump's inner circle.



Reince Priebus
Chief of Staff
 Current chairman of the Republican National Committee.



Scott Pruitt
Environmental Protection Agency Administrator
 Oklahoma's attorney general. Currently in a legal battle to dismantle two major environmental rules.

All photos by Getty Images

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and private investment in infrastructure will fall short, says Daco. Oxford is predicting the economy will grow 1.6 percent in 2016 and 2.3 percent this year.

Others say cutting taxes and boosting infrastructure spending will ignite inflation and eventually hurt growth. They also note that Trump is inheriting a strong economy with low unemployment, rising wages, low inflation and steady growth. The Federal Reserve is actually concerned that the economy is growing too fast; it announced on Dec. 14 that it was raising its benchmark interest rate for only the second time since the financial crisis of 2008. Nevertheless, interest rates remain historically low.⁶

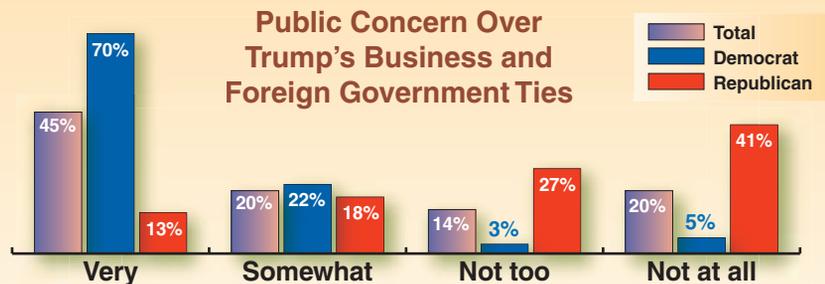
In any case, Trump's Democratic critics deny he has a mandate for sweeping change. Trump, they point out, lost the popular vote to Clinton by 2.8 million, and 54 percent voted for someone other than him.⁷ A poll by *The Washington Post* and George Mason University found that only 29 percent of respondents said Trump has a mandate to carry out his agenda. That is sharply lower than the 50 percent who said Obama had a mandate when he was first elected in 2008.⁸

But Republican leaders in Congress are hopeful. "Welcome to the dawn of a new unified Republican government," House Speaker Paul Ryan, R-Wis., told reporters days after the election.⁹ For the first time since 2006, Republicans will control the executive branch and both houses of Congress. Democrats, however, picked up two Senate seats, which could make it more difficult for Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., to round up the necessary 60 votes to overcome a Democratic filibuster of Republican-backed legislation.

"Even though we didn't get the majority, those two votes will be invaluable in stopping Republicans from doing bad, bad things," said Sen. Chuck Schumer, D-N.Y., whose colleagues chose him to be the next Senate minority leader. Schumer said he was ready to

Trump's Business Ties Spark Concerns

Sixty-five percent of Americans are "very" or "somewhat" concerned that Donald Trump's business and foreign-government ties could affect his ability to serve the country. But the public is split along party lines. More than 90 percent of Democrats say they are "very" or "somewhat" concerned versus 31 percent of Republicans.



Source: "Views of President-elect Trump and his administration," Pew Research Center, Dec. 8, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/z7rj3tx>

work with the new president on proposals for infrastructure spending and trade but would hold the line on tax cuts for the wealthy, repealing the ACA and reversing banking regulations put in place after the 2007-09 recession.¹⁰

Congressional leaders seem to be united on at least one point: They are planning to look into the CIA's conclusion that the Russian government tried to help Trump, who has praised Russian President Vladimir Putin, by using computer hackers to steal and release emails from the Democratic National Committee and Clinton's campaign chairman, John Podesta. Although House and Senate leaders are debating how to proceed, leaders from both parties agree that Congress needs to learn more about what Russia did and how to prevent such interference from happening again. Any congressional action will likely be over Trump's objections; he has dismissed the CIA's findings as "ridiculous" and politically motivated.¹¹

Trump faces opposition on other fronts. He must deal with critics who say his worldwide businesses present serious conflicts of interest and who warn he must take steps to avoid violating government ethics rules. (See graphic, above.) Trump has said his

two eldest sons would run the family business, but the U.S. Office of Government Ethics said that wouldn't be enough. In a postelection tweet it said: "Only way to resolve these conflicts of interest is to divest." Trump, who canceled a mid-December press conference on the topic, said he would reveal his plan for resolving conflicts of interest sometime this month. Trump already took some steps in December, canceling licensing deals for hotels in Brazil and Azerbaijan, for example.¹²

Following in the footsteps of "Not My President" protests in the days after the Nov. 8 vote, numerous groups plan to protest his inauguration in Washington.¹³ Anti-Trump protesters span a diverse group of American society: Muslims worried about being targeted if the Trump administration establishes a national watch list; minorities from the Black Lives Matter movement and other groups fearful that Trump's presidency will further inflame racial bigotry; gays and transgender people afraid their gains of the past eight years will be erased; and women's rights groups angered by Trump's statements they consider misogynistic.

The Southern Poverty Law Center, a liberal civil-rights group in Montgomery,

Ala., said the United States has experienced “a national outbreak of hate, as white supremacists celebrate Donald Trump’s victory”; it said it documented 867 reports of harassment and intimidation in the 10 days after the Nov. 8 election. It added that many of the harassers invoked Trump’s name.¹⁴

Since winning, Trump, at times, has vowed to be a president for all Americans, saying “it is time for us to come together as one united people.”¹⁵

“I am going to instruct my Treasury secretary to label China a currency manipulator,” Trump said in June. “Any country that devalues their currency in order to take advantage of the United States will be met with sharply.”¹⁶ Such devaluation makes a country’s exports cheaper. Yet experts agree China is no longer guilty of weakening its currency, as it did for two decades.¹⁷

Democrats and Republicans who favor open markets and free trade have

Gadbaw, a senior fellow at Georgetown University’s Institute of International Economic Law. But it’s also “pretty clear that the president would have to come back to Congress to get agreement to any renegotiated deal.”

In September, billionaire investor Wilbur Ross and University of California-Irvine business professor Peter Navarro wrote a paper defending Trump’s trade agenda. Ross is Trump’s pick for Commerce secretary and Navarro is to be director of trade and industrial policy.

The United States has entered into “a series of poorly negotiated trade deals that have not distributed the gains from trade fairly,” they wrote. Since President Bill Clinton signed NAFTA in 1993, “the U.S. has lost over 850,000 jobs and its trade deficit with Mexico has soared from virtually zero to roughly \$60 billion.” Trump, they said, will renegotiate NAFTA to increase U.S. economic growth, decrease the U.S. trade deficit and strengthen the U.S. manufacturing base.¹⁹ NAFTA’s critics point to the loss of hundreds of thousands of jobs in the U.S. auto sector in particular.²⁰

But Navarro and Ross are mistaken about NAFTA, says Marcus Noland, director of studies at the Peterson Institute for International Economics, a centrist think tank in Washington. “All the studies show that the bulk of job loss over the last 20 years in manufacturing is due to technological change, with the exception of the garment sector and maybe apparel or textiles more broadly,” Noland says.

Although NAFTA produced wrenching changes in the beginning as some manufacturing shifted across borders, “we have accommodated ourselves to being very close trading partners,” says Gary Burtless, an economist at the Brookings Institution, a centrist research group in Washington. Canada, Mexico and the United States each specializes in what it manufactures most efficiently and cost-effectively, he says, “and that has advantages on both sides of the border. The



AP Photo/Evan Vucci

President-elect Trump visits a Carrier Corp. plant in Indianapolis, Ind., on Dec. 1. Trump and Vice President-elect Mike Pence arranged for Carrier to receive state tax breaks in exchange for the company agreeing not to move some factory jobs to Mexico. Trump’s supporters say he will renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement to boost U.S. economic growth and strengthen manufacturing. But many economists say factory job losses over the last 20 years are due mainly to technological change, not free trade.

As Trump readies to take office, here are some of the questions politicians, analysts, voters and others are asking:

Would exiting trade agreements or imposing stiff tariffs damage the U.S. economy?

If Trump’s campaign rhetoric is any guide, he wants to radically change U.S. trade policy. He has said he would walk away from NAFTA if Mexico and Canada don’t agree to renegotiate it; withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a new trade agreement between Pacific Rim countries, which Congress has yet to ratify; and punish China for its trade practices.

attacked Trump’s comments, saying they fear he will start a trade war. Unlike Trump’s other promises, such as repealing the Affordable Care Act, many of his trade policies would not require congressional approval.

Abandoning the Trans-Pacific Partnership “would be a no-brainer for Trump,” said Billy Melo Araujo, a lecturer in international economic law at Queen’s University in Belfast, Ireland. Once Trump is sworn in, “it would simply be a matter of not putting it to a vote before Congress.”¹⁸

As for NAFTA, “Trump has inherent authority to terminate the agreement, so he also has inherent authority to call for a renegotiation,” says R. Michael

notion that we have fewer jobs than we would without NAFTA is really a stretch.”

“Without NAFTA, [our company] would be out of business,” said Rich Turner, a senior manager of a denim-manufacturing plant in Mauldin, S.C. The plant exports 85 percent of its denim duty-free to Mexico, where it is made into jeans that are then shipped to the United States.²¹

Trump has also threatened to impose a 35 percent tariff on some Mexican goods, a move that experts say would violate international law and could prompt Mexico to retaliate. “I don’t see how that’s a win,” said Turner. He said he worries that tariffs on Mexican goods would make the finished jeans too expensive for the U.S. market and depress orders for his denim. Forty percent of the parts in Mexican-manufactured exports originate in the United States, according to the Congressional Research Service.²²

Navarro denied tariffs would put U.S. jobs at risk. “The tariff is not an end game; it’s a strategy — a strategy to renegotiate trade deals,” he said.²³

Trump has threatened to impose an even larger tariff, 45 percent, on China. Most economists agree that when China was allowed to join the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, many U.S. communities suffered as manufacturing shifted to the low-wage nation. In addition, U.S. companies found it difficult to sell in China because the Chinese “don’t allow competition with their state-owned enterprises,” says Derek Scissors, Asia economist at the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think tank in Washington.

But an across-the-board tariff is a bad idea, Scissors says. For one thing, “we import consumer goods [from China], so prices for clothing, for computers, prices for cellphones would all rise,” he says, “and it’s going to disproportionately hit the poor.” And many American-made products have Chinese components.

In addition, says Burtless, high tariffs against China or Mexico are no guarantee that jobs would return to the

United States. Companies might instead move production to “Vietnam and Malaysia and [South] Korea. . . . Are we going to put tariff barriers on every country on Earth?”

And finally, say Burtless and Scissors, China is sure to retaliate. The answer to gaining access to China’s markets has to be negotiation, says Noland. “Donald Trump likes to make deals. Wilbur Ross, same thing,” he says.

Would American workers benefit from a more restrictive immigration policy?

From the beginning of his presidential campaign, Trump vocally — critics say unfairly — attacked undocumented immigrants. He called the United States a “dumping ground for everybody else’s problems” and said Mexico is “sending people that have lots of problems,” including some who are criminals and rapists. He promised to build a wall on the nation’s southern border, with Mexico footing the bill, and vowed to deport the roughly 11 million foreigners in the United States illegally.²⁴

He later softened his position to say he wanted to focus deportation on the 2 million to 3 million undocumented immigrants with criminal records. (Experts say the actual number is closer to 820,000.²⁵)

Trump’s critique didn’t focus solely on crime. In an August speech, he said “most illegal immigrants are lower-skilled workers with less education who compete directly against vulnerable American workers” and blamed these immigrants for lowering wages.²⁶ Sen. Jeff Sessions, R-Ala., Trump’s pick for attorney general, shares his views, blaming what Sessions’ website calls the “unprecedented flow of immigration” for “sapping the wages and job prospects of those living and working here today.”²⁷

Immigrants — both documented and undocumented — constituted 16.9 percent of the U.S. civilian labor force in 2015, up from 12.4 percent in 2000 but little changed since 2010, according

to the Washington-based Migration Policy Institute, a nonpartisan think tank that analyzes worldwide migration trends. Those in the country illegally accounted for 5 percent of the civilian labor force in 2014, up from 3.9 percent in 2000 but less than the 5.4 percent peak in 2007, according to the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan polling and research think tank in Washington.²⁸

Business owners in sectors dependent on immigrant labor, such as agriculture and construction, say the problem isn’t too many immigrant workers but too few.²⁹ They point to Mexico, which saw the net flow of migration across its U.S. border fall to zero five years ago as Mexican birth rates declined, the country’s employment opportunities improved and the Obama administration increased deportations.³⁰

“Right now, if I had 80 guys, I could put every one of them to work,” said Steve Johnson, who harvests Florida oranges. Said Nelson Braddy Jr., owner of King of Texas Roofing Co.: “Without Mexican labor, our industry is at a standstill.” Braddy raised wages twice last year, with most of his workers now earning more than \$20 an hour, and he still cannot attract enough people, he said.³¹

That’s partly because immigrants tend to move to regions of the United States that are economically robust with low unemployment, says Randy Capps, the Migration Policy Institute’s director of research for U.S. programs. “So it’s not as if removing large numbers of unauthorized immigrants would immediately open up jobs to U.S.-born workers because many of those workers don’t live in the right places. They’re not employed in the right sectors, and they don’t have the right job experience,” he says.

Trump adviser Navarro disagrees. “These are jobs that many American citizens would gladly take if they weren’t being pushed out by illegal immigrants,” he said.³²

Trump and his supporters also partly blame immigration for the decline in the percentage of native-born American adults in the labor force, which shrank

Trump's Businesses Span Globe

President-elect Donald Trump has amassed what experts estimate to be a net worth of \$3.5 billion in a global network that consists of licensing deals and business ventures, most of which are housed under the Trump Organization. Businesses range from a vineyard in Charlottesville, Va., to hotels overseas. Several of his earlier ventures, such as Trump University and his Atlantic City, N.J., casinos, are defunct.

Notable Business Holdings

The Trump Organization

Trump's parent company, based in Trump Tower in Manhattan, oversees his real estate development, entertainment, hospitality and retail divisions. The Trump Organization owns or has licensing agreements with properties in Florida, New Jersey, Nevada and elsewhere, as well as in such countries as Panama, South Korea, Canada and India. These properties include hotels, golf courses, residential real estate and office buildings.

Along with its real estate holdings, the Trump Organization oversees Success by Trump, a male cologne that is produced in collaboration with Five Star Fragrance Co. The organization also partners with private-jet company Sentient Jet, whose planes transported Trump and his aides throughout the campaign.

Trump Productions LLC

The television production company serves the entertainment business slice of the Trump Organization, and Trump is chairman and CEO. The production company is behind Trump's reality-TV competition show "The Apprentice" and its spinoff "Celebrity Apprentice"; Trump will retain his executive producer title for the latter when he becomes president.

Trump Model Management

Started in 1999, Trump's modeling agency is based in New York City and formerly represented socialite Paris Hilton. The agency also represented Trump's wife, Melania Trump, before her 2005 marriage to the president-elect.

Sources: "The Companies Donald Trump Owns," Investopedia, Nov. 9, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/ju4xmxg>; "Trump Productions," the Trump Organization, <http://tinyurl.com/jq7jqgm>



Getty Images/NurPhoto/Cheriss May

from 67 percent in 2000 to 62 percent in 2015.³³ But Theresa Cardinal Brown, director of immigration policy at the Washington-based Bipartisan Policy Center, a centrist think tank, says immigration isn't to blame. Instead, many native-born Americans leaving the workforce are retiring or going on disability as the population ages, or are returning to school, she says.

In fact, "most evidence and research suggests immigration is good for the country, including its effects on the wages of most workers," said Daniel Costa, director of immigration law and policy research at the Washington-based Economic Policy Institute, a liberal think tank.³⁴

That's also the conclusion of a recent report from the National Academy of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, an independent group of leading researchers that reviewed relevant studies.³⁵ (Those studies did not distinguish between illegal and legal immigration.)

More immigrants mean more people to demand more goods, says Rutgers University economics professor Jennifer Hunt, one of the report's authors. Higher sales mean firms will need to raise production, which means hiring more workers and investing in more equipment. In the end, immigration's impact on native-born Americans' wages is about zero, she says.

But that doesn't mean there aren't losers. The report also looked at immigration's impact on the 10 percent of native-born workers without a high school diploma. "We came to a consensus" that immigration hurts these high school dropouts because many of the immigrants themselves do not have diplomas, and when they land poorly paying jobs it depresses wages for native-born Americans, Hunt says. But by how much is something researchers disagree on, she says.

One set of studies the academy reviewed simulated the impact of a 20-year increase in immigration that swelled the number of high school dropouts by 25 percent. They estimated it would depress the wages of native-born dropouts by 2 percent to 5 percent

over that period. But when researchers assumed that firms were able to adjust to the flow of workers by investing in capital equipment and increasing production, the estimated effects were much less, ranging from lowering wages for native-born high school dropouts by 2 percent to increasing them by 1 percent.³⁶

Would Trump's demand that U.S. allies pay more of the cost of common defense weaken European and Asian security?

During the campaign, Trump threatened, if elected, to pull U.S. troops from Europe and Asia if allied countries did not pay more toward the cost of maintaining the forces. He called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) "obsolete" and then stunned its 28 members when he suggested that he would not automatically come to the defense of NATO members, including the Baltic nations Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, if they were attacked by Russia, unless they increased their military spending.³⁷

NATO was formed after World War II to deter Soviet expansion in Europe and to prevent the re-emergence of militant nationalism on the continent. A central principle, enshrined in the alliance's founding treaty, is the notion of collective defense, "that an attack against one or several members is considered as an attack against all."³⁸

For decades, American presidents have demanded that NATO members pay more for defense. NATO's agreed-upon target for each member's military spending is at least 2 percent of the nation's gross domestic product (GDP), which only Estonia, Greece, Poland, the United Kingdom and the United States met last year.³⁹ But Trump would be the first American president to question the core notion of collective defense by making a U.S. military response contingent on a member's meeting that goal.

Many experts are uncomfortable with Trump's challenge. "I think it makes provocations by Putin and future aggres-

sion by Russia much more likely," says Jorge Benitez, a senior fellow at the Washington-based Atlantic Council, a private research organization that was formed to support NATO. The Russians "may doubt that we will defend our allies," says Benitez, noting that Russia invaded two states that aren't NATO members, Georgia in 2008 and Ukraine in 2014.

Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the Washington-based Cato Institute, a libertarian public policy research organization, says Russia doesn't pose a threat to Europe, but he also doesn't like Trump's ultimatum.

"While Putin is happy to keep the West off balance, what evidence is there that he plans on attacking the Baltics?" says Bandow. "I think he knows that he would lose a war." But Trump was wrong to question the U.S. commitment to collective defense, he says, and "I cannot believe in a crisis that he would not fulfill obligations that had been undertaken by previous presidents."

Bandow says Trump has other means to pressure NATO members to increase their military spending, including "ostentatiously" holding a planning exercise at the Pentagon with a reduced U.S. presence in Europe and canceling President Obama's budget request to return to Europe troops that he had brought home before Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

"The combined GDP of the European Union countries is quite high, and they easily could spend more and provide more for their defense," says William Ruger, vice president for research and policy at the Washington-based Charles Koch Institute, an educational organization that embraces free market values.

Judy Dempsey, a nonresident senior fellow at Brussels-based Carnegie Europe, an international affairs think tank, agrees that NATO members take U.S. security guarantees for granted but says reducing American troop strength in Europe has drawbacks. "Europe does still very much benefit America precisely because of its geographic proximity to the trouble areas that America has to deal with." For ex-

ample, U.S. bases in Germany support operations in Afghanistan and the Middle East, she says.

Abrupt American policy changes in Europe could bring about regional and domestic instability, said Stephen Sestanovich, a Columbia University professor of international diplomacy and an ambassador at large for the former Soviet Union during the Clinton administration. "Hotheads" among Latvia's large Russian minority could become emboldened and threaten national unity while the country's security officials, worried that the United States "might not be with them in a crisis," might respond with harsh crackdowns, said Sestanovich.⁴⁰

Dempsey says even more important than increasing NATO members' military budgets is changing what they spend money on. "There's duplication of helicopters, of tanks, of armaments for one thing," she says. In addition, European countries need to overcome their mutual mistrust and do a better job of sharing intelligence with one another," she says. "I hope Trump's rhetoric snaps them out of their comfort zone."

Trump has also questioned America's military commitment to Asia. Last March he told *The New York Times* that he would be open to Japan and South Korea developing their own nuclear weapons rather than relying on the U.S. nuclear deterrent and that he would consider withdrawing troops from the two countries if they didn't pay more to keep them. "We will not be ripped off anymore," he said.⁴¹

Bandow agrees with Trump's promise to draw down troops. "South Korea has 40 times the GDP and twice the population of North Korea. Why have [U.S.] troops there at this point 63 years after the [Korean] War concluded?" he asks. "South Koreans could do a lot more, and they don't because they rely on the U.S. How does that make sense for America?"

But U.S. military experts say Japan and South Korea pay billions of dollars a year to help maintain U.S. bases there. For example, South Korea covers about half of

U.S. personnel costs and is contributing 92 percent of the cost of constructing a new U.S. base in the country, according to Army Gen. Vincent Brooks, the top U.S. commander in South Korea.⁴²

Zack Cooper, a fellow at the Wash-

ington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies, a centrist policy research organization, said it would be far more expensive to bring these troops home. “If you were to shift U.S. forces currently in Japan and Korea back to the U.S., you would have to place them somewhere, and those facilities are fairly expensive to build and maintain.”⁴³



Trump Taj Mahal casino in Atlantic City, N.J. – Trump's largest – closed on Oct. 10 despite a creditor bailout and other efforts to save it. Trump presides over a global business empire that includes hotels, golf courses and a vineyard, as well as numerous licensing deals. Some of his earlier ventures, such as Trump University and the Trump Shuttle, are defunct. His net worth is estimated at more than \$3 billion.

front pages,” wrote *The Washington Post's* Michael Kranish and Marc Fisher in *Trump Revealed: An American Journey of Ambition, Ego, Money, and Power*.⁴⁴ The billionaire, global brand and former reality-television star owns

homes from California to Virginia but spends the most time at his three-level penthouse in Trump Tower on Manhattan's tony Fifth Avenue.⁴⁵ The 58-story skyscraper is also headquarters for the Trump Organization, his family's privately owned international conglomerate.

But Trump's roots are in the far less glamorous, predominantly working- and middle-class New York City borough of Queens. Trump was born there on June 14, 1946, the fourth child of Mary and Frederick (Fred) Trump. His mother, a stay-at-home mom, was a Scottish emigre from a modest farming family, his father a residential real estate developer and first-generation German-American.⁴⁶

Fred Trump was a workaholic and a tough disciplinarian, according to his children. “My father never had any hobbies,” Donald's older sister Maryanne Trump Barry told journalist Gwenda Blair, author of *The Trumps: Three Generations That Built An Empire*. Weekends were spent inspecting his buildings, children in tow.

“Dad would take the elevator to the top floor and then walk down. He would look at each landing and the incinerator and boiler room,” recalled Robert Trump, Donald's younger brother.⁴⁷

Fred Trump started out building single-family homes in Queens in the 1920s. The Great Depression interrupted his real estate career, but he soon began anew, this time with the help of the federal government. In 1934, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to jump-start home construction by insuring mortgages that followed certain federal rules. Over the next two decades, Trump would get rich building homes whose owners had secured government-insured loans and helping to create a “quasi-suburban way of life in the outer boroughs,” wrote Blair.⁴⁸

But in 1954, Fred Trump and other developers were called before Congress to answer accusations that they were making windfall profits by exploiting loopholes in an FHA program to encourage the building of affordable apartments for World War II veterans. “Although Fred Trump had clearly violated the spirit of the FHA program, he had not been caught in any criminal act,” wrote journalist Michael D'Antonio in *Never Enough: Donald Trump and the Pursuit of Success*.⁴⁹

Trump's wealth allowed his children to attend private schools. In 1959, in response to Donald's rebelliousness in class, Fred Trump sent the 13-year-old away to New York Military Academy, 55 miles north of the city. “For the first time, Donald was in a place that encouraged and channeled competitiveness and aggression instead of tamping it down,” wrote Blair.⁵⁰

In 1968, Trump graduated with a BA in economics from Wharton, the University of Pennsylvania's business school. His student deferment during the Vietnam War expired upon graduation, but bone spurs in his heels made him ineligible for military service. And so, at

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BACKGROUND

The Family Legacy

Donald Trump has been a celebrity nearly all of his adult life. “He flaunted his wealth, spent ostentatiously, worked the media to keep himself on the gossip pages and the business pages and the sports pages and the

Chronology

1940s-1970s

Trump learns the family business.

1946

Donald John Trump is born June 14 in Queens, N.Y., to Fred Trump, a real estate developer, and Mary Trump, a stay-at-home mom.

1964

Trump graduates from New York Military Academy.

1968

He receives an undergraduate degree from Wharton, University of Pennsylvania's business school, and begins working for his father's business. In 1971 he becomes president of the firm.

1973

U.S. Justice Department accuses the Trumps of refusing to rent apartments to minorities; Donald Trump denies the charge but eventually settles lawsuit and agrees to remove barriers to minority applicants.

1977

Trump marries model Ivana Winklmayr. Before divorcing in 1992, they have three children: Donald Jr., Ivanka and Eric.

1980s-1990s

Trump's business expands, then nears collapse.

1980

Trump's first major project, the Grand Hyatt hotel, opens next to Manhattan's Grand Central Station, helping to rejuvenate the blighted area.

1983

Trump Tower opens.

1984

Trump opens his first casino, Harrah's at Trump Plaza, in Atlantic City, later renamed Trump Plaza Hotel & Casino.

1987

Trump publishes his first book, the bestselling *The Art of the Deal*.

1988

Trump buys Manhattan's Plaza Hotel; his third casino, the Taj Mahal in Atlantic City; and Eastern Airlines Northeast shuttle, renaming it Trump Shuttle.

1990

Trump Organization's debts hit \$9 billion as casino profits dwindle; creditors devise bailout. In 1991 the Taj Mahal files for bankruptcy protection.

1992

Trump Plaza Hotel & Casino files for Chapter 11 protection.

1993

Trump marries model Marla Maples a few months after daughter Tiffany is born. The marriage lasts six years.

1995

Trump forms publicly traded Trump Plaza Hotel & Casino Inc.; the money raised is used to pay down debt, and its stock price soars.

1996

Trump Plaza Hotel & Casino Inc. purchases the failing Taj Mahal and Castle Hotel casinos from Trump for more than they are worth; the company's stock price plunges.

1999

Trump considers seeking Reform Party nomination for president before withdrawing. . . . Fred Trump dies, leaving a large estate to his children.

2000s-Present

Trump becomes reality-TV star and president-elect.

2004

Trump Plaza Hotel & Casino Inc. files for Chapter 11 protection. . . . Trump stars in NBC's "The Apprentice," which becomes an immediate hit.

2005

Trump marries model Melania Knauss; son Barron is born the next year.

2009

Trump Entertainment Resorts, forged from the 2004 Chapter 11 reorganization, files for bankruptcy protection; Trump steps down as chairman.

2011

Trump joins the "birther" movement, questioning whether President Obama was born in the United States.

2014

Trump Plaza Hotel & Casino closes.

2015

Trump announces his presidential candidacy on June 16.

2016

Trump wins the Republican nomination to run against Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton (July). . . . Trump Taj Mahal closes (October). . . . Trump is elected 45th president despite losing popular vote by nearly 3 million votes (November). . . . Trump selects wealthy businessmen, retired military brass and conservative politicians for Cabinet (November-December). . . . CIA suspects Russian President Vladimir Putin approved release of hacked Democratic emails during presidential campaign (December).

Foreign Policy to Test Trump From the Get-Go

Experts say his advisers lack diplomatic experience.

Headlines from mid-December hint at the many foreign policy challenges Donald Trump will face as president. A gunman shouting “God is great” and “Don’t forget Aleppo” assassinates Russia’s ambassador to Turkey. A truck plows into a Christmas market in Germany, killing 12 and wounding dozens of others, in an attack for which the Islamic State claimed credit. China seizes a U.S. Navy underwater drone in the contested South China Sea.¹

Experts agree Trump will have his hands full, and many worry his foreign policy team lacks diplomatic experience — a potentially serious problem given that Trump has no background in diplomacy.

A president needs experienced advisers who can frame choices and help their boss avoid a quick rush to judgment, says Michael O’Hanlon, a senior foreign policy fellow at the Washington-based Brookings Institution, a centrist research organization. Trump’s picks are talented individuals, but “I don’t see that kind of diplomatic experience on the team, and that is a serious shortcoming,” he says.

Exxon Mobil CEO Rex Tillerson, selected for secretary of State, has negotiated numerous international business deals but has no formal foreign policy experience. Neither does Nikki Haley, South Carolina’s Republican governor, who was tapped to be the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Trump turned to two retired generals for secretary of Defense (James Mattis) and national security adviser (Michael Flynn).

“It will be argued that those from the military do have foreign policy experience, but that experience is necessarily geared more toward operations than more conceptual and abstract questions of foreign policy,” said James Mann, a resident fellow at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.²

Some veterans of the national security establishment disagree. Robert Gates, who served as Defense secretary for Presidents Obama and George W. Bush, said Tillerson possesses “vast knowledge, experience and success in dealing with dozens of governments and leaders in every corner of the world.” Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., praised Mattis as a “forthright strategic thinker.”³

Here are some likely flashpoints for Trump and his foreign policy team.

Syria and ISIS

In a possible turning point in Syria’s civil war, Syria and its primary backers Russia and Iran signed a cease-fire agreement in late December with Turkey and Syrian rebels, excluding jihadists such as the Islamic State (ISIS). One week earlier, Syrian President Bashar al-Assad, with help from Russia, regained control over Aleppo, the last major city with a rebel stronghold.

The costs of the nearly six-year war have been high. Syria and its allies have leveled Aleppo and other cities, killed hundreds of thousands and driven millions from their homes.⁴

The Obama administration wants Assad gone and has provided support for some rebel groups while working to defeat the Islamic State. Trump has signaled that he is prepared to change U.S. strategy by striking a deal to leave Assad in power and make crushing the Islamic State his top priority.

But even Russian President Vladimir Putin called the cease-fire “fragile.”⁵ And O’Hanlon says the best hope for Syrian long-term peace is for Assad to control only those regions of Syria populated by Christians and his fellow Alawites while allowing some form of autonomy for Sunni and Kurdish regions.

Iran Nuclear Deal

Trump’s foreign policy team is divided over the Obama administration’s nuclear agreement with Iran. Mattis has said there is no going back while Flynn has attacked the deal. During the campaign Trump called it “the worst deal ever negotiated” and vowed to dismantle it.⁶

The 2015 agreement involving Iran, the United States and five other nations restricts Iran’s ability to develop a nuclear weapon, while allowing the country to continue to enrich uranium for civilian purposes. In exchange, the world powers agreed to lift United Nations sanctions against Iran.

Critics said the agreement should have completely dismantled

Continued from p. 10

age 22, he began his full-time apprenticeship with his father.⁵¹

Learning the Business

Fred Trump’s office left much to be desired, wrote D’Antonio. Located in a working-class Brooklyn neighborhood, the “claustrophobic space” had a drop ceiling, fluorescent lights and battered

furniture. “Given the setting, young Donald Trump could be forgiven for letting his mind wander to Manhattan,” said D’Antonio. “Keenly aware of the value locked up in his father’s eighty-or-so buildings, which were worth well over \$100 million, Donald urged him to refinance and create a pool of cash for new endeavors.” But Fred Trump was reluctant to venture across the East River to Manhattan, where development was more costly and he had no political connections.⁵²

By 1973, Donald Trump was president of Elizabeth Trump & Son, the family business; his father was chairman.⁵³ (Fred Trump died in 1999.) His first test as the family’s public face came in January 1974, when he called a press conference after the U.S. Department of Justice sued the Trumps’ property management arm over allegations that it was refusing to rent apartments to minorities. Unlike other developers who quickly settled such charges, the Trumps decided to fight. At

Iran's nuclear program. Supporters say the agreement significantly lengthens the time it would take for Iran to develop a nuclear weapon.⁷

Trump can “swiftly deliver a death blow” to the agreement by demanding it be renegotiated, said Ellie Geranmayeh, policy fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations, a pan-European think tank. Or he could seek to provoke Iran into abandoning the deal by signing legislation that imposes “fresh sanctions,” said Geranmayeh.⁸

China

Trump has threatened to impose trade sanctions against China and defied decades of U.S.-China diplomacy by taking a congratulatory postelection phone call from Taiwan President Tsai Ing-wen.

“At first I thought Trump’s China bashing was for the campaign, but now I am not so sure,” says Edward Goldberg, an international trade consultant. “It is extremely dangerous. . . . The China-U.S. geopolitical and economic relationship is the key to global stability.”

Trump has also vowed to abandon the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a 12-nation trade deal that aims to deepen economic ties among Pacific Rim countries, excepting China, by slashing tariffs and increasing trade. Trump says it will cause U.S. companies to move production abroad.

No matter its economic merits, the TPP has diplomatic value, and by withdrawing from it, the United States is “leaving a vacuum for China to fill,” says Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu, a visiting professor at New York University’s Center for Global Affairs.

China is planning a far-reaching infrastructure project dubbed “One Belt, One Road,” a network of roads, rail and oil and gas pipelines that will extend south into Thailand and Myanmar and west into Central Asia and beyond. Ports are to dot the Indian Ocean, South China Sea and the East African coast.

“The Chinese say this is all for economics and business,” says Sidhu. “But it’s quite possible that China could turn all of these assets into military assets very quickly as well.”

— **Barbara Mantel**



Getty Images/Sean Gallup

Police patrol the Breitscheidplatz Christmas market in Berlin after a truck plowed into holiday shoppers in a terrorist attack on Dec. 19, killing 12 people and injuring dozens. Terrorism is among the key foreign policy challenges facing President-elect Trump.

¹ David Filipov, Kareem Fahim and Liz Sly, “Turkish police officer, invoking Aleppo, guns down Russian ambassador in Ankara,” *The Washington Post*, Dec. 19, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/zeat9j4>; David Rising and Frank Jordans, “Islamic State Claims Berlin Christmas Market Attack,” *The Associated Press*, *The Washington Post*, Dec. 20, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/hz9sodq>; Lolita C. Baldor, “US says Chinese warship seized Navy underwater drone,” *The Associated Press*, *The Washington Post*, Dec. 16, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/hvau9y5>.

² James Mann, “Donald Trump’s Foreign Policy Team: Built to Fail,” *The New York Times*, Dec. 17, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/jknyowg>.

³ Jake Sherman and Matthew Nussbaum, “Gates, Rice Praise Tillerson for secretary of state,” *Politico*, Dec. 13, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/hg42z4a>; Paul Szoldra, “Sen. John McCain endorses Gen. Mattis for Defense Secretary,” *Business Insider*, Nov. 21, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/hb3q8v7>.

⁴ “Confronting Fragmentation! Impact of Syrian Crisis Report,” Syrian Center for Policy Research, February 2016, pp. 41, 61, <http://tinyurl.com/j2jebeo>; “The Six Main Parties that Kill Civilians in Syria and the Death Toll Percentage Distribution among them,” Syrian Network for Human Rights, Nov. 14, 2016, p. 4, <http://tinyurl.com/zwl5omd>.

⁵ Louisa Loveluck and Andrew Roth, “Cease-fire to begin across Syria starting at midnight, Syrian army says,” *The Washington Post*, Dec. 29, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/hgw939h>.

⁶ Yeganeh Torbati, “Trump election puts Iran nuclear deal on shaky ground,” *Reuters*, Nov. 9, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/ownijeo>.

⁷ Eyder Peralta, “6 Things You Should Know About The Iran Nuclear Deal,” *NPR*, July 14, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/o92ts32>.

⁸ Ellie Geranmayeh, “Will Trump Destroy the Iran Deal?” *The New York Times*, Nov. 25, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/jjkfb2h>.

Donald Trump’s side was his newly hired attorney Roy Cohn, who defended organized crime figures and had worked with Sen. Joseph McCarthy, R-Wis., the notorious 1950s anti-communist crusader who sparked a “Red Scare.” Cohn announced a countersuit seeking \$100 million in damages suffered from the “irresponsible and baseless” claims.⁵⁴

Cohn eventually reached a settlement that required the Trumps to remove barriers to minority applicants.

But, under Cohn’s tutelage, Donald Trump’s lifelong approach to legal disputes was forged. “He would admit no wrongdoing and define a conflict to insist that he was the victim and not the perpetrator of some immoral or illegal act,” D’Antonio wrote.⁵⁵

In 1976, Trump, who had renamed the family business the Trump Organization, arranged his first major real estate deal, in Manhattan. Trump partnered with Hyatt Hotels Corp. to take control

of and rebuild the historic but crumbling Commodore Hotel, located next to 42nd Street’s Grand Central Station in then-downtrodden midtown Manhattan. Like his father, he depended on government largess, persuading financially strapped New York City to give the partners a property tax break worth \$4 million a year. He also persuaded his father to help guarantee a \$70 million construction loan, the first of many instances of paternal financial help over the years. In

Supreme Court an Early Battleground

Stakes high as Trump prepares to nominate a new justice.

On the campaign trail, Donald Trump vowed to appoint a Supreme Court justice who “will protect our liberty with the highest regard for the Constitution.” He will soon get his chance — and Democrats are worried about the prospect.

After taking office on Jan. 20, Trump will name a successor to Justice Antonin Scalia. Scalia, who died suddenly last February, anchored the high court’s conservative 5-4 majority. He believed that judges should interpret the Constitution and statutes based on their original meaning and not on evolving norms.

Scalia’s replacement could tilt the Supreme Court — currently divided 4-4 between liberal and conservative justices — in a conservative direction for decades to come, especially if the new justice is on the younger side.

In March, President Obama nominated Merrick Garland to fill Scalia’s seat. Garland is chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit and is considered a moderate. But Senate Republicans refused to even hold confirmation hearings. “The American people should have a voice in the selection of their next Supreme Court Justice,” said Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., in a statement after Scalia’s death. “Therefore, this vacancy should not be filled until we have a new president.”¹

In September, Trump released the final names in a list of 21 potential candidates (not including Garland) for the job, adding that his list was “definitive.”² The odds are high that he will dip into it more than once. On Inauguration Day, Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg will be 83 years old, Anthony Kennedy 80 and Stephen Breyer 78. Ginsburg and Breyer are part of the court’s liberal wing, while Kennedy is often the swing vote.

The stakes are high, said John G. Malcolm, director of the Edwin Meese III Center for Legal and Judicial Studies at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank in Washington. The court is closely divided on a number of contentious issues, including gun rights, religious liberty, voting laws and the death penalty, said Malcolm, and with Scalia’s death, the court’s conservatives lost a decisive vote. The justices are also divided on the appropriate reach of executive regulations. For example, just before his death Scalia cast one of five votes to stay enforcement of Obama’s Clean Power Plan, which would regulate carbon emissions from electric power plants. Malcolm called Trump’s list “excellent.”³

But Nan Aron, president of the Washington-based Alliance for Justice, a liberal judicial advocacy group, said Trump’s prospective justices “would roll back a century of economic and social progress.” Candidates on the list, Aron said, have upheld discriminatory voter ID laws; supported the death penalty; questioned the Miranda warning, which advises people of their rights when arrested; and set back women’s health by exempting private corporations, in the name of religious freedom, from the Affordable Care Act mandate that company health plans cover certain kinds of contraception.⁴

Presidential candidates typically describe their ideal Supreme Court justice in general terms. But Trump’s release of actual names suggested he wanted to reassure conservatives of his bona fides. Carrie Severino of the Washington-based Judicial Crisis Network, a conservative judicial advocacy group, praised the Trump list as “unprecedented” and said it should “please conservatives.”⁵

1980, the newly completed, 30-story Grand Hyatt towered over the stone edifices of Park Avenue.⁵⁶

In 1977 Trump married the model Ivana Winklmayr, with whom he had three children before they divorced nearly 15 years later: Donald Trump Jr., born in 1977; Ivanka in 1981; and Eric in 1984.

Even before ground was broken on the Grand Hyatt, Trump was negotiating his second mega-project. In 1979, Trump and his partner, the Equitable Life Assurance Society, began to raze the historic Fifth Avenue building that housed department store Bonwit Teller. Trump Tower would be its replacement.

But Trump used an inexperienced demolition contractor, who could afford to accept a “rock-bottom fee” by hiring undocumented Polish laborers

for less than half the union rate, wrote Blair. They worked 12-to-18-hour shifts seven days a week.⁵⁷

The “honeymoon he had enjoyed in the New York press was over,” Blair said. Trump may have helped rescue 42nd Street, but now “he was also a breaker of promises and an art vandal, an anti-tenant landlord and an exploiter of immigrant labor.”⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Trump Tower was a success; its condos sold quickly.⁵⁹

“As Trump Tower reached for the sky, so, too, did the Trump mythos,” wrote Kranish and Fisher. In 1982, *Forbes* estimated Trump’s worth at \$100 million and placed him on its list of America’s 400 wealthiest people. Four years later, Trump generated further publicity — and regained some of the city’s goodwill

— when he repaired Central Park’s shuttered Wollman Skating Rink under budget and ahead of schedule.⁶⁰

Betting on Atlantic City

In 1981, Trump applied for a license to operate casinos in Atlantic City, N.J. The application asked whether Trump had ever been the subject of any government investigations, but Trump made no mention of the federal discrimination lawsuit, wrote Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist David Cay Johnston in *The Making of Donald Trump*. Nor, according to Johnston, did Trump mention three other federal investigations, including one into his dealings with a mob associate who controlled the flow

Conservatives are intent on avoiding a disappointment like Justice David Souter, who retired in 2009, said Malcolm. Republican President George H.W. Bush appointed Souter in 1990, but Souter's judicial record turned out to be decidedly liberal, Malcolm said.⁶

Lawyer William M. Jay, a former law clerk for Scalia, said his first choice from Trump's list is Judge William H. Pryor Jr. of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 11th Circuit in Atlanta. Pryor once ended a speech by saying, "Please, God, no more Souters," and he has called the Supreme Court's landmark 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision establishing a woman's right to abortion "the worst abomination of constitutional law in our history."⁷

"There is a broad consensus that Bill Pryor is a smart, intellectual and fair judge who most conservatives would happily see on a Supreme Court shortlist," said Jay.

But incoming Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer, D-N.Y., told NBC's "Meet the Press" that Trump needs to pick a "mainstream candidate, . . . someone you may not agree with on every issue, but basically believes in precedent and basically believes in following the law." If Trump doesn't, "we're going to go at him with everything we have," Schumer said. Democrats, who will control 48 seats in the new Senate, will have some leverage because under current rules 41 senators can filibuster a Supreme Court nomination.⁸

— **Barbara Mantel**

¹ "After Scalia's death, Obama has opening to shift Supreme Court balance," Fox News, Feb. 13, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/hpvb2a7>.



Getty Images/Alex Wong

Judge Merrick Garland, a moderate, was nominated by President Obama to fill the late Antonin Scalia's Supreme Court seat, but Senate Republicans refused to hold confirmation hearings. Trump's list of 21 conservative candidates for the job does not include Garland.

² "Donald J. Trump Finalizes List of Potential Supreme Court Justice Picks," Trump-Pence Make America Great Again, Sept. 23, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/zu4jcb9>.

³ John G. Malcolm, "With Trump's Election, the Future of the Courts Looks Brighter," *The Daily Signal*, Nov. 15, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/9w3nnq>; John G. Malcolm, "On the Line on Election Day: Eight Key Issues Decided by Next US President — The Supreme Court," Heritage Foundation, Nov. 30, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/zslvzvz>.

⁴ Nan Aron, "Trump's Supreme Court Justices Would Roll Back A Century Of Progress," *The Huffington Post*, Oct. 7, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/hc6a2j5>.

⁵ Nina Totenberg, "Donald Trump Unveils New, More Diverse Supreme Court Short List," NPR, Sept. 23, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/hahwbw4>.

⁶ Adam Liptak, "Trump's Supreme Court List: Ivy League? Out. The Heartland? In," *The New York Times*, Nov. 14, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/hx27v8q>.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Kevin Daley, "Schumer Warns Trump: Pick A Mainstream Supreme Court Nominee," *The Daily Caller News Foundation*, Nov. 20, 2016, <http://tinyurl.com/hujtvtq>.

of concrete to Trump Tower during its construction. No charges were filed.⁶¹

Trump got his casino license but "continued to have relationships that should have prompted inquiries by the casino investigators," Johnston said. These included a 1988 contract to put the Trump name on a line of customized limousines produced by Dillinger Coach Works, owned by convicted extortionist Jack Schwartz and Colombo crime family soldier and convicted thief John Staluppi.⁶²

Trump built and opened his first casino, Harrah's at Trump Plaza, in 1984, later renamed Trump Plaza Hotel & Casino after he bought the gambling company Harrah's 50 percent stake. In 1985, Trump bought his second casino-hotel, a nearly completed tower owned by the Hilton

Corp., which had to sell when New Jersey denied the company a casino license because of ties to a reputed mob lawyer. Trump named it Trump Castle Hotel & Casino.⁶³

Eventually, Trump brought in Stephen Hyde, an experienced gambling executive, to manage his Atlantic City business. "Hyde's colleagues marveled at his ability to anticipate Trump's moods and protect midlevel staff from outbursts," wrote Kranish and Fisher.⁶⁴

In 1988 Trump went on a spending spree. Using mostly borrowed money, Trump paid \$365 million for Eastern Airlines' northeastern routes and planes, renaming it the Trump Shuttle, and spent \$407 million to purchase Manhattan's iconic Plaza Hotel. Trump went further into debt to complete his biggest casino-

hotel, the Trump Taj Mahal. But as Atlantic City became overbuilt and casino profits dwindled, Trump had trouble securing a bank loan. Instead, his newly formed Trump Taj Mahal Funding Inc. was forced to issue \$675 million in high-interest-rate junk bonds.⁶⁵

By 1990, Trump's marriage was publicly unraveling as newspapers wrote of his affair with a model and actress named Marla Maples, and his business empire was collapsing. The Trump Organization and its subsidiaries had accumulated \$9 billion in debt. Trump had missed a payment on a Trump Castle loan, his airline was running out of cash and unpaid vendors were filing liens against his casinos.⁶⁶

Hoping to minimize their losses, dozens of creditors reached a deal in

1990 to keep Trump's empire afloat: They reduced what he owed them and advanced him \$60 million, at the same time cutting his salary and putting him on a monthly, albeit generous, personal allowance. The Trump Shuttle was closed. The Casino Control Commission approved the bailout, deeming Trump's Atlantic City businesses too big to fail.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, in 1991 and 1992, first the Trump Taj Mahal and then Trump Plaza Hotel & Casino filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection, and Trump was forced to turn over nearly half of his hotel stakes to creditors in exchange for more-lenient debt terms.⁶⁸

In December 1993, Trump married Maples, who a few months earlier had given birth to daughter Tiffany. Their marriage lasted six years.

Reinvention

In 1995, Trump formed a publicly traded company around the Trump Plaza Hotel & Casino and raised \$140 million at its initial public offering, which he used to pay down debts. The stock price soared, and Trump's stake became worth nearly \$300 million by 1996. Later that year, Trump Plaza Hotel & Casino Inc. bought the deeply indebted Trump Taj Mahal and the Trump Castle — one Trump business sold to another — for more than analysts said they were worth, and its share price plunged.⁶⁹

In 2004, Trump Plaza Hotel & Casino Inc. filed for bankruptcy protection and Trump's more than 50 percent stake was cut in half. "While Trump was chairman [from 1995 to 2005], the publicly traded company lost more than \$1 billion," according to Kranish and Fisher. Meanwhile, Trump, who also served as CEO for five years, was paid more than \$44 million during his 10 years as chairman.⁷⁰

The same year as the bankruptcy filing, Trump became the star of *The Apprentice*, a TV reality show in which

contestants competed to become Trump's business apprentice. The NBC show's premise was his superior business acumen. It was an immediate hit, and Trump's "You're fired!" announcing the banishment of a contestant became its signature slogan. The show's success allowed Trump to license his name to clothing, fragrance and furniture and to hotels around the world. In 2005, he married his current wife, model Melania Knauss from Slovenia, who gave birth to their son Barron in 2006.

In 2009, publicly traded Trump Entertainment Resorts, which had been forged out of the 2004 bankruptcy, also filed for bankruptcy protection and Trump stepped down as chairman. Trump Plaza Hotel & Casino closed in 2014 and Trump Taj Mahal in 2016.⁷¹

Trump starred in the reality show until declaring his presidential bid on June 16, 2015. He faced off in the primaries against 16 GOP opponents, including such experienced politicians as former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush, Ohio Gov. John Kasich and Sen. Ted Cruz of Texas. By March 2016, Trump was far ahead, and on July 21, he formally accepted the nomination at the Republican convention in Cleveland.

During the campaign, Trump acknowledged the role the TV show played in his popularity. It "was a different level of adulation, or respect or celebrity" than he had previously experienced, he said.⁷² But despite his celebrity, Trump might not have won the presidency without the rise of white working-class populism, a mood fueled by fear of social change.⁷³

Trump tapped into and fanned this fear even before his campaign. In 2011, he joined the "birther movement" that questioned President Obama's U.S. birthplace, repeatedly calling for Obama to release his long-form Hawaiian birth certificate and, when he did, questioning its validity. During the campaign, Trump called for a halt to Muslim immigration and inaccurately said that homicides were at a record rate. ■

CURRENT SITUATION

Cabinet Controversies

Unlike previous presidents, Trump has never held elective office, been a military commander or served as a Cabinet secretary. To make up for his lack of governing experience, he may rely heavily on his vice president, Indiana Gov. Mike Pence, and his top appointees. So far, the latter are a mix of billionaire businessmen, well-connected corporate executives, retired military brass and conservative politicians. (*See box, p. 4.*)

After weeks of speculation about numerous potential candidates to be secretary of State, Trump picked Rex Tillerson, the chief executive of Exxon Mobil, generating both praise and concern for Tillerson's decades of experience guiding the company's oil and gas projects in Eurasia and the Middle East.

Tillerson has publicly questioned European and U.S. sanctions against Russia after its invasion of Ukraine; these sanctions have halted some of Exxon Mobil's oil exploration projects in Russia, potentially worth billions of dollars.⁷⁴ As secretary of State, Tillerson would have to either sell his Exxon Mobil stock or recuse himself from decisions that could affect his financial interests, said Richard W. Painter, a University of Minnesota corporate law professor and former chief ethics lawyer for President George W. Bush.⁷⁵

Other wealthy nominees include Trump's pick for Commerce secretary, Ross, the chairman of a private-equity firm with close ties to Wall Street; Steven Mnuchin, a hedge fund founder and former Goldman Sachs banker, chosen as Treasury secretary; and Michi-

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At Issue:

Will Donald Trump be able to unify the country?



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WRITTEN FOR *CQ RESEARCHER*, JANUARY 2017

While it might look like a tall order, I believe President-elect Donald Trump will unify the country, and in a way that his Democratic challenger, Hillary Clinton, could never have done.

That Clinton could never have united the country becomes clear when one recognizes that the Democrats have become the party of division and rancor, of race against race, gender against gender, ethnic group against ethnic group.

Recall the 2015 debate in Arizona where the Democratic presidential candidates were asked to choose between “Black Lives Matter” and “All Lives Matter.” Only Jim Webb chose the latter, and he withdrew from the race shortly thereafter.

Trump by contrast ran as a unifier, and that message so threatened the Democrats that they saw covert racism in an appeal to American nationalism.

In his Cincinnati speech after the election, Trump called them on this. “Washington’s politicians have spent so long appealing to competing interests they’ve forgotten how to appeal to the national interests, combining the skills and talents of our people in a common cause,” he said. “Our goal is to strengthen the bonds of trust between citizens, to restore our sense of membership in a shared national community.”

Trump has been faulted for his comments about illegal aliens and about trade issues with China. But a nationalist agenda is necessarily one that prefers Americans to non-Americans, and that asks how a trade deal benefits our people.

In the Cincinnati speech he declared that “from now on it’s going to be America First. . . . We’re going to put ourselves first.” America will seek peace and harmony with other countries, but each country must first look after its own people.

“You hear a lot of talk about how we’re becoming a globalized world,” Trump said. “But the relationships people in this country value are local — family, cities, state, country. . . . There is no global anthem, no global currency, no certificate of global citizenship. We pledge allegiance to one flag, and that flag is the American flag.”

That was evidently a message that many Americans were yearning to hear, and it’s a message of unity, one that doesn’t prefer one race or group to another. Is Trump a unifier? Of course. That’s precisely why he is hated by the Left.



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the 2016 presidential election was the most divisive in recent memory. In its wake, Donald Trump called on Americans to “come together as one united people.”

This would be a tall order for even the most skilled politician. Unfortunately, the president-elect has paired such calls with the same kind of incendiary rhetoric and discordant policy prescriptions that he deployed throughout the campaign. Not only will Trump fail to unify the nation, he is likely to further entrench existing divisions.

If national unity could be forged through policymaking alone, there would seem to be room for hope. Trump favors massive infrastructure spending, a rare policy initiative that could garner support from both sides of the aisle. A former Democrat, Trump has in the past praised single-payer health care and supported an assault weapons ban and a woman’s right to choose. While Trump’s position on these and other issues “evolved” before or during the campaign, his opportunistic approach to politics might make him more willing to compromise than would a fiercely ideological president.

Unfortunately, Trump’s political style is also demagogic and vindictive. During the campaign, he attacked religious and racial minorities, mocked a disabled reporter, disparaged women and appeared to celebrate sexual assault. He threatened to jail his opponent, Hillary Clinton, and was slow to repudiate the support of white supremacists. Not surprisingly, many Americans feel a deep sense of trauma that will be almost impossible for Trump to overcome.

Trump’s actions since the election have only exacerbated such fears. The president-elect appointed Stephen Bannon, a leading proponent of the so-called “alt-right,” chief White House strategist. Trump’s Cabinet appointments also suggest he has abandoned a conciliatory approach. In a postelection rally, Trump called for unity — then reiterated promises to build a wall on the Mexican border and restrict Muslim immigration. Hate crimes and episodes of harassment have soared around the country. Meanwhile, cities ranging from Los Angeles to Minneapolis have vowed to limit their cooperation with federal immigration authorities.

Republicans, astonished by their surprise victory, have mostly rallied to the president-elect. Yet Trump’s embrace of Russian President Vladimir Putin, despite compelling intelligence reports that the Russians meddled in the U.S. election, has put him on a collision course with powerful members of his own party. Far from unifying the country, Trump could well fracture it further.

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gan philanthropist Betsy DeVos, an advocate of giving students the choice to attend non-public schools, slated to head the Education Department.

These selections by a populist president-elect who has vowed to drain the Washington swamp have raised eyebrows for the large number of billionaires and multimillionaires; analysts say it's the wealthiest Cabinet in U.S. history, with the nominees having combined assets of close to \$10 billion as of late December, according to *The Wall Street Journal*.⁷⁶

"I'm not shocked by this," said Sen. Sherrod Brown, D-Ohio. "It's a billionaire president being surrounded by a billionaire and millionaire Cabinet, with a billionaire agenda."⁷⁷

Trump and his defenders, however, say he's picking smart, savvy people who know how to fix a broken economic system. "If people in the United States have lived the American dream and have been able to amass that kind of wealth, well certainly they're super talented, or in what the president-elect says, they're actually 'killers,'" said top Trump aid Anthony Scaramucci.⁷⁸

New Senate Minority Leader Schumer has promised a "very thorough and tough vetting" of Trump's nominees, including one of his earliest, Sen. Sessions for attorney general, the nation's top law enforcement officer. In 1986, the Senate failed to confirm Sessions as a federal judge after he was accused of making racially insensitive remarks.⁷⁹

Several Trump appointees have been vocal opponents of the departments they would lead. For example, Trump tapped Rick Perry, former governor of energy-rich Texas, to head the Department of Energy, whose mandate includes funding energy research, supporting alternative-energy efforts and securing the safety of nuclear weapons. While running for president in 2011, Perry advocated abolishing the department — even as he forgot its name during a debate.⁸⁰

The ACA

Trump chose Rep. Tom Price, R-Ga., an orthopedic surgeon and outspoken critic of the Affordable Care Act, to head the Department of Health and Human Services, which issued the law's regulations and oversees their implementation. "He is exceptionally qualified to shepherd our commitment to repeal and replace Obamacare and bring affordable and accessible health care to every American," Trump said in announcing the appointment.⁸¹

To get a "true" repeal-and-replace law, Trump must go through Congress, and that could be a problem in the Senate where 60 votes are needed to overcome a filibuster, said Jack Hoadley, a research professor at Georgetown University's Health Policy Institute.⁸²

But there's plenty that Trump can do to change the Affordable Care Act to his liking without Congress. "The act itself does permit a fair amount of leeway already to the secretary to make changes that could be done through executive action versus through legislative action," says Peter Claude, a partner at PwC Consulting, part of Pricewaterhouse Coopers, a global tax and advisory firm. But Claude says he doubts Congress will stay on the sidelines. It could amend the law or pass a replacement, he says.

Trump's proposed health care policies include expanding the use of tax-free health savings accounts to encourage individuals covered by high-deductible health insurance plans to save money for medical expenses; allowing people to deduct insurance premium costs on their income tax returns; permitting companies to sell health insurance across state lines to encourage competition and lower costs; removing the ACA requirement that individuals must purchase health insurance or face a financial penalty; and converting Medicaid to a block grant that would give states a fixed amount of funding each year and greater freedom in how to spend it.⁸³

Some 20 million uninsured people gained health insurance coverage under the Affordable Care Act through its insurance exchanges and its expansion of Medicaid.⁸⁴ The Washington-based Commonwealth Fund, a private foundation supporting independent research on health care issues, estimated that repealing the ACA and replacing it with Trump's alternatives would increase the number of uninsured individuals by as many as 25 million and raise the federal deficit by as much as \$41 billion.⁸⁵

The Environment

Trump has appointed a politician from another energy-rich state to head the Environmental Protection Agency. Oklahoma Attorney General Scott Pruitt, along with a coalition of conservative state attorneys general, has twice sued the agency he has been chosen to lead. One suit aims to stop the implementation of the EPA's Clean Power Plan, an Obama-era rule designed to reduce electric power plants' emissions of carbon dioxide, a greenhouse gas.⁸⁶

The Clean Power Plan is in legal limbo as both sides wait for the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit to rule on its fate. The second lawsuit is over recent EPA regulations to curtail the oil and gas sector's emissions of methane, another greenhouse gas.

"No state should comply with the Clean Power Plan if it means surrendering decision-making authority to the EPA," Pruitt told a Senate committee in 2015.⁸⁷

Environmental groups are alarmed. "You couldn't pick a better fossil fuel industry puppet," said May Boeve, executive director of the environmental group 350.org.⁸⁸

But undoing the Obama's environmental legacy won't be easy, says Nathan Hultman, director of University of Maryland's Center for Global Sustainability. "Obama has not been out there recklessly issuing executive orders that can be reversed by the next president," he says.

Instead, most of Obama's environmental policies are regulations and rules that took years to develop and finalize and were subject to public review and comment and often court review. Vehicle fuel economy standards and appliance and equipment efficiency standards are prime examples, and undoing them would require the same regulatory process, he says.

In addition, industry might object to rolling back some of the regulations. "Industry has already adapted and retooled, for instance, under the efficiency standards," says Hultman. "Even the industry might complain: 'Hey, we invested all this money making these changes and now you're changing the standards on us?'"

Because the courts have blocked implementation of the Clean Power Plan, analysts say one way Pruitt could pull the plug is to have the EPA stop defending it in court, although the agency would have to explain its about-face. However, others parties affected by the plan could step in to defend it. New York Attorney General Eric Schneiderman said he is "leading a coalition of states that is already aggressively fighting back against efforts to reverse the progress this country has made in combating climate change over the past eight years."⁸⁹ ■

OUTLOOK

Hopes and Fears

Given Trump's unpredictability and free-wheeling style, observers agree that forecasting the outcome of a Trump presidency is a perilous business.

Trump has rightly focused attention on those hurt by globalization and on wage stagnation and inequality, says international economic law expert Gadbaw. He says he hopes the new ad-

ministration will renegotiate trade agreements to "deal with widely recognized problems like currency manipulation, abuse of state-owned enterprises and worker rights."

But adjusting the U.S. trade strategy requires "diplomatic finesse," Gadbaw says. "A bad strategy, poorly executed," he says, "could trigger a spiral of retaliation and counter-retaliation that would unravel the fabric sustaining international markets and global supply chains," leading to a global recession.

Noland of the Peterson Institute for International Economics says he expects Trump's policies to temporarily accelerate economic growth and increase the trade deficit — and that could lead the administration to "reach for managed trade protectionism in a quixotic attempt to deal with the growing trade gap."

Civil libertarians, immigrant advocates and others are worried about Trump's harsh rhetoric on illegal immigration, but Cardinal Brown of the Bipartisan Policy Center says compromise might be possible. "My biggest hope is that Donald Trump, in making immigration such a key component of his campaign, will take the opportunity of his election to work on bipartisan immigration solutions with Congress," she says.

Executive actions, by any administration, are not a long-term solution, she says. "We hope that Republicans in Congress, with a president of their own party, will be willing to lead an effort, and Democrats, in the interest of getting some status and stability for the immigrants in our country, will come to the table." Her biggest fear, she says, is that positions will harden on both sides, "pushing any real change in the status quo indefinitely into the future."

The Migration Policy Institute's Capps would like to see Trump adjust immigration admissions "up or down depending on economic conditions and workforce needs — particularly for high-skilled workers — while retaining America's historic commitment" to humanitarianism and to keeping families together.

On balance, Trump's supporters are optimistic he will shake up the status quo and boost economic growth, restoring hope in forgotten places. Trump himself reached for the grand on the night he won the election.

"Ours was not a campaign but rather an incredible and great movement, made up of millions of hardworking men and women who love their country and want a better, brighter future for themselves and for their family," he declared in his victory speech. "The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer."⁹⁰

Trump's critics, however, worry the new president represents something dark and dangerous. Many find it difficult to look ahead to the next four years.

"No one should pretend that Trump will be a normal president," wrote *Washington Post* columnist Eugene Robinson in November. "No one should forget the bigotry and racism of his campaign, the naked appeals to white grievance, the stigmatizing of Mexicans and Muslims. . . . No one should forget the vile misogyny. No one should forget the mendacity, the vulgarity, the ugliness, the insanity. None of this should ever be normalized in our politics."⁹¹ ■

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