

## **Introduction**

### **International Responses to President Trump's Foreign Policy: The First Two Years**

**Joanna Ciesielska-Klikowska**

University of Lodz  
Faculty of International and Political Studies  
Department of Asian Studies  
e-mail: [joanna.ciesielska@uni.lodz.pl](mailto:joanna.ciesielska@uni.lodz.pl)

**Magdalena Marczuk-Karbownik**

University of Lodz  
Faculty of International and Political Studies  
Department of American Studies and Mass Media  
e-mail: [magdalena.marczuk@uni.lodz.pl](mailto:magdalena.marczuk@uni.lodz.pl)

**Karol Żakowski**

University of Lodz  
Faculty of International and Political Studies  
Department of Asian Studies  
e-mail: [karol.zakowski@uni.lodz.pl](mailto:karol.zakowski@uni.lodz.pl)

Donald Trump's victory in presidential election in November 2016 signified a profound shift in US foreign policy. The new American president was a supporter of renegotiation of the existing international deals, such as North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with Canada and Mexico, as well as abolition of those that had not been yet ratified, such as Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) with 11 Asia-Pacific countries. On the one hand, he criticized Japan, South Korea, and NATO countries in Europe for insufficient contribution to the maintenance of American military bases on their territories, and on the other hand, he lauded President Vladimir Putin despite Russian annexation of Crimea. Trump's populist, illiberal, isolationist and anti-immigration slogans strikingly contrasted with the diplomatic line of both his predecessor Barack Obama and Hilary Clinton who until the last moment seemed to have the best chances to win the electoral race. The unexpected result of presidential election forced equally US allies and rivals to amend their plans, strategies and policies connected with their relations with Washington.

This volume contains a range of articles that analyze different dimensions of international reaction to the election of Donald Trump as American president. Articles are structured into three thematic blocks. The first block is devoted to US approach towards global challenges. Andrzej Mania and Tomasz Pugaczewicz examine the opinions of American power elites on the changes in US foreign policy under the Trump administration. They indicate that while the liberals and realists differ over the level of faith in the durability of the liberal international order, they mostly agree that the US has to adapt its foreign policy to the increase in power of non-democratic states. Michał Zaremba analyzes Donald Trump's political declarations on official development assistance. He concludes that the new American president's pragmatism, skepticism and distrust regarding assistance policy may lead to redirection of assistance funds to national projects. Grzegorz Nycz examines the Trump administration's ballistic missile defense (BMD) policy. He stresses that the increased defense budget spending may lead to further enhancement of leakproof missile interception, which is vital for political mitigation of potential conflicts related to such states equipped with nuclear weapons as North Korea. Bohdan Szklarski and Piotr Iłowski, in turn, analyze the changes in Polish–American relations since the election of Donald Trump as US president. They indicate that lack of sufficient coordination and planning in Warsaw's foreign policy may disturb cooperation with Washington.

The second thematic block tackles relations between the US and three selected countries in the Asia-Pacific: Japan, North Korea and Australia. Karol Żakowski describes the process of adaptation of Japan's foreign policy to new international conditions after Donald Trump's election as US president. He concludes that while US withdrawal from "Pivot to Asia" and TPP initiatives was detrimental to Tokyo's diplomatic line, Prime Minister Abe Shinzō tried to exploit, though without

great success, Trump's assertive posture against North Korea and China, as well as his softer stance towards Russia. Joanna Beczkowska analyzes the role of "war of words" between Donald Trump and Kim Jong-un in escalation of the Korean crisis in 2017. According to her, the inconsistency of Washington's approach towards Pyongyang could have been used by North Korea to "examine" the acceptable extent of provocation against the US. Mieczysław Sprengel, in turn, compares US–Australian relations before and after the election of Donald Trump as American president. He stresses that while President Trump remained in close contact with Australian leaders, he did not sufficiently take into account the political needs of Canberra.

The third thematic block is devoted to examination of various dimensions of rivalry between the US and China. Mateusz Chatys analyzes the role of the American factor in relations between Singapore and China. He concludes that US withdrawal from TPP runs counter to Singapore's and ASEAN's strategy of neutralizing the growing power of China. Przemysław Ciborek examines cooperation between China and Russia against the international initiatives of Donald Trump. He stresses that Russia, as the weaker player, is an instrument for China in dethroning the US as a global economic power. Paweł Jaskuła, in turn, analyzes the trade war waged on China by the Trump administration. He comes to a conclusion that due to strong economic interdependence between both countries, it is difficult to assess which side would suffer more from the prolonged confrontation.

In the last thematic block there are miscellaneous articles referring to various themes connected with international studies. Boryana Aleksandrova examines three versions of current territorial fragmentation or connectivity – deterritorialization, extraterritorialization and reterritorialization. The article highlights the role of states played in an era of global interconnectedness and underlines ambiguity of this problem. The text by Kassaye Deyassa aims at examining whether the welfare and social policy ideas that characterize Chinese aid in Africa are influencing traditional donors and becoming global. Kardo Karim Rached Mohammad touches upon the issue of conflicts in the Middle East and emphasizes an internal conflict which should be researched and examined. The last article in this part, written by Jarosław Sadłocha, aims at giving a short analysis of a few approaches of the theory of international relations to defining interests and correlating the interpretations of national interests of the Russian Federation. The author discusses Russia's interests in connection with the annexation of the Crimea and Russia's actions towards Ukraine.

The volume is supplemented with the review of Joseph S. Nye's book *Is the American Century Over?* by Monir Hossain Moni.

As the US remains the main political, economic and military power in the world, strategies of other countries usually are to some extent dependent on the ideological leanings, reliance on domestic interest groups, or even personalities of American

## Introduction

presidents. The editors hope that the diversity of articles in this volume will enable complex and comprehensive examination of international reactions to President Trump's foreign policy initiatives in the first two years of his presidency.

\*

At this point, the editors would like to thank the authors of all articles, whose effort has contributed to this publication that is an important input in an interdisciplinary debate on international relations in which the United States plays a leading role.