

**Revisionism, Populism or  
Nationalism?:  
The Political Currents that  
Shape the U.S.-Japan Alliance**

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# U.S. Presidential Election 2016

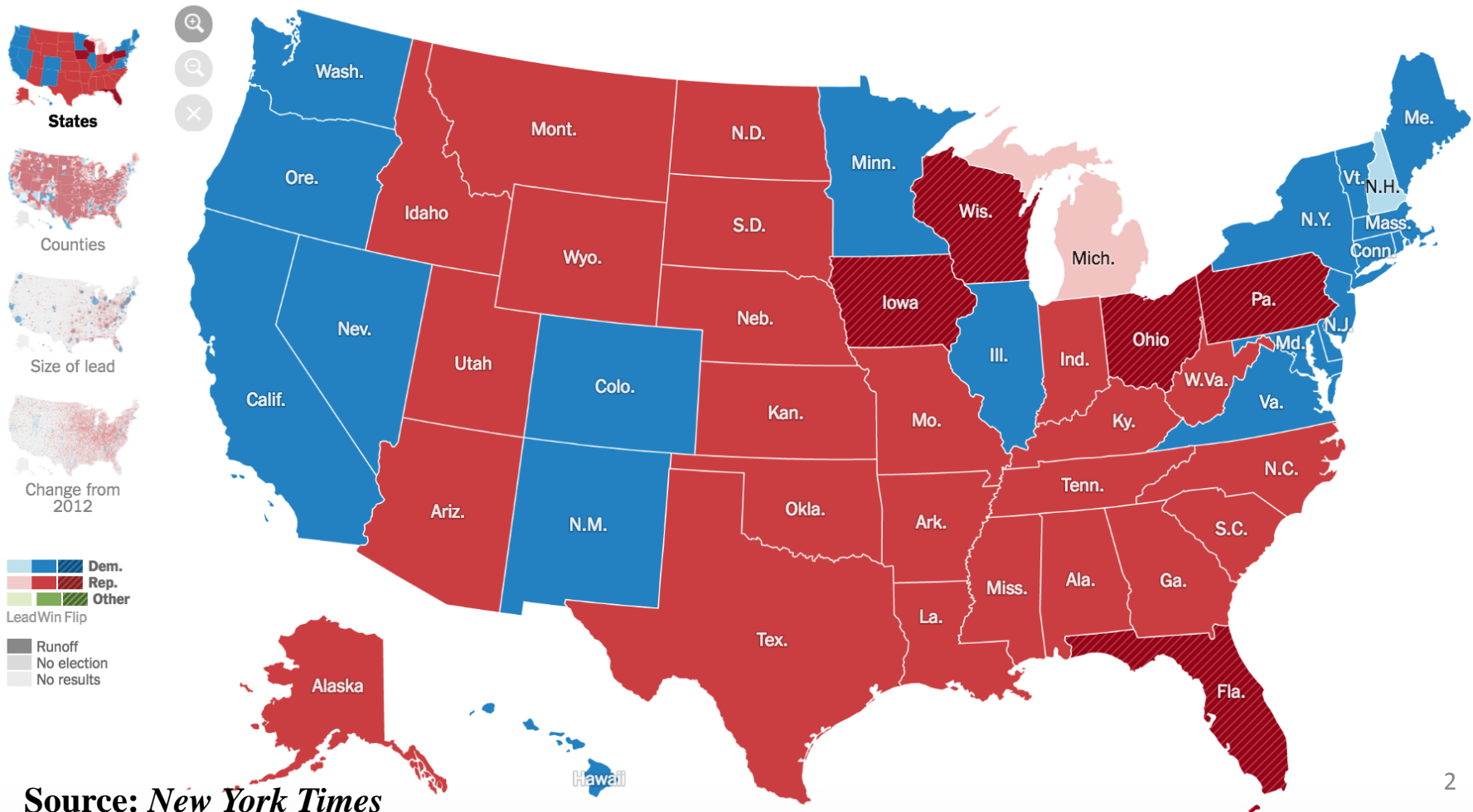
**228** Hillary Clinton

✓ Donald J. Trump **290**

61,039,646 votes (47.8%)

270 to win

60,371,373 votes (47.3%)







Source: *New York Times*

# U.S. Presidential Election 2016

## Wisconsin Results

President ✓ Trump | Senate ✓ Johnson | House 3D 5R | State Legislature





### President

CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES	PCT.	E.V.
 ✓ Donald J. Trump	Republican	1,409,467	<b>47.9%</b>	<b>10</b>
 Hillary Clinton	Democrat	1,382,210	<b>46.9</b>	—
 Gary Johnson	Libertarian	106,442	<b>3.6</b>	—
 Jill Stein	Green	30,980	<b>1.1</b>	—
▼ Others		15,521	<b>0.5</b>	—

## Pennsylvania Results

President ✓ Trump | Senate ✓ Toomey | House 6D 13R | State Legislature | Ball




### President

CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES	PCT.	E.V.
 ✓ Donald J. Trump	Republican	2,912,941	<b>48.8%</b>	<b>20</b>
 Hillary Clinton	Democrat	2,844,705	<b>47.6</b>	—
 Gary Johnson	Libertarian	142,653	<b>2.4</b>	—
 Jill Stein	Green	48,912	<b>0.8</b>	—
Darrell Castle	Constitution	20,896	<b>0.4</b>	—

## Michigan Results

President Trump +0.3 | House 5D 9R | State Legislature

### President

CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES	PCT.
 Donald J. Trump	Republican	2,279,210	<b>47.6%</b>
 Hillary Clinton	Democrat	2,267,373	<b>47.3</b>
 Gary Johnson	Libertarian	173,021	<b>3.6</b>
 Jill Stein	Green	50,686	<b>1.1</b>
▼ Others		19,160	<b>0.4</b>

# The Electoral College advantage ebbs and flows

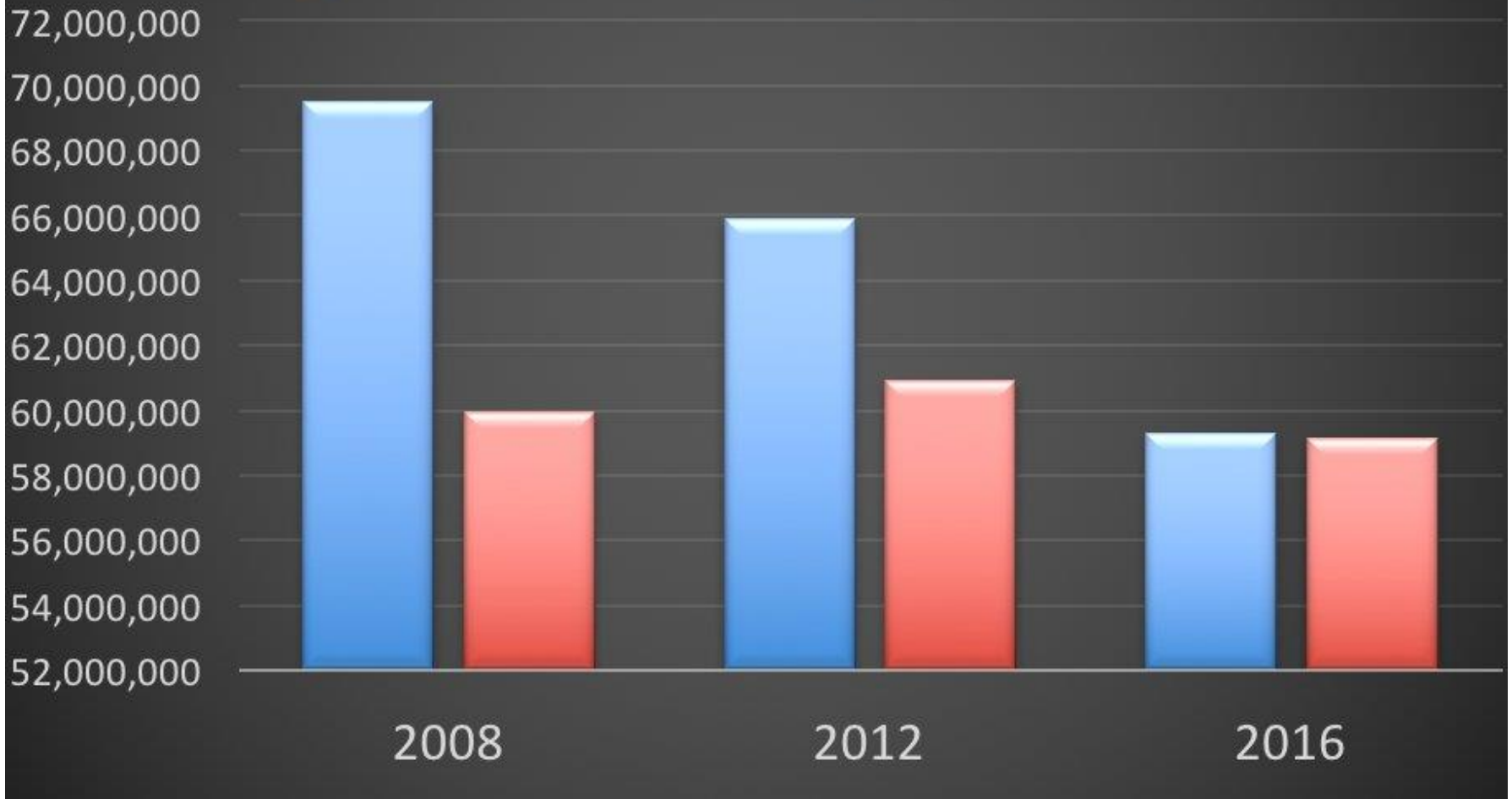
YEAR	NATIONAL POPULAR VOTE		TIPPING-POINT STATE(S)	TIPPING-POINT MARGIN		ELECTORAL COLLEGE EDGE
<b>2016</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>+1.8*</b>	<b>Pennsylvania</b>	<b>R</b>	<b>+1.1</b>	<b>R +2.9</b>
2012	D	+3.9	Colorado	D	+5.4	D +1.5
2008	D	+7.3	Colorado	D	+9.0	D +1.7
2004	R	+2.5	Ohio	R	+2.1	D +0.4
2000	D	+0.5	Florida	R	+0.0	R +0.5
1996	D	+8.5	Pennsylvania	D	+9.2	D +0.7
1992	D	+5.6	Tennessee	D	+4.7	R +0.9
1988	R	+7.7	Michigan	R	+7.9	R +0.2
1984	R	+18.2	Michigan	R	+19.0	R +0.8
1980	R	+9.7	Illinois	R	+7.9	D +1.8
1976	D	+2.1	Wisconsin	D	+1.7	R +0.4
1972	R	+23.1	Maine and Ohio	R	+22.3	D +0.8
1968	R	+0.7	Illinois and Ohio	R	+2.6	R +1.9
1964	D	+22.6	Washington	D	+24.6	D +2.0
1960	D	+0.2	New Mexico and Missouri	D	+0.6	D +0.4

# Electoral Votes VS. Popular Votes

		<b>Electoral Votes</b>	<b>Popular Votes</b>	<b>Popular Votes Percentage</b>
<b>2012</b>	Barack Obama	332	65,915,795	51.06%
	Mitt Romney	206	60,933,504	47.20%
<b>2008</b>	Barack Obama	365	69,498,516	52.93%
	John McCain	173	59,948,323	45.65%
<b>2004</b>	George W. Bush	286	62,040,610	50.73%
	John Kerry	251	59,028,444	48.27%
<b>2000</b>	George W. Bush	271	50,456,002	47.87%
	Al Gore	266	50,999,897	<u>48.38%</u>
<b>1996</b>	Bill Clinton	379	47,402,357	49.24%
	Bob Dole	159	39,198,755	40.71%
<b>1992</b>	Bill Clinton	370	44,909,889	43.01%
	George H.W. Bush	168	39,104,545	37.45%

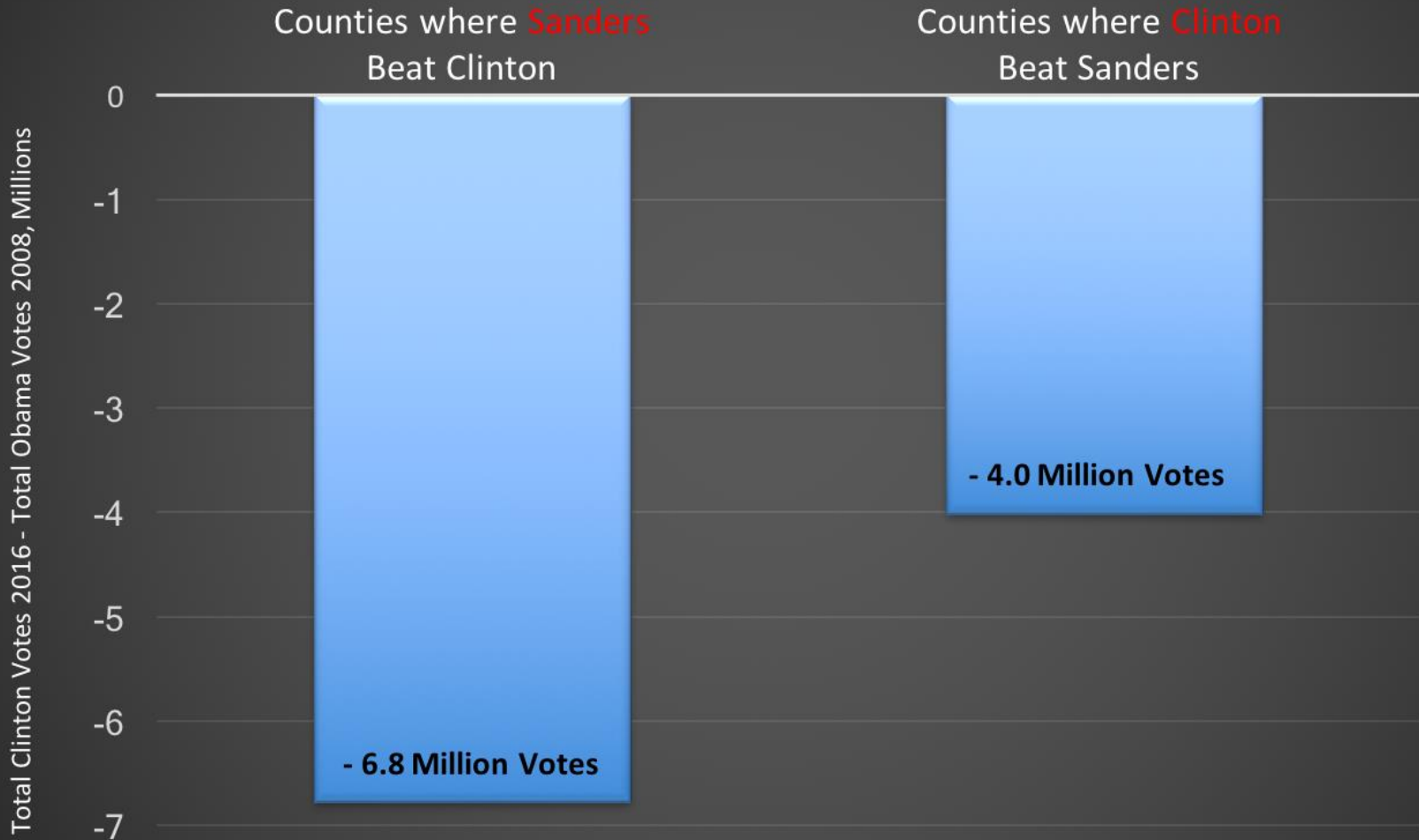
# Total Votes for Presidential Candidates

■ Democratic Candidate    ■ Republican Candidate



# Total Drop in Democratic Votes, 2008 to 2016 Presidential Elections

Split by Counties where Bernie Sanders received more votes than Hillary Clinton in the 2016 Primaries



Graph by: David Yanagizawa-Drott (@yanagiz)

Election Data from: US Election Atlas, <http://uselectionatlas.org>.

2016 results are preliminary and appr. 12% of counties do not have complete data

# Presidential Candidates on TPP

- *Hillary Clinton*

- ❖ *As of today, I am not in favor of what I have learned about it...I don't believe it's going to meet the high bar I have set.* (October 7, 2015)
- ❖ *I oppose [TPP] now, I'll oppose it after the election, and I'll oppose it as president.* (August 11, 2016)



- *Donald Trump*

- ❖ *The TPP is a horrible deal. It is a deal that is going to lead to nothing but trouble. It's a deal that was designed for China to come in, as they always do, through the back door and totally take advantage of everyone.* (November 10, 2015)
- ❖ *The Trans-Pacific Partnership is another disaster, done and pushed by special interests who want to rape our country.* (June 28, 2016)





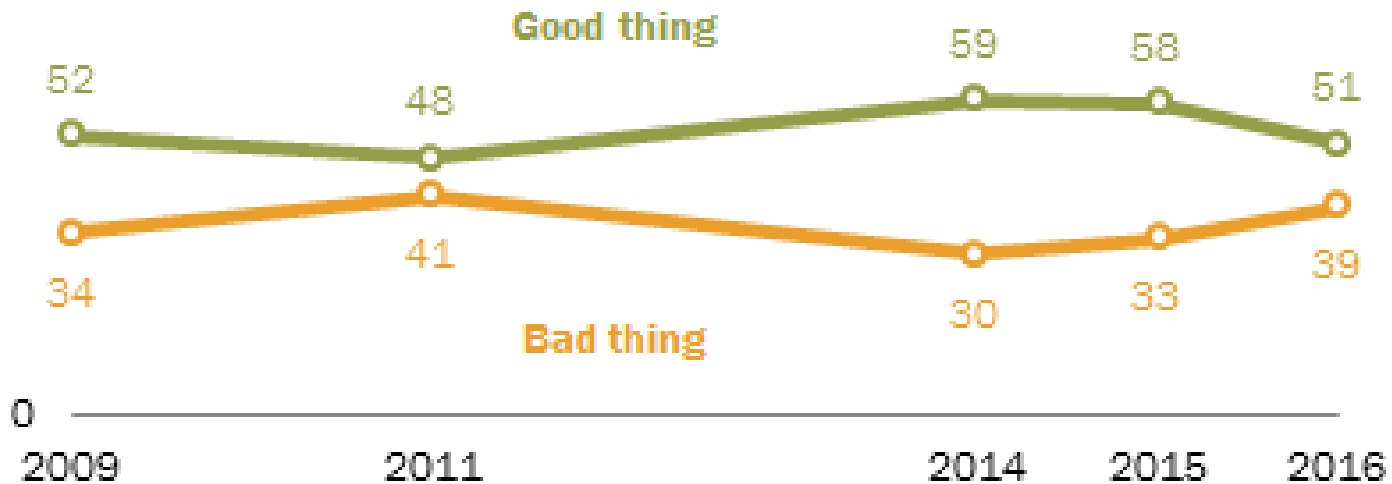
# U.S. Public Opinion on Free Trade

## (1) Pew Research

### Americans continue to favor free trade agreements

*Free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a \_\_\_ for the United States*

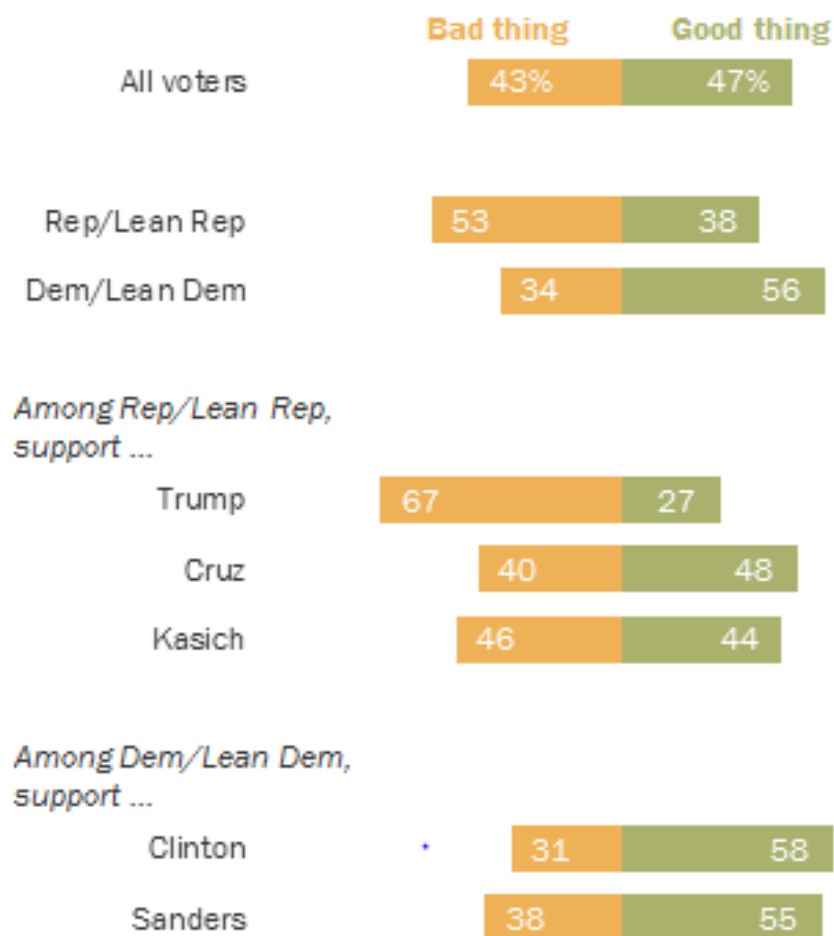
100 %



Source: Survey conducted March 17-27, 2016.

## Trump supporters view free trade agreements as bad thing for U.S.

Free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a \_\_\_ thing for the United States

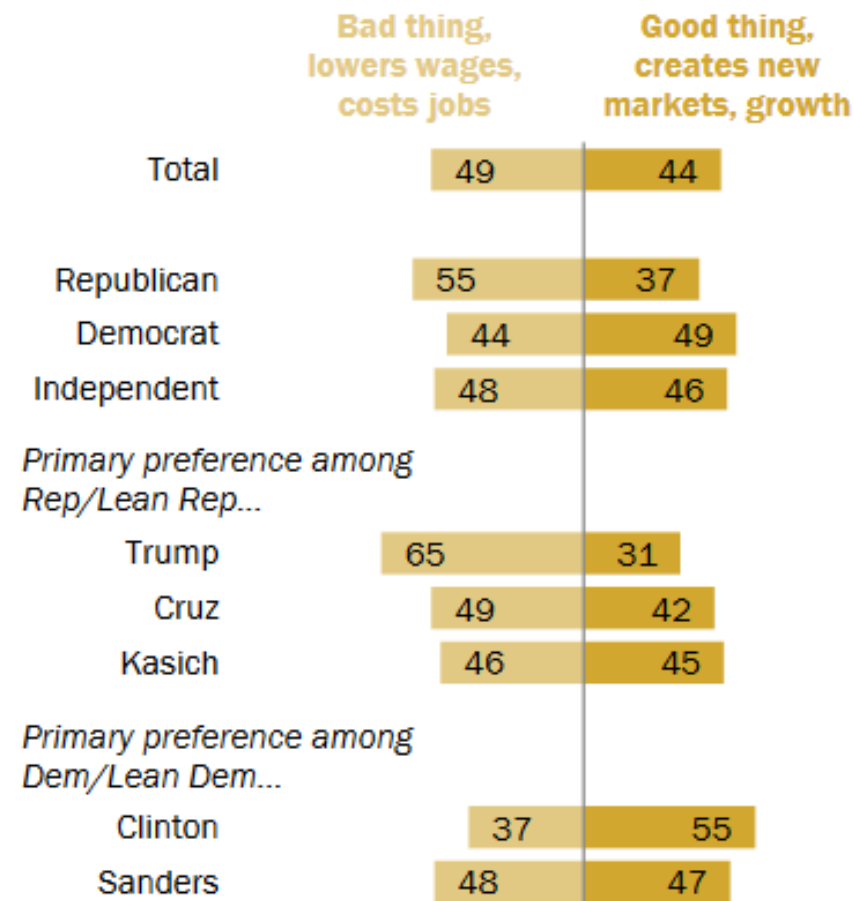


Note: Don't know responses not shown. Based on registered voters.

Source: Survey conducted March 17-27, 2016.

## Trump supporters most likely to view U.S. global economic ties negatively

% saying U.S. involvement in the global economy is ...



Note: Candidate supporters based on registered voters. Don't know responses not shown.

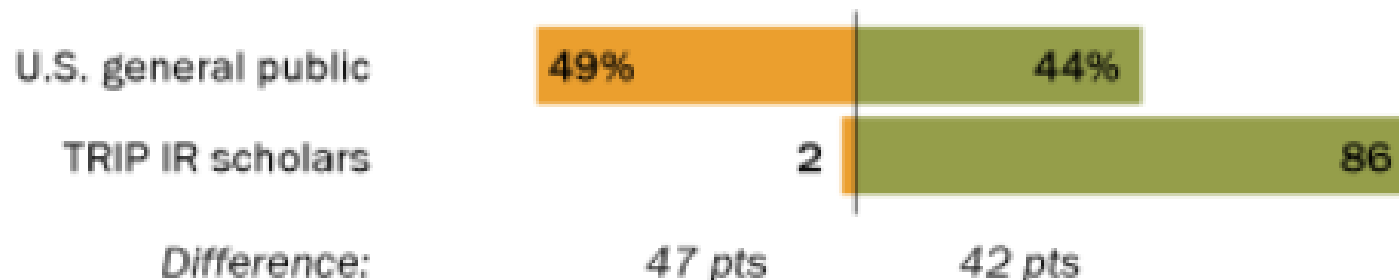
Source: Survey conducted April 12-19, 2016. Q40.

# Foreign policy scholars sharply more positive on U.S. involvement in global economy than general public

*Which statement comes closer to your view about U.S. involvement in the global economy, even if neither is exactly right?*

**Bad thing** because it lowers wages and costs jobs in the U.S.

**Good thing** because it provides U.S. with new markets and opportunities for growth



Source: U.S. general public survey conducted April 12-19, 2016 by Pew Research Center (n=2,008). IR scholars' snap poll produced by the Teaching, Research, and International Policy (TRIP) Project based at the College of William & Mary, fielded on Oct. 5, 2016 (n=747). See <https://trip.wm.edu/charts> for more details.

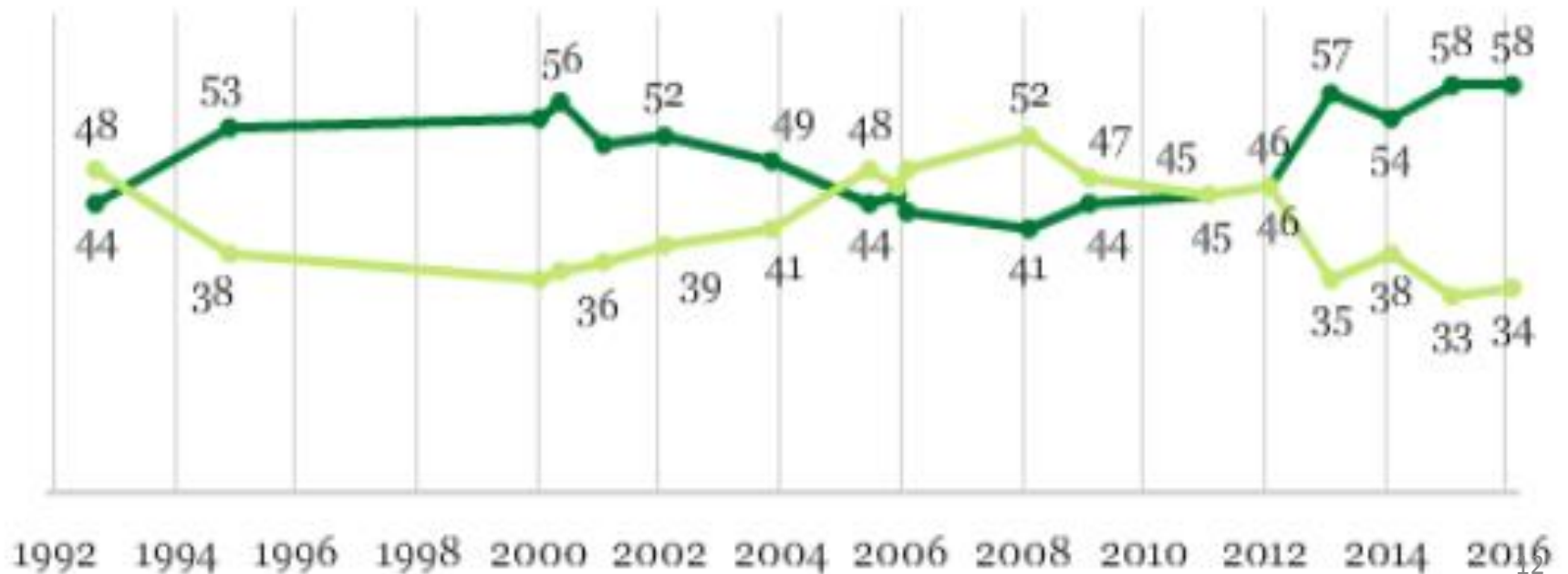
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## (2) Gallup

### *What Americans Think Foreign Trade Means for the U.S.*

What do you think foreign trade means for America? Do you see foreign trade more as -- an opportunity for economic growth through increased U.S. exports or a threat to the economy from foreign imports?

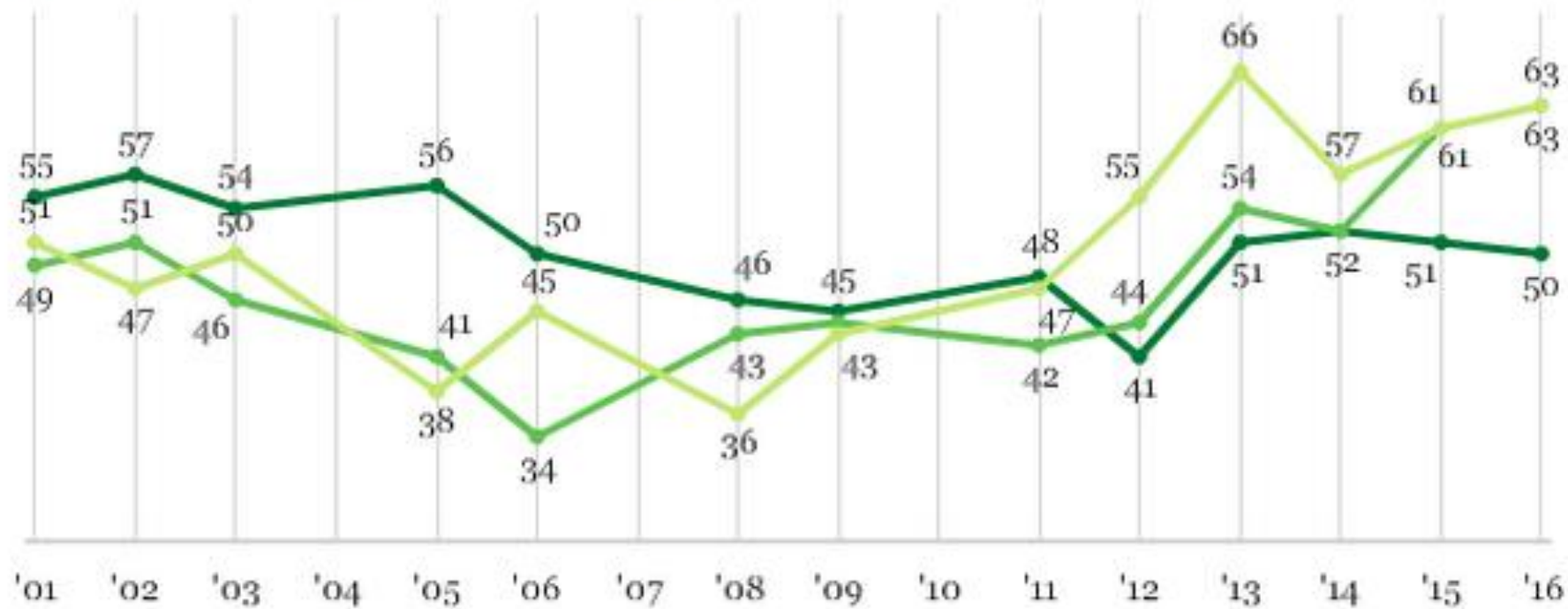
■ % Opportunity    ■ % Threat



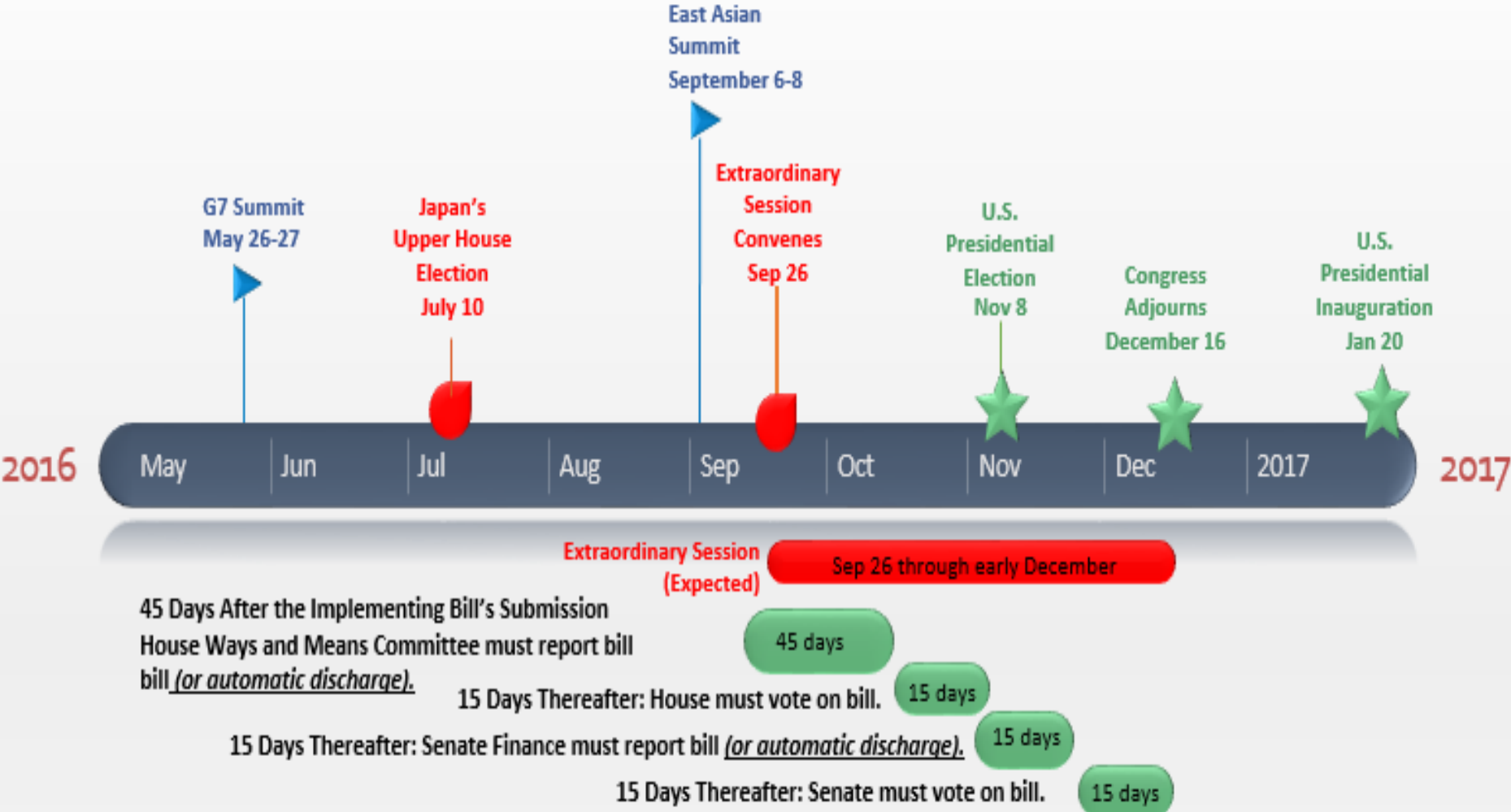
*View Foreign Trade Mainly as an Opportunity for the U.S. -- by Party ID*

Numbers in percentages

■ Republicans   ■ Independents   ■ Democrats



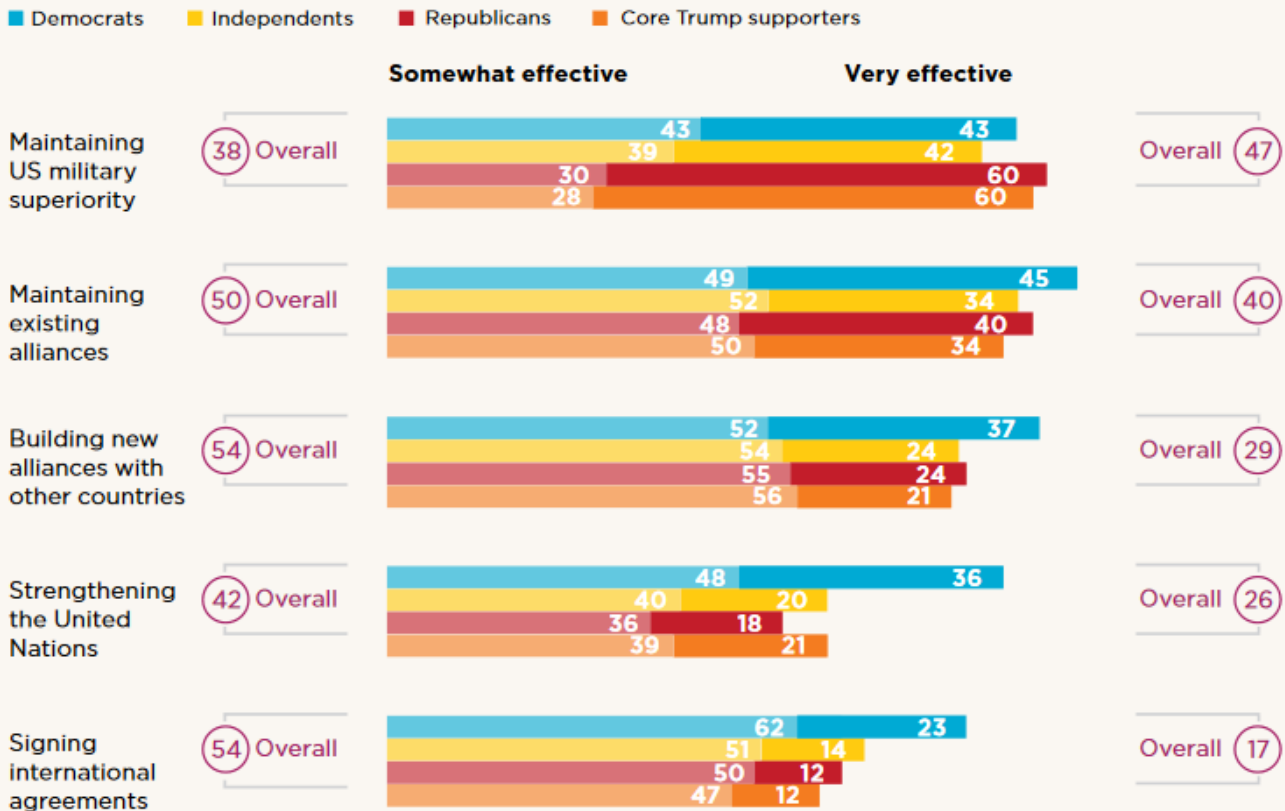
# TPP Timeline



# U.S. Public Opinion on Alliances

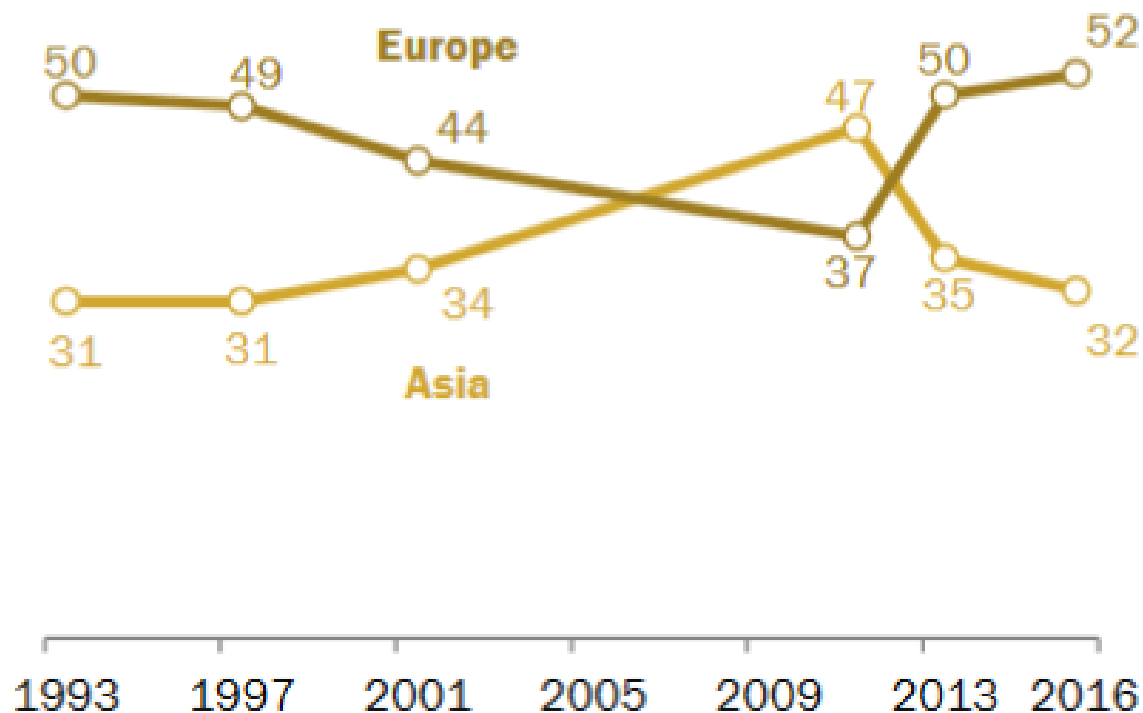
Figure 16: **Republicans and Core Trump Supporters Think Maintaining US Military Superiority is Very Effective in Achieving Foreign Policy Goals**

How effective do you think each of the following approaches is to achieving the foreign policy goals of the United States: very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not effective at all. (% somewhat effective and % very effective, top five responses)  
n = 2,061



# European ties viewed as more important than Asian ties

*% saying ties to the nations of \_\_\_\_ are most important to the U.S. ...*



Note: Volunteered "both" and don't know responses not shown.

Source: Survey conducted April 12-19, 2016. Q30.

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# Trump's Statements on Japan

## Japan's Nuclear Option:

“...we're basically protecting Japan...every time North Korea raises its head...And there'll be a point at which we're just not going to be able to do it anymore. Now, does that mean nuclear? It could mean nuclear. ...And, would I rather have North Korea have them with Japan sitting there having them also? You may very well be better off if that's the case.” (Interview with *New York Times*, March 26, 2015)

## Reciprocity:

“...if we're attacked, they do not have to come to our defense, if they're attacked, we have to come totally to their defense. And that is a, that's a real problem.”  
-Interview with *New York Times*, March 26, 2015

Having been told Japan pays “50 percent of the cost” of basing U.S. troops in Japan, he asked “Why don't they pay 100 percent?” (A rally in Iowa, August 6, 2016)

## Making Deals:

Now, Hillary Clinton said: “I will never leave Japan. I will never leave Japan. Will never leave any of our ——” Well now, once you say that, guess what happens? What happens?...You can't negotiate. (Interview with *New York Times*, July 21, 2016)