We the undersigned scholars of international relations and foreign policy view the Trump foreign policy record largely as a failure. This administration has emboldened US rivals and alienated many vital US allies. Crises at every level have been mishandled, from the global Covid19 pandemic and climate change to slowing or containing national nuclear programs in Iran and North Korea. The United States, once a world leader, is seen as weak and disengaged by many leaders and in many populations across the world. The result is greater instability, insecurity, and human suffering. We need new leadership.

- 1) The US trade war with China increased tariffs, additional taxes_paid by US consumers for imported Chinese goods. Meanwhile, the US trade agreement with China has_fallen far short in raising US exports to China.

 The trade war badly hurt US farmers, with the Trump government then_spending tens of billions of dollars to subsidize them. When the United States badly needed PPE to fight Covid19, Trump's trade restrictions_hindered its acquisition.
- 2) Authoritarian Russia continues to meddle in and undermine the legitimacy of US democratic elections while President Donald J. Trump denies it is a problem. The Trump administration seems to feel closer to Putin's Russia than our NATO allies.
- 3) North Korea has <u>continued</u> its nuclear weapons program despite the exchange of fawning <u>letters</u> between Trump and Kim Jong-Un, the North Korean leader.
- 4) In response to Trump's policy, Iran now_attacks the United States in Iraq with greater frequency and has a more_robust nuclear program. In addition, the United States is talking about_closing its embassy in Baghdad as a result. This embassy closure in Iraq of all places would be an apt illustration of the weakening of the Department of State under this president.
- 5) US policy toward Venezuela has overpromised and <u>underdelivered</u>, leaving Venezuelans even more desperate, the opposition divided, the Maduro government emboldened, and US credibility weakened.
- 6) The US Director of National Intelligence has dangerously <u>limited</u> bipartisan intelligence sharing. This latest example of frequent partisan manipulation of intelligence leaves fewer US officials to evaluate potential crisis and threats, damages relations between the Executive Branch agencies and Congress, and could create dangerous gaps for US rivals to exploit.
- 7) Rather than focusing the US Department of Homeland Security (DHS) on meeting external threats to US national security and on rising domestic white supremacist terrorism, the Trump administration has used DHS as a hyper-partisan weapon against immigrants and US antiracism protestors. This diversion of resources could well leave the United States ill-prepared should a foreign adversary seek to do harm to the United States and its citizens.
- 8) As deadly_wildfires and_hurricanes tragically remind the United States of the climate crisis and the increasing number and intensity of extreme_weather events, the Trump administration pulled_out of the major international climate agreement (the Paris Accords), often_questions the scientific consensus that the crisis is human-induced, and offers no substantive alternative remedy.

- 9) In the midst of a global pandemic, the United States_announced it was pulling out of the World Health Organization and failed to provide almost any global leadership to meet Covid19. The US domestic failure to get Covid19 under control is a model of what not to do but sadly one consistent with several other countries with authoritarian-style leaders. 10) The administration has separated thousands of children from their parents, detaining or deporting them and often failing to reunite them with their parent(s). They have been held in inhumane conditions lacking adequate medical care; this abuse and trauma is detrimental to child development. More generally, the Trump administration has physically prevented hundreds of thousands of people from making asylum claims on the southern US border in violation of international law. The administration deported individuals with positive Covid19 diagnoses, further spreading the disease. Meanwhile, the administration has nearly eliminated the US refugee resettlement program, a symbol of US humanitarianism and a welcome pathway for oppressed people to start a new life and enrich US society.
- 11) Racist and discriminatory policies at home, anti-democratic <u>crackdowns</u> on US <u>protestors</u>, and direct insults of Latin American and African countries embolden racists in other <u>countries</u> and further <u>weaken</u> the US ability to persuade <u>other countries</u> to respect democratic rights, such as
- 12) In two key battles, the Trump administration has done no better than its predecessors. The forces of the Islamic State are <u>rebuilding</u>. Nineteen years later, despite diplomatic talks, the War in Afghanistan continues.
- 13) While the administration has some policies that did not fail, their impact was greatly exaggerated. The new trade agreement with Canada and Mexico was more an updating of the North American Free Trade Agreement than a whole new policy. The Bahrain-Israel-United Arab Emirates agreements were a modest diplomatic achievement but completely failed to address Trump's promise to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and may deepen a regional arms race.

President Donald J. Trump's foreign policy has already caused major harm. The United States can rebuild in positive ways, but a second Trump term would do even deeper damage to US institutions, diplomacy, leadership, and international norms. Countries such as China would continue to fill the vacuum. Instead, to increase US security and reduce human suffering, we need new leadership now.

Institutions are mentioned below for the purpose of identification only. No institution listed below has endorsed this statement.

Karen J. Alter Ivan Michael Arreguín-Toft Robert J. Art Victor Asal

Northwestern University Brown University Brandeis University (Emeritus) University at Albany, SUNY Severine Autesserre Barnard College, Columbia University

Deborah Avant University of Denver

Alexander D. Barder Florida International University

Naazneen H. Barma University of Denver

Michael Barnett George Washington University

Marie E. Berry University of Denver
Mia Bloom Georgia State University
Joshua Busby University of Texas-Austin

Charli Carpenter University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Erica Chenoweth Harvard University
Anjali Dayal Fordham University
V. Page Fortna Columbia University

M. Taylor Fravel Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Charles Glaser George Washington University

James Goldgeier American University
Elizabeth Hanson University of Connecticut
Elizabeth Shakman Hurd Northwestern University
Ian Hurd Northwestern University

Patrick Thaddeus Jackson School of International Service, American University

Bruce W. Jentleson Duke University
Robert Jervis Columbia University
Sabrina Karim Cornell University

Sean Kay Ohio Wesleyan University

Jonathan Kirshner Boston College

Gregory D. Koblentz Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University

Raymond Kuo Independent political scientist

Brett Ashley Leeds Rice University

Sarah K. Lischer Wake Forest University
Jeremy Menchik Boston University
Barak Mendelsohn Haverford College
Nicholas Miller Dartmouth College

Jennifer Mitzen

Sara Bjerg Moller Seton Hall University

T. Clifton Morgan Rice University

Vipin Narang Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Jeremy Pressman University of Connecticut

Brian Rathbun University of Southern California

Elizabeth N. Saunders Georgetown University
Paul Staniland University of Chicago
Jelena Subotic Georgia State University
Caitlin Talmadge Georgetown University

Zak Taylor Georgia Institute of Technology
Monica Duffy Toft Fletcher School, Tufts University

Dov Waxman University of California Los Angeles (UCLA)

Sharon K. Weiner American University

Institutions are mentioned above for the purpose of identification only. No institution listed above has endorsed this statement.