**Ten Years of Trump Politics Masahiko Adachi**

**Sumitomo Cooperation Global Research**

**[1] Trump's Politics in the Tenth Year: The Republican Party's "Trumpization"**

**On June 16, 2015, Donald Trump announced his candidacy for president at the Trump Tower in New York, sending shockwaves through politics by saying, "America is no longer winning." Initially seen as a frothy candidate, he spoke out against anti-immigrant and anti-globalism, skillfully capturing the grievances of conservatives and the white working class.**

**Since winning the 2016 presidential election, the Republican Party has become "Trumpized" and transformed into a populist party that differs from traditional conservatism (small government, free trade, foreign interventionism).**

**In 2024, he will become only the second president in history to return to office since Cleveland, establishing control within the party. The mainstream (such as the Bush family and Romney) was eliminated and MAGA (Make America Great Again) took center stage.**

**[2] Comparison with the first administration: emphasis on loyalty and authoritarian rule**

**The first term of the government (2017–21) was marked by confusion due to the lack of political experience, and there was a series of defections and resignations of ministers. But in his second term in the Trump administration, a style of governance based on experience and confidence has been established, and appointments that emphasize loyalty and policy consistency are prominent. Steve Bannon inheritors (Stephen Miller, Russ Vought, etc.) were appointed to key positions and traditional establishment personnel were eliminated. It has also been active in expanding its executive powers, and the immediate implementation of policies by presidential decree has become conspicuous. For mainstream Republicans, he supported candidate changes at the primary level and restructured the party around Trump-style loyalty. This has led to a regression in the diversity of the Republican Party.**

**[3] Development of Policy Infrastructure: Think Tanks and Resources**

**The Trump campaign focused on strengthening its policies in order to achieve "sustained control." The America First Policy Institute (AFPI) is in this role, and in collaboration with the Heritage Foundation and the Center for Renewing America (CRA), "Project 2025" is also being prepared. American Compass, which focuses on industrial policy and anti-global capital, has stepped up support and reviewed policies. Within the Republican Party, neo-conservatives and nationalism are taking hold. It can be said that it is characterized by "loyalty personnel" to the bureaucracy and "over the head of Congress" centered on presidential decrees.**

**[4] Victory in the 2024 presidential election: Victory in all battleground states and increased support**

**In the 2024 presidential election, Trump won all seven "battleground" states: Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and North Carolina. He was the first Republican candidate to win the popular vote in 20 years since Bush in 2004. It shows that it has expanded its support not only to MAGA supporters, but also to center-conservatives and Latino and black working people on the outskirts of cities. The split in the Democratic Party, Biden's stagnation, and the radicalism of the left created headwinds, and Trump won by advocating "order" and "restoring common sense." With a full comeback, the generation that was supposed to lead the Republican Party "after Trump" was dismantled.**

**[5] Consistent with "anti-free trade" and "anti-immigrant"**

**Trump has consistently advocated a review of free trade and immigration policies. He criticized NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) as "the worst deal" and renegotiated with the USMCA (United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement). The WTO also criticized tariffs, positioning them as "a weapon of diplomacy." In terms of immigration policy, the influx of illegal immigrants was a "threat to national security" and the government decided to build border walls, restrict refugee admission, and review the visa system.**

**In the second term, he mentioned a review of the "birthplace principle (granting citizenship by birth)" and is taking an anti-immigrant stance. It is at the heart of the MAGA movement in terms of protecting the jobs and culture of low-educated white workers.**

**[6] Disregard for allies and neo-superpower attitudes**

**In the second term of the Trump administration, criticism of allies such as NATO and the G7 and emphasis on "prioritizing the United States" were emphasized. He called on NATO countries to increase defense spending, and made it clear that if they did not comply, they would "fail to fulfill their defense obligations." There were a series of remarks reminiscent of the revival of great powerism, such as the "annexation" of Canada, the proposed takeover of Greenland, and the "reacquisition" of the Panama Canal. The provocation to rename the Gulf of Mexico as the "Gulf of the Americas" is also a clear challenge to the international order. It can be said that it is a manifestation of the vision that "a new order in which the United States will once again play a central role" should be built instead of the current international order.**

**[7] Deepening domestic divisions and Trump's impulsiveness**

**Trump's style is consistently aggressive and characterized by fiery rhetoric directed at his opponents. He has attacked the Democratic Party, left-wing forces, liberal universities, and the media as "undermining America from within." Discussions about university education and racial and sexual diversity were described as "wake cultures," and legislation banning them was introduced at the state level. His judgment was impulsive, and his words and actions were unpredictable. It is also his charm and is evaluated as a "leader who is not afraid of political correctness". It has brought serious uncertainties about long-term governance stability and alliances.**

**[8] The Democratic Party's Drift and the Predicament of the Middle Class**

**On the other hand, the Democratic Party has not been able to come up with a counter-axis to Trump, and there remains no viable opponent. The conflict between progressives and moderates is fierce within the party, and the Biden administration's failure has caused it to lose the trust of the middle class. The reality that wages are not rising and prices are continuing to rise has encouraged Trump to run again. The Democratic Party's "green policies" and policies that emphasize diversity diverged from the working class and were seen as "ideals that have nothing to do with daily life." The downfall of the middle class and economic instability have fertilized the soil for anti-establishment MAGA ideology and further accelerated political polarization.**

**[9] The "MAGA movement" is expected to continue in the future**

The "MAGA (Make America Great Again)" movement has gone beyond Trump's campaign slogan to become a strong political and cultural movement in modern America。 It is characterized by a defense of tradition, a backlash against elites and globalization, a sense of caution against immigration and multiculturalism, and Trump's personal loyalty. In the second term of the Trump administration, these were institutionalized and policy-based, and became the mainstream of the Republican Party. Even after Trump's retirement, the MAGA faction remains influential in lawmakers, governors, and judicial officials. He also has a strong leadership in the "culture wars" on education, electoral systems, gender, and religion, and continues to support grassroots through social media and conservative media. The MAGA movement will continue to influence even after Trump.

**[10] "America First" Shakes the International Order**

"America First" means "Open and Mutually Beneficial Global Order"It is a diplomacy that seeks to strengthen the hegemonic position of the United States. Trump has shown his distrust of international organizations and multilateral agreements, calling for reform of the United Nations, the WHO, and the WTO, while preferring bilateral negotiations and diplomacy of strength. It also calls for "equal contributions" from allies and emphasizes transactional security rather than collective security. This stance has shaken the liberal international order to its foundations, and is symbolized by its withdrawal from NATO, the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), and the Paris Agreement. It has also dealt with hostile forces such as China, Iran and North Korea through pressure and bargaining, not cooperation.

●Covering the Trump Campaign by Hirotsugu Mochizuki,

former chief of Asahi Shimbun America General Bureau

1. As a Washington correspondent for the Asahi Shimbun, he mainly covered the first term of the Obama administration from 2009 to 2013, and from 21 to early 25, he was the U.S. general director, covering the Biden administration from Trump's victory in the presidential election in November 2025 to the inauguration of Trump's second administration.
2. Mr. Trump has a strong sense of victimhood that "the United States has been free to ride globalism." Even in the Republican Party, the mainstream faction, represented by G.W. Bush, is hostile to the United States, saying that "we have destroyed the 'good old America' by unnecessary foreign intervention (such as the Iraq war)." McMaster, who was in charge of foreign affairs and security during his first term, and John Bolton's aide have been called "traitors" by MAGA supporters.
3. I have interviewed Steve Bannon, the thought leader of the MAGA movement. He hasn't been on the White House staff for a second term, but he's arguably the brains Trump relies on the most. He explained that the MAGA movement is not against "immigration" but against "inaction on immigration [up to the Biden administration]."
4. As an example of Trump's supporters, I would like to cite "Trump Girl" Amy, whom I interviewed in Wisconsin, which was a battleground state. She is a devout Christian and a member of the peace movement. In the 2008 and 2012 elections, he supported Democrat Obama. However, he was disappointed with the Democratic Party's administration that promoted foreign intervention and globalism, and in the 2016 presidential election, he became a Trump supporter after wondering whether to "Bunny Sanders or Trump."

Tuition fees for graduate law schools are ~$7 to $80,000 per year. For Gen Z in the U.S., the "American Dream" is a thing of the past. There is anger at the current situation, "Why has the United States changed to such a state?" The addition of Robert Kennedy Jr., a mainstream Democrat to the Trump campaign, is symbolic. Disillusionment and degeneration of the "idealism" of the United States, symbolized by Kennedy, which called for "taking on the burden of the world ourselves," has become one of the major trends in support for the MAGA movement.

５． What is the goal of Trump's second term under MAGA? Trump is a businessman, so he wants to be a "beloved president." If a second-term president loses a midterm election, his or her term in office is often stalled. Therefore, I think they are aware that they are "running out of time" and are coming up with bold policies one after another.

However, even after Mr. Trump, MAGA has been the mainstream in the Republican Party, including Vice President Vance, and influential people such as Alexandria Ocasio=Cortez of the left wing of the Democratic Party have adopted policies similar to MAGA. This trend in American politics will not change after the Trump administration.

(Summary and written by Takaaki Mizuno)

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| ●**出馬表明から10年目のトランプ政治** | **住友商事グローバルリサーチ**  **シニアアナリスト足立正彦** |

**【1】10年目のトランプ政治：共和党の「トランプ化」**

**2015年6月16日、ドナルド・トランプはニューヨークのTrump Towerで大統領選出馬を表明し、「アメリカはもはや勝っていない」と語って政界に激震を走らせた。当初は泡沫候補と見られていたが、反移民・反グローバリズムを訴え、保守層や白人労働者階級の不満を巧みに取り込んだ。**

**2016年の大統領選挙での勝利以降、共和党は「トランプ化」し、従来の保守主義（小さな政府、自由貿易、対外介入主義）とは異なるポピュリズムの政党に変わった。**

**2024年にはCleveland以来、史上2人目となる大統領への返り咲きを果たし、党内支配を確立。主流派（ブッシュ家やロムニーなど）は排除され、MAGA（Make America Great Again）が中心となった。**

**【2】第1期政権との比較：忠誠心重視と強権的統治**

**第1期政権（2017–21）は政治経験の乏しさから混乱が目立ち、閣僚の離反や更迭が相次いだ。だが2期目のトランプ政権では、経験と自信に基づく統治スタイルが確立され、忠誠心と政策的一貫性を重視した人事が際立つ。Steve Bannon路線を継承する人材（Stephen Miller、Russ Voughtなど）を要職に起用し、伝統的エスタブリッシュメント人材を排除。行政権の拡大にも積極的で、大統領令による即時的な政策実行が目立つようになった。共和党主流派に対しては、プライマリーレベルでの候補者交代を支援し、トランプ的忠誠を軸に党の再編を図った。これにより共和党の多様性は後退した。**

**【3】政策インフラの整備：シンクタンクとリソース**

**トランプ陣営は「持続的支配」を実現すべく、政策強化に注力した。その役割を担うのが、America First Policy Institute（AFPI）であり、Heritage FoundationやCenter for Renewing America（CRA）と連携し、「Project 2025」も準備。産業政策や反グローバル資本に重点を置くAmerican Compassなどが支援を強め、政策の見直し。共和党内では新保守・ナショナリズムが定着しつつある。官僚機構への「忠誠人事」と大統領令を中心にした「議会の頭越し」が特徴といえる。**

**【4】2024年大統領選挙での勝利：激戦州全勝と支持の拡大**

**2024年大統領選でトランプは、アリゾナ、ジョージア、ミシガン、ネバダ、ペンシルベニア、ウィスコンシン、ノースカロライナという「激戦州」7州すべてで勝利。共和党候補として2004年のブッシュ以来20年ぶりに一般投票（popular vote）でも勝利した点である。MAGA支持層にとどまらず、都市郊外の中道保守層やラテン系・黒人労働者層にも支持を拡大したことを示す。民主党の分裂、バイデンの停滞、左派の急進性が逆風となり、トランプは「秩序」と「常識の回復」を掲げて勝利をつかんだ。完全な返り咲きで、「トランプ後」の共和党を担うとみられた世代は解体された。**

**【5】「反自由貿易」「反移民」で一貫**

**トランプは一貫して、自由貿易と移民政策の見直しを唱えてきた。NAFTA（北米自由貿易協定）を「最悪の取引」と批判し、USMCA（米墨加協定）へと再交渉。WTOも批判して、「関税を外交の武器」に位置付けた。移民政策では、不法移民の流入を「国の安全保障の脅威」として国境の壁建設、難民受け入れ制限、ビザ制度の見直しを断行した。**

**第2期では「出生地主義（出生による市民権付与）」の見直しに言及するなど、反移民に踏み込む姿勢だ。低学歴白人労働者の雇用や文化を守るという点で、MAGA運動の核となっている。**

**【6】同盟国軽視と新列強主義的姿勢**

**第2期トランプ政権では、NATOやG7などの同盟国批判と「米国優先」が強調された。NATO諸国に対しては国防費の増額を求め、応じなければ「防衛義務の不履行」もと明言。カナダ「併合」発言や、グリーンランドの買収提案、パナマ運河の「再取得」など、列強主義の復活を思わせる発言が相次いだ。メキシコ湾を「アメリカ湾」と改称する挑発も国際秩序に対する明白な挑戦である。現状の国際秩序ではなく、「米国が再び中心となる新秩序」を構築すべきだとするビジョンの表れといえる。**

**【7】国内分裂の深化とトランプの衝動性**

**トランプのスタイルは一貫して攻撃的で、敵対勢力への激しい言辞が特徴である。民主党や左派勢力、リベラル系大学、メディアを「アメリカを内部から蝕む存在」と攻撃してきた。大学教育や人種・性の多様性に関する議論は「覚醒文化（woke）」とされ、禁止法制の導入が州レベルで進められた。判断は衝動的で予測困難な言動が繰り返された。彼の魅力でもあり「政治的正しさを恐れないリーダー」として評価される。長期的統治の安定性や同盟関係においては、深刻な不確実性をもたらしている。**

**【8】民主党の迷走と中間層の苦境**

**一方、民主党はトランプへの対抗軸を打ち出せず、有力な対抗馬が不在のまま。党内は進歩派と穏健派の対立が激しく、バイデン政権の失敗により中間層の信頼を喪失。賃金が上がらず、物価上昇が続くという現実が、トランプ再登板を後押しした。民主党の「グリーン政策」や多様性重視政策は、労働者層から乖離し、「生活に関係ない理想」と見なされた。中産階級の没落と経済的不安は、反体制的なMAGAイデオロギーの土壌を肥やし、政治的分極化をさらに加速させている。**

**【9】今後も続くと予想される「MAGA運動」**

「MAGA（Make America Great Again）」運動は、トランプの選挙スローガンを超えて、現代アメリカの強固な政治・文化運動になった。特徴は、伝統の擁護、エリートやグローバル化への反発、移民・多文化主義への警戒感、トランプ個人的忠誠である。第2期トランプ政権では、これらが制度化・政策化され、共和党の主流になった。トランプ退任後も、MAGA派は議員、州知事、司法関係者が存在し、その影響力は揺るがない。教育、選挙制度、ジェンダー、宗教といった「文化戦争」での主導権も強く、SNSや保守系メディアを通じて草の根支持が継続している。MAGA運動はトランプ後も影響し続ける。

**【10】国際秩序を揺さぶる「アメリカ第一主義」**

「America First（米国第一）」は、「開かれた互恵的グローバル秩序」を否定し、米国の覇権的地位を強化しようとする外交である。トランプは国際機関や多国間合意への不信を露わにし、国連、WHO、WTOの改革を求める一方で、二国間交渉や力の外交を好んだ。同盟国にも「等価負担」を要求し、集団安全保障よりも取引的安全保障（transactional security）を重視する。この姿勢は、リベラル国際秩序を根本から揺るがせ、NATOやTPP、パリ協定からの離脱・再交渉に象徴される。中国、イラン、北朝鮮といった敵対勢力への対処も、協調ではなく圧力と取引で臨んでいる。

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●**トランプ2.0政権を取材して 前朝日新聞アメリカ総局長　望月洋嗣**

朝日新聞ワシントン特派員として、2009年から13年まで主にオバマ政権の第一期を取材し、21年から25年はじめまで、アメリカ総局長としてバイデン政権から25年11月の大統領選挙でのトランプ勝利からトランプ第二期政権の発足までを担当した。

1. トランプ氏には「米国はグローバリズムにただ乗りされてきた」という強い被害者意識がある。同じ共和党でも、G.W. Bushに代表される主流派は「（イラク戦争のような）余計な対外介入によって“古き良き米国”を壊した」と敵視している。政権人事でも、1期目の外交・安全保障を取り仕切ったマクマスター氏やジョン・ボルトン補佐官らはMAGA支持者からは「裏切り者」呼ばわりされている。
2. MAGA運動の思想的指導者であるSteve Bannon氏にインタビューしたことがある。2期目はホワイトハウススタッフになっていないが、トランプ氏が最も頼りにしているブレーンであることは間違いない。彼の説明では、MAGA運動は「移民」に反対ではなく、「（バイデン政権までの）無策の移民政策」に反対しているという。
3. トランプ支持層の例として、激戦州だったウィスコンシン州で取材した「トランプGirl」エイミーさんを挙げたい。彼女は熱心なクリスチャンで平和運動にも参加。2008年や12年選挙では、民主党のオバマ氏を支持していた。しかし、対外介入やグローバリズムを進める民主党政権に失望して、16年の大統領選挙では「バニー・サンダース候補か、トランプ候補か」迷った末、トランプ支持者になった。

　大学院ロースクールの学費は年間7～8万ドルもかかる。米国のZ世代には「アメリカン・ドリーム」は過去の話だ。「こんな米国に変わってしまったのはなぜだ？」という現状への怒りがある。トランプ陣営に、民主党本流だったロバート・ケネディJR氏が加わったことは象徴的だ。ケネディに象徴される「世界中の負担を自らが担っていこう」と呼び掛けた米国の「理想主義」への幻滅や変質が、MAGA運動への支持の一つの大きな流れとなっている。

５．MAGAを掲げるトランプ２期目は何を目指しているのか。トランプ氏はビジネスマンなので、「愛される大統領」を目指している。2期目の大統領は中間選挙で敗北すれば、その後の任期は政権が失速することが多い。だから、「時間がない」ことを自覚していて、次々と大胆な政策を打ち出していると思う。

ただ、トランプ氏の後も、バンス副大統領はじめ共和党内はMAGAが主流だし、民主党左派のアレクサンドリア・オカシオ＝コルテス（Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez）氏ら有力者もMAGAと同じような政策を取り入れている。アメリカ政治のこの流れは、トランプ政権の後も変わらないだろう。

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