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Trump's 2016 Campaign, the Republican Party, and Trade

I. Introduction

The Republican presidential platform on trade traditionally has revolved around open markets and free trade rather than tariffs and protectionism. In 2016, Donald Trump ran a successful campaign with a protectionist platform. Since taking office, Trump has implemented many of the more protectionist policies he campaigned on such as withdrawing from the Trans-Pacific-Partnership, threatening the South Korean Free Trade Agreement, starting a trade war with China, and renegotiating NAFTA.¹ The political rise of Trump has brought about a wave of domestic support for protectionism that has flipped Republican public opinion on trade. According to a compilation of polling data from the Pew Research Center, the effect on Republican voters has been a complete change in policy preference.² This paper seeks to explore the Trump campaign's motivation behind changing the Republican presidential platform on trade from free trade to protectionism. It will argue that Trump's change in precedent can be attributed towards a new campaign strategy on trade focused on using protectionist language to win specific industrial states in the electoral college. This claim will be substantiated by looking at the Trump campaign's documents, including speeches and press releases, to determine the campaign's intentions. This analysis reveals that Trump's criticism of "establishment"

¹ Bob Woodward, *Fear: Trump in the White House*, Simon and Schuster, 2018; Simon Lester, Inu Manak, and Kyoungwha Kim, "Trump's First Trade Deal: The Slightly Revised Korea-U.S. Free Trade Agreement," *CATO Institute*, June 13, 2019, <https://www.cato.org/publications/free-trade-bulletin/trumps-first-trade-deal-slightly-revised-korea-us-free-trade>; Doug Stokes, "Trump, American hegemony and the future of the liberal international order," *International Affairs* 94, no. 1 (2018): 133-150.

² Pew Research Center, "5. Issues and the 2016 campaign," *Pew Research Center*, August 18, 2016, www.people-press.org/2016/08/18/5-issues-and-the-2016-campaign/; Bradley Jones, "Americans are generally positive about free trade agreements, more critical of tariff increases," *Pew Research Center*, May 10, 2018, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/05/10/americans-are-generally-positive-about-free-trade-agreements-more-critical-of-tariff-increases/>.

candidates' trade platforms and how he directed his trade platform towards industrial states contributed to his victory through the electoral college in states that were difficult for previous Republican candidates to win, given their free trade position. It will look at campaign documents to determine Trump's campaign strategy and how it was able to be so different from previous Republican campaigns. This paper will start with a background on U.S. trade policy history, focusing on the history of the president becoming the main actor on trade and how that has moved U.S. trade policy towards free trade. It will explore the literature on trade decision making, looking at the various factors that contribute to a president's trade policy, including political, institutional, special interest, and economic pressures. Next, a qualitative study of Trump's campaign documents related to trade is undertaken, and the findings of the analysis are compared to previous Republican campaigns and platforms.

II. Background

In the 1930s, the U.S. took one of the most drastic trade measures in the country's history, placing large tariff increases on thousands of items. In response to the "Smoot-Hawley" legislation, countries around the world raised their tariffs to offset U.S. actions. In the background, the Great Depression was in full swing and World War II was on the horizon. After considerable economic angst and four years of Smoot-Hawley, the legislature went an opposite direction with the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act (RTAA). This cut most existing tariffs and gave the executive the power to reduce any U.S. tariff by 50% without congressional approval while pursuing international agreements with other countries. This shift in decision making was widely agreed upon in the wake of such a large policy blunder. While Smoot-Hawley remained, the president's ability to bring down tariff rates brought stability. In the postwar period, trade faded as a political issue. Republicans and Democrats favored it as a mechanism to expand

growth and develop alliance networks to combat the spread of Communism and Russia's sphere of influence.³ Though the economy would falter in the 1970s and 1980s leading Democrats in Congress to campaign on protectionist platforms, the RTAA cemented the president as the principle leader on trade policy in the U.S. Congress is an inherently protectionist organization. There are strong institutional incentives to promote tariffs in order to directly help economic growth in a constituency and boost electoral chances. Generally, the president does not have such incentives. Because the constituency becomes the whole country, the president has an incentive to look at trade policy more holistically, trying to benefit the whole country rather than particular sectors or regions. This has typically meant free trade policy rather than protectionist measures to help more narrow industry interests or different regions of the country with strong manufacturing bases. While Congress typically has power over commerce through Article I authority, this power has been ceded to the president through several pieces of legislation such as the RTAA. For these reasons, trade has mainly been conducted by the executive branch.⁴

III. Literature Review

To analyze how the Trump campaign made its decisions on trade policy, it is important to first look at the literature on why politicians make trade decisions. By looking at what factors go into trade decision making, it will help establish a framework for determining what affects Trump's decision making. Many studies looking at how decisions are made look at Congressional decision making. This is because Congressional votes offer more data points than more limited data on presidential trade decisions. While this is helpful for assessing how different factors affect decision making for many different actors, the executive, this paper's

³ Destler, I. M. *American Trade Politics*. Viva Books, 2006, 6-12.

⁴ Timothy Meyer and Ganesh Sitaraman, "Trade and the Separation of Powers," *California Law Review* 107, no. 2 (2019): 583-659.

focus, must worry about the whole country rather than the needs of a particular constituency. Literature on substantial changes in presidential trade policy is scant because, before the Trump Administration, it was widely assumed that the Executive Branch was structural favorable towards free trade.⁵ Generally, people point to pressures from political and electoral factors, institutional factors, interest groups, economic indicators, geopolitical competition and alliance networks.

A. Political and Election Factors

By “political and election factors,” this paper means ones related to constituent or regional pressures that affect the decisions of Congresspeople, party leaders, or the president based on their chances to maintain popularity or win re-election. Many good examples of this dynamic have been documented. One example was in the post-war period when Democratic President Kennedy implemented tariffs to help the New England textile industry with Republican President Nixon doing the same a few years later. This can be attributed to political regions in the electoral college shifting with Democrats beginning to win the Northeast and Rust Belt states while losing more in California. The shift reduced Republican reliance on industrial Northeast states that wanted more protectionism. Democrats supported protectionist policies to help the Midwest since the economy was experiencing its worst recession in 40 years which affected the rust belt states. Shortly after this, Walter Mondale, a Minnesota Democrat Senator running for president against Reagan, was the first presidential candidate to make use of these dynamics. Mondale used trade as a key campaign pillar to distinguish himself from Reagan, blaming his administration for failing to go after unfair practices in international trade that were adversely affecting the economy. In 1982 and 1983 with Mondale’s support, the United Auto Workers

⁵ Sherman, Richard. "Delegation, ratification, and US trade policy: Why divided government causes lower tariffs." *Comparative Political Studies* 35, no. 10 (2002): 1171-1197.

introduced a major protectionist bill that would have put duties on Japanese carmakers, pushing them to adopt higher labor standards to equalize competition. Mondale's endorsement made the bill a key litmus test for the Democratic party. By forcing a vote, Mondale established trade as a core part of the Democratic platform. While it seemed promising, Mondale's strategy ended up failing. He was attacked in the media by internationalist Democrats, who were from districts that did not have an interest in protectionism and did not support his trade legislation, fracturing Democratic unity. Further, his argument for trade as a core election issue was made weak when Reagan began to enact protectionist measures to slightly reduce the trade deficit. While that election was lost, the Democrats used protectionist messaging in 1985 and 1986 to attack "Reaganomics yet had to deal once more with internationalist Democrats as well as competing with protectionist House Republicans." Yet, this strategy still saw a similar pushback. Internationalist Democrats continued to disagree with protectionist policies, fracturing the party on the issue. Meanwhile, House Republicans were also interested in some form of protectionist policies, trying to separate themselves from Reagan's policies, which undercut the Democrat's ability to make trade a partisan issue.⁶

Looking at some of authors trying to explain such behavior from politicians, Michael Bailey, Judith Goldstein, and Barry R. Weingast wrote an article attempting to explain how trade decisions are made depending on how politicians perceived economic activity in their districts. At the time, the 1934 Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was a political decision by Democrats fearing a future resurgence of Republican representation in Congress. The law made easier for presidents to pursue liberal trade policy without as much constraint since the coalition needed to pass measures through Congress had been lowered. After World War II, presidents had incentive

⁶ Destler, I. M. *American Trade Politics*. 171-175.

to enact liberal policies since the combined economic harms of Smoot-Hawley and the Great Depression made it politically beneficial and because trade with countries that the U.S. had a trade treaty with expanded rapidly. While recognizing that specific data from each district is hard to obtain, the authors, using district-level industrial data, found that increased exports led to increased Congressional support for free trade. While the data showed that Congress votes based on constituent interest, these interests changed as American trade policy shifted.⁷

Michael J. Hiscox discredits both accounts assumed by this article, namely, that the RTAA was an act of congressional deference to the executive and that it was a partisan move by the Democrats to enact more favorable free trade policies. Instead of assuming macro-level economic changes, he attributes the change in trade decision making to shifts in the constituencies of both parties. Using a model of economic indicators compared to Congressional voting, Hiscox found that parties have varying coalitions that are split between various regions and industries that had shifted over time. To adapt to their constituencies for political victories, voting generally shifted to be more in favor of free trade. While Hiscox's model does account for why liberalization continued, it does not acknowledge the fact that liberal policies were only possible because the RTAA significantly limited Congress' ability to regulate trade.⁸

Ronald Rogowski offers a differing opinion on the power of public opinion on trade policy. He starts by explaining Wolfgang Stolper and Paul Samuelson's 1941 theorem that protectionism benefits those who own factors in which society does not have a lot of resources, as well as those who utilize such small resources. Alternatively, protectionism harms owners of resources that give abundantly relative to the rest of the world. For instance, one implication was

⁷ Michael A. Bailey, Judith Goldstein, and Barry R. Weingast, "The institutional roots of American trade policy: Politics, coalitions, and international trade," *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (1997): 309-338.

⁸ Michael J. Hiscox, "The magic bullet? The RTAA, institutional reform, and trade liberalization," *International Organization* 53, no. 4 (1999): 669-698.

that in a society rich in labor but poor in capital would see protectionism benefiting capital but harming labor. Rogowski believes that changes in technology, namely ones that have lowered the cost of extracting, producing, and transporting resources have presented a difficult problem for those who defend the Stolper-Samuelson theorem. His article assumes that beneficiaries of trade try to keep things the way they are while people who are at a disadvantage try to change it and that acquiring wealth leads to groups trying to amass more political power. In the case of trade, this means that those who benefit from free trade try to expand it while those who do not push for protectionism. Significant trade policies that affected countries with strong agricultural sectors relative to other countries should have been upset with protectionist policies and countries with weak agricultural sectors should have been upset with free trade policies, but Rogowski's historical analysis of global trade policies from the sixteenth century, the nineteenth century, the depression, and the post-World War II world. With the rise of tech development and free trade, the desire for protectionism was somewhat muted. With this result, Rogowski's paper seems to put significant doubt on the idea that trade policy is influenced by public policy, since there did not appear to be any sort of substantial change in policy from countries that had an economic interest to protect some of their industries.⁹

B. Institutional Factors

Institutional factors involve the president's decisions being constrained by Congress. Originally, the constitution sets out that Congress oversees trade, which is why power had to be delegated over time using legislation such as the RTAA. While the executive has a lot of power over trade, Congress still has the ability to regulate the president's behavior through its Article I power over commerce. In the case of the RTAA, the president is only able to lower trade by a

⁹ Ronald Rogowski, "Political cleavages and changing exposure to trade," *American Political Science Review* 81, no. 4 (1987): 1121-1137.

specific amount before needing Congressional approval, and Congress has typically had to renegotiate this rate.¹⁰ One field of study in the area of institutional constraints is literature attempting to assess whether or not divided Congress increased or decreased the amount of free trade actions by the president. Such literature presents an opportunity to see whether presidents work with Congress in order to maintain good political ties or advance policy goals. Several have argued that a divided government had led to more protectionist policy than one where the executive's party had leadership. One study looked to discredit this hypothesis using a historical analysis. In the postwar era, this thesis has generally been untrue, as free trade legislation has steadily passed over time without a rampant increase in protectionist measures. Further, a divided Congress has not spilled up to broader cooperation and relationships that executives have had with other countries. In fact, executives have pursued markedly different policies than Congress, with Democratic presidents tending to be far more pro-free trade than even Republican presidents, as seen by President Clinton's passage of NAFTA. One author asserts that three variables generally determine a politician's trade policy: "economic conditions, the preferences of voters and elected officials, and possibilities for negotiated liberalization or retaliation by foreign states." Congress is less knowledgeable on the third variable and generally defers to the president since at least some baseline of trade negotiation and international cooperation is needed for any sort of action. The knowledge and capability rest with the executive who can make a unified decision and develop specific knowledge for a given trading partner. Congress and the president's preference relies on getting the most political benefit for the lowest possible political cost. For example, for someone in Congress, a tariff that helps their district will give them a benefit at low cost. The same policy for the executive does not yield such benefits, since they

¹⁰ Timothy Meyer and Ganesh Sitaraman, "Trade and the Separation of Powers," *California Law Review* 107, no. 2 (2019): 583-659.

incur costs from not giving tariffs that help other regions or industries. This analysis lays out a good framework for decision making. Trade policy is determined by economic conditions, electoral pressures, and the possibility of agreement from foreign actors, with the executive having more power over Congress in these types of decisions based on their ability to act without gridlock and the ability to develop expertise.¹¹

C. Interest Group Factors

There is also literature looking at the effect of interest groups on trade decisions. The power of interest groups over trade finds its origins in the 1970s and 1980s. In this time period, the influence of these groups increased for four reasons. First, the amount of industries seeking protection grew. Protections were sought by industries that were seeing more competition as other countries began to catch up to U.S. production, including high-tech industry. Second, labor's prominence grew as they amassed members. This had a significant effect on Democratic politics and led to several labor group concessions on trade legislation in the 1970s and 1980s. Third, special interest groups who wanted free trade responded to protectionist groups. This included industry leaders opposed to labor and industries that benefited from free-trade policies. Given the executive branch's inherent free trade disposition, these arguments and constituencies became more attractive. Fourth, several of the traditional protectionist industries, notably textiles and steel, began to lose their political influence. Both industries attempted to push several pieces of quota legislation in the 1970s and 1980s. Unfortunately, all measures failed within a relatively close time frame. This gave the impression that these industries no longer had a way into

¹¹ Sherman, Richard. "Delegation, ratification, and US trade policy: Why divided government causes lower tariffs." *Comparative Political Studies* 35, no. 10 (2002): 1171-1197.

policymaking, especially as their industries suffered from rising competition from other countries.¹²

When considering how much of an effect interest groups have on a campaign, some authors have argued that more access points to a government allows for consideration of more opinions, leading to a better ability to negotiate in their favor. Generally, fast track authority has always had the presence of special interests pushing for more restrictions. This changes with Smoot-Hawley, which extremely hampered U.S. growth amid the Great Depression. Since then, trade authority has been ceded to the executive, who has historically been for free trade. A better explanation for this, as argued by Sean D. Ehrlich is an “access point” theory. Ehrlich describes an access point as a decisionmaker who is influential on a particular topic and can be influenced by interest groups. Finding someone who is receptive to lobbying increases the chance of policy change, and more access points means that one is more likely to find someone who is aligned, reducing the cost of resources expended. Because measures consolidating executive trade policy lowered the amount of access points, interest groups had to compete more on one candidate instead of spreading out their resources. A clear example of this was with the RTAA bill granting more executive authority, which undercuts previously mentioned theorizing that revolved around this idea. The finding proved that this theory was a better analysis than the presidential liberalism theory, since it was able to account for several more factors in the decision making process, such as the continued existence of pro-trade groups.¹³ Historically, business and labor groups, like the AFL-CIO, would support trade legislation while pushing for small concessions on labor and

¹² Destler, I. M. *American Trade Politics*. 185-192.

¹³ Ehrlich, Sean D., "The tariff and the lobbyist: political institutions, interest group politics, and US trade policy," *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (2008): 427-445.

environmental concerns. Their demands grew markedly during the 1970s and 1980s as the economy worsened and the potential for winning the Midwest industrial states grew.¹⁴

Other research has also confirmed an empirical basis for the access point theory. One of the most cited studies in the field looked at votes on NAFTA and the Uruguay Round bills. They found that private group contributions had a significant effect on whether the legislator voted for the trade deal. They also found an effect from the eleven district projects offered by President Clinton to secure votes for legislation. A large theory of the article was that support outside of the political process was key to influencing decisions, though, despite looking at the political conditions surrounding each of the votes, did not look at more political determinants, such as party affiliation, as an explanation for voting behavior. While they considered the effects of a particular district's economic activity, they were not focused on that relationship. The study also looked at the economic costs and benefits of engaging with countries like China, rather than looking at geopolitical concerns.¹⁵

IV. Method

All of Trump's campaign documents mentioning trade were read, with rigorous notes being taken on each.¹⁶ Campaign documents were used as primary sources because they best captured what the Trump campaign wanted to emphasize in their messaging. Because the central questioning is determining what the Trump campaign's motivations are that differentiate it from other Republican campaigns, this is useful data since it provides exact quotes from the administration, a glimpse into their messaging, a blend of press releases and speeches, and the various locations emphasized in different campaign media, such as press releases or speeches for

¹⁴ Ibid, 171-175.

¹⁵ Robert E. Baldwin and Christopher S. Magee, "Is trade policy for sale? Congressional voting on recent trade bills," *Public Choice* 105, no. 1-2 (2000): 79-101.

¹⁶ See Appendix A.

specific regions or states. One could argue that including all interviews of Trump and his senior advisors that did not receive their own press releases should be included in order to adequately analyze all statements made by the campaign. While this would be an interesting avenue for a future research project, it exceeds the limits of this paper, as compiling all data would be a difficult process. If even one interview were to be missed, it would possibly compromise the sample. For this reason, campaign documents, which were much easier to keep track of as proven by the several databases that exist, is a much easier unit of analysis that still offers a glimpse into the inner workings of the campaign. Using the available database was ultimately a choice of convenience so that each document, interview and speech could be adequately read and analyzed. Attempting to create an entirely new database would be welcome for future studies; however, this paper seeks to utilize existing resources.

The University of California Santa Barbara has a database of all available campaign documents from each president called the American Presidency Project. This study identified all of President Trump's campaign documents that mentioned trade. The range of documents go from Trump's "Remarks Announcing Candidacy for President in New York City" to his "Remarks in New York City Accepting Election as the 45th President of the United States."

To determine if a document mentioned trade, using a list of keywords, all documents were searched for contents related to the campaign's position on trade. Key words were chosen based on the literature review and were revised and added upon based on different phrases and themes used by the campaign to describe their position on trade. The process for looking at a document was using the "find" function on an internet browser to locate the relevant passage. To double check for areas, after using the "find" function, all documents were read in order to locate places that mentioned trade or trade related ideas without using the key words and to improve the

key words list Some sources included video; all videos were watched twice to ensure nothing was missed. Notes were taken on each campaign document and compiled into a spreadsheet.¹⁷ When writing notes in the spreadsheet, it was attempted to use minimal editorializing by trying to use as much of Trump and the campaign's words as possible and using content neutral words such as "he said."

V. Findings

Based on the research done into Trump's campaign documents, a story emerges for why Trump pursued his campaign strategy and why it succeeded: Trump positioned himself as someone outside of the D.C. establishment who was the only candidate able to solve trade problems, allowing him to successfully campaign and win in industrial states. This section seeks to present the portions of this paper's research by showing the Republican Party's previous platform of free trade, that Trump was a protectionist candidate who juxtaposed himself on trade to every other candidate in the primary and general election, and that Trump's protectionist platform was especially packaged towards industrial states that made a significant difference in his general election victory. Finally, Trump's use of trade to reinforce other elements of his campaign will be considered, focusing especially on his attempt to put forth a message of unity.

A. The Republican Party's Old Free Trade Playbook

In the past few decades, Republican presidential candidates have not advocated protectionism.¹⁸ While there are some notable exemptions, such as Reagan placing tariffs on Japan in the wake of intense scrutiny from Congress, many of these actions have had a "fair

¹⁷ See Appendix B.

¹⁸ William R. Keech and Kyoungsan Pak, "Partisanship, institutions, and change in American trade politics," *The Journal of Politics* 57, no. 4 (1995): 1130-1142; Helen V. Milner and Benjamin Judkins, "Partisanship, trade policy, and globalization: Is there a left-right divide on trade policy?," *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (2004): 95-119.

trade” framing, wherein free trade is maintained in exchange for smaller concessions. Republicans have been encouraged by hoping to keep an edge on foreign policy, hoping to maintain the U.S. as the hegemon in charge of the international order, and by electoral interests. While foreign policy had not played a large part for voters, it fit well within the nationalist, Republican frame of foreign policy expertise that ensured U.S. global supremacy. Further, many of the states that tended to side Republican in the electoral college had largely export-oriented economic interests, such as agriculture.¹⁹

Many of the previous Republican candidates have campaigned on free trade and minimizing protectionist measures, in line with this thinking. George W. Bush campaigned on free trade and had much progress with extending multilateral and bilateral free trade agreements, such as CAFTA.²⁰ Though he implemented some protectionist measures while in office, Bush’s campaign had no hint of such actions, promising open trade through “competitive liberalization.”²¹ John McCain was largely seen as one of the largest free trade advocates in the 2000s, making trade a key part of campaign documents and speeches concerning the economy.²² In fact, Robert Lighthizer, Trump’s current U.S. Trade Representative, wrote a 2008 opinion piece stating the McCain drew ample criticism from Congressional Republicans for his ardent free trade policies.²³ Even in a campaign event in Ohio, a rust belt state that is a hot-bed for

¹⁹ Pietro Nivola, "This Too Shall Pass: Reflections on the Repositioning of Political Parties," *Issues in Governance Studies* 61, (September 2013): 1-35.

²⁰ Associated Press, "Bush Signs Central America Trade Pact," *NBC News*, August 2, 2005, www.nbcnews.com/id/8794279/ns/politics/t/bush-signs-central-america-trade-pact/; Susan C. Schwab, "I. The President's 2008 Trade Policy Agenda," *United States Trade Representative*, March 1, 2008, <https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/The-Presidents-Trade-Policy-Agenda.pdf>.

²¹ Clive Crook, "George Bush's Biggest Failure Is Trade Policy," *The Atlantic*, December 1, 2003, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2003/12/george-bushs-biggest-failure-is-trade-policy/377248/>.

²² John McCain, "Transcript of McCain's Speech on Economy," *NPR*, April 15, 2008, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php>; John McCain 2008, "Jobs for America: The McCain Economic Plan," *Politico*, 2008, https://www.politico.com/pdf/PPM103_7.7.08_jobs_for_america_briefing_paper.pdf.

²³ Robert E. Lighthizer, "Grand Old Protectionists," *The New York Times*, March 6, 2008, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/06/opinion/06lighthizer.html>.

worker unions and support for protectionism, John McCain attempted to sell the idea of free trade, strongly stating that “Protectionism and isolation has never worked in America’s history.”²⁴ Romney, in a crucial foreign policy speech, said his prospective administration would “champion free trade and restore it as a critical element of our strategy.”²⁵ While there was substantial coverage of Romney advocating some protectionist measures, such as his oft repeated promise to label China as a currency manipulator his first day in office, Romney, as he admitted in a Washington Post opinion piece, argued for the importance of the free trade system and incorporating China into it by discouraging their trade “abuses.”²⁶ Thus, all previous Republican presidential nominees showed a pretty clear trend towards free trade.

B. Trump as the Only Pro-Trade Candidate

Trump’s position against free trade had been well documented. For decades, he has lamented in books and public appearances the loss of American jobs to other countries. Most notably, he placed a full page ad in *The New York Times* in 1987 about the Reagan administration’s dealings with Japan and wrote in his 2000 book, *The America We Deserve*, that, if ever elected president, he would use legal authority afforded to the president to “take charge” of negotiations to prevent “the rip-off of the United States.”²⁷ His references to trade as a broken

²⁴ Elisabeth Bumiller, "Pro-Nafta, McCain Delivers Bad News to Ohio Audience," *The New York Times*, April 23, 2008, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/23/us/politics/23mccain.html>; Jim Geraghty, "McCain’s Got Guts, Selling Free Trade in Youngstown," *The National Review*, April 23, 2008, <https://www.nationalreview.com/the-campaign-spot/mccains-got-guts-selling-free-trade-youngstown-jim-geraghty/amp/>.

²⁵ Mitt Romney, "Mitt Romney’s foreign policy speech (full text, video)," *Politico*, October 8, 2012, <https://www.politico.com/story/2012/10/mitt-romneys-foreign-policy-speech-full-text-video-082145>.

²⁶ Oliver Palmer and Michael D. Swaine, "Mitt Romney’s China Policy," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, January 30, 2012, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2012/01/30/mitt-romney-s-china-policy-pub-46846>; Mitt Romney, "Romney: China must respect the free-trade system," *Washington Post*, October 13, 2011, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/romney-china-must-respect-the-free-trade-system/2011/10/13/gIQAiffViL_story.html.

²⁷ Edward Alden, "The Roots of Trump’s Trade Rage," *Politico*, January 16, 2017, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/01/the-roots-of-trumps-trade-rage-214639>.

system combined with his positioning as an “outsider” has made him a unique candidate that withstood the political backlash received by Republicans advocating protectionism in the past.²⁸

Using his position as a protectionist outsider, Trump took a combative stance on trade in the Republican and the general election, which was reflected in the campaign documents analyzed. What was clear of Trump’s campaign was pitting himself as an independent outsider trying to square off against an establishment of “incompetent leadership.”²⁹ While trying to win the primary, he distinguished himself from other Republicans as a more protectionist pick. At this point in his campaign, he lamented companies moving to other countries and taking jobs with them. He used his position on trade to separate himself from other Republicans. In the early days of his campaign he promised to bring in “smart” negotiators, juxtaposed against corrupt “insiders” while critiquing Obama’s trade leadership, saying at some points that he had “fallen asleep at the wheel.” His main argument was that Obama was not respected by those countries and that he had been too slow to act against abusive trade practices.³⁰ As the primary grew closer, in interviews, press releases, and speeches, Trump would respond to criticisms that he was against the Republican position of free trade and would emphasize that when he advocated

²⁸ Javier Corrales, "Beware the Outsider," *Foreign Policy*, March 16, 2016, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/16/beware-the-outsider-trump-latin-america/>; Ed Kilgore, "Trump Returns the Republican Party to Its 19th-Century Protectionist Roots," *Intelligencer*, June 28, 2016, <https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2016/06/trump-returns-the-gop-to-its-protectionist-roots.html>.

²⁹ Donald Trump, "Press Release - Donald Trump Returns to 'The Factor,'" the American Presidency Project, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-trump-returns-the-factor>; Donald Trump, "Press Release - Trump Discusses Business and Politics with Greta Van Susteren," *The American Presidency Project*, July 8, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-trump-discusses-business-and-politics-with-greta-van-susteren>; Donald Trump, "Excerpts of Remarks at Aaron Bessant Park in Panama City, Florida," *The American Presidency Project*, October 11, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/excerpts-remarks-aaron-bessant-park-panama-city-florida>.

³⁰ Donald Trump, "Presidential Candidate Donald Trump Interview with Maria Bartiromo and Charlie Gasparino," *The American Presidency Project*, August 20, 2015, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/presidential-candidate-donald-trump-interview-with-maria-bartiromo-and-charlie-gasparino>; Donald Trump, "Press Release - Trump Gets Down to Business on 60 Minutes," *The American Presidency Project*, September 28, 2015, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-trump-gets-down-business-60-minutes>; Donald Trump, "Remarks on Foreign Policy," *The American Presidency Project*, April 27, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-foreign-policy>.

for taxes and tariffs, he was not necessarily advocating “protectionism,” but “fair trade.”³¹ While Trump did not attack his counterparts directly on trade, he made it clear that “political hacks” were the ones setting trade policy and that he would be the “smart” person to negotiate against abusive trade policies and bring jobs back to America. He phrased this in more general terms, making it an attack against the D.C. establishment as a whole, rather than just at the Obama administration.³²

In the general election, Trump was able to present himself as the candidate who would pursue protectionist policies and bring jobs back to industrial states by constantly criticizing Clinton’s trade record. In nearly every speech where trade was made an issue between Trump becoming the Republican nominee and the 2016 general election, Trump mentioned Clinton by name. Trump would criticize Clinton by connecting her to her donors that were in favor of trade deals. Additionally, he would provide specific news and statistics of job losses and factory closures to the region he was campaigning in.³³ An example of this was a press release and a speech in the early days of the general election. Trump produced a press release on a Clinton donor that opposed him on trade, having done research on his economic policies. The next day, Trump gave a speech wherein he announced his economic policy. In the portion dealing with

³¹ Donald Trump, "Presidential Candidate Donald Trump Interview with Maria Bartiromo and Charlie Gasparino."

³² Donald Trump, "Remarks Announcing Candidacy for President in New York City," *The American Presidency Project*, June 16, 2015, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-announcing-candidacy-for-president-new-york-city>; Donald Trump, "Press Release - With All Due Respect," *The American Presidency Project*, June 17, 2015, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-with-all-due-respect>; Donald Trump, "Press Release - Donald Trump New Hampshire Victory Speech," *The American Presidency Project*, February 11, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-trump-new-hampshire-victory-speech>.

³³ Donald Trump, "Press Release - Summary Of Trump's Economic Remarks In Bangor, Maine," *The American Presidency Project*, June 29, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-summary-trumps-economic-remarks-bangor-maine>; Donald Trump, "Press Release - Hillary Clinton's Job-Killing Anti-Worker Trade Deals Are Crushing The Middle Class," *The American Presidency Project*, July 6, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-hillary-clintons-job-killing-anti-worker-trade-deals-are-crushing-the-middle>; Donald Trump, "Remarks at the Summit Sports and Ice Complex in Dimondale, Michigan," *The American Presidency Project*, August 19, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-summit-sports-and-ice-complex-dimondale-michigan>.

trade, he framed it as a “rigged” system wherein people like Clinton and her donors make deals for themselves rather than for the American people.³⁴ A major point in the general campaign was when the Trump campaign released a lengthy policy press release on trade, outlining Hillary Clinton’s support of various trade deals, the negative effects they had on jobs in the U.S., and Clinton’s donor list. The document was an in-depth research product that cited several articles with direct quotes from Clinton, statistical research on job loss, and newspaper articles about various interest group connections to the Clintons. This was significant for three reasons. First, this was the only policy issue to receive such an extensive research project out of the press releases examined. Second, it connected to the narrative he had put forth that Hillary Clinton had changed her opinion on the TPP, walking back her previous comments calling it the “gold standard” of trade deals. Finally, this was one of the final press releases made on Trump’s campaign site until he only posted speech transcripts. This meant that this was the final major policy point he made before his last campaigning before the election.

As the general election moved to its final months, Trump’s criticisms grew. Every speech he gave would seem to tie her to supporting a trade deal that had been affecting the region he was campaigning in. It was also in these months of August, September, October, and November where he would use some of his strongest language against Clinton. In August and early September, Trump said in Michigan and Ohio that jobs lost to trade actions like NAFTA, China entering the WTO, and the TPP was the “legacy” of Clinton.³⁵ Trump framed Clinton as a

³⁴ Donald Trump, "Press Release - Trump Gets Down to Business on 60 Minutes;" Donald Trump, "Remarks on Foreign Policy;" Donald J. Trump, "Remarks at Trump SoHo in New York City," *The American Presidency Project*, June 22, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/317885>.

³⁵ Donald Trump, "Remarks at the Summit Sports and Ice Complex in Dimondale, Michigan," *The American Presidency Project*, August 19, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-summit-sports-and-ice-complex-dimondale-michigan>; Donald Trump, "Remarks at the Roberts Centre in Wilmington, Ohio," *The American Presidency Project*, September 1, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-roberts-centre-wilmington-ohio>.

candidate of the “past” on trade policy that would only “do what her donors told her to.”³⁶ As October came, Trump would begin calling Clinton a “vessel” for special interests.³⁷ He would also develop the catchphrase of Clinton wanting “open trade and open borders,” questioning Clinton’s “allegiance” to America rather than her donors.³⁸ In the final days before the election, Trump zeroed in on a moment from the presidential debates where Clinton attempted to soften Trump’s criticisms on her trade policy record. Trump had been focused on Clinton’s previous statements that the TPP was the “gold standard” of trade policies. In his speeches right before the election, Trump emphasized that Clinton “lied” when denying that she had supported the TPP in such a strong way.³⁹

C. Trump’s New Electoral College Strategy

As previously mentioned, Republicans in the past were focused on winning states in the electoral college with export-focused economies. With a protectionist platform, Trump became

³⁶ Donald Trump, "Remarks at a Rally at the Greenville Convention Center in Greenville, North Carolina," *The American Presidency Project*, September 6, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-rally-the-greenville-convention-center-greenville-north-carolina>; Donald Trump, "Remarks at a Rally at the Pensacola Bay Center in Pensacola, Florida," *The American Presidency Project*, September 9, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-rally-the-pensacola-bay-center-pensacola-florida>; Donald Trump, "Remarks at a Rally at Berglund Center in Roanoke, Virginia," *The American Presidency Project*, September 24, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-rally-berglund-center-roanoke-virginia>.

³⁷ Donald Trump, "Remarks at the Suburban Collection Showplace in Novi, Michigan," *The American Presidency Project*, September 30, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-suburban-collection-showplace-novi-michigan>; Donald Trump, "Remarks at the Pueblo Convention Center in Pueblo, Colorado," *The American Presidency Project*, October 3, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-pueblo-convention-center-pueblo-colorado>.

³⁸ Donald Trump, "Remarks at Toyota of Portsmouth in Portsmouth, New Hampshire," *The American Presidency Project*, October 15, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-toyota-portsmouth-portsmouth-new-hampshire>; Donald Trump, "Remarks at the KI Convention Center in Green Bay, Wisconsin," *The American Presidency Project*, October 17, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-ki-convention-center-green-bay-wisconsin-0>; Donald Trump, "Remarks at the Newtown Athletic Club Sports Training Center in Newtown, Pennsylvania," *The American Presidency Project*, October 21, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-newtown-athletic-club-sports-training-center-newtown-pennsylvania>.

³⁹ Donald Trump, "Remarks at the Bayfront Park Amphitheater in Miami, Florida," *The American Presidency Project*, November 2, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-bayfront-park-amphitheater-miami-florida>; Donald Trump, "Remarks at J.S Dorton Arena in Raleigh, North Carolina," *The American Presidency Project*, November 7, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-js-dorton-arena-raleigh-north-carolina>.

more likely to win industrial states that his predecessors would not have been able to since he positioned himself as an outsider pitted against a political establishment that had created bad deals for the country. Trump gave a major trade speech or produced a press release with statistics relating to a specific state's relationship between trade deals and employment 70 times out of the 107 documents identified by this paper. Many of these documents focused on states that have historically been hurt by free trade and either have or used to have a large manufacturing base, such as North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and the rust-belt states.⁴⁰ Most of them featured Trump adding state or region-specific statistics on jobs lost in the state when talking about trade. He would typically couple this with Many of these states are widely viewed as crucial for Trump's victory, earning him just enough votes to edge out Clinton in the election. After the election, several commentators reported that many of these states, including rust belt states, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina, were crucial victories for Trump to win the electoral college. Major industrial states with voters who felt victim to free trade and globalization rose up and provided crucial votes to the Trump campaign.⁴¹ Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and Michigan had not voted for a Republican candidate since the 80s. Even though many of the states were predicted to be easy wins for Clinton, Trump was able to unite these states around their anti-trade sentiments.⁴² In this way, Trump's campaigning in specific places while strongly emphasizing protectionism was a key path to his victory that was separate from any Republican platform in the preceding decades.

⁴⁰ See Appendix C.

⁴¹ Edward Alden, "The Biggest Issue That Carried Trump to Victory," *Fortune*, November 10, 2016, <https://fortune.com/2016/11/10/trump-voters-free-trade-globalization/>.

⁴² Tim Meko, Denise Lu, and Lazaro Gamio, "How Trump won the presidency with razor-thin margins in swing states," *The Washington Post*, November 11, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/politics/2016-election/swing-state-margins/>; Nate Cohn, "Why Trump Had an Edge in the Electoral College," *The New York Times*, December 16, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/19/upshot/why-trump-had-an-edge-in-the-electoral-college.html>.

D. Tying Trade to other Issues

This final subsection will focus on Trump linking his trade messaging to other core parts of his platform. There were some points in the primary where Trump tried to connect his trade policy with his environmental and immigration policies. When Obama had signed the Paris Agreement on climate change, Trump produced a press release commenting on some countries, especially China, not following through on such agreements to gain an advantage in trade over the United States.⁴³ On immigration, Trump said that Mexico could “afford” to pay for a border wall because of how high the U.S. trade deficit was with them.⁴⁴ While potentially interesting, these two examples were just small parts of Trump’s trade message and were generally restricted to the three speeches cited. Because of the small sample size, it is difficult to tell whether trade had an effect

One of the more interesting directions taken by Trump was using trade as part of his message on unity. Unlike with climate change and immigration, this was an issue that Trump connected to his trade platform far more frequently. Many would admit that Trump’s campaign had somewhat suffered in terms of connecting identity politics. He would often use trade as an example on how he planned to help African American communities or connect with younger voters. Trump would often point to unrest, unemployment, and stagnant economies in inner cities and minority communities to jobs being lost because of unfair trade practices from foreign countries.⁴⁵ A particularly pointed example is when his planned rally in Chicago was cancelled

⁴³ Donald Trump, "Press Release - Donald Trump on Climate Change Policy," *The American Presidency Project*, December 4, 2015, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-trump-climate-change-policy>.

⁴⁴ Donald J. Trump, Press Release - Donald J. Trump South Carolina Victory Speech, *The American Presidency Project*, February 20, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/314683>; Donald Trump, "Press Release - Donald Trump's Nevada Caucuses Speech," *The American Presidency Project*, February 24, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-trumps-nevada-caucuses-speech>.

⁴⁵ Donald Trump, "Press Release - Donald Trump on State of the Union," *The American Presidency Project*, February 21, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-trump-state-the-union>; Donald Trump, "Press Release - Las Vegas Voters Ask Donald Trump Questions," *The American Presidency Project*,

because of large swaths of protestors. Trump went on Fox News after cancelling the event, expressing that he did not want anyone to get “hurt.” The interviewer asked Trump what he thought of the protestors, and he commented on their anger and frustration stemming from jobs being lost. Even when the interviewer stated that the protestors seemed to be there to protest his position on identity politics issues, he doubled down, stating that, because of jobs lost to several countries as companies moved out of America, inner city areas had deteriorated with poverty and crime, which he promised to solve through his trade platform. When asked if there were any other ways he planned to be a unifier other than jobs, he said there would be "outreach programs and everything else but still jobs is always going to be number one."⁴⁶ As the election transitioned from the primary to the general election, Trump used similar unity messaging to gain interest from Democrats who had grown disinterested with the Democrat Party. Trump made many statements shortly after declaring victory, talking about how Sanders’ supporters would vote for him because of his campaign’s stance on trade. For example, when the AFL-CIO, an influential union that has been a landmark interest group in trade policy, endorsed Hillary Clinton. Trump found this odd, and expressed that he best encapsulated their interests by trying to bring jobs back to the U.S. He used this argument to say that he had the support of Sanders’

February 22, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-las-vegas-voters-ask-donald-trump-questions>; Donald Trump, "Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio," *The American Presidency Project*, July 21, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-accepting-the-presidential-nomination-the-republican-national-convention-cleveland>; Donald Trump, "Remarks at Great Faith International Ministries in Detroit, Michigan," *The American Presidency Project*, September 3, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-great-faith-international-ministries-detroit-michigan>; Donald Trump, "Remarks at McGlohon Theatre at Spirit Square in Charlotte, North Carolina," *The American Presidency Project*, October 26, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-mcglohon-theatre-spirit-square-charlotte-north-carolina>.
⁴⁶ Donald J. Trump, "Press Release - Trump: I Didn't Want Anyone to Get Hurt," *The American Presidency Project*, March 11, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/313976>.

voters as well as the support of low-income communities, which he presumed he would bring jobs back to.⁴⁷

Trump's "unity" messaging with trade did not end up working. His decisive politics elsewhere had made it too difficult for the campaign to brand itself as inclusive through economic policy. After Mitt Romney's loss in the 2012 election, the RNC released a report on lessons learned in the 2012 election. One of the central themes was the attempt to diversify the Republican party, by incorporating several groups that it had previously had a hard time reaching, especially younger voters and Hispanics. In the case of Romney, public polling had shown that he had isolated those groups with the perception that he did not care about them. Polls resoundingly showed that he was out of touch with what growing demographics in the country wanted, especially in the area of identity politics. The report said that, because of the perception of being an exclusive party was so rampant, the party's other major themes of education or the economy would not be received. Recommendations from the report spoke about choosing candidates and platforms that were more inclusive, citing many successes that the Republican Party was having at local and state level elections. By expanding the voter base, the authors believed that the Republican party's long-term success would be ensured, especially given demographic trends showing that their voter base had been diminishing.⁴⁸ Trump was not the candidate to fit under this strategy. In the days following the report's publication, he tweeted, "@RNC report was written by the ruling class of consultants who blew the election. Short on ideas. Just giving excuses to donors."⁴⁹ During the campaign, Trump spent much of his time in

⁴⁷ Donald J. Trump, "Statement by Donald J. Trump on AFL-CIO Endorsement of Hillary Clinton," *The American Presidency Project*, June 16, 2016, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/317874>; Donald J. Trump, "Remarks at Trump SoHo in New York City."

⁴⁸ Republican National Committee, "Growth & Opportunity Project," *Wall Street Journal*, March 2013, <https://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/RNCreport03182013.pdf>.

⁴⁹ Donald Trump, Twitter Post, March 19, 2013, <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/314085754307497985>.

the primary attacking Republican candidates who attempted to take a “centrist” approach on issues like immigration. Instead of appealing to swing voters like the report suggested and his opponents tried to, Trump’s strategy revolved around reaching for far-right Republicans and the working class. From day one, he sought to bring back jobs to a shrinking voting base while pursuing an immigration platform that alienated many young and Hispanic voters. While many Republicans shied away from making immigration a part of their platform, Trump entered with full force proposing policies such as having Mexico build a wall on the Southern border, threatening mass deportations, and imposing a travel ban on majority-Muslim countries.⁵⁰ Thus, while trade may have been his attempt to appeal to younger voters, minority groups, and inner-city voters, it was vastly overshadowed by just how out of touch he was with polling and demographic trends. This paper does not find that using trade as a “unity” message helped Trump on trade or that pursuing a “unity” message was the main intention of Trump’s campaign.

VI. Conclusion

This paper sought to explore why the Trump administration had campaigned on protectionist policy, given how different it was from the Republican trade platform of the past few decades. Trump’s campaign documents were analyzed and contrasted against the old Republican strategy. Because he had long been in support of protectionist policies and framed the trade system as corrupt, he was able to succeed in industrial states that had historically been in favor of the Democrats. This paved the way for Trump to use a new and different political playbook based on using trade policy to win over certain regions of the country. Because Clinton and the other Republican nominees were painted as “establishment,” Trump was able to

⁵⁰ Kyle Cheney, "Trump kills GOP autopsy," *Politico*, March 4, 2016, <https://www.politico.com/story/2016/03/donald-trump-gop-party-reform-220222>.

successfully present himself as the only option for stemming the worst effects of globalization for the industrial states he won.

The paper concludes that the Trump campaign's intentions for maintaining a protectionist platform was to get political wins in key parts of the country. Like the Democrats in Congress in the 1970s and 1980s, Trump has taken advantage of unique regions that have suffered job losses from trade deals to win over certain regions. For this reason, Trump fits in with the "political and election factors" discussed in part III. Because of how different Trump's campaign is from how institutions have typically worked and because the crux of his trade argument was against special interests, the theories of institutional or interest group factors do not seem to make sense in the face of the Trump campaign's political motivations. Moving forward, it will be interesting to see if see Trump's strategy can be replicated in the future. Despite significant action from the Trump administration on trade in its first term, the 2018 midterms saw several Democrats winning state and local elections in several states and districts that Trump won in 2016, including in the rust-belt.⁵¹ Even if he held onto all his other gains in the electoral college, the rust-belt will likely be the tipping point for the Trump administration and a crucial test if his trade strategy can work again.⁵² This will be different than the 2016 election since it would depend on how Trump's trade actions while in office had affected these states and whether voters are satisfied with Trump's work. With the possibility of large rallies where Trump cannot give stump speeches in industrial states, it will be interesting to see whether his lead holds. Regardless, Trump is an

⁵¹ Benjy Sarlin, "Democrats show signs of life in Rust Belt, Midwest states that gave Trump Electoral College win," *NBC News*, November 9, 2018, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/elections/democrats-show-signs-life-rust-belt-midwest-states-gave-trump-n933786>.

⁵² Jessica Taylor, "What 2018 Elections Could Tell Us About The 2020 Presidential Map," *NPR*, November 9, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/2018/11/09/665845153/what-2018-elections-could-tell-us-about-the-2020-presidential-map>.

anomaly in the history of the Republican trade platform and is an example of a political party in the U.S. changing their position in order to gain advantage in the electoral college.

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⁵³ This was the name of John McCain's 2008 Campaign.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Campaign Documents Notes

Speech Title	Date	Source	Description	URL
Remarks Announcing Candidacy for President in New York City	6/16/2015	Trump Tower in New York	Declare presidency, free trade good if there is "smart people." we are losing because of bad deals with countries like China and Mexico	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-announcing-candidacy-for-president-new-york-city
Press Release - With All Due Respect	6/17/2015	Bloomberg - With All Due Respect	The Republican group "Club for Growth" had said Trump could not be taken seriously. Trump was asked about 2 of the reasons. First, when asked on whether he was protectionist or for free trade (interviewers pointed out that he said he was claiming to be for free trade while advocating tariffs on China), Trump said there needs to be smart leaders and that China is different since there needs to be fair trade to balance out trade inequality.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-with-all-due-respect

<p>Presidential Candidate Donald Trump Interview with Maria Bartiromo and Charlie Gasparino, Fox Business News</p>	<p>8/20/2015</p>	<p>Fox Business</p>	<p>Trump said trade pacts are unfair and points out a couple of people he's been talking to such as "Carl Icahn" and "Charlie Gasparino," referring to both as people he'd put on his trade negotiating team. Trump thought it was bad that Japan ships the U.S. a bunch of cars while we only give them "wheat." Trump then called out China too and said, "we are losing our jobs, we're losing our base, we're losing our money." Later, Trump complained about foreign people running American companies. Claims that we don't have smart negotiators but "diplomats" and "political hacks." Later, Trump complained that China is devaluing currency and expressed that a strong dollar has hurt the U.S. since it has hurt competition with China. Trump thought China has been tariffing US goods without retaliation and that "smart people" negotiating would be the solution. He said China's devaluation stems from government structure. He called Obama "asleep at the wheel!" for letting China do that. When asked what the single most important answer was to create jobs, Trump said, "We need better trade deals" and that America can't let China, Japan and Mexico take advantage. He stated those are not the only three and that Vietnam is another example. He's pressed on what he meant by "smart people" and said "I know those people, Maria. I know those people and you know those people, and -- I know people that are better than the people that are on your show. Better. But you've never heard of them." He was asked about "Charlie Gasparino," who is in the sidelines of the interview and had a conversation with him where Trump pointed out that, while Charlie was not the biggest Trump fan, he was interested in convincing him otherwise. Ends the whole interview by re-emphasizing that trade needs to be a priority</p>	<p>https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/presidential-candidate-donald-trump-interview-with-maria-bartiromo-and-charlie-gasparino</p>
<p>Remarks on Foreign Policy</p>	<p>4/27/2016</p>	<p>Center for National Interest</p>	<p>Trump blamed Obama for expanding trade deficit which had stolen away U.S. jobs and connected trade power to U.S. leadership and military strength. He claimed that the U.S. had declined in its ability to respond to China's industrial espionage</p>	<p>https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-foreign-policy</p>
<p>Exclusive: Donald Trump on what made him run for president</p>	<p>6/18/2015</p>	<p>Fox News</p>	<p>Trump said trade is one of the country's problems that made him run for president. He explained that China and Mexico are "beating" the U.S. on trade and blamed Mexico for stealing car factory jobs.</p>	<p>https://video.foxnews.com/v/4303971298001/exclusiv-e-donald-trump-on-what-made-him-run-for-president/?playlist_id=930909813001#sp=show-clips</p>

Press Release - Trump: He's Built a Hell of a Company, He Should Embrace It	6/23/2015	Fox News	Eric Trump was interviewed by Fox following Trump's Fox and Friends interview. Eric Trump mentioned his platform as different than usual politicians who are failing on things like "trade."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-trump-hes-built-hell-company-he-should-embrace-it
Press Release - Trump: 'Last Person I'd Want Negotiating for Me is Obama	6/23/2015	Fox News	Trump said, in response to a question on race relations, that lack of jobs, fueled by trade, was a main reason for tensions in America. He blamed China and Mexico for taking these jobs saying, "they are taking our money." About the TPP, Trump said "lobbyists and donors" supported it that support corrupt politicians and represent companies with narrow interests. He says it was a "disaster" since it "doesn't talk about currency manipulation the way it should" and because a multilateral agreement would "cover too big of an area." Says that "Obama isn't a negotiator."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-trump-last-person-id-want-negotiating-for-me-obama
Press Release - Trump Discusses Business and Politics with Greta Van Susteren	7/8/2015	Fox News	Interviewers asked about his reaction to ESPN and NASCAR severing ties with him and if such backlash would make Trump drop out of the race. Trump said he was bringing "lots of different elements that are very important," pointing to "We have incompetent leadership, we have leaders that don't know anything about negotiating, we're getting killed by China, we're getting killed by Mexico, we're getting killed by Japan."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-trump-discusses-business-and-politics-with-greta-van-susteren
Press Release - The Silent Majority Has Awakened!	7/24/2015	Press Release	Trump promised to restore a "free market" and "ensure that companies are incentivized to bring factories and jobs back to American soil."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-the-silent-majority-has-awakened
Press Release - Donald Trump Interviews Himself in the Mirror	9/11/2015	The Tonight Show with Jimmy Fallon	Trump did a skit where he was interviewed by Jimmy Fallon impersonating him. Trump ended with saying several campaign objectives, including preventing companies from moving overseas.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-trump-interviews-himself-the-mirror

<p>Press Release - Trump Gets Down to Business on 60 Minutes</p>	<p>9/28/2015</p>	<p>CBS 60 Minutes</p>	<p>Trump was asked about his tax policy. The interviewer said that with a large federal deficit, Trump would not be able to afford a tax cut. Trump responded that by taking jobs back from China, Japan, and Mexico, who he stated have exploited the U.S., would solve the problem. Trump explained that he would not allow China, for example, to devalue their currency. He said that China did not respect Obama, and that they would trust him. He said if they did not comply, then he would put tariffs on their products. The interviewer asked Trump if he means to start a trade war; Trump said that he did not want to tax things but was "talking about a fair war." Trump explained that he would bring in smart individuals to represent us to negotiate with Japan, China, and Mexico. Trump then pointed to Ford setting up a plant in Mexico. Trump said he would be willing to tax Ford's car imports. When asked about how that would exist with NAFTA, Trump said it was a disaster and that "we will either renegotiate it or we will break it." When told it was against the law, Trump said "every agreement has an end. Every agreement has to be fair. Every agreement has a defraud clause. We're being defrauded by all these countries." The interviewer emphasized that such trade practices were part of free trade and said, "it is a plank of the Republican Platform." Trump responded and saying, "we need fair trade. Not free trade. We need fair trade. It's gotta be fair."</p>	<p>https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-trump-gets-down-business-60-minutes</p>
<p>Press Release - Donald Trump Returns to 'The Factor'</p>	<p>9/30/2015</p>	<p>Fox News</p>	<p>Trump wrote an op-ed in the Wall Street Journal on trade policy towards China. He said Bill Clinton's approach of integrating China into the WTO had failed since they have gained market access to the U.S. while implementing policies to prevent the reverse. Trump stated there needed to be "smart" negotiators who were not "Wall Street insiders." Trump presented a solution of "fair trade," saying that "Our goal is not protectionism but accountability." Trumps said he would immediately declare China to be a currency manipulator, "[force] China to uphold intellectual property laws," end china's subsidies and lax labor and environment standards, and "strengthen our negotiating position" by lowering the corporate tax rate, reducing out debt reliance on China, and increasing military presence in the East and South China seas.</p>	<p>https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-trump-returns-the-factor</p>
<p>Press Release - Trump Campaign Announces Southwest Virginia Leadership Team</p>	<p>11/18/2015</p>	<p>Press Release</p>	<p>Trump's press release mentioned that Southwestern Virginia especially has been badly impacted by "horrible trade deals such as NAFTA" which "have shipped manufacturing jobs overseas and crippled the area economically."</p>	<p>https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-trump-campaign-announces-southwest-virginia-leadership-team</p>

Press Release - Donald Trump on Climate Change Policy	12/4/2015	Fox News	When talking about Obama's visit to Paris for a climate change convention, Trump said the countries, especially China, tended to not follow environmental standards while the U.S. did at the expense of jobs and economic competitiveness.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-trump-climate-change-policy
Press Release - Donald Trump New Hampshire Victory Speech	2/11/2016	CNN	In the beginning of his speech, Trump said "We're going to beat China, Japan, we're going to beat Mexico on trade. We're going to beat all of these countries taking money away from us on a daily basis." Trump stated he is in contact with smart businesspeople to replace "political hacks" in negotiations and mentioned several times that we were not winning on trade, which would change under him if elected.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-trump-new-hampshire-victory-speech
Statement by Donald J. Trump Responding to the Lies of Senator Cruz and Warns of Legal Action	2/11/2016	Press Release	This was a press release responding to some of Senator Cruz's criticisms. At the end of the text, Trump emphasized his goals, including "[renegotiating] our trade deals and bring our jobs back to our country"	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-donald-j-trump-responding-to-the-lies-senator-cruz-and-warns-legal-action
Press Release - Trump: Pope 'Did Not Understand' Illegal Immigration Crime Problem	2/20/2016	Fox News	In this Fox News Interview, Trump talks about fiscal policy and how China bolsters their position by altering their currency.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-trump-pope-did-not-understand-illegal-immigration-crime-problem
Press Release - Donald J. Trump South Carolina Victory Speech	2/21/2016	Right Side Broadcast Network	When talking about immigration and having Mexico pay for a border wall, he said that Mexico does have the money to pay, as the U.S. has a \$58 billion trade deficit with them to offset the cost. Says countries like Mexico and China rip us off because we have "incompetent" leaders. Mexico, Vietnam, Japan, and China are listed as examples. Trump says that China is the worst abuser, calls it "the greatest single theft in history." Mentions that several people in the business world, such as Carl Ichan had supported him and that he would put smart people in his administration.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-j-trump-south-carolina-victory-speech
Press Release - Donald Trump on State of the Union	2/21/2016	CNN	In this interview, Trump says that one of the reasons he's heard that African Americans support him is his goal to bring jobs back from Mexico, Vietnam, India, and China.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-trump-state-the-union
Press Release - Las Vegas Voters Ask Donald Trump Questions	2/22/2016	Fox News	When asked about what he would do for younger generations, Trump said that he would make job prospects better by preventing jobs from moving to China and Mexico.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-las-vegas-voters-ask-donald-trump-questions

Press Release - Donald Trump's Nevada Caucuses Speech	2/24/2016	CNN	Trump mentions that, because of the trade deficit with Mexico, they'd be willing to pay for a border wall.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-trumps-nevada-caucuses-speech
Press Release - Donald J. Trump Endorsed by Senator Jeff Sessions	2/28/2016	Press Release	Trump praised Sessions for his opposition to Obama's trade deals and some of the Senator's key policy areas, including trade. The release mentioned a statement from Sessions that praised Trump on his trade policy ideas.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-j-trump-endorsed-senator-jeff-sessions
Press Release - Donald J. Trump Endorsed by Two Great Businessmen, Tom Barrack and Andy Beal	2/29/2016	Press Release	Two prominent businesspeople endorsed Trump. The press release mentions them "as the kind of business leaders our country needs to help negotiate trade deals, create jobs and spur economic development."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-j-trump-endorsed-two-great-businessmen-tom-barrack-and-andy-beal
Press Release - Donald J. Trump Announces Senator Sessions as Chairman of National Security Advisory Committee	3/3/2016	Press Release	In this press release, it's mentioned that Sessions had advised Trump on "issues such as trade."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-j-trump-announces-senator-sessions-chairman-national-security
Press Release - Trump: I Didn't Want Anyone to Get Hurt	3/11/2016	Fox News	Blames anger that made him cancel his Chicago rally on people losing jobs and manufacturing to other countries, such as Mexico, Canada, and Ireland. For instance, talks about Ford building a plant in Mexico instead of Michigan, Phizer moving to Mexico, and Carrier moving to Ireland. When the interviewer mentions that the protestors weren't there about economic conditions but his "free speech," Trump emphasized that there were people on "both sides" who were there protesting "economic conditions." When asked how he would convince the protestors he was their president if elected, he said he would do so through boosting job opportunities. When asked if there were any other ways he planned to be a unifier other than jobs, he said there would be "outreach programs and everything else but still jobs is always going to be number one."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-trump-i-didnt-want-anyone-get-hurt

Statement by Donald J. Trump on Receiving Historic Endorsement From America's Border Patrol Agents	3/30/2016	Press Release	When commenting on a recent statement of support from the Border Patrol's worker union, Trump said that they would help in his vision to "save thousands of American lives, millions of American jobs, and billions of American tax dollars."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-donald-j-trump-receiving-historic-endorsement-from-americas-border-patrol-agents
Press Release - Donald J. Trump Announces New York State Campaign Leadership	4/6/2016	Press Release	Trump announced campaign leadership in New York, including U.S. Congressman Chris Collins as Honorary Co-chairman of the campaign for New York. Collins said that Trump would "bring back American jobs stolen by China," among other things.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-j-trump-announces-new-york-state-campaign-leadership
Press Release - Donald J. Trump to Speak on Foreign Policy at The National Press Club in Washington, D.C.	4/22/2016	Press Release	Trump announces that in an upcoming speech on foreign policy he would list trade, among other things, as a priority for his potential administration.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-j-trump-speak-foreign-policy-the-national-press-club-washington-dc
Press Release - Donald J. Trump Delivers Major Foreign Policy Address	4/27/2016	Press Release	This was a press release about a speech Trump gave on foreign policy, including trade.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-j-trump-delivers-major-foreign-policy-address
Remarks on Foreign Policy - National Interest Magazine	4/27/2016	Speech - National Interest Magazine	Trump identified 5 weaknesses in U.S. foreign policy, with the first one being trade deficits with other countries and how they were stealing American jobs. Trump said that Obama had continued to allow China's "economic assault" on America by "refusing to enforce trade deals." To respond to mounting debt, Trump said that trade policy, among other things, needed to be changed. Trump stated that the U.S. had put more effort into integrating China into the WTO than helping citizens. He stated that a priority would be to fix the trade deficit with China and develop better relations with them. He pointed to NAFTA as an example of the U.S. putting other countries first. He said that it allowed companies to "take advantage" of the U.S. by shifting a tremendous amount of jobs and potential tax dollars elsewhere.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-foreign-policy

Press Release - U.S. Rep. Jimmy Duncan Endorses Donald Trump for President	4/30/2016	Press Release	Trump is endorsed by a Representative from Tennessee. The release mentioned a statement from Rep. Duncan that Trump would use America's "tremendous leverage on trade."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-us-rep-jimmy-duncan-endorses-donald-trump-for-president
Statement by Donald J. Trump Regarding Trump University	6/7/2016	Press Release	The campaign released a statement on accusations of racial discrimination at Trump University. When commenting on whether or not he would engage in a civil case, Trump said "given my unique circumstances as nominee of the Republican Party and the core issues of my campaign that focus on illegal immigration, jobs and unfair trade, I have concerns as to my ability to receive a fair trial." In the next paragraph, Trump said he would be hard at work to stop companies from moving to Mexico and stealing jobs, saying "[t]his is bad for all Americans, regardless of their heritage."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-donald-j-trump-regarding-trump-university
Press Release - Rep. Lou Barletta (PA) Statement on Donald J. Trump	6/7/2016	Press Release	A Pennsylvania Representative stated: "He is a successful businessman with the executive experience and courage we desperately need to bring back our jobs, grow our economy ..."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-rep-lou-barletta-pa-statement-donald-j-trump
Press Release - Senator Jeff Sessions of Alabama Congratulates Donald J. Trump	6/7/2016	Press Release	The campaign released a statement from Sen. Sessions. Sessions says that Clinton would create more failed trade deals while Trump "will only negotiate trade deals that benefit America."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-senator-jeff-sessions-alabama-congratulates-donald-j-trump
Remarks of Presidential Candidate Donald Trump after Winning Primaries in Montana, South Dakota, New Mexico, New Jersey and California	6/7/2016	Speech – Briarcliff Manor, New York	Trump stated: "the terrible trade deals that Bernie was so vehemently against—and he's right on that—will be taken care of far better than anyone ever thought possible. And that's what I do. We are going to have fantastic trade deals. We're going to start making money and bringing in jobs." Later in the speech, Trump said, "On trade, 'America First' means the American worker will have his or her job protected from unfair foreign competition." He pointed to the TPP as an example of a bad trade deal that is "Almost as bad as NAFTA, signed by Bill Clinton, which has just stripped our country of our factories and our manufacturing, and moved them to other places, in particular, Mexico." Trump said the TPP was "not a great deal for our country" and cannot be signed while our country was "suffering."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-presidential-candidate-donald-trump-after-winning-primaries-montana-south-dakota

Statement by Donald J. Trump on AFL-CIO Endorsement of Hillary Clinton	6/16/2016	Press Release	Trump argued in a press release that the AFL-CIO's endorsement of Clinton was bad because of her stances on trade, among other things. Trump stated he agreed with Sanders that Hillary has supported numerous deals "that has cost the workers of this country millions of jobs." The release stated that "Hillary supported NAFTA and she supported the trade deal with China, Vietnam, South Korea – and if elected will implement the TPP she loves so much – guaranteed." Trump blames Clinton for the trade deficit with China and that, once elected, she would "economically destroy poor communities."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-donald-j-trump-afl-cio-endorsement-hillary-clinton
Press Release - Mark Zandi Is An Obama Adviser And Clinton Donor	6/21/2016	Press Release	Trump's campaign commented on a Moody's report on his economic plan. The release said that the report failed to consider Trump's trade plans, which would have a significant effect on the amount of jobs that came back to the U.S.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-mark-zandi-obama-adviser-and-clinton-donor
Remarks at Trump SoHo in New York City	6/22/2016	Speech – New York, New York	Trump implored Sanders voters to support him in fixing a "rigged" economic system which "includes fixing all of our many disastrous trade deals." Trump paints a picture of the Clintons as being backed by special interests that don't put the people first. Trump explained that "We reward companies for offshoring, and we punish companies for doing business in America and keeping our workers employed. This is not a rising tide that lifts all boats. This is a wave of globalization that wipes out our middle class and our jobs." Trump blamed the Clintons for bad trade practices, stating: "Hillary Clinton supported Bill Clinton's disastrous NAFTA, just like she supported China's entrance into the World Trade Organization. We've lost nearly one-third of our manufacturing jobs since these two Hillary-backed agreements were signed. Our trade deficit with China soared 40% during Hillary Clinton's time as Secretary of State -- a disgraceful performance for which she should not be congratulated, but rather scorned. Then she let China steal hundreds of billions of dollars in our intellectual property – a crime which is continuing to this day. Hillary Clinton gave China millions of our best jobs, and effectively let China completely rebuild itself. In return, Hillary Clinton got rich!" Trump explained that Clinton would support the TPP and that it would be worse than NAFTA. At the end of the speech, Trump laid out proposals, saying that his administration would, "Stand up to countries that cheat on trade, of which there are many."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-trump-soho-new-york-city
Statement by Donald J. Trump Regarding the British Referendum on E.U. Membership	6/24/2016	Press Release	In a statement about Brexit, the administration praised the U.K. for having "exercised the sacred right of all free peoples." He concluded with "Americans will have a chance to vote for trade, immigration and foreign policies that put our citizens first. They will have the chance to reject today's rule by the global elite, and to embrace real change that delivers a government of, by and for the people."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-donald-j-trump-regarding-the-british-referendum-eu-membership

Press Release - Summary Of Trump's Economic Remarks In Bangor, Maine	6/29/2016	Press Release	Trump wanted to respond to detractors "lashing out to maintain the status quo." Trump said he wanted trade deals that were "fair, balanced and benefit American workers. Ones that will produce jobs and wealth for our country and our workers." He said America had lost thousands of manufacturing jobs as a result of unfair trade policies and that Clinton had found herself on the "extreme globalist" side that supports such deals. Trump promised to take power away from "special interests."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-summary-trumps-economic-remarks-bangor-maine
Statement by Donald J. Trump on Atlantic City Record	7/6/2016	Press Release	Trump compared his ability to create jobs in Atlantic City to his ability to bring jobs back to the U.S. Claimed that, "I want to bring jobs back to America, while Hillary Clinton wants to get elected to enrich herself with power at the expense of the people."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-donald-j-trump-atlantic-city-record
Press Release - Hillary Clinton's Job-Killing Anti-Worker Trade Deals Are Crushing The Middle Class	7/6/2016	Press Release	The campaign released a detailed analysis of Hillary Clinton's record as a Senator and Public Official concerning trade. They share news stories about either Hillary's support of different deals or that special interests were backing her in different cases. This included the TPP, NAFTA, trade with China, The U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement, The Columbia Free Trade Agreement, and trade with Vietnam.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-hillary-clintons-job-killing-anti-worker-trade-deals-are-crushing-the-middle
Press Release - Ohio Suffers Under Hillary Clinton Trade Policies As She Rakes In Special Interest Cash	7/6/2016	Press Release	The campaign released a detailed analysis of Hillary Clinton's record on trade in relation to Ohio's economy. It provides different news sources where Clinton has supported various deals, how those deals negatively impacted Ohio by displacing jobs, and how polling in Ohio shows the citizens are against the deals. It goes specifically into several different factory closures as companies moved plant locations to Mexico or Asia. Talks specifically about TPP, NAFTA, and negotiations with China.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-ohio-suffers-under-hillary-clinton-trade-policies-she-rakes-special-interest
Press Release - Donald J. Trump: America First Means Veterans First	7/11/2016	Press Release	In this press release for a speech about his veterans' policy, Trump said, "Every year, large corporations bring in many thousands of low-wage workers from overseas, and across the border, to fill jobs that could easily be filled by our veterans."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-donald-j-trump-america-first-means-veterans-first
Remarks in Virginia Beach, Virginia	7/11/2016	Press Release	This is the speech that contains the above quote.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-virginia-beach-virginia-0
Press Release - ICYMI - GOP Platform Gets Trump-ified	7/13/2016	Press Release	The campaign released excerpts from a story in The Hill titled "GOP Platform Gets Trump-ified." Mentions that Republican stances on trade had changed since it is a "cornerstone" position of the Trump campaign. for instance, mention and support of the TPP was "stricken" from the official GOP position in the early stages of the campaign.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-icymi-gop-platform-gets-trump-ified

Remarks Introducing Governor Mike Pence as the 2016 Republican Vice Presidential Nominee in New York City	7/16/2016	Speech - New York, New York	In the speech, mentions that people are "tired of a country that has horrible trade deals."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-introducing-governor-mike-pence-the-2016-republican-vice-presidential-nominee-new
Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio	7/21/2016	Speech - Cleveland, Ohio	Trump argued that Bernie supporters should vote for him because "we will fix his biggest single issue: trade deals that strip us of our jobs." Trump articulates a "different vision" for workers that "begins with a new, fair trade policy that protects our jobs and stands up to countries that cheat." Trump reiterated that this is a long-term goal of his, saying: "It's been a signature message of my campaign from day one, and it will be a signature feature of my presidency from the moment I take the oath of office." Trump says he will reinvigorate our trade policy " Using the richest people in the world, which our country has." Trump blamed disastrous trade deals that cut manufacturing jobs on trade deals supported by the Clintons, notably NAFTA. Trump promised to bring jobs back to New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan. He then pointed to bad trade deals that he said a Clinton administration would continue to support. This includes NAFTA, supporting China entering the WTO, the South Korean free trade agreement, and the TPP. He came out strongly against multilateral trade agreements saying, " I will make individual deals with individual countries. No longer will we enter into these massive transactions, with many countries, that are thousands of pages long – and which no one from our country even reads or understands." He also promised to crack down hard against violators using "taxes and tariffs." He finished the trade remarks with calling out China for IP theft and currency manipulation.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-accepting-the-presidential-nomination-the-republican-national-convention-cleveland
News Conference in Doral, Florida	7/27/2016	News Conference - Doral, Florida	Trump said that Clinton had changed her opinion on trade to wanting to renegotiate current deals the day before because of statements he had been saying. When asked if he would be an adversary to China, he said he would stop "incompetent" leadership that has allowed them to amass a trade deficit of "hundreds of millions of dollars."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/news-conference-doral-florida

Remarks at the KI Convention Center in Green Bay, Wisconsin	8/5/2016	Speech - Green Bay, Wisconsin	<p>Trump claimed Bernie supporters would support him because of his position on Trade. He called out China, Mexico, Vietnam, and Japan on their trade policies. Later in the speech, he questioned why defense assistance to countries like Japan and Saudi Arabia is so high when their trade deficits with the U.S. are also high. At the end, he said: "We are going to win on trade deals. We are going to make the finest, we are going to bring our jobs back. We're not going to make it easy for these companies to leave and fire everybody. It going to be very, very expensive when they do it. Believe me, it's going to be very, very expensive. They're going to say, you know what? Maybe we'll stay Wisconsin, OK? Maybe we will stay."</p>	<p>https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-ki-convention-center-green-bay-wisconsin</p>
Remarks to the Detroit Economic Club	8/8/2016	Speech - Detroit, Michigan	<p>For Detroit specifically, Trump said that "Clinton has supported the trade deals stripping this city, and this country, of its jobs and wealth." He points to the Korean free trade agreement, NAFTA, China entering the WTO, and the TPP as examples. Focusing on South Korea, Trump used numbers from the Economic Policy Institute (EPI) to show that instead of creating 70,000 jobs as promised, the U.S. lost 100,000 jobs. He then pointed to the TPP and how Hillary Clinton had a close supporter who would benefit immensely from the deal. Using EPI numbers again, Trump said that the TPP cost the U.S. 1 million manufacturing jobs in 2015. Looking specifically at Michigan, Trump said, "Michigan ranks first for jobs lost as a share of state workforce due to the trade deficit with TPP members." Trump then pointed to his "7-point plan for trade reform" that included "protections against currency manipulation, tariffs against any countries that cheat by unfairly subsidizing their goods, and it includes a renegotiation of NAFTA." Trump emphasized a large part of this was renegotiating trade with China on their subsidies, currency manipulation, IP theft, and lax environmental and labor standards. At the end of his trade comments, Trump tried to pull back in favor of free trade saying, "I want great trade deals for our country that create more jobs and higher wages for American workers. Isolation is not an option, only great and well-crafted trade deals are."</p>	<p>https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-detroit-economic-club-1</p>
Remarks at a Rally at the University of North Carolina in Wilmington	8/9/2016	Speech - Wilmington, North Carolina	<p>When talking about China policy and transitioning to economic policy, Trump commented on the trade deficit, saying: "trade deals -- it's so sad -- where we lose \$800 billion -- billion with B -- dollars a year on trade with China alone, it's \$400 billion and \$500 billion and \$505 billion." He emphasized again that Bernie supporters would vote for him because of his trade policy.</p>	<p>https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-rally-the-university-north-carolina-wilmington</p>

Remarks at Erie Insurance Arena in Erie, Pennsylvania	8/12/2016	Speech - Erie, Pennsylvania	Trump blamed manufacturing jobs lost in Pennsylvania on Bill Clinton's NAFTA deal, calling it "the single worst trade document ever signed in the history of our country and probably in the history of our world." Trump talks about Hillary's support of the TPP as the "gold standard" of trade deals saying that it would be "as bad as NAFTA." At the end of his thought Trump said: "It is the gold standard—oh, boy. Our country is in trouble. Our country is in trouble. Our country is in trouble." Trump said a main problem with the TPP is that it did not cover devaluation, which he said was a particularly bad problem when it came to countries like China that manipulated their currency. Trump emphasized that Hillary Clinton had only recently announced she was planning to "renegotiate" trade deals, which proved, "she's not going to do it." Trump blamed 68,000 jobs lost in Pennsylvania on Hillary and her husband's policies, saying: "At the bidding of her corporate funders, Hillary Clinton has backed every job-killing trade deal for decades." Trump reiterated that Mexico would be able to pay for the wall given the massive trade deficit the US had with their country	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-erie-insurance-arena-erie-pennsylvania
Remarks at Youngstown State University in Youngstown, Ohio	8/15/2016	Speech - Youngstown, Ohio	Trump said that Clinton "lacks the mental and physical stamina" to handle issues like trade.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-youngstown-state-university-youngstown-ohio
Remarks at the Washington County Fair Park in West Bend, Wisconsin	8/16/2016	Speech - West Bend, Wisconsin	Trump criticized the "media-donor-political complex," in which he claimed Hillary Clinton is a part of and said that "The people opposing our campaign are the same people who lied to us about one trade deal after another." Trump promised to "renegotiate NAFTA, stand up to China, withdraw from the TPP, and protect every last American job." Trump claimed Clinton lacks the "strength and stamina" in order "to win trade in our country." Also claimed that Clinton had "bad judgement" concerning trade policy.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-washington-county-fair-park-west-bend-wisconsin
Remarks at the Charlotte Convention Center in Charlotte, North Carolina	8/18/2016	Speech - Charlotte, North Carolina	Trump blamed Hillary Clinton for lost manufacturing jobs in North Carolina, specifically pointing to NAFTA and TPP. He promised to renegotiate NAFTA, get out of the TPP, and have a different approach to China.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-charlotte-convention-center-charlotte-north-carolina

Remarks at the Summit Sports and Ice Complex in Dimondale, Michigan	8/19/2016	Speech - Dimondale, Michigan	Trump promised to bring manufacturing jobs back to Michigan and stop countries from moving overseas. He pointed to NAFTA as a trade deal supported by the Clintons that was especially detrimental to the state. Later, he also pointed to China entering the WTO. He claimed that Clinton would support the TPP when in office, which he also claimed she had flip-flopped her position on only after he had said something about it. Using data from the Economic Policy Institute, Trump said that 740,000 manufacturing jobs were lost to TPP member countries in 2015, with Michigan being the biggest loser. Trump asked the crowd "Just imagine how many more automobile jobs will be lost if Hillary gets her wish and approves TPP." Trump promised to pull out of the TPP and pointed to his 7-point trade plan, which included "strong protections against currency manipulation from countries like China and tariffs against any nation that cheats by unfairly subsidizing their goods."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-summit-sports-and-ice-complex-dimondale-michigan
Remarks at the Mississippi Coliseum in Jackson, Mississippi	8/24/2016	Speech - Jackson, Mississippi	Trump promised to fix trade deals and bring back jobs that are being "stolen" by countries that hurt U.S. business and companies that move operations by renegotiating NAFTA, standing up to China, and pulling out of the TPP. He pointed to NAFTA and China entering the WTO as two trade actions that lost a lot of American jobs while being supported and enacted by the "crooked" Clintons. Towards the end of the speech, Trump said that renegotiating trade deals would "bring back jobs and opportunity. And the African-American community and the Hispanic community will be our biggest beneficiary of that."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-mississippi-coliseum-jackson-mississippi
Remarks at the XFINITY Arena in Everett, Washington	8/30/2016	Speech - Everett, Washington	When listing economic problems, Trump said, "Meanwhile, our trade deficit in goods with the world is now nearly \$800 billion dollars."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-xfinity-arena-everett-washington
Remarks on Immigration at the Phoenix Convention Center in Phoenix, Arizona	8/31/2016	Speech - Phoenix, Arizona	Trump emphasized that he would renegotiate trade deals to prevent countries from moving abroad, promising "to bring jobs home."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-immigration-the-phoenix-convention-center-phoenix-arizona
Remarks to the American Legion in Cincinnati, Ohio	9/1/2016	Speech Cincinnati, Ohio	Trump promised to "fight for every last American job" by "going to look at every trade deal we have across the world and see what steps must be taken to protect American jobs and create new opportunities for American workers."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-american-legion-cincinnati-ohio

Remarks at the Roberts Centre in Wilmington, Ohio	9/1/2016	Speech - Wilmington, Ohio	Trump emphasized that Hillary's trade dealings (NAFTA, TPP, and Korean Free Trade Agreement) had been particularly bad for Ohio and was because of her donors. Trump said that lost jobs was the "legacy" of Hillary Clinton and promised a "new legacy" of a "New American Future."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-roberts-centre-wilmington-ohio
Remarks at Great Faith International Ministries in Detroit, Michigan	9/3/2016	Speech - Detroit, Michigan	When giving a speech about helping the African American community, Trump said he planned to "bring jobs back" that have moved to countries like Mexico.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-great-faith-international-ministries-detroit-michigan
Remarks at a Rally at the Greenville Convention Center in Greenville, North Carolina	9/6/2016	Speech - Greenville, North Carolina	Trump emphasized that Clinton hurt American jobs by supporting NAFTA, TPP, and China's WTO membership and that she "just does whatever her donors tell her to do." Trump said he would negotiate on behalf of the people instead of international corporations. Trump iterated support for North Carolinian farmers, saying: We will work to ensure farmers in North Carolina have the tools they need to thrive at home and compete on a level playing field in foreign markets – and that means negotiating fair trade deals that put America First."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-rally-the-greenville-convention-center-greenville-north-carolina
Remarks at the Cleveland Arts and Social Sciences Academy in Cleveland, Ohio	9/8/2016	Speech - Cleveland, Ohio	Trump pointed to the trade deficit impacting "Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Maine, and so many others" and promised to end "foreign currency manipulation, product dumping, and other predatory trading practices" that would open new plants and factories in America.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-cleveland-arts-and-social-sciences-academy-cleveland-ohio
Remarks to the 11th Annual Values Voter Summit in Washington, DC Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.	9/9/2016	Speech - Washington, D.C.	Trump pointed to Hillary Clinton's work in upstate New York that failed to bring about new jobs. He said that she would not be the person to create new jobs because of her track record, while he, as a businessman, knew how to get the job done. In this part of the speech, he talks about getting jobs back by fixing unfair trade practices from Mexico and China	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-11th-annual-values-voter-summit-washington-dc-omni-shoreham-hotel-washington
Remarks at a Rally at the Pensacola Bay Center in Pensacola, Florida	9/9/2016	Speech - Pensacola, Florida	Trump said that Hillary "is the candidate of the past" and that his is one of "the future" that will "pursue new trade policies that put American workers first – and that keep jobs in our country." Trump said that people who got NAFTA, the TPP, and China entering the WTO "wrong" support Clinton. Trump set out to fix the "\$800 billion dollar trade deficit," end unfair trade policies from countries like China and Mexico and stop companies from moving operations abroad.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-rally-the-pensacola-bay-center-pensacola-florida

Remarks at the US Cellular Center in Asheville, North Carolina	9/12/2016	Speech - Asheville, North Carolina	Trump promised "On that first day, I am also going to instruct the Department of Commerce to immediately begin a review of all foreign trade practices that unfairly hurt American manufacturing." Trump said that the Hillary supported NAFTA and China's entrance to the WTO were particularly for North Carolina.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-us-cellular-center-asheville-north-carolina
Remarks at Aston Community Center in Aston, Pennsylvania	9/13/2020	Speech - Aston, Pennsylvania	Trump hinted at his forthcoming economic plan to bring more jobs to America, with trade as an area of it.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-aston-community-center-aston-pennsylvania
Remarks at Seven Flags Event Center in Des Moines, Iowa	9/13/2016	Speech - Des Moines, Iowa	When laying out his economic plans, Trump emphasizes protecting American jobs. Concerning trade, he promises to renegotiate trade deals like NAFTA and prevent companies from moving overseas.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-seven-flags-event-center-des-moines-iowa
Remarks at a Rally at Canton Memorial Civic Center in Canton, Ohio	9/14/2016	Speech - Canton, Ohio	Trump said that Hillary's trade policy history, among positions on other issues, had "devasted" inner cities. He says that his economic policy revolves around creating jobs. In terms of trade, this means "America-first" policies. Trump criticizes Clinton's support of NAFTA, China entering the WTO, and the TPP. Trump said that Ohio had lost 1 in 3 manufacturing jobs since NAFTA and 1 in 4 since China entered the WTO. He also pointed to the "\$800 billion" trade deficit in goods. Trump promised to renegotiate NAFTA. Trump also said that the U.S. trade deficit with TPP members cost Ohio 100,000 manufacturing jobs in 2015 and said that more would be lost if Clinton was elected.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-rally-canton-memorial-civic-center-canton-ohio
Remarks to the Economic Club of New York at the Waldorf Astoria in New York City	9/15/2016	Speech - New York, New York	Trump called trade that "the foundation for everything." Trump said that after China's entrance to the WTO, the U.S. growth rate had been reduced because of their "[p]redatory trade practices, product dumping, currency manipulation and intellectual property theft have taken millions of jobs and trillions in wealth from our country." Trump said that Hillary Clinton, backed by special interests, supported NAFTA, China Entering the WTO, the Korean Free Trade Agreement, and the TPP. Trump said on the first day of his presidency, he would instruct the Commerce Secretary to "identify every violation of trade agreements a foreign country is currently using to harm our workers." Trump said he would renegotiate NAFTA, pull out of the TPP, call China a currency manipulator, stop China's unfair trade practices, and mitigate companies going to other countries.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-economic-club-new-york-the-waldorf-astoria-new-york-city

Remarks at a Rally at the James L. Knight Center in Miami, Florida	9/16/1616	Speech - Miami, Florida	Trump said he would "renegotiate NAFTA, stand up to China, and keep America out of the TPP" and emphasized prioritizing bilateral trade deals over multilateral ones.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-rally-the-james-l-knight-center-miami-florida
Remarks at High Point University in High Point, North Carolina	9/20/2016	Speech - High Point, North Carolina	Trump said that Hillary had "spent her career destroying jobs" through "her terrible trade deals." In this speech, he focuses on NAFTA, the Korean Free Trade Agreement, and the TPP. Trump said that the South Korea deal was supported to create 70,000 jobs but lost 100,000 instead and that North Carolina had lost 4 in 10 manufacturing jobs since NAFTA.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-high-point-university-high-point-north-carolina-0
Remarks at a Rally at Sun Center Studios in Chester Township, Pennsylvania	9/22/2016	Speech - Chester Township, Pennsylvania	Trump lamented companies moving to other countries, hurting manufacturing jobs in Pennsylvania. Trump blamed the Clintons for NAFTA and China entering the WTO ad promised to make sure jobs do not move to other countries.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-rally-sun-center-studios-chester-township-pennsylvania
Remarks at the Shale Insight TM Conference at the David L. Lawrence Convention Center in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	9/22/2016	Speech - Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	Trump connected trade and immigration policy in a speech about economic policy saying "my plan includes a renegotiation of America's trade deals, and the enforcement of trade rules, to increase jobs and wealth inside the United States. Strong border controls will also protect our workers and save our budget trillions in the long-term..	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-shale-insight-tm-conference-the-david-l-lawrence-convention-center-pittsburgh
Remarks at a Rally at Berglund Center in Roanoke, Virginia	9/24/2016	Speech - Roanoke, Virginia	Trump promised "to end the international abuse, the foreign cheating, and the one-sided rules that govern NAFTA and the World Trade Organization" and criticized that "America eliminates its tariffs, but then other countries tax our goods with backdoor tariffs and close their markets." Trump emphasized that Clinton would negotiate based on what her special interests dictated.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-rally-berglund-center-roanoke-virginia
Remarks at a Rally at the Mid-America Center in Council Bluffs, Iowa	9/28/2016	Speech - Council Bluffs, Iowa	Trump said that the large corporations who negotiated trade deals to move offshore supported Clinton.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-rally-the-mid-america-center-council-bluffs-iowa
Remarks at a Rally at Waukesha County Expo Center in Waukesha, Wisconsin	9/28/2016	Speech - Waukesha, Wisconsin	To present Clinton as beholden to special interests, Trump said "Everything you need to know about Hillary Clinton can be understood with this simple phrase: Follow The Money. The large corporations who support terrible trade deals that offshore jobs – they are donating to Hillary Clinton."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-rally-waukesha-county-expo-center-waukesha-wisconsin

Remarks at a Rally at the New Hampshire Sportsplex in Bedford, New Hampshire	9/29/2016	Speech - Bedford, New Hampshire	Trump said the same quote in the previous speech. Trump criticized the Clintons' support of NAFTA which, in New Hampshire, lost "1 in 3 manufacturing jobs since it was approved." Trump also disapproved of China entering the WTO, saying that "1 in 4" manufacturing jobs were lost in New Hampshire because of that deal. Trump iterated that "Clinton is merely a vessel for the special interests" and would support the TPP, which he said also would hurt jobs.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-rally-the-new-hampshire-sportsplex-bedford-new-hampshire
Remarks at the Suburban Collection Showplace in Novi, Michigan	9/30/2016	Speech - Novi, Michigan	Trump denounced Clinton's support of NAFTA, China entering the WTO, the Korean Free Trade Agreement, and TPP. He pointed to jobs lost in Michigan after the enactment of NAFTA and China joining the WTO. Trump said that the Clinton-backed South Korea cost the U.S. 100,000 jobs and that she criticized the deal while campaigning in 2007 before overseeing its implementation as Secretary of State. Trump also mentioned that Michigan had been the biggest loser in terms of jobs lost because of the trade deficit with TPP member countries. Trump said that Clinton planned to support the TPP and that "Hillary Clinton is merely a vessel for the special interests trying to strip this country of its wealth, its jobs, and its status as a sovereign nation."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-suburban-collection-showplace-novi-michigan
Remarks at the Pueblo Convention Center in Pueblo, Colorado	10/3/2016	Speech - Pueblo, Colorado	Trump spoke to manufacturing jobs in Colorado lost because of Clinton's support of NAFTA and China entering the WTO. Trump emphasized that Clinton would support the TPP and that she was beholden to special interests.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-pueblo-convention-center-pueblo-colorado
Remarks at Prescott Valley Event Center in Prescott Valley, Arizona	10/4/2016	Speech - Prescott Valley, Arizona	Trump said that fixing trade deals would be the "foundation" of U.S. "economic revival." Trump pointed to deals backed by the Clintons and provided numbers for how they have reduced manufacturing jobs in the U.S.: NAFTA, China entering the WTO, and the Korean Free Trade Agreement. Trump lamented that companies such as Apple, Carrier, General Electric, Motorola, Mattel, Fiat Chrysler, had begun to move abroad and promised to bring manufacturing jobs back to America.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-prescott-valley-event-center-prescott-valley-arizona
Remarks at Henderson Pavilion in Henderson, Nevada	10/5/2016	Speech - Henderson, Nevada	Repeated from the previous speech, Trump said that fixing trade deals would be the "foundation" of U.S. "economic revival" and pointed to deals backed by the Clintons and provided numbers for how they have reduced manufacturing jobs in the U.S.: NAFTA, China entering the WTO, and the Korean Free Trade Agreement. Trump said, "We will stop the foreign cheating, the product dumping, and the one-sided trade deals."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-henderson-pavilion-henderson-nevada
Remarks at the Reno-Sparks Convention Center in Reno, Nevada	10/4/2016	Speech - Reno, Nevada	Trump emphasized the same sentiments as the previous 2 speeches, using nearly identical words.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-reno-sparks-convention-center-reno-nevada

Excerpts of Remarks at Aaron Bessant Park in Panama City, Florida	10/11/2016	Speech - Panama City, Florida	When listing problems, he hoped to fix created by the "corrupt global establishment," "terrible" trade deals are included in it.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/excerpts-remarks-aaron-bessant-park-panama-city-florida
Remarks at the Southeastern Livestock Pavilion in Ocala, Florida	10/12/2016	Speech - Ocala, Florida	Trump said "we're going to renegotiate our totally disastrous I mean these deals, aye yai yai the trade deals the worst. We're going to renegotiate those trade deals." Trump promised to take special interests out of trade deals. Trump said "China is ripping us off. Japan is ripping us off with the cars. Mexico has a unbelievable deal with us, both on the border I mean, look at our trade deficit with Mexico. And China, and Vietnam, and everybody." Trump blamed Obama for poorly negotiated deals, which he said he should have worked on instead of campaigning for Clinton. Trump emphasized "I do believe in free trade but I believe more in smart trade." Trump said he would form a relationship with countries that are "ripping" us off and get them to stop unfair practices. Trump stated that "fixing our terrible trade deals" was "at the center of our economic revival."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-southeastern-livestock-pavilion-ocala-florida
Remarks at the South Florida Fair Expo Center in West Palm Beach, Florida	10/13/2016	Speech - West Palm Beach, Florida	As an example of the "establishment," Trump said the TPP "involves trillions of dollars controlled by many countries, corporations and lobbyists."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-south-florida-fair-expo-center-west-palm-beach-florida
Remarks at the Cross Insurance Center in Bangor, Maine	10/15/2016	Speech - Bangor, Maine	Trump said that Clinton would implement "open trade and open borders" and that "By 'open trade,' she means foreign countries can cheat us out of millions of jobs and trillions of dollars." For his economic plan, Trump emphasized "At the center of our economic revival will be fixing our terrible trade deals." Trump pushed for making more things in the U.S. again and slammed Clinton for supporting NAFTA and China entering the WTO, which led to factories closing or moving overseas. Trump lamented that "Companies like Carrier, General Electric, Motorola, Mattel, Fiat, Chrysler, and so many others are moving their jobs to Mexico." When talking solutions, Trump said he would announce day one to renegotiate NAFTA and promised "a 10% tax on money parked overseas" to incentivize companies to come back to the U.S.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-cross-insurance-center-bangor-maine
Remarks at Toyota of Portsmouth in Portsmouth, New Hampshire	10/15/2016	Speech - Portsmouth, New Hampshire	Trump claimed that Hillary wanted "open trade and open borders" that was dictated by interest groups "who have no allegiance to this country or its people." Trump said "fixing terrible trade deals" was at the center of his economic policy and that the "\$800 billion annual trade deficit" was the "legacy" of Clinton and Obama. Trump called NAFTA and China joining the WTO "job theft," having stolen significant amount of jobs from "Maine" and the U.S..	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-toyota-portsmouth-portsmouth-new-hampshire

Remarks at the KI Convention Center in Green Bay, Wisconsin	10/17/2016	Speech - Green Bay, Wisconsin	Trump said renegotiating trade was the "center" of his economic plan. He Blamed Clinton's support of NAFTA and China entering the WTO as reasons why jobs were leaving Wisconsin. He pointed out companies like Briggs & Stratton, GE Healthcare, and Johnson Controls, which all had Wisconsin operations that moved. He reiterated that Clinton wanted "open trade and open borders."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-ki-convention-center-green-bay-wisconsin-0
Remarks at the Norris-Penrose Event Center in Colorado Springs, Colorado	10/18/2016	Speech - Colorado Springs, Colorado	Trumped described Hillary's trade positions as "rigged," as proven by her support of NAFTA and the TPP. Trump says renegotiating "terrible" trade deals would be at the "center" of his "jobs" plan. He pointed to the large trade deficit with the world, thousands of Colorado jobs lost to the Clinton-backed NAFTA, and thousands of American jobs lost by the Clinton-backed decision to let China enter the WTO.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-norris-penrose-event-center-colorado-springs-colorado
Remarks at the Delaware County Fairgrounds in Delaware, Ohio	10/20/2016	Speech - Delaware, Ohio	Trump said, "fixing our terrible trade deals" was at the "center of my historic jobs plan." He pointed to the high trade deficit and Ohio losing jobs to the Clinton backed NAFTA and China WTO entrance. He criticized trade policy being made in many different organizations and promised to consolidate trade decision making under one office.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-delaware-county-fairgrounds-delaware-ohio
Remarks at the WNC Agricultural Center's Davis Event Center in Fletcher, North Carolina	10/21/2016	Speech - Fletcher, North Carolina	Trump said, "fixing our terrible trade deals" was at the "center of my historic jobs plan." Pointed to U.S. jobs being lost to NAFTA and China entering the WTO. Promised to renegotiate NAFTA, stop foreign "cheating," stop jobs from moving out of the country, and consolidating trade negotiations into one office.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-wnc-agricultural-centers-davis-event-center-fletcher-north-carolina
Remarks at the Newtown Athletic Club Sports Training Center in Newtown, Pennsylvania	10/21/2016	Speech - Newton, Pennsylvania	Trump said Hillary Clinton supported special interests in trade decisions, proven by her support of NAFTA, China entering the WTO, and the TPP. In all cases, he pointed to the U.S. jobs lost from these choices. He used the line that Clinton is in support of "open trade and open borders."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-newtown-athletic-club-sports-training-center-newtown-pennsylvania
Remarks on Proposals for the First 100 Days in Office at the Eisenhower Complex in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania	10/22/2016	Speech - Gettysburg, Pennsylvania	Trump called trade deals with China "defective" and promised to make them "fair." He promised to renegotiate NAFTA, withdraw from the TPP, label China as a Currency Manipulator, and "direct the Secretary of Commerce and U.S. Trade Representative to identify all foreign trading abuses that unfairly impact American workers and direct them to use every tool under American and international law to end those abuses immediately."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-proposals-for-the-first-100-days-office-the-eisenhower-complex-gettysburg

Remarks at the Collier County Fairgrounds in Naples, Florida	10/23/2016	Speech - Naples, Florida	Trump said that "fixing our trade deals and ending the offshoring of American jobs" were at the "center" of his campaign. He pointed to companies moving to different countries as a result of the Clinton-backed NAFTA and China WTO entrance that took jobs from the U.S. and Florida. He promised to tax businesses that move away.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-coller-county-fairgrounds-naples-florida
Remarks at McGlohon Theatre at Spirit Square in Charlotte, North Carolina	10/26/2016	Speech - Charlotte, North Carolina	Trump gave a speech with portions speaking to his belief that economic conditions were to blame for problems in African American communities. He said at the "center" of his "revitalization" plan was to renegotiate "terrible" trade deals. He also said that "The Clintons gave us NAFTA and China's entry into the World Trade Organization, two deals that de-industrialized America, uprooted our industry, and stripped bare towns like Detroit and Baltimore and the inner cities of North Carolina. This state has lost nearly half of its manufacturing jobs since Bill and Hillary's NAFTA, decimating the African-American middle class."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-mcglohon-theatre-spirit-square-charlotte-north-carolina
Remarks at the Champions Center Expo in Springfield, Ohio	10/27/2016	Speech - Springfield, Ohio	Trump pointed to the U.S. losing "70,000" factories, including many in Ohio, since China entered the WTO with the Clintons' support. He promised to tax businesses that move away. In this speech, he zeroed in on NAFTA, saying: "And folks, just in case you have any questions, when that happens you're not losing your companies anymore. And if you do, at least the country's gonna make a lot of money. OK? We will immediately begin renegotiating NAFTA, and if we don't get the deal we want - right now it's a one-way highway. We lose our jobs, we lose our companies, we lose everything. We lose our cash. They get the cash, they get the jobs, they get the companies. We get the drugs, we get the unemployment. That's what we get. We get nothing. We get less than nothing."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-champions-center-expo-springfield-ohio
Remarks at Radisson Armory in Manchester, New Hampshire	10/28/2016	Speech - Manchester, New Hampshire	Trump blamed Obama and Clinton for negotiating trade deals that created "greatest jobs theft in the history of the world." Trump lamented jobs and factories lost to China and Mexico through China entering the WTO and NAFTA, which he blamed on the Clinton's support. Trump also called out China for currency manipulation. Trump promised to punish companies that move out of the U.S. with a tax, renegotiating NAFTA, and labelling China as a currency manipulator. Later, Trump said "I'm a free-trader, I'm a fair trader. But we have the wrong people represent us."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-radisson-armory-manchester-new-hampshire

Remarks at the Phoenix Convention Center in Phoenix, Arizona	10/29/2016	Speech - Phoenix, Arizona	Trump blamed the Clintons for NAFTA and China entering the WTO causing many U.S. jobs to be lost. Trump said the U.S. was living through the "greatest jobs theft in the history of the world." Trump said Clinton would implement "terrible" trade deals that solely favored her "donors." Trump stated: "Her policies will cause a major recession, or even a depression. A Trump Administration will stop TPP, renegotiate NAFTA, and we are going to stand up to China on Currency Manipulation."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-phoenix-convention-center-phoenix-arizona
Remarks at Macomb Community College South Campus in Warren, Michigan	10/31/2016	Speech - Warren, Michigan	Trump said he had a plan "to bring back jobs" at the "center" of his "contract." Trump blamed the Clintons for lost jobs and an increased trade deficit as a result of NAFTA and China entering the WTO. Trump listed several local companies that moved because of Hillary's deals. Trump blamed these failures for increasing violence and unemployment in cities like Detroit	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-macomb-community-college-south-campus-warren-michigan
Remarks on Obamacare in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania	11/1/2016	Speech - Valley Forge, Pennsylvania	When speaking of Pennsylvania specifically, Trump said "Our jobs are being stolen. Pennsylvania has lost almost 40 percent of its manufacturing jobs since NAFTA, a deal signed by Bill Clinton and supported by Hillary Clinton. The city of Philadelphia has lost more than one-third of its manufacturing jobs since China joined the World Trade Organization, another Bill and Hillary-backed disaster." Trump also spoke about taking steel jobs back from China because of their "dumping." Trump promised to renegotiate NAFTA by using "great negotiators" to get a "fair deal" and "stand up to foreign product dumping, currency manipulation and unfair subsidy behavior."	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-obamacare-valley-forge-pennsylvania
Remarks at the Central Florida Fairgrounds in Orlando, Florida	11/2/2016	Speech - Orlando, Florida	Trump blamed the Clintons for NAFTA and China entering the WTO causing many Floridian and U.S. manufacturing jobs to be lost. He said that he would put "America first" and stop the "one way highway" of companies going to countries like "Mexico." Trump promised to bring jobs back to the U.S. by renegotiating NAFTA, pulling out of the TPP, lower the business tax, tax companies that move overseas, stop the "job-killing" TPP, and stop "Currency manipulation by China and many other countries and all of the unfair subsidy behavior that's going on all over the world against us." Trump blamed "stupid people" for negotiating trade deals that had caused a \$800 billion trade deficit.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-central-florida-fairgrounds-orlando-florida
Remarks at the Bayfront Park Amphitheater in Miami, Florida	11/2/2012	Speech - Miami, Florida	Trump gave a very similar speech to the previous one in the day. He blamed the Clintons for NAFTA and China entering the WTO causing many Floridian and U.S. manufacturing jobs to be lost. Trump pointed to Hillary "lying" during the presidential debate about supporting the TPP as the "gold standard" of trade deals.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-bayfront-park-amphitheater-miami-florida

Remarks at J.S Dorton Arena in Raleigh, North Carolina	11/7/2016	Speech - Raleigh, North Carolina	Trump blamed the Clinton's support of various trade deals, such as NAFTA, China entering the WTO, and the South Korean Free Trade Agreement, that lost the state and the country manufacturing jobs. Trump said Hillary "lied" during the presidential debate when she said that she never said the TPP was the "gold standard" of trade deals. Trump pointed out that there were many factories lost to other countries once China had entered the WTO. Trump also promised to make Mexico and China pay for their trade deficits.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-js-dorton-arena-raleigh-north-carolina
Remarks in New York City Accepting Election as the 45th President of the United States	11/9/2020	Speech - New York, New York	Trade was not mentioned in Trump's acceptance speech.	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-new-york-city-accepting-election-the-45th-president-the-united-states

Appendix B: Key Words for Searches

Key Words

- China
- Devalue
- Devaluing
- Economic
- Economy
- Fair Trade
- Free trade
- Japan
- Jobs
- Mexico
- NAFTA
- North American Free Trade Agreement
- Protection
- Protectionist
- Protectionism
- South Korea
- Tariff
- Trade
- TPP
- Trans-Pacific Partnership

Appendix C: Campaign Documents Relating to Specific States

State	Number of Focused Campaign Documents
Florida	9
Ohio	9
North Carolina	8
Pennsylvania	8
New York	7
Michigan	5
New Hampshire	4
Wisconsin	4
Arizona	3
Nevada	3
Virginia	3
Colorado	2
Maine	2
Illinois	1
Iowa	1
Mississippi	1