

FALL  
2016

A C A D E M I C   A F F A I R S

# IPFWCONNECT



**INDIANA—DESERVES MORE  
ATTENTION THAN IT GETS**

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS  
AND THE POLITICS OF 2016

THE FOREIGN POLICY ESTABLISHMENT  
AND THE 2016 ELECTION

MUSLIM-AMERICANS, POLITICAL  
CORRECTNESS, AND THE TRUMP VOTE

INDIANA UNIVERSITY  
PURDUE UNIVERSITY  
FORT WAYNE



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# A LETTER FROM THE VICE CHANCELLOR

## SHARING KNOWLEDGE, EXPERIENCE, AND EXPERTISE

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Welcome to our second issue of *IPFW Connect* magazine. Our faculty appreciate the opportunity to share their knowledge, experience, and expertise with our friends, stakeholders, and region. For this issue, we have chosen an election-based theme.

In this issue, our faculty consider the role of Indiana in presidential elections (you might be surprised), the significance today of the first U.S. president's farewell message, foreign policy and the next president, and research on the voters now being called "the Trump vote."

At IPFW, the Office of Academic Affairs (OAA) supports, sustains, and advances the intellectual, social, economic, and cultural programming that contributes to the growth of our students and the enrichment of northeast Indiana. OAA supports and sustains the university's comprehensive metropolitan mission by providing strategic vision, on-going review, day-to-day oversight, and fiscal management of IPFW's schools, colleges, and academic departments.

**Thank you for your continuing support of IPFW in its mission to foster the intellectual growth of northeast Indiana.**



Carl N. Drummond, Ph.D.

Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs and Enrollment Management

Professor of Geology

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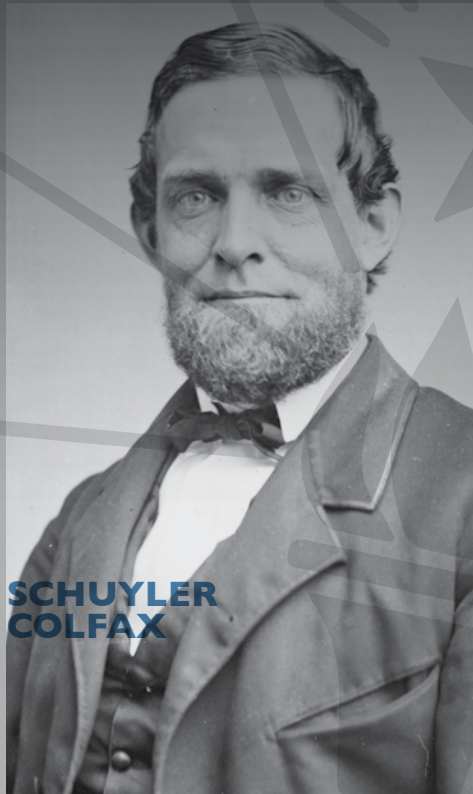
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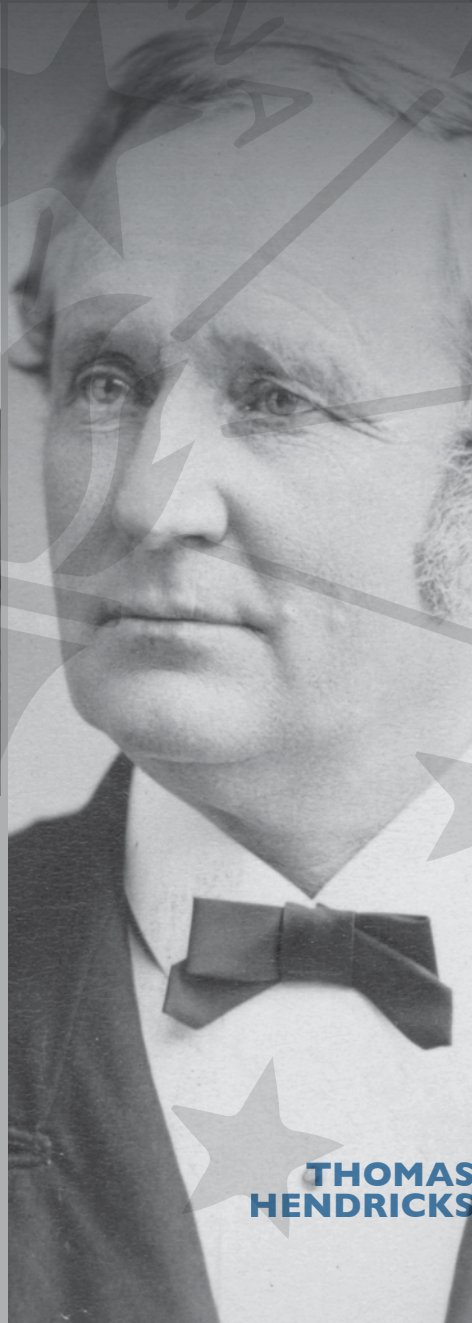
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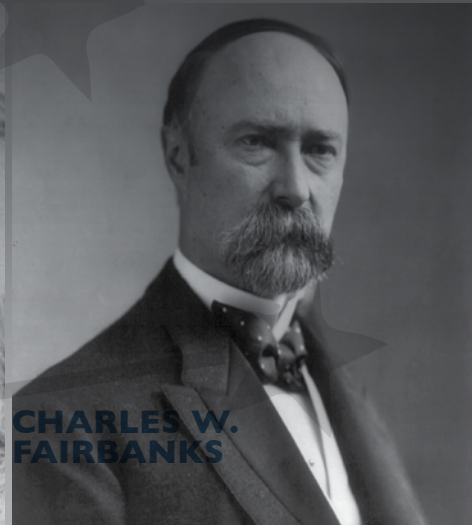




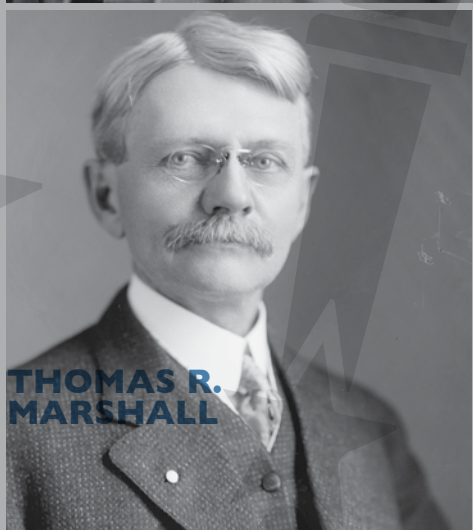
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# **INDIANA**

**LAND OF VICE PRESIDENTS**

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# INDIANA—DESERVES MORE ATTENTION THAN IT GETS

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ANDREW M. DOWNS, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
AND DIRECTOR, MIKE DOWNS CENTER FOR INDIANA POLITICS

Indiana doesn't really matter in presidential elections—does it? The familiar joke is that results in Indiana are announced about one minute after polls close. This reputation for consistency is well earned. The Republican candidate for president has won the majority of the votes in Indiana in 17 of the last 19 presidential elections. The two times the Democratic candidate won in Indiana were national landslide victories (1964 and 2008). Even national landslides do not mean big wins for Democrats. In 2008, Barack Obama won Indiana by just under 28,400 votes.

For presidential elections, Indiana usually is a campaign-free zone. Some Hoosiers may experience some accidental campaign activities if they live near a state border, especially the one with modern-day perpetual swing state Ohio. However our usual exposure to presidential campaigning is national news coverage and commercials candidates run during national programming. So far, the view of Indiana's role in presidential elections I've presented is narrow in scope and overwhelmed by vote totals and a string of Republican victories. However, a broader view reveals that Indiana actually **has** played a relatively significant role in presidential elections.

## INDIANA'S ROLE STARTED IN THE 1830s


Indiana became a state December 11, 1816. Its small population and relatively remote location contributed to a limited role in the early years, but in 1836, William Henry

Harrison,<sup>1</sup> the first Territorial Governor of Indiana, was the presidential nominee of the Whig party. He lost that bid, but was nominated again in 1840 and was elected president. Much of his electoral success has been attributed to his military service, especially the role he played in the Battle of Tippecanoe in western Indiana—even non-Hoosiers probably learned about the campaign slogan and song, “Tippecanoe and Tyler [Harrison's running mate], too.” His presidency was brief. In 1841, he became the first president to die in office and still has the shortest presidency (32 days).

In 1852, George W. Julian became the first native-born Hoosier to receive the nomination for vice president. Julian was nominated by the Free Soil party (a single-issue political party that existed from 1848–54 and opposed the expansion of slavery into western U.S. territories). The ticket received no votes in the Electoral College and less than 5% of the popular vote. (And although Julian may not have had success in presidential elections, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives as a Free Soiler and then as a Republican.)

## INCREDIBLE RUN—HOOSIER ON THE BALLOT IN 12 OF 14 ELECTIONS

Schuyler Colfax became the first Hoosier elected vice president. Colfax was elected on the Republican ticket with Ulysses Grant in 1868. He did not seek reelection in 1872, but his service did begin an incredible run for Hoosier presidential and vice presidential candidates. In 12 of the 14



Former President Bush walks along the colonnade with Vice President Quayle en route to the Oval Office in 1992.

Photo by David Valdez

presidential elections from 1868 through 1920, there was a Hoosier on the ballot as a presidential or vice presidential candidate.<sup>2</sup> The height of Indiana's influence may have come in 1916 when both major party's vice presidential candidates were from Indiana. During that same period, the candidate who won Indiana also won the presidency 12 times—including Hoosier Benjamin Harrison (1888), who lost the popular vote, but won the Electoral College (and lost his 1892 bid for reelection). Four of the five vice presidents from Indiana were elected during this period.<sup>3</sup>

It would not be until 1940 that another Hoosier was a major party presidential or vice presidential candidate. That year Wendell Willkie, the Republican nominee, lost to Franklin Roosevelt. Willkie was born in Elwood, Indiana, and never held elected office before receiving the nomination. Interestingly, Willkie proved that the fears about partisanship that George Washington expressed in his farewell address were not a forgone conclusion (see Jeffrey Malanson's article on Washington's Farewell Address on pages 8–11). Willkie set aside his partisan differences with Democrat Roosevelt and served as his personal representative in England, the Middle East, USSR, and China. This act of bipartisanship, however,

contributed to Willkie not being able to secure the Republican nomination a second time in 1944. Also in 1940, former Indiana Governor and National Commander of the American Legion Paul V. McNutt was considered a likely presidential candidate if Roosevelt did not seek a third term.

Indiana experienced its longest run without a presidential or vice presidential candidate from 1940 to 1988. It is not that there were not presidential and vice presidential aspirants; they just did not get the nomination. Perhaps the best known was Senator Birch Bayh, who made a brief run in 1976 for the Democratic nomination along with 16 other candidates. The more important role that Bayh played during this period was as the primary sponsor in the Senate of the 25th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which clarified how vacancies in the presidency and vice presidency would be filled.

#### THE '80s—THE NATIONAL STAGE AND A BIG SURPRISE

In the 1980s Hoosiers like Senator Richard Lugar and Representative Lee Hamilton were mentioned as vice presidential candidates. In fact, the expectation was that one of them was going to be nominated vice president and the



law in Indiana was amended so that a person could appear on the ballot in two places: vice president and another federal office. The political world was surprised when the person who eventually was nominated was Senator Dan Quayle. In 1988, Quayle became the fifth vice president from Indiana. Both Lugar and Hamilton left Congress with impressive reputations as practitioners of foreign policy (see also James Toole's article for a discussion of foreign policy and the next president on pages 13–16).

The Bush–Quayle ticket did not win reelection in 1992. In 1996, Lugar sought the Republican nomination for president, and Quayle followed him in 2000. Both runs were brief. This made three presidential elections in a row where Indiana candidates did not fare well.

#### NEWER VOTERS HAVE SEEN EXCITING ELECTIONS

The recent past has been much more exciting than the several preceding decades. In fact, newer voters may not understand why some have such cynical views of Indiana's role in presidential elections. Newer voters have seen two of the last three presidential elections being exciting in Indiana. The 2008 cycle brought a competitive Democratic primary to Indiana and actual general election campaigning. In 2016, the Republican and Democratic presidential primaries in Indiana were exciting. The duration of that activity may not have felt as long as 2008, but there was significant intensity, and Indiana is considered by some to be the place where Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton were firmly planted on the road to the 2016 nominations. The 2016 election also saw Indiana return to the stage as the source for vice presidential candidates in Trump's choice of its sitting governor, Mike Pence.

Even with all of this activity in presidential elections, Indiana's role may appear to be a story of “what almost was” and “who cares.” It is filled with short, unsuccessful presidential campaigns and successes for the office that 32nd U.S. Vice President John Nance Garner called not “worth a pitcher of

warm piss” and that 1st Vice President and 2nd President John Adams referred to as “the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived.” Even Thomas Marshall, one of the vice presidents from Indiana, said that if “I sought a blessing for a boy, I would not pray that he become vice president.”

What Indiana **has** done is helped to balance many tickets and played the role of swing state. It has provided more vice presidents than any state other than New York. It has also been home to those who played incredibly important roles well after the elections were over. Indiana is not the most influential state when it comes to presidential elections and watching our returns on Election Day is not exciting, but it is a state that deserves more attention than it gets when it comes to the role it has played in presidential elections.

<sup>1</sup>Some will point to the fact that Harrison was not born in Indiana and disqualify him from the case that Indiana has played a role in presidential elections.

<sup>2</sup>Eugene V. Debs was the Socialist Party candidate in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920, when he ran his campaign from a jail cell after being sentenced to 10 years for violating the Espionage Act.

<sup>3</sup>The five vice presidents from Indiana are Schuyler Colfax (President Ulysses Grant [R]) 1869–1873; Thomas Hendricks (President Grover Cleveland [D]) 1885–1885 (died in office); Charles Fairbanks (President Theodore Roosevelt [R]) 1905–1909; Thomas Riley Marshall (President Woodrow Wilson [D]) 1913–1921; J. Danforth Quayle (President George H. W. Bush [R]) 1989–1993.



Andrew Downs, Ph.D., is associate professor of political science and the first director of the Mike Downs Center for Indiana Politics at IPFW. The center is named in honor of his father, Mike, who was considered by many to be Fort Wayne's foremost academic authority on politics. The center is a nonpartisan organization devoted to helping the people of Indiana understand the role of politics and government in their daily lives. As the director, Downs gives talks, visits K–12 schools, and answers questions about politics and government. He also teaches courses on public policy and state and local politics. Downs earned a Ph.D. from the University of Notre Dame, and prior to joining IPFW, he worked for city, county, and state governments.



Former President George Washington warned against the dangers of political parties in his Farewell Address

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# GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS **AND THE POLITICS OF 2016**

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JEFFREY J. MALANSON, PH.D., ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY

September 19 marked the 220nd anniversary of the first publication of George Washington's Farewell Address. Along with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, the Farewell Address is one of America's most important (but unfortunately often forgotten) founding documents. Written with the help of Alexander Hamilton in spring and summer 1796, the Farewell Address announced to the

American people that Washington would retire from the presidency when his second term ended in March 1797. This announcement set into motion the first contested presidential election (Washington had been unanimously elected in 1789 and 1792) between Federalist John Adams and Democratic-Republican Thomas Jefferson.



Beyond its ramifications for the 1796 election (which Adams narrowly won), the Farewell Address is historically important because of the advice Washington gave to the American people based on his many years of public service, especially his eight years as America's first president. Much of this advice—what he referred to as “the disinterested warnings of a parting friend”—focused on the dangers of political parties and the conduct of foreign relations. While it is a fool's errand to speculate about how 18th-century Americans would evaluate 21st-century politics, the advice Washington offered in his Farewell Address is relevant to the current political climate and 2016 presidential election.

#### FEAR OF ORGANIZED POLITICAL PARTIES

Washington was deeply concerned that entrenched political parties would permanently divide the fragile young nation. He had witnessed how the partisan animosity of Hamilton and Jefferson had divided his cabinet and ruined his friendship with James Madison. In the Farewell Address, Washington warned against the “baneful effects of the spirit of party” and the efforts of politicians to “misrepresent the opinions and aims of other[s].” He worried that partisanship left Americans too focused on what divided them rather than what united them. “The name American must always exalt the just pride of patriotism. . . . With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles.” Washington was not asking people to ignore their differences, just to recognize that they shared far more in common.

Washington worried that if Americans became divided on political, geographic, and economic lines rather than remaining “one people under an efficient government,” then their great national experiment would fail. Washington's

fears about the impact of “the spirit of party” have proven quite true. Politicians of both parties care about winning elections, about rigidly adhering to party ideologies followed by a minority of Americans, about defeating their opponents, much more than they care about governing in the best interests of all Americans.

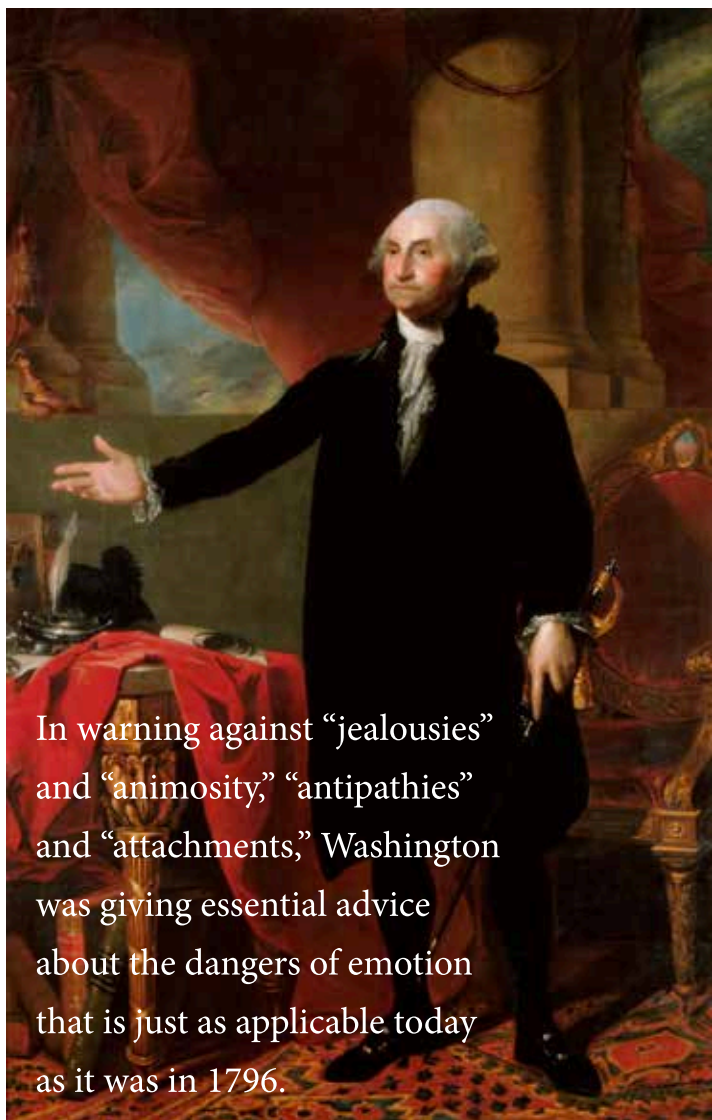
Partisanship is a problem that goes beyond the actions of

politicians alone. Washington described the “spirit of party” as the “worst enemy” of popular government. Partisanship, he wrote, “agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment[s] occasionally riot and insurrection.” The extreme polarization of our current political system has certainly bred animosity. Look not just at how Democrats and Republicans treat each other, but at how factions within the parties treat each

other (like today's Bernie Sanders's supporters within the Democratic Party or the Republican Party's Freedom Caucus and Tea Party).

Washington feared that the end result of partisanship would be the rise of a “formal and permanent despotism”—dictatorship or monarchy—built upon “the ruins of public liberty.” The United States has never had a king, but partisanship has become so entrenched and destructive of the public good that we perhaps do suffer from the “formal and permanent despotism” of party.

While it is a fool's errand to speculate about how 18th-century Americans would evaluate 21st-century politics, the advice Washington offered in his Farewell Address is relevant to the current political climate and 2016 presidential election.



In warning against “jealousies” and “animosity,” “antipathies” and “attachments,” Washington was giving essential advice about the dangers of emotion that is just as applicable today as it was in 1796.

#### A FOREIGN POLICY GUIDED BY FAIRNESS AND JUSTICE

The most divisive issue in Washington’s second term was one that has featured prominently in our current election—foreign policy. Americans in 1793 were bitterly divided over how to respond to the outbreak of war between Britain (America’s most important commercial partner) and France (America’s ally since the Revolution). Federalists, led by Hamilton, favored British commerce, and Republicans, led by Jefferson, favored the French alliance, but Washington called for the United States to chart a neutral course between the two countries. The United States was extremely weak, with no navy and a minimal army, and could neither

affect the outcome of the war nor defend itself against foreign aggression.

Beyond its weakness, there were two additional considerations that led Washington to recommend neutrality. The first was basic fairness. In the Farewell Address, Washington urged Americans to “observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. . . . It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.” Being guided by fairness and justice in foreign affairs was wise, in part because the United States could not afford to make enemies, but also because it was the right thing to do.

The second consideration in favor of neutrality was that the course of European events did not fundamentally affect the future safety and prosperity of the United States. America’s “detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course” from Europe. Washington wondered why any American would want to “entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?” It was far better to remain in control of our own destiny by remaining “detached” from Europe.

#### A SLAVE TO ITS EMOTIONS

Washington knew that there was no rational reason to “entangle” America with Europe, only an emotional one. Throughout his second term, Americans had let their positive and negative feelings for Britain and France shape their assessments of America’s interests, and in Washington’s view, this was a grave mistake. “Nothing is more essential,” Washington argued, “than that permanent, inveterate

antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated.” The nation that allowed love or hate to dictate its policies “is in some degree a slave,” Washington observed. “It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest.” Hatred leads us “to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable,” while love makes us see “an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists.”

In either case, emotion blinds us to our reality and true interests and cannot be the foundation of policymaking. Neutrality in global affairs is not really an option for the United States today. We have far too many longstanding alliances and responsibilities that we cannot safely walk away from—but Washington’s advice to treat the world with fairness and to set emotions aside may be more important now than it was in his time. America’s great strength makes us an important leader and example for the world, but in the absence of justice and guided by unchecked emotion, that strength also makes it easy for foreign countries to perceive us as a potential menace.

## THE POLITICS OF FEAR

Washington’s discussion of foreign policy can also be applied to our domestic politics, especially the idea that we must be wary of letting emotion guide policy—or decision-making. Modern politics essentially operates on the opposite premise. Politicians pitch their campaigns as emotional appeals to get voters to stop using the rational parts of their brains. Donald Trump’s entire campaign has been organized around the idea of preying upon American fears of foreigners, lawlessness, and rigged elections. Hillary Clinton’s campaign

has preyed upon fears of a Trump presidency. The politics of fear encourages people to disregard facts in favor of feelings, to talk past each other rather than with each other, to rigidly adhere to one’s positions rather than working toward mutually beneficial outcomes. In warning against “jealousies” and “animosity,” “antipathies” and “attachments,” Washington was giving essential advice about the dangers of emotion that is just as applicable today as it was in 1796.

Washington was not writing for a 21st-century audience, but his Farewell Address still speaks to modern concerns and gives us a new lens through which to view and assess U.S. politics. Washington’s country was small and weak and divided on geographic and partisan lines. Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump’s country is large and strong but still deeply divided. Perhaps now more than ever we should return to Washington’s advice—take pride in “the name American,” set aside the names Republican and Democrat, and focus on the great many things that unite us as “one people.” This was Washington’s hope, and there is no reason it cannot be ours as well.

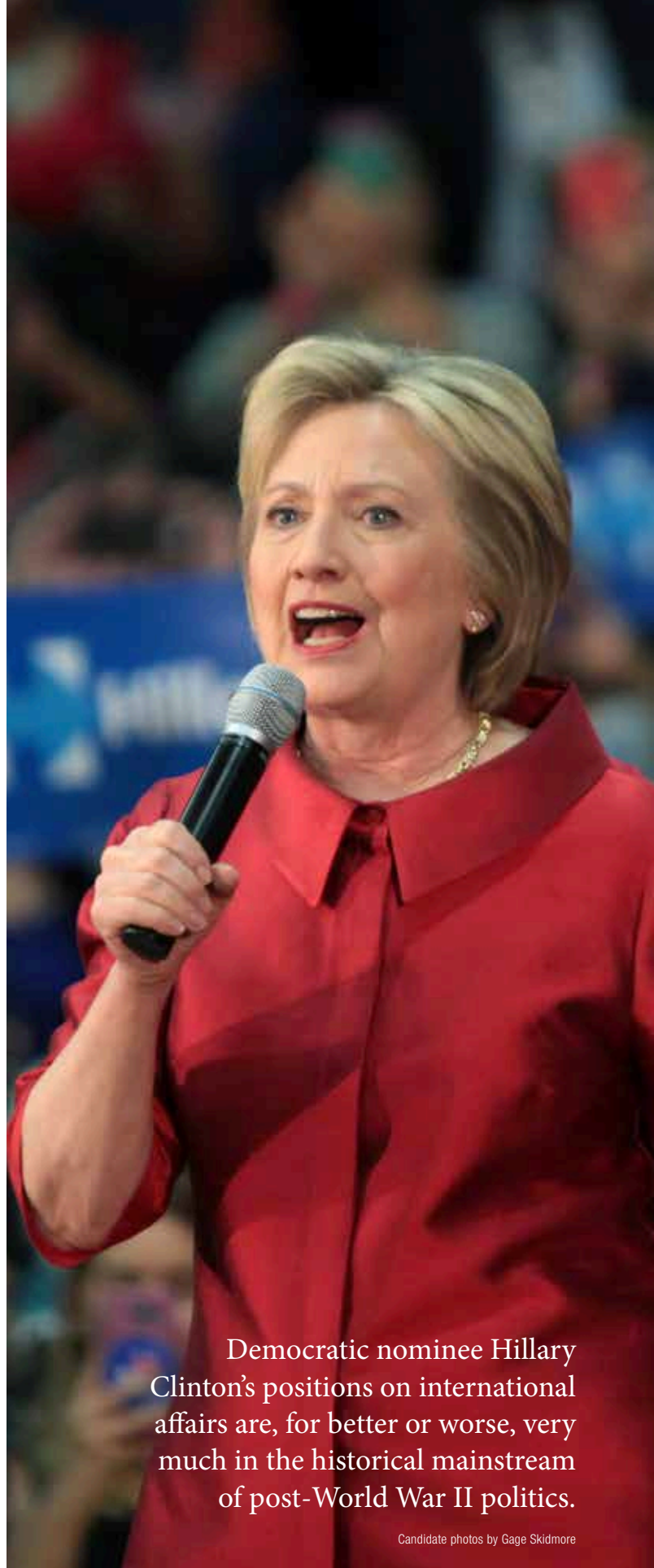
Full text: To read the full text of Washington’s Farewell Address: [bit.ly/GW-Farewell](http://bit.ly/GW-Farewell)



Jeffrey Malanson is associate professor of history. He researches and teaches on early U.S. politics and foreign policy. His first book, *Addressing America: George Washington’s Farewell and the Making of National Culture, Politics, and Diplomacy, 1796-1852*, was published in 2015 and was recently released as an audiobook. He has published articles in *Diplomatic History*, the *Journal of the Early Republic*, and the *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association*. He is currently researching a book about James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and political principles in the early republic.



Republican nominee  
Donald Trump's proposed  
foreign policies represent  
a clear break with the past.



Democratic nominee Hillary  
Clinton's positions on international  
affairs are, for better or worse, very  
much in the historical mainstream  
of post-World War II politics.

Candidate photos by Gage Skidmore



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# WHY TRUMP LOST THE FOREIGN POLICY ESTABLISHMENT

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JAMES G. TOOLE, PH.D., ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

One of the ways in which 2016 has been a strange political year is the extraordinary repudiation of the Republican presidential nominee by not only large swathes of the U.S. foreign policy community but also by many of that community's Republican members. Given Donald Trump's outsized personality and unconventional campaign tactics, it's easy to think that the reason is Trump's temperament. It goes far deeper than that.

Trump's proposed foreign policies represent a clear break with the past, with the foreign policies of all U.S. presidents, Republican and Democratic alike, dating back to at least World War II. In comparison, Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton's positions on international affairs are, for better or worse, very much in the historical mainstream of post-World-War-II politics. To those who study international relations, the two primary U.S. foreign policy approaches of at least the past 70 years have been realism and liberal internationalism. A few presidents have strongly favored one side or the other while the rest have backed some reasoned combination of the two. So it's worth being clear about what these terms mean, since they often are oversimplified or otherwise mischaracterized.

## REALIST VS. LIBERAL POLICY APPROACH

A realist foreign policy approach assumes that international politics is dominated by conflict and potential conflict. Countries are presumed to act selfishly and to take advantage

of one another's weaknesses. A realist world is a zero-sum world in which one country's gain is inevitably another country's loss. In such an environment, it pays to assume the worst of others and to be skeptical even of the motives of friends and allies. To realists, a foreign policy that puts much trust in international cooperation or that tries to pursue moral goals fails to understand the world as the dangerous place that it is.

A liberal internationalist foreign policy approach assumes that cooperation is not only possible but common. Countries naturally pursue their own interests but often find that their interests favorably coincide with the interests of others. While sometimes one country's gain does represent another's loss, it more often happens that mutual gains, and thus a net gain in overall benefits, are enjoyed by countries that choose to work together. In an increasingly globalized world in which huge amounts of goods and services are traded across borders every hour of every day of every year, even countries that disagree very deeply with one another find ways to pursue at least narrowly defined mutual interests. While there are always cases of conflict, the benefits achieved through international cooperation offer opportunities to pursue at least some moral goals in an effort to make an imperfect world at least somewhat better.

Since World War II, neither approach has been the exclusive province of one party or the other. Bill Clinton was one of the

more liberal internationalist presidents, but so was George H.W. Bush. Barack Obama is widely assumed to be a liberal internationalist but has been (for example, in his use of drone strikes) much more of a realist than expected. Ronald Reagan's Soviet policy was based in part on a realist desire to strategically outmaneuver a dogged opponent but also was heavily informed by his ardent moral opposition to the evils of communism. As Andrew Downs discusses more fully on pages 5–7, our own state of Indiana has produced two of the United States's greatest legislative practitioners of foreign policy—Senator Richard Lugar and Representative Lee Hamilton. Though a Republican and a Democrat, respectively, both have long supported similar combinations of realism and liberal internationalism.

#### CLINTON'S AGENDA WITHIN THE MAINSTREAM, WHILE TRUMP'S REPRESENTS A BREAK

Hillary Clinton's proposed foreign policy agenda is well within this traditional mainstream. More commonly noted is her liberal internationalism—her human rights advocacy, support for active U.S. participation in international organizations and law, insistence that the long-term benefits of cooperation outweigh short-term costs, and her erstwhile (though at least temporarily disavowed) support for international trade agreements. Still, as one of the most hawkish of contemporary Democrats, her thought and actions also reflect key realist insights.

While in some ways Donald Trump's foreign policy agenda naturally reflects the traditional mainstream, in others it represents a very fundamental break. No one would accuse him of being a liberal internationalist, but some might think him a realist. In at least four crucial ways, he is nothing of the sort. Realist foreign policy experts, many of whom are Republican, balk at his policies for at least four important reasons.

First, Trump's proposed foreign policies reflect strong isolationist tendencies. In fact, his degree of isolationism is unique among post-World War II major-party presidential nominees (though not in early U.S. history, as Jeffrey Malanson's essay suggests on pages 8–11). A United States under Trump would construct a border wall that another country would fund; would question the collective security foundation of NATO, being willing to scale back or withdraw from the alliance if our financial conditions weren't met; would unilaterally retaliate, in dramatic form, against countries deemed to be trading with us in unfair ways; and would force the renegotiation of international treaties, which the United States would break if its terms weren't met. While realists never mind driving hard bargains, they tend to view isolationism as dangerously naïve.

#### GLOBALIZATION—FOR BETTER OR WORSE

Realism, on the other hand, recognizes that the world is globalized, for better or worse, and contends that the only way for the United States to advance and protect its interests is to be globally engaged. Realists also bristle at Trump's willingness to let a narrowly defined transactional analysis of economic interests determine how we pursue our national security interests. Trump has argued that U.S. participation in NATO should be contingent on the other members financially contributing their fair shares to the alliance.

Making the consequences of his position explicit, Trump has expressed doubt that the United States would uphold the founding NATO principle—that all member states come to the aid of any member that finds itself under military attack. For realists, nothing—including economic prosperity or fair burden-sharing—is as important as the defense and promotion of national security interests. While many U.S. foreign policy analysts, realist and liberal internationalist alike, are annoyed by European free-riding on the U.S.

A world map showing North and South America, with the text overlaid. The map is a standard political map with country borders and names. The text is in a bold, blue, serif font, arranged in two main paragraphs. The first paragraph describes a realist foreign policy approach, and the second paragraph describes a liberal internationalist foreign policy approach. The text is centered and spans across the map, with some words like 'liberal' and 'internationalist' in a larger font size for emphasis.

**A realist FOREIGN  
POLICY APPROACH  
ASSUMES THAT  
INTERNATIONAL  
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BUT COMMON.**

military contribution to NATO, virtually all regard NATO as far too vital to U.S. national security to be gambled for the sake of a few lines on the national balance sheet.

Third, foreign policy realists expect leaders to have clear, well thought-out strategies for every position they take. Trump has argued that the United States should be willing to withdraw U.S. forces from bases around the world: this may feel realist, but Trump has provided neither its strategic logic nor any plan for how such a move would be followed up over time. In a 2015 presentation at the Indiana Center for Middle East Peace in Fort Wayne, Stephen M. Walt, a Harvard University scholar and prominent realist, outlined a realist approach that bears some resemblance to Trump's proposals on troop withdrawal but is conceptually robust, explains precise conditions under which U.S. forces would return to the field when needed, and fully appreciates the dangers of isolationism (the argument appears in writing on pages 70–83 of the August/September 2016 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine). To the degree that Trump's orientation is realist, it seems both partial and skin-deep.

#### TRUMP'S TEMPERAMENT A REALIST PROBLEM

A final realist problem with Trump is his temperament. In one of the two most important 20th century articulations of foreign policy realism, University of Chicago political scientist Hans Morgenthau named "prudence" the prime virtue of the realist policymaker in his 1973 book, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Realists regard the cool-headed, rational, and careful consideration of the costs and benefits of any action as essential to effective and responsible decision-making. If Trump's personality seems to fail this test, so do some of his policies.

Foremost is his suggestion that some forms of nuclear attack could be viewed as appropriate in time of crisis. It's hard to

imagine any policy more imprudent. If actually pursued, it would produce unprecedented destruction. If used only as a bargaining tool, it would create tremendous instability, likely pushing our opponents to take risks that they otherwise would not take. Of course, there is always the possibility that Trump has made such comments either casually or for short-term electoral gain, but either motivation runs starkly counter to realist standards of responsible leadership.

Realists are nothing if not serious about their foreign policy. Trump might seem a realist to the untrained eye, but to realist foreign policy experts his policies betray the cause, so endangering the country's national interests that many of them, for the first time ever, will not find it possible to pull the Republican lever on November 8.



James Toole is associate professor of political science and director of major scholarships at IPFW. He holds a Ph.D. from Brandeis University and a B.A. from Haverford College. During his Ph.D. studies, he researched the development of post-communist East European political parties as a Fulbright Scholar in Budapest, Hungary. He writes and teaches on democratization, international organizations, international human rights, and U.S. foreign policy. As director of major scholarships, he advises IPFW students who apply for nationally prestigious awards such as the Fulbright, Goldwater, Truman, and Udall scholarships. He also is the faculty advisor to IPFW's Model United Nations team.





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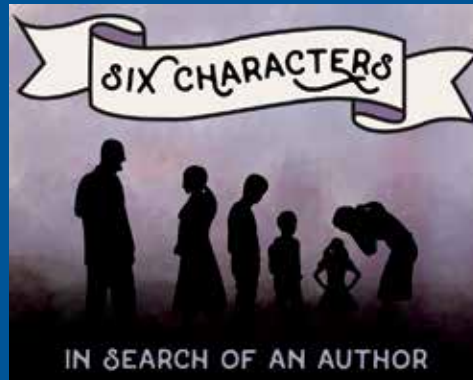
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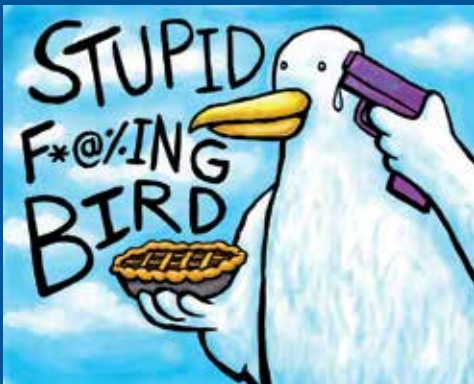


### **Blithe Spirit**

Directed by Craig A. Humphrey  
Sept. 30, Oct. 1, 6, 7, 8,  
2016-8:00 p.m.  
Oct. 2, 2016-2:00 p.m.

### **Six Characters in Search of an Author**

Directed by Bev Redman  
Dec. 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 2016-8:00 p.m.  
Dec. 4, 2016-2:00 p.m.



### **Stupid F\*cking Bird**

Directed by Jeff Casazza  
February 17, 18, 23, 24, 25,  
2017-8:00 p.m.  
February 19, 2017-2:00 p.m.

### **Little Shop of Horrors**

Directed by Bev Redman  
April 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, 29,  
2017-8:00 p.m.  
April 23, 2017-2:00 p.m.



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Donald Trump speaking with supporters at a campaign rally at the South Point Arena in Las Vegas, Nevada in 2016.

Photo by Gage Skidmore

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# MUSLIM-AMERICANS, POLITICAL CORRECTNESS, AND THE TRUMP VOTE

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MICHAEL R. WOLF, PH.D., PROFESSOR AND CHAIR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Political observers have spent much of the 2016 election cycle speculating about who “the Trump voter” is. Some describe this group using demographic characteristics, while others the positions Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump champions. If Trump has made new issues salient for voters, then Trump is an entrepreneur who has shifted political views. And those who laud Trump for blazing a new trail that Republicans and Democrats were too afraid to, interestingly, agree with those who criticize Trump for intolerance—that Trump has appealed to a new set of voters. However, an alternate view holds that Trump has merely mobilized many Republicans who already shared his positions on these matters.

Consequently, the question political scientists wrestle with is how much Trump’s issue positions have created the Trump vote versus how much a core group of Republicans support strong views on Islam and political correctness. Did Trump have a ready-made constituency of support or did he create these issues of 2016?

## POLITICAL CORRECTNESS IS A COMPLEX CONCEPT

Two 2010 national surveys fielded by political scientists Daniel M. Shea, Cherie Strachan, and me indicate that many Republican voters already held strong views about Muslim-American civil liberties and political correctness. Also, political correctness is a complex concept for Americans. Many Republicans have viewed it as a problem not just because of a chilling effect it might have on open political debate

or concerns over the First Amendment, but that political correctness disguises threats to the American way of life.

The consequence of this research is not to pass judgment on whether particular views are intolerant or not. Instead, it shows how different Democrats’ and Republicans’ views are on what threatens American society. Further, contemporary issues about immigration, Islam, and political correctness are not singular hot-button issues of the day that flare for a single news cycle and disappear. Instead, they are part of deep and long-standing divisions over the American way of life that existed long before Donald Trump strode onto the Republican stage. This means the divisions within the Republican Party and between the two major parties will also not be resolved with the election or defeat of Donald Trump.

## NEWS COMMENTATORS, NEGATIVE LANGUAGE, AND THE 9/11 MOSQUE

In September 2010, pundits on multiple cable news shows debated whether a Muslim cultural center should be allowed near the former World Trade Center. To some, a Muslim cultural center that close to “Ground Zero” was in poor taste and an affront to the victims of 9/11 and their families. For others, the notions of religious liberty, private property rights, and American pluralism meant that public pressures to curtail anyone else’s right to assemble anywhere were discriminatory and un-American. In a national survey about political civility fielded by the Center on Political Participation at Allegheny

College in Pennsylvania and IPFW's Department of Political Science, my colleagues and I asked respondents whether it is "appropriate or not for political commentators to use language that could be seen as being negative toward Muslim-Americans?"

The question—in survey research terms—was very broad and somewhat unwieldy. For instance, why would it not be acceptable for commentators to use negative language about anyone in American political life and in a free media? That would be considerably different than targeting Muslim-Americans in a discriminatory way. Unfortunately, the question could not differentiate between these two explanations of why negativity would be good or bad.

Even with the question's limitations, the results were noteworthy for the divides uncovered between the parties and within the Republican party. Half of Republicans (47.3%) answered that it was appropriate for commentators to use negative language toward Muslim-Americans compared to 37.2% of Republicans who said it was not appropriate; Republicans were split but more supportive of the negativity. Only 14.4% of Democrats thought such negative commentary was appropriate, compared to 80.1% who said it was not appropriate.

### A NOT SURPRISING PARTISAN DIVIDE

Such a partisan divide is not a surprise to political scientists who have chronicled the expanding rift between the two parties' worldviews, a product of decades of social changes. Political scientists Mark Hetherington and Jonathan Weiler argue that these strong worldviews divide Americans on core ideals that are divided between pro-social change versus pro-social status quo. Contending worldviews drive the partisan polarization that has grown over the past two decades. Given these distinct worldviews, it is no surprise that a Muslim cultural center near Ground Zero would lead to stark partisan differences.

To better determine whether worldview distinctions drove the differing responses, we added a question to the automated telephonic national survey before the November 2010 U.S. Congressional midterm elections. We not only asked people whether it was appropriate for political commentators to say negative things about Muslim-Americans, but also asked those who responded that it was acceptable, why such language was appropriate. Because the survey was automated, the respondents' rationale for thinking it was appropriate to say negative things were recorded.

Then politics stepped in. In the week prior to the survey being fielded, Juan Williams, a National Public Radio (NPR) commentator, said on Fox News that he was afraid to fly with people dressed in "Muslim garb," which brought intense media debate and led to Williams' firing by NPR. Because it was a direct example of a commentator's negativity toward Muslims, we thought respondents might be responding to Williams' firing rather than their own beliefs on attitudes toward Muslim-Americans.

### SURVEY FINDINGS—A HOST OF REASONS

When we analyzed the data, respondents provided a host of reasons why it was appropriate for political pundits to use negative commentary that were unrelated to Williams' situation. Of the 44% of Republicans and 7% of Democrats who said it was appropriate, four primary types of answers captured why respondents thought it was appropriate for news commentators to say negative things about Muslim-Americans. These four categories were not mutually exclusive and many respondents offered a combination of these reasons.

Despite the fact that free speech concerns had been primed by coverage of Juan Williams' firing, fewer than a quarter (23%) of respondents provided First Amendment-related justifications for commentators' negativity toward Muslim-Americans being appropriate. These types of responses were unemotional, such as "We live in America, so anyone can say whatever they want."





Supporter of Donald Trump at a rally at Veterans Memorial Coliseum at the Arizona State Fairgrounds in Phoenix, Arizona.

Photo by Gage Skidmore

On the other hand, nearly half (46%) of respondents gave anti-political correctness as the reason why negativity toward Muslim-Americans was appropriate. But political correctness was not related to the First Amendment or the people's or the press' freedom of expression. Instead, anti-political correctness equated to warnings or stereotypes about Muslims such as:

“ I believe it is appropriate because we are so politically correct that we blind ourselves to the truth. As long as we are afraid to speak the truth and what is in our hearts, then we are doomed to fall, and we will be a Muslim nation, just like the rest of the world.”

“ Political correctness has gotten far too out of hand...Fort Hood and other incidents would have been avoided if we were willing to stereotype.”

These responses conveyed frustration with perceived over-protection of Muslim-Americans such as the media being “extremely soft” on Muslim-Americans. Political correctness meant missed warnings in these respondents' estimation, which is something that is palpable in Trump's 2016 election

appeals about the dangers of political correctness and the need to ban most Muslim immigrants.

Beyond the 46% of respondents equating political correctness with hiding security threats about Muslim-Americans, another quarter (24%) defended commentators' negativity by explicitly equating Muslim-Americans with security threats. They directly referenced 9/11 or stated "we" had been attacked/were at war with Muslims, not differentiating between Muslim extremists and Muslim-Americans:

“

9/11!!

Because they killed 3,000 people in 9/11.

Our president is a Muslim, and we shouldn't have Muslims because they blew up the World Trade Center.

That is my response.

”

Finally, 39% of the respondents argued that Muslims threatened the United States or our way of life. So as in the following, Muslim-Americans were equated with threatening American values and security:

“

We have to communicate to the American people, the Muslims are here for one reason and one reason only, and that is the destruction of our country and the compromising of our principles via the establishment of Sharia Law. And they will kill us. They are not a religion.

They are a cult with a political agenda and their own soldiers, and their own laws, and their own army.

”

## THE “TRUMP VOTE” PRE-DATED TRUMP

The point of these findings is not to pass judgment on any political beliefs concerning Muslim-Americans. Polls showed that Republicans responded positively to President George W. Bush's appeals toward embracing Muslim-Americans and Islam after 9/11, so this research does not point fingers at any group as intolerant. That would dismiss the depth of the beliefs these voters have held for some time.

The point is that there are deep divisions between Democrats and Republicans—and within the Republican party—on what threatens the American social order, and these differences in opinion existed years before Trump's nomination. The fear about Islam and political correctness pre-dated Trump putting them out front in his campaign. Political observers can minimize the group as “Trump voters” and dismiss them as intolerant, but it simply diminishes the depth of those long-established attitudes and misses the long-standing chasm between the parties on what constitutes the “proper” American way of life.



Michael Wolf is professor and chair of the IPFW Department of Political Science and research fellow with the Mike Downs Center for Indiana Politics. Wolf studies American and comparative political behavior. He co-authored the book *American Difference: American Politics from a Comparative Perspective* (2015); he co-edited the book *Political Discussion in Modern Politics: a Comparative Perspective* (2010);

and he has written numerous articles and chapters on political civility and compromise. He teaches courses on political parties, voting, and political institutions in the United States and other democracies. Wolf received a B.A. from Michigan State University, an M.A. from Akron University, and a doctorate from Indiana University Bloomington.

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