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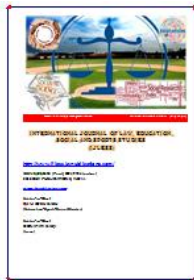
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USA and the World under Trumpian Dogmas and Conservatism: Where do they finally lead us to in the end?

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ABSTRACT

The United States of America had witnessed a nearly month-long chain of protests in all the big cities of the world. In fact, his coming to power through the controversial US elections was greeted only with massive protests and resistance movements all over the world. And the women constituted the major forces behind such anti-Trump movements. The centenary of the October revolution of 1917 was celebrated remarkably by the shouts, slogans, stone throwing and all-out anti-establishment movements in the entirety of the globe. A voice was raised by the progressive people by the Marxists, LGBTQTA people, anti-racists, anti-misogyny people. Thus this was not essentially any victory for counter-revolution True, revolution is not in the offing.

For Indians, USA under Trump is a land of vanished opportunity. Despite this, since Trump-win in USA very strangely the rupee (Indian currency) has outperformed several other emerging market currencies. The rupee continues to be a better performing currency and is at or above the median level of change in a set of 17 currencies will. Economists believe that the rupee be driven more by market fundamentals than an external US shock. US policies are likely to affect Mexico and China than India as is shown in an accompanying table in the main body of the text of this article. The future months of 2017 and thereafter might upset the apple cart of global economy.

Protests can turn to social movements, but they do not succeed at the time in the immediate range. Based on a study on austerity protests in Ireland such an observation and conclusion was arrived at by a sociologist. In fact history is replete with examples of failed protests. The Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement sought to highlight growing income inequality in USA. There was a lot of hue and cry but it failed to have any lasting impact. The Arab Spring movement in Egypt brought about a change of Tweedledum by Tweedledee. Despite loud protests by liberals against Iraq war it continued for more than a decade almost uninhibited. For success of any mass movement the message has to be made very sharp and salient. Besides, the overlapping protest concerns are to be united and the fiery speeches are to be backed up by constructive action. This apart, protests cannot just be reactive; they need to be proactive. Besides, protests must be in reciprocation of the executive actions. So the final outcome of US-protests or world-protests cannot be ascertained [1].

Keywords: Trumpdom, Racism, Misogyny, Republican party, Islamophobia, Apathy to Climate change, Neo-liberalism, Globalization, Trade policies, Tax Policy Changes, Protectionist Policies, Immigration challenges

1: Introduction

The road to Trumpdom was quite long and bumpy. There were many turns and twists in the route to this mal-success by Donald Trump, a victory achieved by Donald J. Trump by trickery, intimidations, the ignited racial prejudices, all-out anti-democratic vocabulary. People could have resorted to many other alternative avenues to get rid of and resist this clumsiest possible outcome. "Instead, we kept going, corruption, infighting and sheer obliviousness stopping us changing course"[2].

The rise of Silicon Valley, its hyper-capitalist, libertarian ethos and the advocates of big business community of Wall Street did not only weaken traditional sources of information; it totally crippled the conventional sources of information leading to deficit disorder, fake news, hackable everything, social media bullies of whom Trump is the chieftain. An internet-run ad-driven free-for all would have had quite different repercussions and social consequences. People of USA have already missed this bus.

The US people have been fighting against erosion of civil rights. People of colour (non-white), some other fringe communities like LGBTQ people have been systematically disenfranchised by a series of interventions, including the gutting of Voting Rights Act in 2013 by the pseudo-democrats like Barack Obama. And they participated in November 2016 election, Trump-win would have been nearly impossible. A rejuvenated voting rights movement will be part of how we crawl out of the whole the Americans find now themselves in. Better voting systems and improvement of national voting-rights standards with inclusion of the total abolition of the electoral college system with undoing of all gerrymander's tricks and mechanisms inbuilt in the system. Climate - change issue had taken an out-of-turn proportion in the minds of the common masses and this factor has not only influenced but had determined the final outcome of the election results [3].

Mr. Donald J. Trump swearing-in ceremony took place on 20 January 2017. There was an exemplary protest by the women on that day in Washington. That happened all over the world. The women of the world did also protest in London in the form of a big rally with several posters, festoons, banners like pro-claiming "We won't give up; we won't give in" to misogynist Trump of USA. Occurrence of such protests all the big cities of the world is a rare phenomenon. "Build Equality not wall". The women said "the leader of the freeworld is making us less free People come into power who do not deserve to be there We are in the protest marches to show our solidarity This fellow, Mr. Trump, is so blatantly disrespectful towards only one who is n't a white cigerender. For these protesters this is much deeper than a "policy-issue". They shouted "Keep up this cohesion", "revolution", "get more organised" for tomorrow and unite the fight-back against Trump .

At times of extreme crisis, the initial feelings of floundering, of incomprehension-cum-total chaos and confusion, the fertile ground for the flowering of ideas gradually emerge. People grow conscious that new problems warrant novel answers to search for new ways. The surge of support and organising behind Bernie Sander and "Black Lives Matter" has laid the ground for the forward movement in the US, UK and European Union [4].

People are never made radicals overnight, or very abruptly. They are made to do so by force of argument, by the feverish pitch and impulse of the reasoned and passionate appeal of time and they

"There are decades when nothing happens and there are weeks when decades happen" -- V.I.Lenin- www.counterfire.org

are ignited by the 'optimism of the will', as Antonio Gramsci once said "If not now, when?" [5]

Triumphant entry to the US power by Trump was and still is marked by chain of protests of which women's protests are mostly remarkable and the facts and statistics on this count are really stunning :

- (i) At least 3.3 million people participated in the women's march across the USA (this is the largest demonstration in the US history, says Vox Report).

- (ii) More than 3.3 million joined the marches in more than 500 US cities.
- (iii) The women's march on Washington was at least 3 times bigger than the crowd at Trump's inauguration. The protest marches displayed placards "Love is Love", "Black Lives Matter", "Climate change is real", "Immigrants Make the country great", "Love Trumps Hate".
- (iv) There are zero arrests during the women's march; but hundreds were arrested on the inauguration day.
- (v) People marched against Trump in all the seven continents; And among the marches there was an overwhelming abundance of the female population as Trump had grown extremely unpopular and infamous for his racist attitudes and misogyny statements in his propaganda speeches; his antipathy and hatred against Islamists and LGBTQIA people had [6].

On 20th January 2017 and the weeks following this day witnessed anti-Trump Protest marches by women wearing pink pussyhats all over the world and those heralded a renaissance of resistance with placards, signboards like, "Thou shalt not grope", "Don't try to grab my pussy, it is made of steel", "We are no longer alone", "Sisters stronger together", "Keep your hands and laws off my body and our bodies", "Rape culture- Be off", "Stand up to bullies", Gloria Steivheim greeted the protesting crowd with cheers, Lady Madonna sang songs of protest and applauded the female population all over the world and appealed to resist the racist, misogynist, anti-black President through her fiery speeches despite singing in melodious songs of protest and speeches. Strangely enough nowhere in USA there was any protest by Bob Dylan! Had Trump purchased his soul and had he been rusted and distorted spiritually? Though not all, but a few with as degree of rottenness at heart are purchase-able commodities. Unfortunately, does Bob Dylan belong to this clan. And the allegation about of his plagiarism, it appears, might not be thoroughly unfounded.

2: Economics of Trumpdom

2.1) Ten economic consequences of Trump win-

- 1) US growth accelerates above the 2.2% average annual rate, spanning Obama's second term general republican aversion to public spending and debt.
- 2) Trump will be able to implement the Keynesian fiscal stimulus that Obama often proposed but was unable to deliver. The resultant deficits are to be described as supply-side economics rather than Keynesian stimulus. If there is full employment additional growth will push inflation higher, but bad news can wait until 2018 and beyond.
- 3) Sensible tax reforms such as an amnesty for multinational companies that repatriate foreign profits, will finally become law.
- 4) In fact world trade hangs in the balance as Trump prepared plans of action.
- 5) A third boost to economic growth will come from deregulation. However excessive deregulation could cause a re-run of 2007 financial crisis. That holds a risk for 2018 and beyond. Anatole maintains that Trump could be good for geopolitical stability, in the short term.
- 6) Now let us dwell upon for the probable negative aspects: For the first time since 1930s the US has a President who views TRADE as a zero-sum game.
- 7) US global leadership is bound to shift away from free trade, globalisation and open markets Trump's effects and policies will surely be negative for emerging economies and multinational companies whose developmental models and business strategies have assumed free trade and open capital flows.
- 8) US economy is already nearing full employment which implies accelerating inflation, higher interest rates or probably some combination of the two.
- 9) The impact on financial markets will be disruptive, regardless of whether the Federal government aggressively tightens monetary policy to prompt rising prices or lets the

economy “run hot” for a year or two, allowing inflation to accelerate. Excessive strengthening of the US dollar is a third major risk.

- 10) The combination of dollar squeeze and protectionism spells big trouble for future of USA and the whole world [7].

2.2) Trumponomics: Indian Currency (Re) is better placed globally

Since Trump-win in USA the rupee has outperformed several other emerging market currencies. The rupee continues to be a better performing currency and is at or above the median level of change in a set of 17 currencies. Economists believe that the rupee will be driven more by market fundamentals than an external US stock. US policies are likely to affect Mexico and China than India as is shown by the accompanying Table. The period of six months since January 20, 2017 might upset the applectart of global economy [8].

MONEY MOVEMENTS

% change (vs \$)	Mar-Nov	Nov-Jan
Ruble	3.14	7.15
Brazil real	6.29	4.15
Taiwan dollar	1.8	0.18
Hong Kong dollar	-0.01	0
Rupiah	-1.09	-0.33
Baht	-0.8	-0.34
Rupee	-1.91	-0.57
Renminbi	-5.7	-0.72
Philippines peso	-6.24	-0.93
Pound	-15.15	-0.94
Euro	-5.28	-1.47
Won	-1.53	-1.55
Ringgit	-11.21	-2.34
Argentina peso	-6.65	-3.59
Yen	0.78	-5.81
Mexico peso	-14.66	-7.31
Turkey lira	-16.41	-13.65

3: USA Today : Land of Hope, Despair and Fury

Presidential elections are a form of madness that comes over Americans once every four years. They fit the great-man or -woman narrative of history, seducing us into forgetting how powerful we are. They erase our memory of grassroots power, direct democracy and civil society. Leaders beget followers; people pin their hopes on one person, and with that they seem to shed responsibility for anything beyond getting that one person into office. Or they wash their hands of any further involvement if it’s not their one person [9].

Let us define first what hope is not: it is not the belief that everything was, is or will be fine. The evidence is all around us of tremendous suffering and destruction. The hope most people are interested in is about broad perspectives with specific possibilities, ones that invite or demand that we act. It is not a sunny everything-is-getting-better narrative though it may be a counter to the everything-is-getting-worse one. One could call it an account of complexities and uncertainties, with openings. Critical thinking without hope is cynicism, but hope without critical thinking is naivety.

And Patrisse Cullors, one of the founders of “ Black Lives Matter ” early on described the movement’s mission as to provide hope and inspiration for collective action do build collective power to achieve collective transformation, rooted in grief and rage but pointed towards vision and dreams. It is a statement that acknowledges that grief and hope can coexist.

Hope is an embrace of the unknown and unknowable, an alternative to the certainty of both optimists and pessimists. Optimists think it will all be fine without our involvement pessimists adopt the opposite position; both excuse, themselves from acting. It is the belief that what we do matters even though how and when it may matter, who and what it may impact are not things we can know

beforehand. We may not, in fact, know them afterwards either, but they matter all the same, and history is full of people whose influence was most powerful after they were gone.

There are major movements that failed to achieve their goals there are also comparatively small gestures that mushroomed into successful revolutions. The self-immolation of one police-harassed produce-seller Mohammed Bouazizi on 17 December 2010, in Tunisia was the spark that kindled a revolution in his country and then across Northern Africa of the Arab-world in 2011. And though the civilwar in Syria and the counter- revolutions after Egypt's extraordinary uprising might be what most remember, Tunisia's jasmine revolution toppled a dictator and led to peaceful elections in that country in 2014.

This is an illustration of how unpredictable change is and how potent popular power can be. And five years on, it is too soon to draw conclusions about what it all ment. One can tell the genesis story of the Arab-spring in other way(s). The quiet organizing going on in the shadows beforehand matters. So does the comic book about Martin Luthor King and civil disobedience that was translated into Arabic and widely distributed in Egypt shortly before the uprising. That was inspired by Gandhian tactics, and Gandhi's inspired by Tolstoy and

4: Root of the Evils in USA Today

Three factors contributed to that consequence. Firstly, globalisation had introduced a fear of the expert. An expert truth lacks a sense of the vernacular and the dialect. It lacks inclusiveness while Mr. Trump's bawdy jokes and coinages which sounded like proverbs made an effort to create an inclusive public. Secondly, language becomes important. When politics seeks to be empowering, it need not be correct. It can be folksy, bawdy-body talk. It conveys he is one of us, rather than someone outsourced by the establishment. Thirdly and more critically, this election went beyond political correctness to include both the idiom of physical threat and menace and the sense of symbolic violence. Mr. Trump's bully boy language pretended to be the language of everyday exorcism. There is a psychological ritual here that we must emphasise [10].

Today the American election, or even Brexit, appears more like an act of emotional catharsis than a campaign around ideologies, arguments, platforms and facts. It is as if the nation becomes the public couch, where all manner of dreams, jokes, repressions and fantasies are paraded. It is more an emotional outpouring than the national arguments that deliberate democracy boasts of. Ms. Clinton appears cold and frozen in such a crowd while Mr. Trump not only appears at home, he realises that it is a homecoming into American politics where the second best is always more endearing, human, than the imperious front runner. It is as Indian voters would say "everyone has to have a chance " and Ms. Clinton already had one. It was Mr. Trump's turn, and it provided a sense of poetic justice, that the establishment was pepped at the finishing line. There is a sense of populist ambush as most of the media and the Ivy League finds it difficult to utter the words " President Trump ". It sounded like history's favourite oxymoron till yesterday.

Politics sometimes has to be understood more as a per-formative act than a rational argument or an ideological battle. If one reads it as an ideological war, one sees it as a victory of the right, but the right was as surprised by victory as the left. It was actually a semiotic war where symbols, languages which were more empowering won. In an odd way, it was not the party the citizen voted for. It was for a politics which was more empowering, and which made him feel assured about the future. Ideology was important, but a semiotic war, a politics of the symbolic, became more important than the ideological tussle. The symbolic ease of Mr. Trump's stand beat the cold communications of Ms. Clinton. Semiotics trumped ideology to leave American pundits even more confused than before.

5: Neo-liberalism in Death Bed ?

Notwithstanding the political moorings, liberalism has one thing in common which cuts across all epochs, 'property'. Right to acquire property and its perpetuation has been the cornerstone of liberal creed. In other words, it has tried to sober the acquisitive nature of humans under the euphemism of 'wealth of nations', absolving the process of 'accumulation' of its vices. This subterfuge

had its egregious intertwining with politics resulting in modern liberal democracies operating under the exploitative hood of capitalism. The citizens of such systems enjoyed the fruit of a tree over which the snake hung. Barring the low hanging fruits, any attempt to fetch the juiciest fruit, which lay atop, was met with a poisonous sting [11].

The memo was received with great aplomb by both corporate and politicians. Initiated by the outgoing governments of Jimmy Carter in US and Jim Callaghan in Britain the memo saw its full fruition under Reaganite America and Thatcherite Britain.

The new beast came to be christened as 'neo-liberalism' which was marked by massive (i) privatisation of public services, (ii) tax cuts for the super-rich and (iii) pulverisation of trade unions. David Harvey points out that the American Supreme Court allowed reforms that treated financial emoluments on the part of corporate towards electoral campaigns as a form of 'free speech'. The new ideology remained anonymous yet omnipresent as the liberals did not care much about both the wreckage it was causing and the semantic quibble around it. They went with the saccharine approval of the new creed under the name of freedom, democracy and human rights. This happened in blithe disregard of indigenous labour, whose jobs were jeopardised by the mobility of capital and its flight to low-wage countries which would fetch maximum profits [12].

The system saturated in 2008 when the global economic system came to a standstill, courtesy speculative finance capital and credit bubble formed because of this. The bailout came from the state, not by printing more currencies, an erroneous policy practiced by governments under immense pressure, but from the state exchequer. The hard earned money of the people of America was used to finance bankrupt private banks and speculative institutions. Again the liberals had a cake walk by calling the crisis a tragic repeat of history and absolved themselves of any responsibility.

The backlash to this was political in nature. The workers, the middle class, small entrepreneurs and petty merchants organized, in not so progressive a manner to select the most conservative from the menagerie which included Trump, May and more are to come. Failing to get returns of their hard-work and seeing their hard earned money go down the liberal gutter of bailouts and war, they elected people who promised good days no matter how racist, sexist and obnoxious their public personalities were.

The failure to break away from the EU and the calls for a 'soft Brexit' has showcased the systemic compulsions faced by Theresa May. However, the failure of the protectionist demagogues to deliver on their promises should not be a welcome call for the 'liberal' agenda to fill the gap; rather a more progressive pro-labour agenda should be in the offing. If the majority of the society is allowed to bleed at the altar of 'liberalism' which, in the words of George Monbiot, has meant "freedom for the pike, not for the minnows", the disgruntled of the society would throw up many surprises not all of which would go down well with the liberals [13].

6: 'Globalisation' now on Ventilation?

15 years ago Stiglitz wrote a book entitled "Globalization and its Discontents" revealing growing opposition in the developing world to globalizing reforms. People in the developing countries had been fed that globalization would increase overall well-being. So why had so many people become so hostile to it?

Now there has been a drastic and dramatic shift in the mindset of the people of the developed world. Even in the advanced countries, tens of millions of people even in USA show that trade is among the major sources of discontent for a big chunk of Americans. Similar views are quite evident and apparent in Europe. The Trump win, the 'Brexit' phenomenon etc are just the reflections of the visible discontents.

How can something that politicians, the leaders the neoliberal intellectuals and the economists said would make everyone better off be so reviled? Their widespread discontent is no longer a matter of economics but it is to be viewed as a matter "for psychiatrists", as was argued by Joseph E. Stiglitz. But income data suggest that it is the neoliberals who may benefit from therapy. Large segments of

the population in advanced countries have not been doing well: in the US bottom 90% has endured income stagnation for a third of a century. Median income for fulltime male workers is actually lower in real (inflation-adjusted) terms than it was 40-45 years ago. At the bottom real wages are comparable to their level 60 years ago.

The adverse effects of economic downfall and dislocation that many Americans are experiencing are even showing up in health statistics. For example, the economists Anne Case and Angus Deaton (Nobel Laureate in Economic sciences for, 2015) have shown that life expectancy among segments of white Americans is declining.

Global Inequality in the era of Globalization Big winners were the global 1% of the world's plutocrats, but also the middle class in newly emerging economies. Among the big losers – those who gained little or nothing – were those at the bottom and the middle and working classes in the advanced countries. Globalization is not the only reason, but it is one of the reasons.

Under the premises of 'perfect' markets (which underlies most neoliberal economic analyses) free trade equalizes the wages of unskilled workers around the world. Trade in goods is a substitute for the movement of people. Importing goods from China – goods that require a lot of unskilled workers to produce – reduces the demand for unskilled workers in Europe and the US.

Not surprisingly, the neoliberals never advertised this consequence of trade liberalization as they claimed – one could say lied – that all would benefit. But this was found to be untrue. This failure in delivery of the promises made by mainstream politicians has eroded trust and confidence in the establishment and administration. And government's offers of generous bailouts for the banks that had brought about the 2008 financial crises, while ordinary citizens were largely left to fend for themselves. This reinforced the view that this failure was not simply a matter of economic misjudgements [14].

7: Tangles Within the Major Multiple players in the Worldstage

The changes in the US world policies and diplomatic overtures are obviously imminent because of the changes in personal biases and ideological preferences. Obama administration was confused in West Asia, practically sponsored Islamic State (IS) through proxies in Qatar and then found the monster uncontrollable. Virtually under compulsion it had to buy peace with Iran and had to reject Russia's fake war against terrorism. Trump will now attempt to share up alternatives to IS; and Trump's pre-election bonhomie with Russia would obviously compel him to drive more towards Russia than allow Iran to make creeping progress to nuclear weapon and regional paramountcy. This pro-Russian proclivity would, in all probability, propel Trump to repeal the Obama's offer of 'strategic partnership' to China leading to a 'G2' world order which did not materialise in practice. Similarly Trump's attempt to build a Russia house may fail. Still, as he had the mandate and could be allowed his chance with or without success.

In an ironic coincidence when Donald Trump will be sworn in as the 55th President of the USA, his Chinese counterpart Xi Jinping will make his first-ever trip to Davos, called the "spiritual capital of globalisation" to address the global elite gathered at the 'World Economic Forum (WEF)' Chinese state media is enthusiastically propounding that Xi will use debut appearance to offer the assembled Western leaders a pep talk about the merits and virtues of globalisation. As a top defender of globalisation Xi will play the role of cheer leader, of course Mr. Donald Trump! China is supposed to champion and "steer economic globalisation towards greater inclusiveness" with the vowed ulterior motive to build "a human community with a shared destiny" with India, which was a poster boy for globalisation at Davos in 2006, relegated to just spectator status, thanks to the demonetisation drive by Mr Modi. India-China relations do always come under passing clouds vis-a-vis the role of Pakistan on International issues. US-China relationships are gradually turning to bitter over the issues of Trumps telephonic talk with Hong Kong-China and Taiwan and over the bold on south China sea. Trump is, to the core, anti-globalisation has already threatened high tariffs on Chinese imports and Rex Tillerson had sent a message to China hinting the military blockade of the South China Sea. All

these are no signs of talks, truce and world-peace which the mankind, in general, aspires for and strives to achieve in the end [15].

8:TRUMP: Aberrations of his Characters and the Systemic Fault Lines

There are always some who live the life of mind and some people who live the life of only emotion, however, anti-intellectual, vulgarian that might appear to be. And quite regrettably Trump is an illustration of this latter variety. He had or he has no politics and caters to the worst part of the American psyche. His vocabulary is rough, rude and unpolished. Still, attacking Trump as a douche bag might only be cathartic, but it is unlikely to be effective in political terms. Rather, one has to point a jeering finger at an emperor with no clothes! Jonathan Freedland [16] rightly and aptly described him as divisive, ungracious and unrepentant; this was Trump unbound. To dishonour or to attack this savage boor people have to be extremely focussed on very important, socially relevant, American typically American issues of the present times. Just attacking his characteristic traits – obviously abominable – cannot help the advancement of the real cause that is at play in the minds of the American urban elite group – of course certainly not belonging to the corporate bigwigs or the minions of the present administration set-up under the leadership of the people like Steve Bannon. Trump shall certainly continue – thanks to his Presidency – to remain a man of power and pelf; but he will permanently be missing ‘prestige’ in the eyes of his opponents. His corruption of soul is all-round [17].

9:Trump’s China Policy and Actions

In December Trump’s unprecedented phone conversation with Taiwan’s President Tsai Ing-wen raised the possibility of a direct confrontation. A fuming China had earlier ruled out a phone conversation if Trump did not accept China’s sovereignty over Taiwan. With Trump now personally telling Xi that he will follow the 44-year-old “One China policy” there is relief. But the crisis has added to the sense of declining American influence in Asia and earned Trump the sobriquet *zhilao*hu- “paper tiger”.

The fact is that Trump created the crisis and then retreated before the Chinese threat. The phone call may have been thoughtless but since the call Trump has repeatedly justified direct contact with Taiwan as something of a bargaining chip – an approach that infuriated Beijing and made Taiwan, a vibrant democracy, uncomfortable.

Many experts believe Trump’s volte face may now embolden Xi to take a tougher line against the US. The recent aerial encounter between a US reconnaissance aircraft and Chinese naval patrol planes may have been unplanned but it was nonetheless a reminder of the Chinese challenge. China will continue to harass if not directly challenge the US in the airspace near China’s claimed territory. Several such encounters have taken place, including a fatal one near Hainan island in 2001.

Like raising and dropping the Taiwan issue, Trump has scored similar self-goals by disparaging US allies like Nato, predicting the breakup of the European Union, and criticising Germany’s asylum policy as disastrous. Even his secretary of state designate threw down a gauntlet to China by warning “the island-building stops and, second, your access to those islands also is not going to be allowed”.

Perhaps the most astonishing of Trump’s self-inflicted wounds was his casual pulling of the plug on TPP, a free trade pact of 12 Pacific countries that would have ensured American leadership of the region. The American withdrawal has simply left the field free for trading giant China to dominate, and on its own terms.

As if threatening China in the South China Sea was not enough Trump chose to gratuitously insult Australia, the most loyal ally in Asia whose support would be key in confronting China. In a phone conversation with Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull he called an agreement signed by Australia with the Obama administration the “worst deal ever” [18].

10: Deconstruction of state is on, says Bannon

President's adviser tells the 'conservatives' that inside White House everything is going according to plan

In an administration hardly five weeks old, Stephen Bannon's reputation has taken on almost mythic proportion as a fire-breathing populist, emerging power centre, man of mystery.

When Mr. Bannon, President Donald Trump's chief strategist, appeared in public on Thursday for the first time since the President was sworn in, it was to deliver, in his own combative way, a message of soothing reassurance to the conservative activists gathered here for their annual assessment known as the Conservative Political Action Conference.

Do not believe the "corporatist globalist media" that was "crying and weeping" on election night and is still "dead wrong" about what the Trump administration is going. Inside the White House, Mr. Bannon said, everything is going according to plan. The "deconstruction of the administrative state" has just begun.

Appearing with Reince Priebus, the President's chief of staff, he joked about how well the two get along despite the friction that had always existed between them. "I can run a little hot on occasion," Mr. Bannon said, complimenting Mr. Priebus' equanimity.

And he urged a ballroom full of activists to stick together against the forces that were trying to tear them apart. "Whether you're a populist, whether you're a limited-government conservative, whether you're a libertarian, whether you're an economic nationalist, we want you to have our back."

Despite Mr. Bannon's assurances, a simmering unease remains among conservatives over whether Mr. Trump will honour his promises, given that he was not part of their movement until very recently.

Not too many years ago CPAC almost denied Trump a speaking slot because it feared he only wanted to promote himself. As far as Bannon, he was essentially banished from the premises when he was running Breitbart News. So Bannon started a rival conference at a hotel down the street and called it The Uninvited.

Kellyanne Conway, the White House counsellor, acknowledged the discomfort that comes with any hostile party takeover when she addressed the meeting. Mr. Trump, she said, had to uproot the political system. "Every great movement ends up being a little bit sclerotic and dusty after a time," she said [19].

11: President Trump renews attack on world media outlets

U.S. President Donald Trump intensified his slashing attack on the news media during an appearance before the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) on Friday, reiterating his charge that "fake news" outlets are "the enemy of the people".

The opening portion of the President's free-range, campaign-style speech centred on a declaration of war on the press – a new foil to replace vanquished political opponents such as Hillary Clinton.

"They are very smart, they are very cunning, they are very dishonest," Mr. Trump said to the delight of the crowd.

"It doesn't represent the people, it never will represent the people."

Mr. Trump, who suggested revisiting First Amendment protections for the press during the campaign, refined that attack on Friday, urging his supporters to use their free-speech rights to counter hostile press accounts from outlets like CNN, which he called the "Clinton News Network".

The President followed his attack on the press with a far-ranging preview of Tuesday's address before Congress, offering an unspecified plan to improve the health care law, ratcheted-up enforcement of immigration laws and a request for increases in spending that will result in "one of the greatest military build-ups in all of history" [20].

12: IT's time for ctrl+alt+delete

Indian tech biggies need to log into a digital future. Otherwise, the world will pass them by IT's on track, declare some. Not really, say others. Of late, opinion is divided on the strategy adopted by Indian IT companies. While one set of investors criticise them for keeping cash idle and losing the race to global peers, the other set is glad that they are not setting foot in unknown territory but, instead, saving cash for a rainy day.

But what the second lot don't seem to realise is that the global market for technology is changing at a rapid speed and Indian IT companies need to change and think 'big' to stay relevant. Already, export revenue growth has slowed to single digit (from 13.8 % in 2013-14 to 10.3 % 2015-16. In the current year, Nasscom estimates growth to be 8-10 %) and order book expansion is happening at snail's pace.

If Indian companies do not do a ctrl+alt+delete of their conservative ways and log into digital and consulting capabilities, they can lose significant market share. Also, with protectionism raising its head, uncertainty has multiplied manifold, taking away the 'defensive' tag from IT stocks. Against this background, it makes sense for investors to review their portfolio of IT stocks. Here's a closer look at the key challenges the industry faces and how the big players are faring.

Young software engineers in India have to let go their US dream. The protectionist rhetoric has become louder in the US with the new President, Donald Trump.

Last month, Indian IT stocks nose-dived in bourses after the news of new legislation in the US to curtail H-1B visas and increase the minimum salary for these visa holders. While the legislation has not been passed yet, there is fear that it may crimp the Indian IT sector that takes a chunk of these visa every year.

Over 60 % of the revenue of the \$150-billion plus Indian IT industry is from exports to the US. Tech majors such as TCS, Infosys, Wipro, HCL Technologies and Tech Mahindra have 20 to 40% of their employees onsite. According to investment firm CLSA, Tech Mahindra has the highest share of onsite employees (totally 39 % including 19% in North America) and TCS has the least (totally 19 % including 10% in America). Infosys has about 26% of its employees working onsite (that includes 13% in the US).

When it comes to filling slots in their US offices, most Indian tech companies prefer to send people across on H-1B visas, given the high cost of hiring employees locally. At TCS, for instance, 35% of the headcount in the US are locals, for Infosys it is 34%. So, any visa fee hike by the US may impact margins of Indian IT companies significantly. There may be margin erosion of around 200-300 basis points over a period of time as all old visas too get renewed. Wipro and HCL Technologies are placed better. Of the total employees working onsite in the US, 50% are locals for Wipro and 65% are locals for HCL Technologies.

Indian IT companies have already begun scouting for talent locally in the US. TCS's application for work visas in April 2016 was down by 30% compared to the previous year. Experts say that given that there is shortage of skilled workforce in the US, there may not be any severe restrictions on issue of H-1B visas. A Nasscom report last year showed that 46% of openings in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) jobs were vacant for more than a month in the US. But in view of the recent protectionist rhetoric in the US, Indian companies should try to make do with local manpower as much as possible.

US dreams aside, finding an IT job here in India itself is going to be difficult for software engineers. In 2015-16, the Indian IT industry was expected to create 2.75 lakh jobs, but it created only 2 lakh jobs. In 2015-16, the number is expected to be even smaller - 1.7 lakh.

Slowing revenue growth along-side increasing pressure on profit margins is prompting tech companies to go slow on fresh hires. In the past five years, while IT exports have grown at an average 13.7% annually, the headcount growth has only been 8%. Companies have been able to do the same amount of work with less manpower, thanks to automation. A report from global outsourcing

research company HfS Research says that by 2021, India could lose 6.4 lakh low-skilled positions in IT services and the BPO industry because of the automation of support and back-office processing work.

Though this is a dampener for a job aspirant, it is a big positive for an industry whose survival is being challenged, as costs come down. Infosys, saved 2,650 fulltime employees worth of effort in the December 2016 quarter by deploying automation tools in application maintenance, package systems maintenance, BPO and Infrastructure Management. Many other IT companies including Wipro and HCL Technologies also report use of automation platform. In 2015-16, Wipro says it freed up 4,300 employees because of its automation and AI (artificial intelligence) platform. For 2016-17, while the company targets releasing 4,500 employees, in the first half of the year itself it released 4,300 employees through use of robotic process automation.

However, what you need to note here is that while on one side automation helps save costs, on the other side, it drags down revenue.

Revenue cannibalisation due to automation, though not a desired outcome, cannot be avoided. Indian IT companies have to be more proactive about convincing clients on automation and sharing the cost benefit with them, else there is risk of losing business to competitors.

Loss of revenue due to automation can be balanced only by growing revenue from new businesses in digital and related areas.

The worldwide IT services market is forecast to grow 4.2% in 2017, up from 3.9% growth in 2016, fuelled by investments in the digital business, intelligent automation and innovation, according to Gartner. IDC, in fact, has predicted that by 2017, over 50% of spends of organisations will be for third platform technologies, which refers to cloud computing, big data analytics, mobile computing and IoT (internet of things) and by 2018, at least half of the IT spending will be on cloud applications alone.

Indian IT exporters will be left out in the cold if they do not quickly adapt to the changing market. Over the last 7-8 years, the global tech sector has been making the shift from traditional to cutting-edge technologies to keep pace with customer demands. But Indian tech companies haven't kept pace and so now, since they do not have a track record for large transformational projects, big clients choose to go with market leaders such as Accenture.

Data from HfS Research shows that of all the 371 deals of the 70 large and mid-size IT companies that it tracked in 2015, 137 were digital deals and over half of it was clinched by global IT service providers, including IBM (45 deals) and Accenture (16). India-centric service providers – Cognizant (8), Infosys (5), TCS (4) and Wipro (4) – won only a few deals. This trend has remained the same in 2016 too, says Pareekh Jain, Research VP, at HfS. "I see nothing has changed in the last one year, IBM and Accenture continue to win most deals. They invested very early in digital capabilities and have been able to take the lead..."

A recent Nasscom report states that digital revenues contribute 14% of the Indian IT industry's overall revenue. To grow the digital business, Indian companies will have to look at inorganic expansion. All MNC digital majors have done it only through M&As. Accenture, which sees 40% revenue contribution from digital, cloud and security services, made more than a dozen acquisitions in 2016. Of these, several were in the digital space – Karmarama (UK), OCTO Technology (Paris), Allen International (UK), MOBGEM (the Netherlands), IMJ Corporation (Japan), dgroup (Germany).

Cognizant, too, was on an acquisition spree last year, with four of its five deals being in the digital consultancy side – Adaptra (Sydney), Idea Couture, ReD Associates (49% stake) and KBACE Technologies.

But looking back at India, there have hardly been any acquisitions by IT service companies. Though they are sitting on piles of cash, they have not been open to inorganic expansion. TCS, for instance, has made only three major acquisitions in the last 10 years – E-Serve International, Citi Bank's BPO arm, in 2008, the Pune-based Computational Research Laboratories in 2012 and Alti, an

enterprise solutions provider from France, in 2013. In the same period, Infosys made seven acquisitions – three of which happened after Vishal Sikka took over as CEO in 2014 – Panaya, automation provider, Skava, a digital solutions provider and Noah Consulting, an information service management provider. Wipro, HCL Technologies and Tech Mahindra too went in for some acquisitions. However, if we count only digital deals, the number is less. Digital acquisitions in the last five years were just Wipro's acquisition of Appirio in 2016 – a SaaS (software as a service) provider for \$500 million and Designit – a design company for \$95 million in 2015, PowerObjects by HCL Technologies (provider of Microsoft Dynamics CRM, in 2015, for \$46 million), and Skava by Infosys (for \$120 million).

The market leaders in the global IT space today, be it Accenture, IBM or Cognizant Technology Solutions, have a strong consulting arm. Given that about 13% of the overall IT services market is made of consulting and the segment is growing faster than the overall market (Gartner research), it cannot be ignored. Also, as consulting expertise is essential to win digital orders, there is an urgent need to invest in consultancy.

But Indian IT service companies have not built a consulting brand for themselves. Infosys' Consulting and Package Implementation business contributes 30% to the total revenue today – unchanged from five years back. Pure consulting revenue in this may be only about 10%, say analysts. Infosys acquired Lodestone, a management consultancy firm in 2012, but it was only in 2015 that the company decided to merge Lodestone with its own small consultancy business and bring more focus on the consulting practice.

If you take TCS, the company reports revenue from consulting and enterprise solutions as one segment – which, in the recent December quarter, contributed 17% to overall revenue. Wipro, HCL Technologies and Tech Mahindra also do some consulting work for their large clients with whom they have a longstanding relationship, but revenue is not reported separately. Today, all high-level strategic consulting business of clients go to large players such as Accenture, PwC, Deloitte, Boston and Cognizant.

But Indian IT players too have an opportunity, says a JP Morgan report. They can target the 'ground level' projects in- digital re-architecting of IT systems, analytics, mobility, cloud computing and process re-engineering. Though deal sizes are small here, the deals are numerous, the report adds. Big players do not come in here as organisations look for cost-competitive players.

Indian IT companies have to take lessons from Cognizant's success in consulting. In the last five years, the company has successfully built a standalone consulting practice because it didn't shy away from investing. Analysts at JP Morgan point out that Cognizant's success in consulting was also helped by the matrix structure of the organisation where consultants have dual responsibility to both the industry head as well as to the consulting practice's head [21].

13: Surviving Trump

The U.S. media needs a different playbook and definitive strategies to fight back against their President

U.S. President Donald Trump on February 16 gave an encore performance to his pre-inauguration press conference in New York, and berated several media houses for peddling what he described as "fake news", refused to answer questions from certain news channels, and hurled the usual epithets at the press including "deceitful", "dishonest" and "liars", besides mouthing verifiably untrue statements, not to mention a few embarrassing gaffes.

Unsurprisingly, the next day's news cycle kicked off with a torrent of blistering criticisms of Mr. Trump's performance, including not only fact-checking articles but also a multitude of reports describing the 45th President's disdain for political correctness, his tendency to sound narcissistic, and his lack of concern at being caught while speaking untruths. If this Trumpian spectacle of media-bashing followed by smug take-downs of the President in the next day's media is to become a fixture on the U.S. political firmament, it will not only produce raw nerves on both sides and battle fatigue

over the coming months, but it will also gradually erode the very foundational pillars of democracy that the U.S. is built upon.

It is true that ever since the rise of social media and the concomitant emergence of quasi-media outlets such as anti-secrecy groups like WikiLeaks, the primacy of mainstream media has been challenged as never before. Prior waves of technological advancement, which include the rise of radio news in the 1920s, of television news in the 1940s, and of online news in the 1990s and beyond, saw the mainstream media adroitly adjust itself to the new environment and emerge refreshed to fight the battle for viewership in new landscapes.

Yet social media, quasi-media and blogs have wrenched an essential power away from mainstream media – the power to be a purveyor of facts. It is this power of social media in particular that the new breed of strongman political leaders across the world, with populist policy leanings, have come to tap into so effectively that they have tipped the balance of power and the perception of untrammelled credibility away from mainstream media, to the point where the latter can be freely demonised as “news traders” and merchants of “fake news”.

In the case of Mr. Trump, the U.S. media is slowly coming to realise that an entirely different playbook is needed, and definitive strategies for fighting back are under discussion. These would include, in addition to the strong tradition of fact-checking that the U.S. media already follows, describing the President’s untruths as outright “lies”, which is also a description of the intention behind the statement. Many in the media still struggle with the idea of making this a standard practice, but equally hard to ignore is the question: what other options do media-persons have given the deliberately misleading disregard of facts by their President? [22]

14: ‘ Trump makes sense to a grocery store owner ’

Economist- mathematician **Nassim Nicholas Taleb** contends that there is a global riot against pseudo-experts

After predicting the 2008 economic crisis, the Brexit vote, the U.S. presidential election and other events correctly, Nassim Nicholas Taleb, author of the *Incerto* series on global uncertainties, which includes *The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Improbable*, is seen as something of a maverick and an oracle. Equally, the economist-mathematician has been criticised for advocating a “dumping down” of the economic system, and his reasoning for U.S. President Donald Trump and global populist movements. In an interview in Jaipur, Taleb explains why he thinks the world is seeing a “global riot against pseudo-experts”.

I’d like to start by asking about your next book, *Skin in the Game*, the fifth of the *Incerto* series. You do something unusual with your books: before you launch, you put chapters out on your website. Why is that?

Putting my work online motivates me to go deeper into a subject. I put it online and it gives some structure to my thought. The only way to judge a book is by something called the Lindy effect, and that is its survival. My books have survived. I noticed that *The Black Swan* did well because it was picked up early online, long before the launch. I also prefer social media to interviews in the mainstream media as many journalists don’t do their research and zeitgeist, updates [Top Ten lists] pass for journalism.

The media is not one organisation or a monolithic entity.

Well, I’m talking about the United States where I get more credible news from the social media than the mainstream media. But I am very impressed with the Indian media that seems to present both sides of the story. In the U.S. you only get either the official, bureaucratic or the academic side of the story.

“Barack Obama behaved like the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was going to do good but people didn’t feel their lives were better. If it was a shopkeeper from Aleppo, or a grocery store owner in Mumbai, people have liked them as much as Trump.

In *Skin in the Game*, you seem to build on theories from *The Black Swan* that give a sense of foreboding about the world economy. Do you see another crisis coming?

Oh, absolutely! The last crisis [2008] hasn't ended yet because they just delayed it. [Barack] Obama is an actor. He looks good, he raises good children, he is respectable. But he didn't fix the economic system, he put novocaine [local anaesthetic] in the system. He delayed the problem by working with the bankers whom he should have prosecuted. And now we have double the deficit, adjusted for GDP, to create six million jobs, with a massive debt and the system isn't cured. We retained zero interest rates, and that hasn't helped. Basically we shifted the problem from the private corporates to the government in the U.S. So, the system remains very fragile.

You say Obama put novocaine in the system. How will the Trump administration be able to address this?

Of course. The whole mandate he got was because he understood the economic problems. People don't realise that Obama created inequalities when he distorted the system. You can only get rich if you have assets. What Trump is doing is put some kind of business sense in the system. You don't have to be a genius to see what's wrong. Instead of Trump being elected, if you went to the local souk [bazaar] in Aleppo and brought one of the retail shop owners, he would do the same thing Trump is doing. Like making a call to Boeing and asking why are we paying so much.

You're seen as something of an oracle, given that you saw the 2008 economic crash coming, you predicted the Brexit vote, the outcome of the Syrian crisis. You said the Islamic State would benefit if Bashar al-Assad was pushed out and you predicted Trump's win. How do you explain it?

Not the Islamic State, but al-Qaeda at the time, and I said the U.S. administration was helping fund them. See, you have to have courage to say things others don't. I was lucky financially in life, that I didn't need to work for a living and can spend all my time thinking. When Trump was running for election, I said what he says makes sense to a grocery store owner. Because the grocery guy can say Trump is wrong because he can see where he is wrong. But with Obama, he can't understand what he's saying, so the grocery man doesn't know where he is wrong.

Is it a choice between dumbing down versus over-intellectualisation, then?

Exactly. Trump never ran for archbishop, so you never saw anything in his behaviour that was saintly, and that was fine. Whereas Obama behaved like the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was going to do good but people didn't feel their lives were better. As I said, if it was a shopkeeper from Aleppo, or a grocery store owner in Mumbai, people have liked them as much as Trump. What he says makes common sense, asking why are we paying so much for this rubbish or why do we need these complex taxes, or why do we want lobbyists. You can call Trump's plain-speaking what you like. But the way intellectuals treat people who don't agree with them isn't good either. I remember I had an academic friend who supported Brexit, and he said he knew what it meant to be a leper in the U.K. it was the same with supporting Trump in the U.S.

But there were valid reasons for people to be worried about Trump too.

Well, if you're a businessman, for example, what Trump said didn't bother you. The intellectual class of no more than 2,00,000 people in the U.S. don't represent everyone upset with Trump. The real problem is the 'faux-expert problem', one who doesn't know what he doesn't know, and assumes he knows what people think. An electrician doesn't have that problem.

Is the election of Trump part of a global phenomena? You have commented on the similarity to the election of Narendra Modi in India.

Well, with Trump, Modi, Brexit, and now France, there are some similar problems in those countries. What you are hearing is people getting fed up with the ruling class. This is not fascism. It has to do with fascism. It has to do with the faux-experts problem and a world with too many experts. If we had a different elite, we may not see the same problem.

There are other similarities, to quote from studies of populist movements worldwide: these leaders are majoritarian, they build on resentment, they use social media for direct access to their voters, and they can take radical decisions.

I often say that a mathematician thinks in numbers, a lawyers in laws, and an idiot thinks in words. These words don't amount to anything. I think you have to draw the conclusion that there is a global riot against pseudo-experts. I saw it with Brexit, and Nigel Farage [leader of the U.K. Independence Party], who was a trader for 15 years, said the problem with the government was that none of them had ever had a proper job. Being a bureaucrat is not a proper job.

"The real problem is the 'faux-expert problem', one who doesn't know what he doesn't know, and assumes he knows what people think.

As a businessperson, you have a point about experts and pseudo-experts who you say are 'left-wing'. How do you explain the other parts to the phenomenon that aren't economic: the xenophobia, Islamophobia, misogyny, etc.?

I don't understand how a left-wing person can defend Salafism, or religious extremism. In a democracy, you can allow people to have any view, but they can't come with a message to destroy democracy. Why should people who come to the West come with a message to finish the West? This is where the discourse goes haywire. So in Yemen, the [Saudi] intervention is good, but the intervention [by Russia] in Aleppo shouldn't be allowed. I don't think Trump was racist when he said Mexican criminals shouldn't be allowed into the U.S.; he was targeting criminals. If you are Naziphobic, you are not against Germans. If I oppose Salafism, I am not an Islamophobe. Obama also deported Mexicans and refused to accept immigrants.

Is anti-globalisation a part of this sentiment?

I am not anti-globalisation, but I am against big global corporations. One of the reasons is what they cost. Today, every project sees cost over-runs because these projects have to factor in global risks as well. In nature there is an 'island effect'. The number of species on an island drops significantly when you go to the mainland. Similarly, when you open up your small economies, you lose some of your ethnicity or diversity. Artisans are being killed by globalisation. Think of the effect on so many artists who have been put out of work while people are buying wrinkle-free shirts and cheap mobile phones. I'm a localist. The problem is globalisation comes through large global corporate that are predatory, and so we want to counter its ill-effects.

Where do you see the world moving now? Further right, or will it revert to the centre?

I don't think it will go left or right, and I don't know about the short term. But I think in the long term, the world can only survive if it lives like nature does. Many smaller units of governance, and a collection of super islands with some separation, quick decision-making and visible implementation. Lots of Switzelands, that's what we need. What we need is not leaders, we don't need them. We just need someone at the top who doesn't mess the system up [23].

15: Whither America Today and Tomorrow?

Contextualised with the inaugural grand-standing barely five weeks ago, the striking feature of Donald Trump's first address to Congress was its generally conciliatory tone. It was an appreciably watered down edition of the "America for Americans" bluster that has understandably alarmed the world and jolted ~ if not divided ~ the people in a nation of immigrants. The 45th President of America was less than his acerbic self, though the world must wonder whether he needed seven days to react to the killing of an Indian by a white American, crying "Get out of my country". It is hard not to wonder whether the President was chewing over the implications of the tragedy in a civilized world. Mr. Trump has eventually lamented the killing, though as Head of State he ought to have done the least that was expected of him on the day of the mayhem in Kansas. Small wonder that the customary presentation to Congress has been compared to the State of the Union address. Markedly, he has stopped short of going on overdrive with his direly controversial agenda. He was in the main riveted to governance and the goalposts. Were his scriptwriters suitably circumspect to craft the address accordingly, dwelling on protectionism, infrastructure investment, tougher immigration controls, the Mexico Wall, scrapping Obamacare, a crackdown on lobbying, and increased military spending? Unmistakably, the language was more placatory as he reached out to black and Jewish

Americans who have frequently been the target of his almost in-built antagonism. Absent also was the compulsive ranting against Muslims, indeed the hallmark of his campaign rhetoric. In foreign policy as well, there was no criticism of China and the bloc of seven Muslim nations whose citizens have been barred from setting foot in the US.

Trump epitomizes the glib amoral modern executive who says anything that serves his purposes. Who hasn't at some time suffered a boss like him? One swoons, though, at the "what-if" vision of a fiery Barack Obama fighting for single payer healthcare and other domestic needs as combatively as Trump does for his reactionary agenda. Still, as the Trump era sputtering starts, it is worth asking in the impish spirit of Monty Python (*Life of Brian*) what does Trump owe to his enemies? Trump undeniably owes Obama and Bill Clinton his licences to kill afforded by drone warfare, unconditional bank bailouts, habitual deference to market ideologues, unchecked military expenditure, failures to roll back mass surveillance and police state authority, and promotion of temporary and part-time jobs which comprised 90% of Obama's vaunted job creation. Nothing in Hilary's policy creed countered any of the foregoing list.

Trump's tax plan is nothing but a Reagan repeat that raises taxes on working families and cuts taxes for the rich, which will generate deficits everyone but the rich eventually will pay for. His infrastructure plan is a nifty corporate giveaway and a stealth privatization scheme. Trump's repatriation holiday for overseas corporate cash troves, Craig Whitney notes, is "going go into buybacks that will pump up the equities bubble", which is not what Trump backers anticipated. Trump filled the White House with minions from Goldman Sachs, an outfit Trump denounced on the campaign trail and one that delights in swindling citizens at home and abroad. One million fewer Americans are at work than before the Great Recession while the conventional 9-to-5 job with benefits rapidly is becoming a thing of the past. None of these nasty facts are easy to hide, and recall that only 27% of eligible voters voted Trump.

The next four years threaten to be volatile, painful and fascinating as any crummy soap opera. The notion that "the worse things are, the better they are" never persuaded us, but now we must see if it might be true. In 1930 economist John Maynard Keynes ruefully scribbled that for a while longer "we must pretend to ourselves and to everyone that fair is foul and foul is fair." Isn't the time just about up on that one? [24]

16: In search of an alternative to Trumpdom

Let us fight for an alternative to barbarism, argued Lindsey German [25] -

- 1) The electoral college system is against real democracy, as we see by the fact that Trump won a lower share of the popular vote but is still president!
- 2) This is an election which Clinton and the Democrats lost, rather than Trump winning. After all Trump's vote was lower than the two previous Republican Candidates, but Clinton lost far more votes in comparison with Obama. Why did this happen?
The rust belt states of, America voted for Trump, against Clinton's expectations, having seen massive deindustrialisation, the moving of jobs out of the US and an appalling decrease in wages which leaves working people much worse-off than in the 1970s.
- 3) Trump is a vile demagogue whose racism and sexism is never far from the surface. This (mal)administration has to be opposed from day one and has to be forced to retreat on every issue, as it has no moral grounds though, in technical terms only it has a semblance of legitimacy.
- 4) The desire of the US ruling class is both to contain and co-opt Trump and this is quite evident. Many voted for him with expectation that there would be change.

The biggest single reason for supporting him is the expected economic change, in other words well-paid jobs and a future for their children. In all probability this would in the near future turn in to a distant dream or a mirage.

- 5) Many voted for him from racist motives. In fact, it is one of the main ways that the ruling classes internationally hope to divide and weaken the working class. So the scapegoating of immigrants and campaigns against Islamophobia must be resisted at all costs.
- 6) It must also be seen as a cry of rage against what has happened within the framework of neo-liberalism under the aegis of Bush-Thatcherite axis of the global capitalism.
- 7) The result is to be viewed as an indictment of Obama's failure and wrongfulness of US policies.
- 8) Fascism is the price that the working class pay for not having made the revolution. The opposition to the governments and the establishment must be based on some consistent policies and these must be socially relevant, meaningful and organised within the working class; they must not be led by only blunt craze for power by any means, by hook or by crook. Ideology must be the basis for either support or opposition. Those who denounce the Trump vote as all racist are simply ignoring the fatal threat of Fascism, as was the case on the BREXIT issue in UK.
- 9) On a global scale, the neoliberal form has come to a dead end and it can see no shortcut to, or way out of the crisis.
- 10) The fight against Trump, the Tories, the Modis, the Maya-Mamatas, Nawajsharifs etc have to be political commitment to really revolutionary changes in structures of the societies which will bring an alternative to barbarism.

17: Shall Trump- Modi- Xi- Abe Combine could restore world-order?

U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson's speech on relations with India on October 18 was ambitious in scope and sought to define it for the "next hundred years," when both countries will be "standing firm in defence of a rules-based order." The speech has been received with justifiable enthusiasm among well-wishers of India. There is absolutely no two opinion about the desirability of long-standing commitments between the two big democracies, notwithstanding the challenges of social frictions and illiberal tendencies that they both currently face.

On schedule

For some context to the speech by Mr. Tillerson, who is currently on a South Asian visit, it would be appropriate to recall the following. Five days earlier, on October 13, President Donald Trump destabilised an international agreement that the U.S., the four other UN Security Council members and Germany had reached with Iran; on October 12, Mr. Tillerson himself had conveyed to the head of UN-ESCO the U.S. decision to quit the organisation. In the first nine months of the Trump administration, other international commitments that the U.S. had unilaterally reneged on include the Paris climate agreement and the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement. The North American Free Trade Agreement is gasping for breath; and treaty allies South Korea, Japan and Germany have been threatened for trade surplus with America.

The rest of the world might think that the world order has been designed to America's advantage but Mr. Trump has been categorical that he is committed to dismantling it – because he is convinced that America does not benefit from it. To understand his, and his administration's, views on the issue, and to look for signs of what to expect now, we need to take a collective view of three events that happened over the last four weeks. Mr. Trump's first speech to the UN General Assembly; the annual meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF); and the Chinese Communist Party's 19th Congress in Beijing.

The UN, the World Bank and the IMF have been the instruments of American hegemony for decades. What is relevant to the current context is the last three decades. The collapse of the Soviet Union was validation for the U.S. of the power of market economy and liberal democracy. The globalising world required a gradual depreciation of the concept of national sovereignty, including the U.S.'s own, its liberals and conservatives agreed, though not from entirely overlapping perspectives. Promotion of market economy and democracy, defence of human rights and

environment, etc were assumed to be part of the U.S.'s global hegemony. The U.N. and the World Bank-IMF became instruments of this American authority over the world. The World Bank and IMF through aggressive promotion of neoliberal economics, and the UN through its non proliferation, climate protection, and Responsibility to Protect doctrines expanded the rules of the new order that chipped away at national sovereignty. The U.S. and its camp followers bankrolled these institutions. Moreover, the U.S.'s own example of prosperity – “the shining city upon a hill,” according to Ronald Reagan – would lead the rest of the world to accept its model of democracy and market economy, it was assumed.

There has been a few drastic changes in the pursued paradigms of the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Neo-liberalism is no longer the core credo or guiding compass of these two institutions which are on the road to redistributive measures by the Governments with imposition of higher taxes on the rich which would help to combat the level of inequality. Both created by the market these institutions have eschewed their trickle-down growth dogma. The Trump administration is of the view that the USA is spending too much for these two organisations and the UN. Two things that the world now needs very much right now are super strong global leadership and an embrace of multi lateral approaches to solve difficult problems and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is both of these things. Obviously the Chinese model under the totalitarian political hegemony is extremely opposed to western liberalism.

Chinese president Xi raised in last week a slogan “Make China great again” at the party congress. And Mr. Trump in his inaugural speech raised the similar slogan “Make America great again” Indian leaders vociferously assert repeatedly that a strong US and American leadership are in India's interest, the history of that dynamic is more layered and nuanced. Still, the space for New Delhi's global ambition is created come by America's retreat. It was the US that forced China to NSG waiver for nuclear commerce for India and forced Pakistan into resolving the Kargil conflict. The Trump administration is totally averse to the ‘world order’ manifested by Trump's total repudiation of global climate change treaties. The non-participation in climatic accord and denial of climate deals open avenues for India's dreams for growing as a leading power under the aegis of Mr Narendra Modi who is also championing the slogans of great and good India with a democratic set-up. No power vacuum in the global arena could be sustained for a long time. So, in the event of American abdication of its global role vis-a-vis. North Korean nuclear bellicosity the onus would rest on the Sino-Pak-Indian-Japanese axis under the leadership of Mr Abe and Mr Xi [26].

18: Conclusion

Society today may outwardly appear to be totally calm from outside and surface. And the country (the USA) may seem to be far from any major revolution right now. But because of gross social inequality and war (racial + religious) discontent, social unrest and tension also bubbling under the surface calm. Historically it always happens that the froth of public disappointment, discontent bubbling beneath the surface erupt out of a period of apparent calm and sometimes even of utter disappointment, dejection and gross demoralisation when it seems often that nothing is going to change on an immediate basis. But on 25 Feb 1917 The Tsar took a firm decision to repress the general strike in Russian strike in Russia for demand for bread, jobs and land that had developed days earlier in solidarity with women's demonstrations for bread in the Russian capital Petrograd.

Military units were on the high alert and rapid movements for suppressing the demonstrators and the Tsar was forced to abdicate a week later. This celebration of power of ordinary working class people and their ability to change the course of history would also storm the heaven someday in USA.

At times it happens in history. Any of the domestic parties in country is not ready for any uprising. But the popular outburst of discontent occurs in the midst of the days of utter confusion, disorganized masses despite repression by the ruling regime – be it Putin, Obama or Trump. Renounced historians, intellectuals, writers, activists aroused a passion for movements – sustained both short term and long term – that would surely arise in response to Donald Trump's extremely

reactionary presidency in USA. The level of mobilisation in all the States of America is unprecedented and akin to the 1960s and 1970s spanning the period of anti Vietnam war in America. Movements that raise their heads today almost on a local basis shall have to learn a lot from the resistance movements of the Arab Springs a, Wall Street movements i.e. from global experiences. And a solid organisation with principled policies and protracted actions shall have to be built up for recovery from the Trump's executive orders and anti-people policies of the Trump government [27].

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