

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE US FOREIGN POLICY ON CHINA:

TRUMP OR NIXON?¹

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ABSTRACT

After the Cold War, global and regional security perceptions changed and, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States declared a unipolar world order. The US has closely followed the shift of global capital from the west to the east, while not being indifferent to the economic development of the post-1990 Asia-Pacific region. In this period, as in the Cold War era, Moscow and Beijing continued to be two important centers in Central Asia. Central Eurasia's strategic balances have changed radically with the settlement of the United States as another major force in the region after September 11, 2001. In Central Asia, instead of a bipolar system consisting of China and Russia, a three-polar balance, including the US, has begun to emerge. After the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, the US rapprochement with Russia and China has not been very effective due to the insecurities coming from the past. Détente policies between United States and China, which began during Nixon's presidency, turned into the opposite with Donald Trump election. Trump believes that the real threat to the US is China rather than Russia. However, no improvement could be detected in the American Russian during Donald Trump's presidency.

Keywords: United States, China, Russia, Nixon, Trump

ABD ÇİN DIŐ POLİTİKASI'NİN DÖNÜŐÜMÜ: TRUMP VEYA NIXON?

ÖZET

Sovyetler Birliđi'nin yıkılmasıyla birlikte Sođuk Savaş sona ermiŐ, Amerika BirleŐik Devletleri tek kutuplu dünya düzenini ilan etmiŐ ve küresel/bölgesel güvenlik algıları deđiŐmiŐtir. Sođuk Savaş sonrası Asya-Pasifik bölgesindeki ekonomik kalkınmaya kayıtsız kalamayan ABD, küresel sermayenin batıdan dođuya dođru kaymasını yakından takip etmiŐtir. Bu dönemde de Moskova ve Pekin, Sođuk Savaş döneminde olduđu gibi Orta Asya'da iki önemli merkez olmaya devam etmiŐtir. 11 Eylöl saldırılarından sonra ise bölgeye baŐka bir büyük güc olan ABD'nin yerleŐmesiyle birlikte, Asya ve Pasifik bölge dengeleri kökünden deđiŐmiŐtir. Asya-Pasifik bölgesinde artık Çin ve Rusya'dan oluŐan ikili bir sistem yerine, ABD'nin de dahil olduđu üç kutuplu bir denge oluŐmaya baŐlamıŐtır. 11 Eylöl 2001 tarihinde ABD'ye yapılan terörist saldırılardan sonra Rusya ve Çin ile karŐılıklı atılan yakınlaŐma adımları eskiden gelen güvensizlik durumundan dolayı çok etkili olmamıŐtır. Yine Nixon'ın başkanlıđı döneminde baŐlayan ABD-Çin yumuŐama politikaları Donald Trump'ın başkan seçilmesiyle birlikte tersine dönmüŐtür. Trump, ABD'ye karŐı asıl tehdidin Rusya yerine Çin olduđunu düşünürken bu süreçte de Rusya ile olan iliŐkilerini çok iyi duruma getirdiđi söylenemez.

Anahtar Kelimeler: ABD, Çin, Rusya, Nixon, Trump

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INTRODUCTION

In the bipolar world order after the World War II, an unsigned article was published in Foreign Affairs Magazine in July 1947, in order to disrupt the USSR's expansionist policies and to prevent the communist bloc from becoming stronger. Ministry of Foreign Affairs' USSR adviser, George F. Kennan's first reflection of the "containment policy", which was raised with the suggestion of "controlling the expansionist tendencies of the Russians, surrounded by a long-term but unshakable and vigilant policy," was seen in the US foreign policy with the Truman Doctrine, in anticipation of the softening or collapse of the regime in the USSR.³ Truman has published a series of principles to save the rest of the world's nations from the communist's paw. Depending on these series of principles, a broad economic and military aid plan has been prepared for countries under the threat of the USSR. This plan will be referred to as the "Marshall Plan" since George C. Marshall appointed him as Minister of Foreign Affairs after retiring from the US Army General Staff in the Second World War.⁴

1. MAO'S CHINA'S DEBUT ON STAGE

Korean peninsula liberated from Japanese occupation after the Second World War, starting with West Germany, the Balkans, Turkey, the Middle East, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkistan, South China and was seen as the last link of the belt extending from Indochina.

The United States, indirectly or directly supporting the anti-Communist elements in the countries over this generation, aimed to strengthen the US against the USSR on the global scale by removing the possibility of the "Domino Effect" by taking the Soviet Union.⁵ However, before touching on this first hot theme of the Cold War, it is necessary to spot light that era's China.

After Mao's "Great March" during the civil war between 1931 and 1937, warm relations developed between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the USSR.⁶ Following the surrender of Japan, the coalition of the CCP - Kuomintang (Nationalist Party of China or MCP); which was established in China; collapsed in late 1947, and it remarked the beginning of China's last major civil. Mao and the CCP, who controlled most of the Northern region against the Kuomintang led by Chiang Kai-Shek, who endorsed by the US in the south, could only receive indirect support from the USSR. In 1949, following the battle loss Chiang Kai-Shek had to retreat to Taiwan Island following the battle loss and Mao's CCP, who took control of the mainland, officially proclaimed that establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) (Lynch 2010).

³ Kennan, G. F. (1987). The Sources Of Soviet Conduct. *Foreign Affairs*, 65(4), 852-868

⁴ Eichengreen, B., & Uzan, M. (1992). The Marshall Plan: Economic Effects And Implications For Eastern Europe and The Former USSR. *Economic Policy*, 7(14), 13-75.

⁵ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/domino-theory>

⁶ Zhang, C., & Vaughan, C. E. (2002). *Mao Zedong as poet and revolutionary leader: Social and historical perspectives*. Lexington Books.

From this date on, Stalin's USSR and Mao's People's Republic of China have started to establish very close military, economic, and ideological relations.⁷ While the USSR provided economic and technological support to both the agriculture and infrastructure of the youth People's Republic of China, it also became the first supplier of arms. The Beleaguer Operation, launched by the United States in the end of World War II, was a wide-scale evacuation operation in the northeast China. This operation aim was ensuring that the Japanese and Koreans who were left on Chinese land after the war would return to their countries and provide Americans life and property security. Between 1945 and 1949, the US forces had entered into many hot clashes with the Communist Militants, ensuring that thousands of foreign nationals could be safely evacuated. This operation can be recognized as the direct first encounter of the Chinese Communist Party and the United States. After this successful operation, the US conciliation efforts failed to reach an agreement between the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party through diplomatic means.⁸

2. FIRST CONTACT IN KOREA

When it came to 1950, the new order was established which was the new two superpowers of the world and the emerging power People's Republic of China taking place as main actors. These actors' first hot battle in the Cold War would be the Korean War. Under the leadership of Kim II Sung, the North government launched a comprehensive occupation campaign against South Korea to unite Korea under the communist bloc. This operation was governed by the USSR according to Truman and was the first step of the USSR - China joint expansion plan. Truman have called for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council and offered a comprehensive resolution, condemning North Korea's aggression and urging the immediate withdrawal to the 38th latitudes' north.⁹ The draft passed through the UN Security Council by 9 acceptance 1 abstentions (Yugoslavia abstained).The USSR was unable to veto the bill because the USSR at the time had drawn its representatives from the UNSC, objecting to the fact that the People's Republic of China was not represented at the United Nations (UN).¹⁰ At the same time, General MacArthur, who commanded the occupation troops command in Japan, had already been ordered to help South Korea with supplies. In the later days of the war, on June 27, when South Korea gradually lost power, the US plan to support South Korea in the UNSC was adopted by 1 against 7 votes. North Korea was driven to the south of the 38th latitude by the eighth squadron stationed in Taiwan and the task force under the UN order, but Commander MacArthur wanted more, he wanted to unite the South and the North.¹¹

⁷ Westad, O. A. (1998). *Brothers in Arms: The Rise And Fall Of The Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1945-1963*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

⁸ Burton, R. L. (2014). *Taming the Red Dragon: Peace Operations in North China*. Army Command and General Staff College Fort Leavenworth KS School Of Advanced Military Studies.

⁹ Spanier, J. W. (1959). *The Truman-MacArthur Controversy and the Korean War*. Belknap Press.

¹⁰ Resolution Report of UNSC S/RES/82 (1950) <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/1950.shtml>

¹¹ Ibid.

He moved the occupation to the Chinese border. China, which had remained indifferent to war and focused on Taiwan, started to actively support North Korea, as it is explained earlier, because it considers the United States and the pro-Western united Korea a threat. In parallel, on October 25, 1950, hundreds of thousands of Chinese volunteer militias' gathered under the name of China's People's Volunteer Army and entered the Republic of Korea. ÇHGO that stopped the US-led task force with these incessant, disordered and intense support, has repelled the UN task force until south of the 38th latitude but the the recovered coalition attacked again and managed to fix the front around the 38th latitude.¹² During this war, the United States has tried to destroy the Communist Party power in the People's Republic of China several times and MacArthur offered even to use the atom bomb. After this war, western allies invested in the deterrent of atomic power and caused them to realize the importance of conventional military power. The protected two-part Korea has become a buffer zone between China and the United States, with South Korea fully penetrating into the United States.

3. BAMBOO CURTAIN

After the resolution of the Korean problem in 1953 a new crisis broke out between the People's Republic of China and the United States; "Taiwan Strait Crisis". The Communist China - Nationalist China (People's Republic of China - Republic of China War) struggle continued after the defeat of Chiang Kai Shek in 1949 and his withdrawal to Taiwan Island. In September 1954, some of the islands under the control of the Taiwanese administration of the People's Republic of China occupied and it has become a hot battle again.¹³ The war deepened by the US navy's opposition to the occupation movement of the Taiwan Navy and the People's Republic of China. These maritime border conflicts, which lasted for nearly eight months, ended in May 1955, resulting in the signing of the China-Taiwan Mutual Defense Agreement between the United States and Taiwan. As a result, following South Korea, Taiwan was officially added to the "Bamboo Curtain" formed on the Southeast and East Asia line against the "Iron Curtain". Bamboo Curtain or anti-communist southern block was not as solid and long-winded as the Iron Curtain. After the 1st Indochina War which started in 1946, while France was drawing back, abandoned the administration of Laos and Cambodia to the anticommunist monarchies. In 1954, Vietnam was largely shaped by its division into two, the Communist North and the Anti Communist South Vietnam, on the 17th latitude border.¹⁴

After the death of Stalin towards the end of the Indo-Chinese War, Khrushchev came to power and the era of "De-Stalinisation" began with sharp policy changes in the USSR. The political tendency to decrease the tension between the West and the East and to increase the dialog gradually began with the approach of "Peaceful Coexistence". The two great powers of the Iron Curtain were based on this policy change on the basis of the ideological differences between the USSR and the People's Republic of China¹⁵.

¹² Hastings, M. (2012). *The Korean War*. Pan Macmillan.

¹³ Chen, L. C., & Lasswell, H. (1967). *Formosa, China and the United Nations: Formosa in the World Community*.

¹⁴ Irving, R. E. M. (1975). *The First Indochina War: French and American Policy, 1945-54*. Croom Helm.

¹⁵ Lüthi, L. M. (2010). *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in The Communist World*. Princeton University Press.

4. SINO-CHINA SPLIT

The main reason behind the escalation of the ideological divisions between the two giants of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China under the Mao leadership was the fact that China's increased influence in Central and Southeast Asia and the desire of being the super power with Mao's Three Worlds Theory alongside the US and Soviet Union¹⁶. In fact, Chinese diplomats up to three years ago spoke of the "Peaceful Coexistence" that Khrushchev had emphasized, and they gained the appreciation from the communist bloc because of their contributions to the efforts in Asia. Nikita Khrushchev continued to expand its economic and political alliance with China. Kruşçev announced the list of KGB agents who were stationed in China during Stalin term at the visit to China in 1954. Relations went further¹⁷. During the visit, it was decided to sign various trade agreements, giving additional loans to China for its economic development, and making fifteen industrial projects funded by Soviet Union¹⁸ (Lorenz 2008, p.40). Thousands of Soviet economists and hundreds of political advisors were sent to help China. However, according to some authors, the meeting between the two leaders was not entirely positive during Khrushchev's visit to China. According to this; Mao found Khrushchev's personality arrogant during the negotiations and did not like Khrushchev¹⁹ (Lorenz 2008, p.39). At the 20th Congress of the Soviet Union's Communist Party (CPSU), Khrushchev condemned Stalin and brought serious criticism, as well as a serious question for the Chinese Communist Party and Leader Mao, who shaped their policies according to Stalin's principles and policies.²⁰ The Stalinist politics of Mao and the Chinese Communist Party quickly began to be questioned in the Communist Bloc. The initial reactions to Khrushchev's statements would come directly from the revolts in Hungary and Poland. China has openly criticized Khrushchev's policies and announced that China will continue to apply Stalin's policies. The period from 1950-60 can be described as the period when the ideological seeds of the separation of the USSR and the People's Republic of China was laid.²¹

By the year 1960, the communist bloc was now in two poles. Supporters of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), which Mao accused as "Revisionist Agent", and China, which maintains Stalin policies. China's reaction to the re-adoption of Tito-led Yugoslavia by Khrushchev into the communist bloc, and China's decision to give economic and technological support to Albania under the leadership of Enver Hoca, which China described as "true socialist" after Soviet Russia suspended relations with Albania, show these separations²².

¹⁶ Mao, Z. (1998). Mao Zedong on Diplomacy. Foreign Languages Press.

¹⁷ Luthi, Lorenz (2008). "Historical Background, 1921-1955". *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. pp. 40-41.

¹⁸ Luthi, Lorenz (2008). "Historical Background, 1921-1955". *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press., p.40

¹⁹ Luthi, Lorenz (2008). "Historical Background, 1921-1955". *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press., p.39

²⁰ Khrushchev, N. S. (1956). Special report to the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. *New Leader ed. titled "The Crimes of the Stalin Era, S58-59.*

²¹ Ibid.

²² Hacaoğlu, Y. (1973). Günümüzde Çin. Ankara: Ufuk Ajansı Yayınları. P: 139

In 1962, a new tension between the two states was ignited by switching a group of 60,000 people from the Uyghur and Kazakh minorities to the Soviet lands because of Stalinist policies implemented by Mao and the Chinese Communist Party.

Negotiations had begun on redrawing borders due to border violations. China was constantly insisting on returning to the 19th century borders, in fact demanding land. The USSR opposed it. These border conflicts would have peaked in 1964, when the two countries regularly had reinforced their border troops and on March 2, 1969, it would turn into a hot battle on Zhenbao Island on the Ussuri River. The use of atomic bombs in the USSR came up, but with the intervention of the US and Western countries, the issue has been resolved through diplomatic channels.²³

5. CUBA MISSILE CRISIS

When we returned to 1962, this time a new crisis, which is going to deeply shake the world, broke out between the two superpowers US and USSR. Cuba, that changed their administration into socialism, under the leadership of Fidel Castro, was laying on the US below border as a representative of the Iron Curtain. Although the US tried to overthrow this administration with the 1961 Bay of Pigs Invasion, it did not succeed. On October 16, 1962, according to the documents presented to the US President Kennedy the Soviet missiles, which began to be placed in Cuba. However, some parts still had to be delivered to the island to make these missiles operate. On October 22, 1962, President Kennedy made the decision to attack Cuba from the sea into siege without consulting the UN, NATO and OAS. Soviet ships were approaching to Cuba. Khrushchev had declared that he will not orders the ships to return, which led to tension escalation.²⁴ On October 27, Kruschev has committed to dismantle the missiles from Cuba in case of disassembly of the US stationed Jupiter missiles from Turkey in his letter. In response, Kennedy said that if the missiles in Cuba would be dismantled, blockade against Cuba would be terminated and Cuba would not be invaded.²⁵ The crisis ended on 28 October due to mutual correspondence. However, this crisis led to serious tremors and road divergences in both the West and the East Bloc. NATO member countries, especially France, accused the United States of being irresponsible. It was the beginning of the process of France's departure from NATO's military wing in 1966 and the establishment of a "Western European Coalition" to mediate between the two superpowers. On the other hand, China accused the USSR of "betrayal of the revolutionary case", and in the USSR, Khrushchev's power was reduced claiming adventurism.²⁶

²³ Kuisong, Y. (2000). The Sino-Soviet Border Clash of 1969: From Zhenbao Island to Sino-American Rapprochement. *Cold War History*, 1(1), 21-52.

²⁴ Kennedy, R. F. (2011). *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of The Cuban Missile Crisis*. WW Norton & Company.

²⁵ Yavuz, T. (1999). Satılık müttefik: gizli belgeler ışığında 1962 Küba Füze Krizi ve Türkiye. Dogan Kitap P.117

²⁶ Ibid.

6. INDIA – CHINA BORDER CRISIS AND NEW BALANCES

In the days when the Cuban Missile Crisis erupted, relations between India and China broke down because of India's criticism of China's Tibetan policy, the Dalai Lama refugee intake into India, and two years of negotiations were blocked.²⁷ During the war, both the US-led West Bloc and the USSR in Khrushchev's administration supported India. This conflict is one of the major events of the Soviet-Chinese split. On the other hand, two superpowers that came to the brink of nuclear war in the Missile Crisis, the USSR and the US, shared a common attitude towards the People's Republic of China regarding India issue.²⁸ These disagreements between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China has peaked diplomatically with Mao accusing Khrushchev and the Soviet Union of "counter-revolution" and the members of The Warsaw Pact ended their relations with the People's Republic of China.²⁹

7. VIETNAM WAR

With the entrance of US soldiers to Vietnam War or II. Indochinese war, the second hot conflict of the Cold War and a new tension between US-China relations took place. During the first war in 1955, the Vietnamese communists ensured that the country was divided into two parts, just like Korea and acquired their demands from France. Communist North Vietnam started guerrilla operations by establishing the Vietcong in South Vietnam a few years later. In this region known as Bamboo Curtain, both the Red Khmers in Komboya, Pathet Lao in Laos and Vietcong in South Vietnam, with China's support, it was a major threat to the anti-communist and Pro-Western governments.³⁰ In the first place, only the US military force existed in the region to train the South Vietnamese army, the Brinks Hotel attack in 1964 and the attacks in the Tonkin Gulf were actively involved in the hot battle following the bombing of northern Vietnam by President Lyndon B. Johnson's intervention decision.³¹ The struggle has continued in the first term of Nixon. After heavy losses in the conflicts, the US would have drawnd, as a result of Henry Kissinger efforts, who was foreign minister in 1973, in the framework of the Nixon Doctrine. Henry Kissinger will be deemed worthy of an award Nobel Peace Prize in the same year because of his diplomatic efforts for the reach a solution for Vietnam War.³² Although the war appears to be a result of US-Chinese conflict, it spotlighted the prespective differences of USSR-China regarding the civil war. In the following years, the "Culture Revolution", which took place in China in the same years with the China-Vietnamese border conflicts, took its place in history as another important sub-title of the USSR-China seperation.³³

²⁷ Liu, X. (1994). *The Sino-Indian Border Dispute and Sino-Indian Relations* (p. 21). Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Berman, Larry (1989). *Lyndon Johnson's War: The Road to Stalemate in Vietnam*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Kissinger, H., & Wellings, V. (1977). *American Foreign Policy*. Royal Victorian Institute for the Blind Tertiary Resource Service..

³³ <https://www.britannica.com/event/Cultural-Revolution>

The United States Foreign Affairs Commission published the reasons for the difference of opinion of the USSR-China in 1965 as follows³⁴:

- *In the struggle through management of the communist bloc and communist movement in the world, China, especially in Asia, aims to lead the communist movement.*
- *There is debate between Moscow and Beijing on ideological struggle for progressive and revolutionary methods and tactics for achieving the common goal (goal of world communist victory).*
- *China claims to be a great state at the same level as the Soviet Union and the United States.*
- *The Soviet Union is acting selfish about technological development and does not provide enough economic support to China.*
- *The Soviet Union refused to support China in its armed conflict with India.*
- *There is a spiritual gap that arises from the different cultures between the Soviet Union and China.*

8. PING-PONG DIPLOMACY OF NIXON AND CHINA'S INTEGRATION

Nixon's presidential term was coinciding with the "Detente" of the Cold War era. During his presidency, Nixon firstly reduced the number of US abroad troops, within the frame of the Nixon Doctrine with his foreign policy advisor Henry Kissinger, withdrew the US troops from Vietnam. In Vietnam and similar situations, he preferred to provide military assistance and economic support to current allies in the conflict zones, instead of direct military intervention.³⁵ The Nixon Doctrine is similar to the Truman Doctrine, which President Truman declared right after the Cold War. The Chinese government, which wanted to develop relations with the US against rising Japan in the region, invited the US Ping-pong team in Japan to China in the period when the United States began withdrawing troops from Vietnam. (1 April 1971).³⁶ China has stepped up the normalization process by allowing seven western journalists to participate in this invitation. On the same day, US President Richard Nixon announced that he would lift the commercial embargo on China and give visas to Chinese citizens seeking to come to the United States.³⁷ This visit of the American table tennis team has coined a new term the "Ping-pong Diplomacy" to diplomatic history by making an impact on relations between the two countries³⁸. Nixon visited Beijing in February 1972 and resumed diplomatic relations suspended since the Korean War. Then, in May 1972, his visit to the USSR remarked the first US president to visit the USSR. During this visit, an agreement was signed between the two countries to limit the production of nuclear weapons.³⁹

³⁴ Hacaoğlu, Y. (1973). *Günümüzde Çin*. Ankara: Ufuk Ajansı Yayınları, p. 138-139

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ DeVoss, D. A. (2002). *Ping Pong Diplomacy*. *Smithsonian Magazine*.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Sander, O. (2005). *Siyasi Tarih 1918-1994*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.

³⁹ Dallek, R. (2007). *Nixon and Kissinger: Partners in power*. New York: Harper Collins.

These diplomatic steps were taken to prevent the tension in the USSR-China relationship, which started in the Khrushchev era and led the communist block to the roadside, to enter the process of re-normalization and rapprochement along with the 70s and to separate the two great powers of the block.

Nixon's and Kissinger's policy towards China has been one of the most important achievements of the "Detente" era in terms of opening China's gates to the world and its integration with the western society. In Kissinger and Chou En-Lai private meetings, the sharing of their fears regarding Japan's aggressive industrialization move and the possibility of reaching its former economic and military power and informing China about Soviet military presence, are the indication of the United States' efforts to improve the relations with China. On the other hand, US has declared that they would not support the claims of Taiwan's independence and accepted the "One China" policy, also declared that Taiwan belongs to the People's Republic of China.⁴⁰ Thus, in the international arena, the struggle for Taiwan, which had lasted for many years, ended in favor of China. After announcing that the United States had stopped diplomatic relations with Taiwan, had canceled the "Joint Defense Agreement" and with the withdrawal of troops from the island in 1979, China was drawing tangible results. After Mao's death, Deng Xiaoping accelerated the reforms in China through the influence of the diplomatic initiatives of Kissinger, who remained the foreign affairs minister until 1979 after Nixon resigned. In addition, it brought foreign investors into the country and was a pioneer of the radical changes in China at the time with the support of leaders such as US President Jimmy Carter and Margaret Thatcher.⁴¹ During the meetings, which restarted During Nixon's presidency; had revealed that China and the U.S had the same reaction towards USSR, even though it was for different reasons. The U.S and China apolitical approach efforts had paved the way for economic and cultural relations developments. Agreements done at the time had generally meant that china in being integrated in the global system, it became clearer in 2000s.⁴²

Thus, the US was reorganizing the global order by choosing the giant Chinese as a "partner" with the population, the geography it covered and the development potential it had during the Cold War. Because of these reasons, this initiative of the United States is perhaps one of the warmest attempts of the Cold War years. China-US relations continued in 1982 with the US stopping the sale of arms to Taiwan and developing mutual visits by US President Ronald Reagan and Chinese President Li Xiannian. The compatibility between the two states also manifested itself in the attitudes of the USSR against the Afghan intervention in 1979. While the US supported countries such as Pakistan and Saudi Arabia have provided economic and logistical support to the Mujahideen, China has also supported Maoist Afghans who have shown resistance against the Soviets indirectly⁴³.

⁴⁰ Copper, J. F. (1992). *China Diplomacy: The Washington-Taipei-Beijing Triangle*. Westview Press.

⁴¹ Saray, A. G. M. O., & Gökdemir, L. (2007). Çin Ekonomisinin Büyüme Aşamaları (1978-2005). *Journal of Yaşar University*, 2(7), 661-686.

⁴² Kuhn, Robert Lawrence.(2005). *The Man Who Changed China: The Life and Legacy of Jiang Zemin*.New York: Crown Publishers.

⁴³ Starr, S.F. (2004). *Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland*. New York: M.E.Sharpe

US President Reagan has also explicitly supported the so-called opposition groups in the region within the framework of his principles like Truman and Nixon.⁴⁴ He portrayed that when he hosted the Afghan Mujahideen in the White House.⁴⁵ The USSR, which was worn out economically and politically and was left alone during the 10-year war, would have completed the withdrawal process beginning with the 1988 Geneva Agreement by the end of 1989, but the process of dissolution of the USSR had started

The US-China relations, which were re-tensioned with the 1989 Tiananmen events, followed a more fragile and jerky course until China joined the World Trade Organization in 1999.⁴⁶ The crises, such as the visit of Taiwan leader Li Denghui to America, the shooting of the Chinese Embassy by NATO aircraft during the Yugoslavian War, were overcome by the sacrifices of Jiang Zemin and Bill Clinton.⁴⁷ There was no military or ideological tensions between the People's Republic of China, which had almost completed its integration into the world economic and political system after 1999, and the US, except for the 2001 EP-3 scout plane crash.

After the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, Washington's relations with Russia and China began to get a bit more complicated. In this new era, rapprochement and cooperation from one side become a common discourse, while the distrust of each of the three major powers against each other is still felt.

The September 11 attacks led to the introduction of the "preventive war" or "pre-emptive strike" strategy called the Bush Doctrine. Accordingly, "terrorism" and "countries supporting terrorism through the development of nuclear weapons" are targeted in this context; the US briefly describes the foreign policy strategy in March 2003:⁴⁸

- Fight against terrorism and dictatorship.
- The US is a hegemonic power for world peace.
- Democracy and human rights need to spread in a liberal world order.

With this foreign policy strategy, the United States emphasized on being the only leader in the world and underlined that it had no intention to share it. In the new foreign policy of the United States, they had chosen a One pole strategy.

⁴⁴ Lagon, M. P. (1994). *The Reagan Doctrine: Sources of American Conduct in the Cold War's Last Chapter*. Praeger Pub Text.

⁴⁵ Rubin, M. (2002). Who is Responsible For The Taliban. *Middle East Review Of International Affairs*, 6(1), 1-16.

⁴⁶ Lampton, D. M. (2001). *Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing US-China Relations, 1989-2000*. University of California Press.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee. (2002). Foreign Policy Aspects of The War Against Terrorism. *Second Report of Session, 2003*.

Despite this policy of the United States, the September 11 terrorist attacks and subsequent developments have led to the convergence of the two countries. China sees fundamentalism as a threat to its political system and supports the US occupation of Afghanistan in the UN Security Council. Because China considers that al-Qaeda and the Taliban support the Muslim-Uighur minority, whose population is eight-and-a-half million, and revolts against the central government.⁴⁹

Despite this, China thinks that the US sees itself as a rival and wants to prevent political, economic and military development.

After September 11, the US operations for al Qaeda terrorist organization increased the American military presence in both Afghanistan and Central Asia. There is widespread consensus that the US settlement in Central Asia aimed at balancing Russia and China, as well as restricting radical religious organizations.⁵⁰ China also believes that the US is in the region for the Caspian energy resources and wants to reduce its dependence on the Persian Gulf resources with projects like the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline as well as deactivate Russia and Iran, which it sees as rival states. Therefore, the settlement of the United States in the region further increased China's cooperation with Russia after 2001. With begin to develop the relations between the US and India, Beijing intends to develop both bilateral cooperation with Moscow within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, as well as bilateral cooperation on oil and gas.

9. OBAMA'S LEGACY AND TRUMP'S NEW CHINA POLICY

After Barack Obama took office, his definition of "an important partner" also "rival" for relations with China, also emphasizes on the political dimension as well as the commercial and economic dimension of the relations. Obama's main strategy for China has been to "The Asian Axis Strategy" to protect the interests and expand the influence of the United States against China's rise. In this context, the alliances with the countries in the region and the increase in military power in the region have led to China feeling itself surrounded by the US and its allies and taking preventive measures.

The main issues of US-Chinese relations was the North Korean and Iranian nuclear weapons development program, the solution of the Syrian problem, the relations with Taiwan, the disputes in the East and the South China Sea, the increase of the Yuan value, the compliance with WTO rules, the foreign direct investments, combat with climate change and human right abuses in the Obama term.⁵¹ The sanctions imposed on Iran in this period and the veto by China in the UN have been one of the important problems in relations. Another problem that arises is that China sees East Turkestan and Tibetan issues as its own internal issue. Furthermore, the US prefers to express these issues on the international platform.

⁴⁹ Davis, E. V. W. (2008). Uyghur Muslim Ethnic Separatism in Xinjiang, China. *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 35(1), 15-30.

⁵⁰ Ryan, M. (2004). Framing The War Against Terrorism: US Newspaper Editorials And Military Action in Afghanistan. *Gazette (Leiden, Netherlands)*, 66(5), 363-382.

⁵¹ <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/assessing-u-s-china-relations-under-the-obama-administration/>

On November 23, 2013, China announced a new air defense field. America had rejected this unilateral declaration and flew the bomber aircrafts in the airspace. China in its statement. Announced that new airspace rules must be followed; otherwise, extraordinary security measures would be taken.⁵²

Until 2014, relations were stretched nervously. Another dimension of the tension between China and the United States is the Chinese presence and artificial islands in the South China Sea. In fact, based on the development lies in the US policy of returning to the Asia-Pacific region. As is well known, the locomotive of the Chinese economy is exportation and therefore the security of the maritime routes is also very important for an export-oriented economy. On the contrary, China's industrial production structure is also foreign-dependent on raw materials and energy. This structure also promotes the safety of sea and air transportation routes. In other words, it is necessary for China to maintain the security of trade routes to feed its huge population, to maintain social balance and economic growth. In other words, the more China controlled this region, the more it feels secure.

In November 2016, the victory of Donald Trump in the US presidential election began to show signs that would disrupt the "rare" relationship between the two countries. Following Trump's election victory, the telephone conversation with the leader of Taiwan was seen to have shaken a delicate balance maintained for 37 years. The Chinese side strongly condemned this conversation, and in the relations between the two countries, the tension has been dominant in a way that has not been seen for a long time.⁵³

Trump was saying "What are we doing in Syria" before moving to the White House and he started to give classical examples of US intervention after he took the office. One of these examples are related to China. In other words, he realized that there is not much to be done while facing economic realities, The fact that Trump calls China as a "money manipulator", a "transgressor of One China policy" and in his speech that specified they will respond to China's presence in the Chinese Sea indicates that Trump's lack of information about the delicate management of relations with Beijing.

After Chinese leader Xi Jinping's two day official visit to the United States in April 2017, a signed agreement about "commercial relations" between the two countries is regarded as a new document indicating "warming" in the relations. As a result of the first 100-day plan, the contents of these recommendations offered by Xi to Trump are understood to be of some help for the "expansion of exports to China by the United States".⁵⁴

⁵² <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-usa-defence-idUSKBN16U0SB>

⁵³ <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/dec/03/trump-angers-beijing-with-provocative-phone-call-to-taiwan-president>

⁵⁴ <https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/president-trumps-first-100-days/>

CONCLUSION

Trump thinks that America's main threat to global hegemony now is China, not Russia. Trump's rapprochement with Russia is in a sense reversal of Nixon's foreign policy in the 1970s aimed at getting closer to the People's Republic of China against the Soviet Union. This creates both opportunities and challenges for Europe. The main problem is that Trump's policy is to have the world dominated by the United States, China and Russia pose a threat to neutralize global politics by pushing Europe to the edge.

However, Trump's 'Nixonization' action, which works in the opposite direction, creates problems in practice. This gives an opportunity to become Trump's new partner and filling a gap for Europe-instead of Russia- in Asia. Despite the colonialism history, the EU has succeeded in building deep and strong ties with Asian countries. The EU had responded with the move of creating its own axis and develop its ties in the region against Obama's "Asia Axis Policy". During the past decade, the EU has been able to place its strategic presence in Asia in a position that it can tackle its regional mediator role.

Trump administration's Russian policy is also unclear. Trump specified that he would act pragmatic and find a middle way in the meetings that he is going to make with Putin. On the contrary, Vice-President Pence and Defence Minister Mattis have made statements that they will maintain distance with Russia, and that they will continue to force Russia on issues about Ukraine and Crimea. Undoubtedly, in the medium term, the Trump administration has to make a choice between NATO and Putin. Most likely, they will not make any outrage to their European allies that they have historically strong ties. However, they do not want to damage relations with Russia against China. For these reasons, it would not be surprising that the Trump administration ignored some of Russia's expansionist moves on critical issues such as Syria. On the other hand, Trump's relations with Russia and Putin will continue to be a headache for him in domestic policy. Claims about Russian support in the process of Trump's election campaign and accusations of mutual espionage have led to the emergence of tensions in the relations between the two countries as during the Cold War period. The incident that ended the Nixon presidency was the 'Watergate scandal', a similar to the deception on Trump's election campaign (often referred to as Hillarygate in the press). Trump has not yet compromised its policy of rapprochement with Russia against China on the current judicial process and the danger of impeachment. However, with the 'economic wars' that started with tax increases and the crisis in G 7 caused for USA to confront with the EU countries. In addition, many countries, particularly the EU, have reacted to the decision of the Trump administration not to renew the nuclear agreement with Iran and to re-embark on Iran. Furthermore, the first argument of the convergence policy applied during the Nixon era was to integrate China with the world economic system and to separate China from the Soviet Bloc so that international capital could enter the country. The only authority he had received politically was the Taiwan administration. Today, the economic decisions taken by Trump to leave China alone are exactly the opposite of the Nixon's policies. Therefore, this situation causes the countries that supported US policies during that period to join the opposing side in the new equation. As a result, Trump's 'Denixonization' policy with China will be a diplomatic process that depends on many variables and actors while he is executing a policy with Russia like Nixon Era US-China rapprochement process.

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