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Relations, Problems and Issues in the 21st Century



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Assoc. Prof. Dr. A. İnci Sökmen Alaca

US-China Relationships: A New Cold War or Not?

Abstract: We are in a period in which the idea that the rise of China, the second economic power of the world, has become a threat to the US interests, and claims that this would lead to a new cold war, have increased as became more apparent during the Trump's ruling in the USA. The common point accepted in the political line in the USA is that China's strengthening its situation will create a problem for the position of the USA in the international system. However, this threat is exaggerated and those who do not want a new cold war like as it was with the Soviet Union, constitute the majority of people. Just like the USA, the European Union (EU) does not desire this war either as it would force them to choose either of the sides and bring further economic damage to the union. In this discussion, the topics on why China is perceived as a threat, whether it can actually become a global leader and the consequences for the international system if a cold war emerges, will be discussed.

Keywords: US Foreign Policy, China, Strategic Competition, New Cold War

1 Introduction

China, which was defined as a revisionist force together with the Russian Federation, in the 2017 National Security Strategy (National Security Strategy, 2017: 25) document of the Trump government, has become a superpower in the 21st century with its position in the world economy. Not only the competition with the USA, but the projects it has put into practice as a revisionist power, efforts to institutionalize on the new world economic order, assuming military, political and economic leadership in the Asian region where it is located, and transforming into a military power that is compatible with today's technologies in terms of military strength thanks to its economic strengthening and positioning it especially as a marine and space force, its intensive effort to become a leader in artificial intelligence can be argued as the causes behind this perception.

China started diplomatic activities with the US Nixon government in 1972, and implemented the process of opening up and reforming the economy with Deng Xiaoping after the founding leader Mao Zedung. China, having understanding at very early stages long before the collapse of the Soviet Union's economy in 1991 that such ideological economic model would not carry the country to the desired welfare level, has become a Marxist country that approaches to the West while the world was being shared by two different blocks. They stated that the US political

circles have provided all the necessary support both for weakening the Eastern bloc of that period and transforming China into a country similar to them.

Why does the USA today see China as its rival for a new cold war, despite of so much Western support? The answer to this question and also the main reason is the abusing of intensified bilateral relations by China, stealing the US data through economic, technological and military espionage and trying to gain superiority to the USA through the situation that arose after the data. FBI Director Christopher Wray even called the Communist country a “whole-of-society threat” (Perlez, 2019). It is also because China, in addition to this situation which initialized the trust towards it, desires to turn the process in its favor by supporting countries like Russia, Venezuela and Iran which the USA would like to impose some sanctions. It is stated by China that many actions that can completely destroy the mutual trust such as dumping practices that benefit it in foreign trade, making decisions for the use of alternative currencies in both foreign trade and energy products instead of dollars and military espionage have been performed by China. On the other hand adopting capitalist economy despite of having a single party Marxist regime in politics, contradicts “Manifest Destiny” policy in which the USA positions itself, meaning being superior to all world nations in terms of economic power, and spreading democracy and liberal values. It is also seen as a serious threat that the liberal world order will no longer be politically important in a possible international system under the leadership of China.

This discussion will examine the relations between the two countries through a new Cold War concept that is thought to emerge between China and the USA but at the same time has received serious criticism. In fact, the consequences of a new cold war for the international system and both states will be pointed out. First, the position of China in the international system, then the impact of the USA and possible cold war on the international system form the essence of this study.

2 China and Global Leadership

Barry Buzan, one of the scholars from the Copenhagen School, makes a top-down ranking of superpower-great power and regional power. The super power is a state that ensures international security, intervenes in every region either as an ally or as an intervener with the military power held, which is supported by the economic capacity (Buzan and Waever, 2003: 394). It is the country that has created and maintained the rules of the international system like a playmaker. It has universal values that can draw the international community to its side and can intervene in countries by using these values. China is a leader country in the East Asia region, where it is located, primarily based on its economic data, population and military power. According to some view, it can be considered as a country becoming competent on 1. Economic field (to be wealthy) 2. Technological field (To be able to dominate the developments in the field of energy and communication) 3. Monetary area (having a currency with international prestige which can be disposable) 4. Military field (land force with nuclear weapon and overseas

intervention capabilities) 5. Geographical area (sea transportation roads, water reserves, protecting energy resources outside the borders of the country) 6. Cultural area (having a universal culture willing to cooperate with the interests of others at national or religious level and attracting others) and 7. Diplomatic area; which are necessary for being a power center. When we evaluate China in terms of these criteria, it is considered as a power center.

The USA's strategic rival China has become a global power thanks to its position as the production center for the global economy, the world's largest population, the rapidly modernized military system, new technologies and successful operations in the field of the space. The country assuming the leadership of globalization in world economy, is the leader of the alternative block that is called emerging economies (E-7) (India, Brazil, Russia, Indonesia, Mexico and Turkey) and is associated with the BRICS. China is a country that has a foreign trade surplus in terms of economic data and with its income, it increases its national income per capita every year. If the population had not been the largest in the world, the national income could have shown a truly prosperous society with around 44,000 USD. However, being the world's production center, the export-based economy can generate low per capita income with increasing population. The first four banks based on the capital amount were the Chinese banks in the world bank ranking made by The Banker magazine operating under Financial Times according to July 2018 data (The Banker, 2018). With the Asia-Investment Development Bank, which was established on 25 December 2015, it tries to help developing countries by developing infrastructure investments within the framework of mutual win-win principle. While striving for the use of alternative currencies other than USD in international trade, it has succeeded in implementing many projects in Eurasia, Middle East and Africa in the field of energy. It is suggested that China, which implements statist capitalism along with a single-party system, to be a model for developing countries with its governance model.

Its characteristic of being a revisionist force stems from the fact that it has built its own political structures since its establishment in 1949. *Chinese interpretation of socialism* emerged with the revolution made based on the scientific worldview, the theory of proletarian revolution, the theory of socialism and the construction of communism of Marxism pioneered by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, putting the peasantry into the center. Nationalist Socialism, based on the peasantry, had become the main political form. Mao had defined the state he founded as a democratic people dictatorship based on the leadership of the working class and the alliance between the workers and peasants. Having a history of living as a colony of Western states, had brought the characteristic of being an anti-imperialist state. Mao Zedong, the founder of the People's Republic of China, who contradicted with USSR Leader Stalin because of his refusal to accept his leadership, achieved socialist modernization by gradually saving the country from underdevelopment. Chinese Communist Party's ruling dominates the political system. The founding leader Mao believed that, the people base, who believed in the regime, a solid party organization and a powerful and modernized army from the military perspective

were the natural resources necessary for the survival of the state (Junjian, Hua and Mian, 2018: 45–50). China is continued to be governed in line with these principles today.

Deng Xiaoping is the chief architect of China's socialist reform, international expansion and construction of modernization. In his theory called with his name, he proposed methods on how to build socialism in an economically and culturally underdeveloped country like China. Deng's reforms have been different from the Soviet Union system from the very beginning. Because it aims to open China to the world. By achieving four modernizations in agriculture, industry, national defense and science/technology, they managed to make the country, with the largest population in the world, the second largest economy in the world (Vogel, 2011: 94). They aim to become a strong, democratic, rich, contemporary, harmonious socialist country in 2049, which is the 100th anniversary of the People's Republic of China. Within the scope of the three-stage strategy, it is aimed to increase the gross domestic product continuously and rise the life of the people to the level of the middle-level developed countries (Bougon, 2017: 22).

Xi Jinping, who became the President of China in 2012, was known as a red prince (the name given to the children of the party leaders who made the revolution with Mao) (Bougon, 2017: 64). He took over many problems both internally and externally, like the slowdown in economic growth, increase in unemployment, inequality in income distribution, oligarchic power created by state-controlled companies, inadequate social health services, increasing dissatisfaction in the middle class, political corruption, intra-party conflicts, Xinjiang and Tibet issues, South China Sea and Taiwan problems, increasing tension in the relations with Japan, etc. When the Chinese president Xi Jinping came to power, he had promised to re-implement a civilization, called the "Middle Kingdom" which was the world's leader in cultural, scientific, technological and administrative perspectives starting from the 16th century onwards. The "Central Country" or "Middle Kingdom" concept, which is the center of the world and surrounding other states, includes a past thinking that regards Chinese culture and lifestyle as superior to the West and defines them as "barbarians" (Chexnaux, Bastid and Bergere, 1977: 9).

The "*collective leadership*" started in Deng Xiapoing, had become bossism again when "*lifetime presidency*" was adopted in Xi Jinping's era. Through institutional reforms, he strengthened his policy-making powers and introduced a more centralized policy in the Chinese administration. The new leader Xi Jinping continues to govern the country by implementing Chinese implementation of Marxism based on the leader Mao's interpretations since the establishment of the country, modernization in four area as realized by Deng, Three Representation Idea wherein Jiang Zemin had defined the duties of the Chinese Communist Party and Scientific Development view of Hu Jintao. It was necessary to keep up with the so-called four major tests, which are sustaining power, reforming and expanding internationally, implementing the market economy and changing internationally. In addition to

these tests, inertia, incompetence, disconnection from public and corruption were seen as the biggest domestic political threats (Jinping, 2015: 48).

He aims to be a leader with a geotechnological objective focusing on 10 critical technologies (5G- Cyber Security- Robotics- Aviation Technology- Ocean Engineering- Advanced Railways- New Energy Technologies- Agricultural Technologies- Bio Technology and Medical Technologies) with “Made in China 2025” vision (Mingfu, 2015), within the scope of this vision called “Chinese Dream”. Studies in technological composition, artificial intelligence, space, genetics, green energy are really equivalent to those of the United States. The scope of the Chinese Dream is based on achieving a strong military, economically developed and bringing happiness to its people. Recognizing that neglecting of science is among the reasons of being an underdeveloped society in history, they aim to be superior to the West in scientific progress. The 2025 vision has been presented as the result of these ideas (Xiaosi, 2013). Artificial intelligence has a priority position within the scope of the Chinese dream. The country, which has become a leader in this field, will be able to control any system related to this technology. In particular, the possibility of being able to launch nuclear weapons is seen as the greatest threat associated with this technology. In addition to the capabilities on manned expeditions to do research on the moon after Russia and the USA, establishing its own space station showed that it would be also effective in space wars which is based on eliminating military satellites to make the enemy blind and deaf. The space-related artificial solar project (Major, 2018), and the mining research on the moon are among the new energy resources projects.

China has an army that has been modernized as part of the *Westernization Movement* initiated to improve Chinese military technology. They considered the advanced military technology of the West as the reason for losing the Opium War, which is also called the “*Great Humiliation*”. China has an army that has been re-modernized today partially through cyber theft and partially by developing its existing technology, as part of the *Westernization Movement* initiated to improve Chinese military technology (Aiguo, 2000). Their success in cyberspace has enabled them to develop their military technologies by providing them with easy access to information. Particularly the coastal part of the country is the area where they are most vulnerable to threats coming from the sea, and they have conducted opium wars in this region in history. For this reason, they have implemented the naval power strategy that England has achieved in the past as an island state to ensure security. Although the nuclear weapon capacity is around 280 warheads (Arms Control Association, 2018), it has 18 military naval bases around the world (Chongjin port - North Korea, Moresby port - Papua New Guinea, Sihanoukville port - Cambodia, Koh Lanta port - Thailand, Sittwe port - Myanmar, Dhaka port - Bangladesh, Gwadar port - Pakistan, Hambantota port - Sri Lanka, Maldives, Seychelles, Djibouti port - Somalia, Lagos port - Nigeria, Mombasa port - Kenya, Dar-es-Salaam port - Tanzania, Luanda port - Angola and Walvis Bay harbor - Namibia) (Chansoria, 2019). China participated in joint maritime operations with

the EU against piracy activities in the Gulf of Aden, Somalia and the Indian Ocean.¹ By the early 2020s, Chinese scientists are expected to be operating large unmanned and potentially armed submarines in the world's oceans, aimed at enemy forces in disputed areas such as the South China Sea.

In line with the five principles of "Living Together in Peace" in foreign policy, it has adopted the principle of respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, not interfering with military force, not interfering in internal affairs and maintaining communication and cooperation with all countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs China, n.d.) As a country suffering from foreign attacks and internal turmoil, peace is given serious importance. As a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, China insists on a political settlement to resolve international disputes peacefully. China, which attaches importance to multilateralism, gives importance to the UN's guiding role in international relations (Pradt, 2016: 119). It has identified four basic elements in its foreign policy; relations with other superpowers (USA, Russia, France, United Kingdom, Germany, Japan), diplomacy with neighboring countries (India, Japan, the Philippines and Vietnam where land issues are experienced), development aimed at developing countries (Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia) (UN and G-20, Shanghai Cooperation Organization and BRICS) (Wang and Song, 2016: 3).

China is trying to increase its power and influence in the world. As a state that implements the geoeconomics in the best way, it plans to revive the historical silk road within the scope of "One Belt One Road" project and make an area called "Afro Eurasia" into the new economic region of the world. This territory was called the "Old World" before the discovery of the United States and consisted of the merger of Eurasia (Europe and Asia) and African continents. The Silk Road trade was serving as a bridge between these continents. When the Silk Road Generation project is fully realized, China will be the political center of the world again in Asia. There are several theories explaining the concept of geopolitics, which is used for expressing the direction given to the politics by geography (Cohen, 2009: 11). The new geopolitical field revealed by China is covered by the British Geographer Harold John Mackinder's Heartland Theory. Mackinder, had put forward the concept of Heartland (Heart of the World) concept in his "Geographical Pivot of History" published in 1904 and stated the area where Africa, Asia and Europe merged as the "World Islands". He asserted that those who dominate the geographical territory where these three continents merge, i.e. the ruler of the world island, will dominate the world (Mackinder, 1904). This territory, covering Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and Eurasia region and some part of the Middle East, has gained importance with the shift of economic power from West to East and led to the emergence of geo-economic stability and power struggles in this region.

1 See: Ministry of National Defense The People's Republic of China Overseas Operations, http://eng.mod.gov.cn/news/node_48721.htm

The theory explains why China, having an economic influence and impact in both Eurasia and Europe, Africa and Asia, will become the world leader. In this theoretical perspective, Europe is of paramount importance for world leadership of China.

The “One Belt One Road” project, which is the most important initiative of Xi Jinping that will write history, is based on the Professor Wang Sisi’s “March West” policy (Sun, 2013). The aim was to increase the Chinese influence in the Central Asia-South Asia-Middle East regions where the USA could not establish the regional order. It would help the stability of this region by filling the gap of the USA, which is planning to withdraw from Iraq and Afghanistan. “One Belt One Road” project is a project that can transform the global governance system. It will develop the underdeveloped western provinces within the country and bring them closer to the developed eastern coastal provinces in terms of development level. It has planned to reduce the unemployment problem by exporting capital and labor force on the belt and road. As an infrastructure-building force, China unites Africa with railways networks to reinvigorate Africa from the beginning, and tries to strengthen the national economies with the principle of mutual gain. It participated in Baldung, which was the important meeting of the first south-north experience for ending poverty, ensuring sustainable development and improvement, and provided support to these topics and provides technical support to ensure food safety of Africa today. It unconditionally supports the agreements and activities on climate change.

When it was first announced in September 2013, the Silk Road Economic Belt included Astana and Kazakhstan. A month later, the 21st century Sea Silk Belt was introduced to the press. In 2015, South Asia, the Indian Ocean, the South Pacific and the Mediterranean were added to the Belt and Road project. In June 2017, it was stated that the maritime belt would consist of three “blue economic corridors” in a way that covers Europe, Asia, Africa and Oceania. The Trans-Pacific Sea Silk Road was announced on 22 January, with the involvement of Latin American and Caribbean countries in the project. Four days later, the Northern Arctic Region got involved in the White Paper strategy as the “Polar Silk Road”. When the Arctic region is opened to commercial transportation, this route becomes shorter and allows for performed export rapidly. Therefore, the Arctic Region is important for China as much as it is for Russia (Shi, 2018). All continents are planned to be included in China’s land and sea silk road project, except the US territories.

In addition to this project, the New Development Bank was created in June 2015 as a counterpart to the World Bank and the IMF. Although it has collaborated with those institutions that are part of the Bretton Woods system, China could see them as obstacles before its global goals. They could constitute obstacle related to some important goals particularly such as transforming Shanghai into an *International Finance Center* in 2020 and ensuring internationalization of its currency *renminbi* instead of dollar, which is the single reserve currency. In September 2015, Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank was established with 51 founding members. The purpose of establishment of the bank is to finance the land and sea silk road project announced in 2013.

China, the world's second largest economic power today, is claimed to be the leader of the world economy by leaving behind the United States in terms of gross domestic product in 2020 (Desjardins, 2019). China's *market socialism* model is a hybrid system where the central power is in the hands of the state but permits the economic activities of the private sector. The strategies implemented by China with the aim to create a more just and lawful order in a revisionist structure, directly affect the international system. It constitutes the best example for showing that the capitalism, democracy and freedom, which are asserted that they must develop together for economic liberalism, actually are requirements. Those who support the argument that the application of statist capitalism have more stable results than the free market model in which the state never interferes, constitute the majority. When the economic crisis in 2008 was sourced from the US Lethman Brother company, Wall Street practices were scrutinized and shown how they made unfair gains. It was also the Obama administration, which rescued some of the uncontrolled finance companies questioned. It was understood that complete independence was not possible. Today, the Chinese government controls capital and foreign investments, thus ensuring exchange rates and financial stability. Thus the distinction between the *Beijing Consensus* based on an authoritarian ruling and state intervention in the economy and the *Washington Consensus* related to neo-liberal policy and Market leadership, has emerged (Dickson, 2010:i). The Beijing Consensus consisted mainly of innovation, equal and sustainable development and a state-controlled economy based on its Chinese history. The Washington Consensus could not provide an adequate solution to the East Asian financial crisis in 1997–1998 either (Woo, 2009: 18–19). In the rescue packages proposed by the IMF, its technical support was questioned and its feature of being the only monetary regulatory institution was criticized. The same issue was valid for the World Bank, too. There are some who argue that the single-party system is able to create more stability as it can respond more quickly to crises and take measures (Ramo, 2004).

Geeconomy can be defined as realizing national interest via economical tools for a state. Here, seven important tools are identified by Blackwill and Harris. These are investment policy, economic and financial sanctions, cyber, foreign aid, monetary policy energy and goods (Blackwill and Harris, 2016: 20). Out of seven geoeconomic instruments, which are the trade policy, investment policy, economic and financial sanctions, cyber, foreign aid, monetary policy and energy, China uses all except the economic and financial sanctions in the international system. Some experts associates this strategy followed with the "*tribute based system*" established during the Imperial era. It is thought to have benefited from this historical example when seeking a regional order for its own security and leadership position in the Asian continent, where it has a land border of 14,000 km and 20 neighbors (French, 2017). Historically, this system has played a crucial role in maintaining peace and trade. It was based on an unequal system in which the states paying tributes had benefited more from China. This system is based on the dictionary meaning world-view called "*Tianxia*", which is the space under heaven. It is a concept that considers the whole world and believes and aims that a harmonious whole is possible (Qin,

2010: 71). Chinese leader Xi Jinping stated that this concept was misused to present the country as an imperialist country and that word referred to a united world and those under the heaven had formed a family.

The One Way One Belt Policy, developed by China, is a project designed in accordance with Neoliberalism, which is one of the theories of International Relations. China considers the protection of common interests and strengthening together by cooperating with other states according to the principle of absolute profit. By establishing a trade network with the states on the route covered by the belt, it will ensure that they are interdependent to each other and thereby a peaceful environment will be led to emerge. It shows similarities in terms of the necessity of employing Chinese workers while making an investment in infrastructure to the tribute system and the dependability based on the debts given. However, they oppose the north-south dilemma because of the importance attached to the principle of "equality". They believe that the international order and the global system will help it to expand in a fair direction. The dominant belief is that, if all countries develop jointly, then the world will develop better. In the past, both the historic Silk Road and the tribute-based system had played an important role in maintaining peace and trade. Today, we can argue that the One Way One Belt policy will result with the same outcome.

In terms of the security dilemma concept of realist theory, being the new super-power rising in the international system has led China to be considered as a threat by the USA, Japan and ASEAN members. For this reason, within the scope of its foreign policy called "Peaceful Rise", it has tried to make the world adopt that it is not aggressive based on mutual win-win relationship (Bijian, 2005). Participation in UN Peacekeeping operations, contributions made for combating terrorism and the importance it attaches to non-traditional security issues (such as climate change, food security, etc.) demonstrate that it is a player, who is aware of its responsibilities. However, allegations on disputed areas in the South and East China Sea and the Indian Ocean have been seen as an aggressive and revisionist force (Gallo, 2018). At the same time, it has become a country that is aware of its responsibilities/supports status quo and also a country that is aggressive/playing a revisionist national role. Human rights violations against minorities living in the country, Tibet and Uighur Regions, are also one of the most criticized areas in terms of freedom of expression and association. United States Vice President Mike Pence and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo each delivered a speech at a conference in Washington slandering China by saying that it "*oppresses*" people's freedom of religious belief and "*violates*" human rights. Both Pence and Pompeo branded China's vocational education and training centers in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region as "re-education camps", and wrongfully accused China of "persecuting" Tibetan Buddhists (China Plus, 2019).

There is a contradiction that China has not had enough influence on human rights and political pluralism. Although it respects the values of the EU, China does not accept to rebuild itself by replicating them. It is believed that China, representing Asian civilization, and the EU, representing the Western civilization,

can form the unity of differences. In addition, some countries, which have adopted authoritarian regimes and deviations from liberal values, had emerged from among the member states following the refugee crisis. Considering the fact that EU, which contradicts its own values, is weakened in terms of democracy, there is no reason for not cooperating with China. In bilateral relations with Germany, the United Kingdom and France and with other EU members, priority is given to trade and investment. Peace and stability in the international order are being tried to be achieved by establishing commercial networks rather than democratic peace theory and by solving the problems that cause fundamental injustices within the scope of negative peace.

3 Decreasing power of the USA

In today's international system, China is seen as a rising power, Russia is considered as a country recovering its strength and the USA as a one that loses its power. Fareed Zakaria, looking at this situation from a different perspective, argues that it is not a fall but the rapid rising of others using the order created by the USA. It is still the most powerful country in terms of military power with its nuclear-headed missiles and bases throughout the world. However, desired success on asymmetric war could not be achieved in regions such as Afghanistan in 2002, Iraq in 2003 and 2011 Libya.

In economic terms, Joseph Nye has always placed the USA in third place in the future projections wherein the first and second positions are shared between China and India (Nye, 2015: 94–113), due to its increasing budget deficit, stagnant middle class and economic crises such as failure to increase productivity in industrialization. It is the country with the highest external debt (22 trillion) (Trade Economics, 2019). Although the public debt is partially covered by countries such as China and Japan, which are shown as rivals in these crises, the growth rate of the economy is between 2 and 4, which is far behind China. Crises that emerged in the management of the economic system and especially the global economic crisis in 2008, led to the questioning of the US leadership. Its unilateral foreign policy has caused the fragmentation of the Western civilization bloc.

The negative effects of the USA on the international finance structure began in 1980 under President Reagan's period. Excessive military expansion and growing public debts increased budget deficits, increased interest rates and the value of the dollar, lowering the competitiveness of the US producers. The financial structure has replaced the production industry in the US economy and has been the driving force of the economy. When the dollar fluctuated in the 1970s, the US economy suffered a shortage of trade, while Japan and Germany had a trade surplus. The US leadership in the world economy does not establish confidence as it devotes the leadership power of its economy to excessive military spending and financial speculation (Ping, 2009: 47).

Although a positive image was given with the efforts such as the agreement with Iran, the continuation of diplomatic efforts with China and multilateral action

during the democratic party leader Barack Obama's eight year governance period, the tensions with Russia had influenced the EU. While a separate economic bloc was ensured to create in Asia against China with the Trans-Pacific agreement, the bilateral relations in the region were tried to be strengthened. The governance model adopted by the Republican party leader Donald Trump, who came to power in November 2017, putting aside the Iran and Trans-Pacific agreements, putting pressure to other members on spending within NATO, changing the foreign trade in its favor by imposing high tariffs to the EU and Canada, which are its close allies, on certain goods, announcing the German automotive industry as a threat to the US national security and taking harsh decisions against China, has created a different image for the US government.

The protectionist decisions of the USA in foreign trade supported with the "America First" motto and its approach demanding additional taxes and payment of more defense costs as well as the unilateral foreign policy adopted on the Middle East and climate have seriously damaged Trans-Atlantic relations. The decline in confidence to the USA in the economy and foreign policy causes the Western bloc to be divided. The fact that the US president Trump declared that he saw every state at equal distance and expressed that the old allied relations no longer existed, paved the way for the construction of new friendships in a new world order.

As the personal attitudes and political style of the US president Trump make him capable of making these changes, this situation put other countries into a difficult situation. His election slogan, "America First Again", aims to rebuild the diminishing the US power. Under this aim, Americans should maintain the traditional policy of their great and independent nation. He considers "economic security" as "national security. Trump's "America First" narrative focuses on protecting "the American people", maintaining the US way of life, peace and prosperity, and increasing "American influence in the world" (Trump, 2018). According to US State Department Policy Director Kiron Skinner, "America First Doctrine" rests on four pillars: national sovereignty, reciprocity, burden-sharing and regional partnerships (Sheng and Gang, 2019). As to reciprocity principle, the USA has undercut the interests of its closest allies for its own narrow benefit, even threatening to impose broad tariffs on automobile and auto-part imports from the European Union (EU), Japan and South Korea, claiming that they pose a national security threat. On the other hand, the fact that the USA uses dollar, which is its own reserve currency and the reserve currency in global trade, as a sanction instrument in international politics, affects many countries negatively. In order to get the desired decisions in foreign policy with the carrot/stick logic, the fluctuation of the value of the dollar causes the increase of the value of the dollar against the national currencies of many countries and the serious crises within those countries begin to affect the people living on such countries.

Then on the burden sharing issue, the USA is also forcing the other NATO members to share the burden of its unsustainable structural savings deficit. Moreover Trump's disdainful view of international treaties and organizations, originated from his "America First" policies creates an atmosphere of mistrust towards

the US leadership in the World, which will consequently weaken the US position in the International system.

Economically, the trade war with China, the currency war and the technological war have had serious impacts on the world economy. The decision to impose 25 % customs duty on steel imports and 10 % duty on aluminum imports, as announced on 1 March 2018, was the basis of the trade wars started by the USA. The main purpose of the US government, which asserts that China is gaining unfair profits by giving surplus in foreign trade, in this war, which will be won by one side only, is to reduce the Chinese economy. It is expected that these attempts, which may lead to global recession and crisis as put forward by the well-known US economist Nouriel Roubini, to reduce the demand for goods to be procured from China and to allow consideration of new countries (such as Vietnam, South Korea and India) for supplying market demands. Although economic interdependence between the USA and China has been argued to bring the US economy into harm, more than ten trade negotiations between these two countries have failed (Roubini, 2009). China's biggest counter move will be the restrictions to be imposed on importing 80 % of the 35 rare ores classified as very important by the USA from China because of economic and national security perspectives. Six hundred big US companies had written letters to the president Trump, calling for not increasing customs duties on China, trying to prevent disruptions in the supply of rare elements (Rakhmat, 2019).

The "trade war" may give way to a "tech war" as regulators and firms battle over emerging technologies, standards and whether the USA or China will dominate the industries of the future (Zhong and Mozur, 2018). The technology war started between the two countries as the third war. The Internet and information technologies, the most important discovery of the 20th century and having a transformational effect on economic and political life, have been established in the world through the USA. However, the Internet has also become a gap that has led the world to learn about the country's diplomatic and military secrets. Nevertheless, technology companies have become the most important actors that can be used by the United States to lead the world nations. In addition to the economic miracle of China, there are some who argue that the projects developed by China in the field of technology, especially in the field of artificial intelligence, are reaching the level that can undermine the US superiority in the field of technology. It is asserted that a country in a leader position in artificial intelligence, especially, carries the risk that leads to the manipulation of nuclear weapons for its advantage. It can be thought that the deterrence of the US nuclear missiles, which are almost close to Russia, will be neutralized. This struggle for artificial intelligence leadership between China and the USA is of great importance from this perspective (Geist and Lohn, 2018: 8–11). It is thought that China, which develops technology and has managed to possess important patents and makes progress in order to produce global brands in the world, can surpass the USA in this field.

China, performing contract manufacturing for the world's leading brands, has succeeded in creating its own new brands from the advantages such as cheap labor and easy material supply. Introducing these brands to the Western market,

especially to the US market, had paved the way for new types of war. Huawei, a pioneering company on the new generation 5G technology, is perceived as a threat to the national security of the USA because of the Edge-Computing content of this technology. Then the daughter of the founder, retired soldier Rin Cgfey, and the company's financial director were arrested in Canada. As intelligence gathering becomes possible through these phones in the USA and Telecom infrastructure facilities and services may be a threat for NATO members in Europe, the USA has started to pursue a serious pressure policy both at home and abroad in order to stop relations with this company (Sorkin, 2019). The issue becomes particularly sensitive when it comes to the use of Huawei infrastructure by members of the "Five Eyes" (FVEY), USA's closest intelligence sharing partnership comprised of Anglophone countries including the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The USA firmly believes that Huawei constitutes a severe threat to the FVEY partnership if any member decides to rely on the tech giant's infrastructure. While Google stopped supplying the operating system it provides to this company, a license requirement has been introduced for the new technology sales to be made. The goal is to reduce the use of devices of this brand outside the borders of China. However, while Vodafone, Europe's largest telecom company, continues to procure 5G equipment from Huawei, EE Telecom in the UK also procures the same equipment from the same company.

The most fundamental issue emerges from the question of whether the USA will continue to shape the international politics, or its dominance will come to an end. According to the Chatham House report, "dysfunctional policies "and the threat approach adopted even towards the countries, which it closely cooperates with, based on the policy of constant tension, are thought to accelerate the ending of the dominance (Trubowitz and Harris, 2019). Unilateral actions such as the insensitivity in climate issue, unilateral withdrawal from the Iran agreement, moving the US Embassy in Tel Aviv-Israel to Jerusalem, expanding the control over the Strait of Hormuz, instead of acting multilaterally, were the most criticized US policies. Although the investigation of the Russian intervention in the 2016 Presidential elections in domestic politics was tried to be used by its rivals as a reason for dismissing the democratically elected Trump, no results could be achieved. His attitude of nationalism through the concept of white power is seen as a racist discourse and causes criticism. It also pursues a "melting pot" domestic policy, i.e. a policy that is away from being an immigrant country, with the practices such as the construction of the Mexican wall, visa bans for seven Muslim countries, etc. It is possible to say that the presidential elections to be held on 3 November 2020 will be of great importance not only for the American people, but also for the countries that would like to continue their cooperation with the USA.

4 A New Cold War or Strategic Competition?

The Cold War, during which the world was shared under the leadership of the USA and Soviet Union, representing two different ideologies as liberalism and

communism, historically between 1945 and 1991, no actual war took place but there was a proxy war, intelligence war and intensive military armament, and covered operations took place, is aimed to be initiated against China by a certain group in the USA. The cold war between the two countries, which use the same system economically but differ politically, does not seem to be a desirable situation by the rest of the world. In particular, the EU, as the one affected most from this situation, argues that cooperative relations between the two states would be more appropriate for the world system.

A certain group in the USA sees China as a vital threat. As President Trump's former counselor Steve Bannon said that "China poses the greatest existential threat ever faced by the United States" (Bannon, 2019). The New York Times reported that "*a new Red Scare*" is reshaping Washington. The report is in response to a group in Washington that has revived a Cold War-era organization to take aim at China (Swanson, 2019). This group is The Committee on the Present Danger²: China, or CPDC. They have not only labeled China the enemy but hopes to start a new Cold War with China. The Chinese military, technological level achieved in a short time, their own brands in terms of economy and their new strategic goals spreading around the world are considered to be contrary to the US interests. The USA, desiring to act together in accordance with its own rules and decisions, sees China as a competitor who establishes a different system against itself by taking advantage of the environment created by the USA in establishing this system and asserts that it will be more equitable and fair. The idea that China's 2nd Silk Road project is a new tool for exploitation within the scope of the check-book diplomacy. In addition, human rights violation cases may lead to China's soft power is weakened. It is argued that China cannot ensure the continuity of the liberal order because of the different civilization phenomena based on Samuel Huntington's clash of civilizations (Mattis and Schrader, 2019). In this context, what affects the USA deeply are the relations between China and the two important states such as England and Israel (Rosenberg, 2019). Following this, the fact that the EU, Middle East and African countries act on the axis of China can be seen as formations that may reduce the effectiveness of world domination.

The strategy master China identified the issues of separatism, terrorism and radicalism as three major deadly threats considering that the USA makes statements at every opportunity stating that people of China will not withstand to that regime. It has implemented technological programs that can put pressure on its people in the regions that can be targeted against these threats (Purbrick, 2017: 240). Autonomous regions such as Tibet, East Turkestan and Hong Kong are issues that provide the USA with the opportunity to create confusion within China. The security expert Prof. Zhang Wenmu asserts that, due to its location, Tibet allows the People's Republic of China to access the resources respectively

2 See: The Committee On The Present Danger: China – CPDC, <https://presentdangerchina.org/>

of the Pacific Ocean to the east and those of the Indian Ocean in the west. In the middle of the Indian Ocean, the US base Diego Garcia is located (Escobar, 2019). East Turkestan is on the crossing route of the Silk Road. Taiwan, which is expected to be united with the country under the Single China policy, is among the first island chain in East Asia and is located at the intersection of North and South East Asia. Access to the Indian Ocean, North East and South East Asia and the Pacific region is facilitated through the island. Its geostrategic position makes it one of the key countries in the struggle between the major powers in the international arena. When evaluated from this perspective, the 134 km-long Taiwan Strait is one of the most strategic areas of the US policy of containment of China, and for China, the island is regarded as a springboard for both coastal and offshore safety and an aircraft carrier attached to it. Historically, the island's position as a "base used by the USA against China during both Japan and the Korean Wars" makes Taiwan a top priority for China's national security.

The "containment" policy put forward by George Kennan was implemented within China, and the USA has developed bilateral relations with countries with whom China has some problems on the South China Sea and the East China Sea issues. Japan and Vietnam are the countries that particularly come to forefront (Friedman, 2018). These two countries continue to work together to jointly de-nuclearize North Korea. The Asia-Pacific strategy during the President Obama's period, has been re-shaped by the Free and Open Indo-Pacific-FOIP policy developed by the President Trump due to the change of leadership and power in the face of China's rise.³ Within the scope of this policy published on 1 June 2019, it is stated in the section related to China that it has implemented an external balancing strategy against China by pursuing a policy of developing internal balancing and alliances and strategic partnerships for increasing its power (FOIP, 2019: 7–11). China is seen as a threat to liberal regional security in the region as a country expanding its sovereignty with its military power. Particularly in its new policy, the USA desires the seas and airspace in the region to be safe. It is the statement on not recognizing China's special privilege rights in the South China Sea, which are not ratified by the UN Maritime Law, and the no-fly zone announcement on the East China Sea in 2013 (FOIP, 2019: 8). The Strait of Taiwan is a strategic area that requires free passage as international waters for US politics and thus legitimizes the power diplomacy they apply here. In terms of South China Sea issues, the Strait of Taiwan and the island of Taiwan are of strategic importance to access the region. The diplomatic alliance of the US government with Vietnam and the

3 FOIP: The US Free and Transparent Indo-Pacific Policy consists of six core issues. 1) International water and airspace to be open to all without obstruction 2) Elimination of barriers to international trade and investments 3) Ensuring political liberalization in the region 4) Preventing aggressive behavior in the region 5) Ensuring cooperation with friendly governments and 6) The continuity of the liberal order established by the USA after World War II (Roy, 2019: 9–10).

Philippines makes a military confrontation between China and the USA in the South China Sea apart from the Taiwan problem (Carpenter, 2006).

In the new plan, Taiwan is regarded as one of the examples that reflects the concept of Free and Open Indian Pacific as a country that respects human rights and is governed by democracy. For the USA, desiring to be active in the South China Sea due to its strategic position, it is the country that should be included in the liberal block group together with South Korea and Japan in an alliance relationship. Under this requirement, the USA already recognized Taiwan as one of the most important non-NATO alliance members under the Foreign Relations Authorization Act in 2003 (An, 2017: 8). However, as previously mentioned, the USA had unilaterally withdrawn from the defense treaty in 1978 and did not indicate a tendency to make such a treaty in the recently adopted FOIP. It's pointed out in the plan that China's military presence in and around the Strait of Taiwan has been increased to deter both the independence of Taiwan and the third countries involved. Continuous flights by the Chinese Air Force on the island and maritime drills in the East China Sea were considered as demonstrations of power towards Taiwan (FOIP, 2019: 31). The US government desires to develop its own defense primarily by constantly selling military weapons and training Taiwanese soldiers in military schools in the USA.

In the Chinese diplomatic rhetoric, the "Chinese Dream", the "Silk Road" and the "New Model of Relationship with the Great Countries" came to the fore as counter-moves. The establishment of new types of inter-country relations based on mutual respect, cooperation and mutual benefit is planned to serve the happiness of all the people around the world. India, Russia, Japan and the EU are considered as major powers. As the Chinese solution, the "new model of international relations based on the norms and standards of Chinese values" has been proposed in this way (Byun, 2016: 495–496).

China has tried to secure itself against the American presence in the region by establishing international organizations in both economic and security areas. Following the 1997–1998 economic crisis in Asia, the inadequacy of US-led economic order and institutions, developed the idea of creating a similar structure to the EU in East Asia. China, Japan, South Korea and the ASEAN members could unite to form the Asian Union. The stability of this region, which hosts 67 % of the world's population and one third of the world's economy, would be closely related to the whole world. Experts have suggested that it would be possible to maintain a stable economy by creating the common currency of "Asian Dollar" for this union. This union could be transformed into a "Pacific Union" by the involvement of Australia, New Zealand, Russia and India. After the EU and NAFTA, it was thought that an economic integration in Asia-Pacific would to create stability for the countries of the region (Ping, 2009: 52). In addition to economic security, the "New Asia Security" concept was announced by China under the name "Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation" as part of the "Asia Belongs to Asian People" view. It is aimed to break the US influence in the region and to let China to get importance as the main security provider (State Council, 2017).

The “balance of power” against the US containment policy has become a strategy of choice for China. Russia and the EU gained importance against the USA (Shiffrinson, 2018). All other major powers, except the USA, are in favor of a multilateral cooperation mechanism. England has now stripped itself of its European identity, aiming to become a global actor and making economic cooperation with China the most important issue for its national interest. Despite the USA, European countries, which are among the founding members of the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank stand beside China in economic matters. Germany-France-England are among the 10 countries that contributed the most to the Bank.

China’s cooperation with other countries is based on Confucian-based state and global order. This global order must be included in all countries so that a large family should be created. The “a single family under heaven” concept points to this. Again as a Confucius term, “unity in diversity” anticipates that different civilizations can create cooperation instead of conflict (the anti-thesis of Huntington’s thesis). Instead of being an ally, they gave importance to the partnership based cooperation network. The Silk Road belt is a project that symbolizes this partnership network. Likewise, the Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation project is based on peace, development, cooperation and common-profit partnership rather than being an ally (Szcudlik, 2015: 4). For China, common security means respecting and ensuring security of every country. It is argued that security should be equal and that each country should have the right to participate equally in regional security organizations, opposing the idea of making other countries insecure in the name of absolute security. NATO and the containment policy of the USA were the target of these words (Jinping, 2015: 412).

Considering the economic advantage of the competition between the USA, Japan and the EU, China has become the power that the EU has been looking for to create a balance against the US hegemony. Relations with Asia and other countries have gained importance in the EU in terms of foreign relations. The European Commission announced the “New Asia Strategy” in 1994 and stated that they would contribute to improve the EU’s efficient position in world economy in this region and to the stability (arms control, disarmament, regional conflicts – Kashmir, North Korea and Eastern Chinese Sea) and development of democracy in the region.⁴ During this period, rising Asia (26 countries in total) had a serious impact on the world economic balance.⁵ Almost half of the income of the world economy had

4 See: Commission of the European Communities (1994) “Towards a New Asia Strategy”, <http://aei.pitt.edu/2949/1/2949.pdf>

5 The Asian region, which consists of 26 countries, was divided into three groups by the EU. 8 countries in East Asia: China, Japan, North and South Korea, Mongolia, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao; 10 countries in South East Asia: Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Burma; and 8 countries in South Asia: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives and Afghanistan.

originated from this region. Due to the high rate of population in China and India, the region was a good market for consumption. The EU had planned to increase its economic power in this region.

As the EU is acting independently, China has become one of an important economical partner for it after 2008 economical crisis. Then many specialists think that the U.S is getting alone and a new bloc is arising. The relations between England, which separated from the EU with the Brexit process, and China were considered as the *best relations in the western world*. For the UK, it is the relationship between the two states that conforms to the image “*Global England*” image in foreign policy. There are also those who call this relationship a “*golden relationship*” (Gracie, 2015). It is important for the Chinese policy of seeking to isolate the USA that, England, which joined the Asian Investment Development Bank as a founding member, stands beside China. The joining of the bloc forming the western civilization into the new Chinese-led order in economic matters increases the legitimacy of revisionism (Brown, 2016: 3).

Europe, desiring to be a strategic autonomous power, wants neither to be militarily and politically dependent to the USA, nor economically controlled by China. Some argue that China’s growing influence in European markets is a threat to Europe’s national economies. China has been criticized for running a state policy that applies the basic principle of war, that is, the tactic of “*not allowing the enemy to join forces, divide and rule*” in its relations with the EU. It was the German Minister of Foreign Affairs Sigmar Gabriel who made these criticisms. 16 + 1 are business relationship development activities that started in 2014 for East and South East European countries where Germany has interests. These countries differ from Western Europe both economically and socially. With the investments and financing provided to these countries, it is easier for China to influence these small-scale countries, which in this case bothers the EU. (German Foreign Policy, 2017).

The USA tries to bring itself to an advantageous position in trade by manipulating the currencies of both the EU and China through dollars. The trade war between the two countries negatively affects other countries in the field of production and new goods orders. Europe is among the regions that feel this problem heavily. There are also warnings for making continuous cooperation in order to prevent this war from adversely affecting global growth. The USA, which suspended the Iran treaty, has adopted a sanction law to prevent European countries involved in this agreement from cooperating with Iran. Germany and France, finding a new routing in the payment system, announced that they would continue bilateral relations with Iran. China also includes Iran among the important countries of the One Way One Belt project and states that the relations will continue. In the Middle East, which is a leaping area for the African continent, China is influencing the balances in the region by increasing its effectiveness.

With the 2008 world economic crisis, China supported the assistance for the Mediterranean countries (Greece, Italy, Spain), which had serious problems due to the EU’s state debt, by assuming some of the debt. In the face of this financial

assistance, it has captured certain ports of these countries and strengthened its position in the Mediterranean region by establishing a certain amount of partnership in energy companies. Israel's agreement on three ports shows that the Mediterranean ports have become an important geopolitical position for China to control Europe. It seems that China will be the biggest supporter of the EU in this regard, which has started initiatives to establish a NATO-independent security structure on the European army. Sino-European security dimension is realized through an expanded security agenda, and China, acting jointly with Europe on issues such as disarmament, immigration, economic security, anti-terrorism and climate change, aims to develop joint cooperation projects also in R&D activities in the field of defense. China has been involved in the development of the Galileo Global Navigation system developed by the EU against the US GPS system. The EU, which imposed an arms embargo, because of the bloody suppression of protests called the Tiananmen Massacre in 1989, gave up this embargo in 2005 in order to be able to work more in the field of satellite and space (Casarini, 2012: 65).

If a new cold war is started, it is seen that the EU and important countries of the Western block such as England and Israel will face with a serious crisis in the question of whether to choose the USA or China. It is difficult for the EU to easily overlook China, which was a savior for it during the economic weakening. While England acts as a global country in the international arena after Brexit, it will not desire to damage its relations in economic terms. The Trump government, shaping the Middle East policy according to Israel, is seriously disturbed by the ports being given to China, which are also important for its military security. The countries that remain in such a dilemma do not want a new cold war between the two countries and think that it carry dangerous risks that may result in conflict. The results of the 2020 presidential elections for the USA are also important in this respect.

Recently, the practices in Muslim Eastern Turkistan region by means of the ideological "re-education" buildings, resembling prisons as part of the policy adopted by China for combatting against terrorism, separatism and radicalism, has gained importance for the USA as a black propaganda instrument regarding the "human rights" issues. Developed within the scope of fighting against terrorism with its ideological dimension, this method which was applied first in Tibet and then in East Turkestan region caused serious criticism for China in the UN Anti-Racism Commission. At the same time, China's policies on human rights are crucial indicators for the continuity of cooperation with the EU. China, on the other hand, has been defended in the UN as a country that supports human rights through a joint declaration by a certain group of states. Practices in Tibet and East Turkestan addressing different religions and ethnic origins, are actually seen as a national security measure developed against internal separatist movements constantly implied by the USA. New implemented a hard policy against Tibet and Uighur region, many experts say that China may loose its soft power and the "Chinese Dream" concept, may be damaged. While, democracy attempts led by Sun Yat Sen have led the country into a civil war historically, the single-party led

political regime has established itself as the most ideal regime for the country.⁶ After the open door policy, the demonstrations of young people in Tiananmen square were suppressed harshly. The social unrest that may emerge from the difference in economic development in the East-West, city-rural areas and the privileged life of the Chinese Communist Party members as well as the Social Credit system to be implemented are seen by the USA as applications that increase the public's reactions to the administration. This social credit system may create anxiety and unhappiness. Because ordinary Chinese people trained ideologically in the labor camps during the Mao period and have been accustomed to a modest life. Now the new government is going to demand them more consumption in return for freedom. If they do not this, they will be on the blacklist and many things will be forbidden.

While the US dream reveals the credit-dependent type of person, the mortgage crisis in 2008 caused a crisis of confidence for the American people towards their own government. Reducing the tax collected from the rich people and abolishing the health reform for the lower and middle classes during Trump administration, have led the world to realize that it is a wealthy dream that protects the rich only. The *American Dream* model, which directs over-consumption and low-saving, as criticized by China is actually realized with the social credit system itself.

The response given by the people of Hong Kong to the implementation of two different systems in a single state with serious protests affects the Taiwan problem and sets an example for other separatist autonomous regions. The most critical area in preventing the spread of China from the Asia region to the world is seen more possible with the collapse of domestic politics, the increase of public reaction and the internal conflict of the Communist Party of China. While the Cold War-style, the covert operations against the countries that move with China and USA make

6 Sun Yat-Sen, had aimed to establish a new regime, a western democracy and republic with the support of the USA. The warlords, seizing the economic and political control in the rural areas, had put obstacle for the unity of China as important political actors. In the absence of his army, he was unable to end these warlords and feudalism. While the southern and port cities developed with trade and investment, the north remained behind. The North-South conflict, the clashed between Communists and Nationalists together with the conflict between the war lords and the two parties became history as the failure of democratic rule (Snow, 2015: 431). Today, the biggest drawback about the adoption of the political form of western civilization, namely democracy, stems from the fact that the results of this period had led the country to disaster (riots, civil war, regional war, open foreign intervention). Yat-sen's attempt to establish a political structure similar to the US system was unsuccessful. Republican policy, alone, could not save China from disaster. The view asserting that the Union can only be managed through a single party system, became certain. Although regional autonomy was granted to different ethnic groups, they also experienced that they did not give up their demands for independence. They always try to keep the minorities under pressure and control with the experience coming from history.

the world more unstable, the transition of China to an order in the post-turmoil period in which it will have a radical transformation democracy and human rights, will also be able to clarify the leadership position in the world system.

5 Conclusion

China often mentions that the role of the West in the global order has diminished regarding to being the political center, economic leadership and rule-maker, and that this gap is being filled by Asia. They see the superiority of Europe and U.S. on the stage of history as a temporary thing. The Chinese have always expressed their civilization as the center of the world, and therefore the Chinese have called their country in Chinese as “Zhongguo”, meaning the “central country / kingdom”. This situation depicted in the “East is rising, West is falling” and “South is rising, North is falling” phrases, shows that the economic and political center of the world has shifted from Euro-Atlantic to Asia-Pacific (Ikenberry, 2008). The two crises, which were the 1997 Asian Crisis and the 2008 financial crisis, that led to this process were required for the renewal of the global economic system. China, turning every crisis into an opportunity, helped the Asian region as a responsible power and provided financial opportunities in Europe. All these activities have led to a situation that is contrary to the interests of the USA, which determines and directs the rules of the system.

After the economic war, the exchange rate war and the recent technological war which started with the US Trump government, the advocates of a new cold war against China have increased within the country. Those who see it as an existential threat would like to have a new process to start in the framework of the logic of “cold war” to prevent China. There are others who say that as a result of mutual economic and technological dependence, China should not be seen as a threat but as a competitor, a friend in competition, and the threat should not be exaggerated. It is stated that a possible cold war will cause serious harm to the USA and it is not rational. The November 2020 elections in the USA are important in this respect.

The US-China relations, which will be shaped by a new strategy according to the new president to be elected, are full of events that have weakened mutual trust in the last four years. In particular, developments that could pose a threat to national security, such as intellectual property theft, military espionage, the development of new warfare strategies in space and the construction of new naval forces based on artificial intelligence, have been realized. Huawei brand, which became active in the US market by producing its own brands, was included in the sanction list as a result of intelligence reports. It is also difficult to say that it could be a very good friend with a country that converts the opportunities offered by the USA to its advantage.

Any kind of war that the USA has entered into with China has a serious impact on the world countries. It is an accepted understanding, especially with reference to the USA, that a single state cannot solve all international problems today. It is a policy that global security responsibilities are expected to be fulfilled

by maintaining international cooperation in international organizations and establishing strategic alliances. China, insisting that unilateralism leads to power policies and that fair and equal order can only serve world peace and development, argues that democratization in the international system will be achieved under the concept of “multipolarity”. It is a common intention to dominate the world in a system in which both states, especially the USA, will develop cooperation and solve problems through democracy. We can argue that a new cold war is not accepted, except for the support of a certain group.

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