CHAPTER -1

EVOLUTION OF CHINA-US RELATIONS DURING THE COLD WAR PERIOD

The relations between People’s Republic of China and the United States of America have always passed through various twists and turns and numerous ups and downs. This chapter attempts to study the evolution of China-US relations during the post cold war period. The present relationship between both nations can be understood in the background of the ties developed during the cold war period between both nations when superpower rivalry between the Soviet Union, the United States and China was at its peak. First this chapter analyses the contemporary international political scenario and then goes on to understand the nature of China-US relationship during the cold war period. The first section which discusses the contemporary international politics talks about the different perceptions among the political scholars regarding the possible shape of the world order in the post cold war period and also about the likely nature of China-US relations in this period. Later this chapter goes on to discuss the evolution of China-US relations during the cold war period. This section briefly discusses the Second World War and then the developments which took place after the end of the Second World War. This section explains how the cold war started and then details the ups and downs of the relations among the United States, the Soviet Union and China during this phase.

THE NATURE OF CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

The concept of power is one of the important theories of international politics. It is almost impossible to study international relations without ‘power- concept’ because it is a major tool through which states seek to achieve their goals. The main promoter of realist theory of international politics, Hans J Morgenthau, describes international politics as a struggle for power. In his well-known book, Politics Among Nations: The Struggle For Power And Peace, he writes, “International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim.”¹ He adds that power is a means to achieve any target and a target in itself to be achieved.² Later, he relates

² Ibid.
national interest with power by saying that national interest is the centre point of international politics which can only be seen in the context of power. He says that if a policy of a state enhances its power, it is in its national interest and any policy which does not increase a state’s power, is not in its national interest.\(^3\) The realist theory emphasizes that international political system is anarchic where there is no central international body to regulate the behavior of states. Therefore, states always try to obtain power and maximize it to ensure their security for their survival. As states gain more and more power, a tendency of dominance emerges in them. A state with more power i.e. with more military, economic, human and natural resources, wants to become hegemon at global level and dominate world politics. Such kind of powerful state becomes a sole super power creating a univocal kind of world political system and exercising its hegemony\(^4\) across the world because international politics revolves around its policies and decisions. This situation is considered as unipolar world order.

However, according to Balance of Power theory, other states also try to maximize their power to create bipolar or multipolar world order so that power is equally distributed among the major powers in order to keep power-equation in equilibrium mode to avoid any kind of conflict and war with one another. Great powers, in spite of having several disputes and differences, cooperate with one another because of compulsions of international relations--the compulsion to avoid conflict and war--in order to maintain peace globally.

In the background of above mentioned ‘power-theory’, we can attempt to study the characteristics and nature of bilateral relations of two great powers--China and the USA-- in the post cold war era. The end of the cold war\(^5\) in 1991 brought several changes in the

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3 Ibid, p.5
4 It is believed that Antonio Gramsci, who was an Italian writer, politician, political philosopher, linguist and a Marxist thinker, was closely associated with the concept of ‘Hegemony’. He used the term ‘Hegemony’ to denote the predominance of one social class over others. This represents not only political and economic control, but also the ability of the dominant class to project its own way of seeing the world so that those who are subordinated by it accept it as ‘common sense’ and ‘natural’.
(Retrieved from [http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/marxism/marxism10.html](http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/marxism/marxism10.html) Accessed on May 2, 2011). However, in international politics, this term is used in sense of a dominance and influence, one powerful state seeks to exercise on other countries.

5 It is believed that the term ‘cold war’ was coined by an India born author George Orwell in his essay “You and the Atomic Bomb”, published on October 19, 1945, in the British newspaper ‘The Tribune’. Later, a journalist and speech writer Herbert Beyard Swope also used this term. He used to write speeches for Bernard Baruch who was advisor of American President Harry Truman. Baruch used this term frequently in his Congressional speech in 1947.
international political theatre. First, the ideological conflict between communism and capitalism ended and world became witness to an almost triumph of capitalistic eco-political form of system. Second, since the Soviet Union was engaged in power game across the world, therefore, its collapse created a kind of power vacuum in different parts of the world making the way for different regional states to emerge as regional power to fill up that space. Third, the disintegration of the Soviet Union ended the bipolar world system and it became unipolar world order in the sense that after the sudden fall down of the USSR, the United States remained as one and only world power.

The end of the cold war, gave fair opportunity to several scholars to foretell the global scenario in the post cold war era. Francis Fukuyama, an American writer, is one of those political exponents who have offered their visionary mental impression regarding post cold war world picture. In 1989, when cold war had started to wind up, Fukuyama wrote a well-acclaimed essay, “The End of History?” in The National Interest Journal. Later, in 1992, he wrote a detailed book on the same theme titled The End of History And The Last Man. In both his essay and the book, he declared that with the collapse of the Soviet Union and after the end of the cold war, in fact, history had come to its end. In his book, he says that the end of the communist rule in the Soviet Union indicates the victory of liberal democracy. He argues that since the beginning of the primitive era humans have been seeking for liberty, dignity, equality and universal recognition as a rational creature. According to him only democracy can provide such kind of dignified life to humans. He adds that slowly and gradually the major obstacles in the way of democracy such as Fascism and Communism have been eliminated and now liberal democracy rules with its full strength. Therefore, now after the demolition of the Soviet Union, man has achieved what he had been trying to get for a long time. Man has achieved his ultimate goal. So, now nothing remains to be achieved,

One more writer, Walter Lippman, is given the credit to popularize this term. (Retrieved from Dave Wilton, ‘cold war’, http://www.wordorigins.org/index.php/site/comments/cold_war/ Accessed on May 3, 2011


7 Karl Marx is believed to have popularized the term ‘End of History’ in the sense of end of class struggle, exploitation, toil and carnage. Marx believed that capitalism was not able to distribute wealth equally to everybody. Therefore, he expounded the theory of socialism and visualized that socialist revolution would end all kind of injustice and the mankind would attain the ultimate goal of ‘realization of freedom’. Thus, the history of class struggle would end. (Shadia B Drury, ‘The End of History and the New World Order,’ International Journal, Vol. 48, No.1, Winter 1992/93, Canadian International Council, Toronto, pp.80-99 )
thus history has come to its end. He accepts that still there are some states which are adhered to past but he hopes that slowly they will also accept democratic values and rule. He emphasizes that by the end of the 20th century, the combination of democracy and capitalism has prevailed and it appears to be a boon for the progress of human society.  

This way, Fukuyama divides the world into two parts. In the first category, there are liberal democratic states which have achieved their ultimate goal and are now not in any kind of struggle and thus have reached the end of history while the states of the second category are still living in past with their non-democratic values struggling and fighting for the same respectful and glorified life. He says that after the end of the cold war, the global fault line lies between the democratic and non-democratic states. Later, he suggests to the US strategists to make the shadow of the democracy larger and annihilate the rest of the non-democratic states in order to eliminate the fault line completely. He says that thus the process of end of history will be completely achieved and only the liberal, global, free market and capitalistic kind of world system will prevail everywhere.

One other political scientist, Samuel Phillips Huntington, came up with his theory of ‘clash of civilization’ regarding post cold war world scenario. In 1993, he wrote an article, ‘The Clash of Civilization?’ in the Foreign Affairs journal. Later, in 1996, he produced his ideas in the shape of a book titled The Clash of Civilization And The Remaking of World Order. In his book, he announced that in post cold war period, the main division will be between different civilizations. He calls this division as fault lines. He defines a civilization as a group of people who have common cultural values, traditions which differentiate them from another group of people or species. He identifies Hindu, Islamic, Western, Confucian, Japanese etc as different civilizations of the world.

According to Huntington, after the cold war, the world will be divided into different blocs of civilizations that will try to dominate one another and to become hegemon resulting

8 Francis Fukuyama, The End of History And The Last Man, Free Press, New York, 1992, p.4
9 Francis Fukuyama, National Interest, No.16,Summer 1989, Nixon Centre, Washington D.C., pp.3-18
10 It is believed that Sir Ignatius Valentine Chirol who was a journalist, world historian and British diplomat, has coined the term ‘Clash of Civilization’ for the first time while delivering a lecture in 1924 at Harris Foundation in the United States. Later in 1990, Bernard Lewis, a British-American historian, used this term in 1990 in his speech at the time of delivering ‘Jefferson Lecture’ series. Then Samuel Huntington borrowed this term from both of them. (Retrieved from http://cominganarchy.com/2006/07/27/chirols-clash-of-civilizations/ and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernard_Lewis Accessed on May 2, 2011
in an inevitable clash between them. He says that the changing socio-political and economic scenario across the world in post cold war period are actually creating a kind of drift and differences between those civilizations instead of bringing them closer and together. Therefore, people do not trust one another’s civilizations and are confined to their own culture and thus fundamentalist religious mindset emerges among them. According to him, the emergence of so called Islamic fundamentalism among Muslims is the clear evidence of such development. He predicts that the differences between various civilizations will finally lead to conflicts and war between them in future. He emphasizes that the different civilizations will clash with western civilization (particularly with the United States) because its cultural values are strong enough to be targeted by other civilizations. Huntington is anxious about the combined threat of China, Confucian and Islamic fundamentalism which may be the real concern for the United States after the cold war. Huntington, appeals to the US strategists to adopt strategies which can prevent all kinds of dangers emanating from it. He wants the US strategists to make plan to restrain Chinese ambitions and prevent it from strengthening its military power.

It seems that both Fukuyama and Huntington predict the triumph of the western civilization in general and American capitalistic, liberal, democratic and cultural kind of world system in particular in the post cold war era. They perceive the 21st century as an American Century; dominated and ruled by American policies, culture, civilization and values.

On the other hand, there is no lack of those political thinkers, who regard the 21st century as an Asian century which will be led by China. They say that China will be at the centre of the Asian political theatre finally making it a Chinese century. Such thinkers have their own logics and theories in support of their arguments. A look into some of those thinkers’ work will not be out of place.

Christopher Layne, a Texas University professor, says that China has been progressing immensely since mid 1980s and its economic growth has been all around 10 per cent every year since 1990. Layne argues that China’s fast economic growth will help it to become a great power making it a rival and competitor of the United States in coming years. He adds

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13 Huntington, no. 11, p.20
that China is trying to make good relations with other Asian countries such as India, North Korea, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia etc. to win their heart and strengthen its position in Asia to become Asian hegemon first. He also throws light on how the relations between China and the USA will progress in post cold war period and what kind of strategies both countries will adopt against each other. According to Layne, Washington is trying to adopt the policy of engagement as well as containment to prevent China from emerging as a peer competitor of the United States.\(^\text{14}\)

He says that according to US engagement policy, if China is exposed to the rest of the world, and if China comes in contact with western civilization and capitalistic free market global economy, its dependence on international community will increase and Chinese society will also become liberal. Such changes in Chinese character will compel China to restrict its ambition, which will lead to status quo in international system and China–US relations will remain calm. On the other hand, if United States adopts containment policy against China, in that case, Washington will have to strengthen its military power and form coalition of states against China to keep China under check and restrict its ambition. He also talks about Chinese policy in post cold war era as he observes that China will work silently on its ‘Peaceful Rise’ strategy to challenge US hegemony. China will use its economic strength as a tool to impress and influence different countries to bring them under its own umbrella.\(^\text{15}\)

One other writer, Frances H O’neal, of Alabama University, also talks about China’s role in the post cold war era. He narrates a number of points to be considered as China’s gradual emergence as a great power. In 2005, China received $ 60 billion foreign direct investments and is the most sought-after place for the investors. China is the third largest exporter after the United States and Germany. China’s army is counted as the biggest in size in the world. He emphasizes that now, after the end of the cold war, China is keen to participate at different international fora and has shown interest to be the leader in resolving different international problems and conflicts. In 2001, China joined World Trade Organization and has become member of Association of South East Asian Nations Regional Forum and Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Besides, China has been playing a crucial role in


\(^{15}\) Ibid.
negotiating with North Korea on its nuclear weapons programme. O’neal argues that China not only wants to participate on different international forums but also wants to reform, build and lead the international political system.\textsuperscript{16}

Finally, O’neal says that after the failure in Iraq war and criticism regarding violation of human rights of prisoners in Abu Ghraib jail, the United States has lost its reputation and is no more a hegemon while China, with its soft stand and for example, major humanitarian role in 2004 Tsunami crisis, has gained appreciation from all round the world. He concludes by saying that China is emerging as a world power and apparently posing a challenge for American hegemony and leadership across the world.\textsuperscript{17}

Amid different opinions and speculations regarding the role, position and relation of America and China\textsuperscript{18} after the end of the cold war, it is necessary to investigate the nature of China-US relations during the cold war phase as the evolution of both nations’ relations can, in fact, be traced back in to the developments taken place during the second world war. Therefore, to begin with, it would be useful for our purpose to briefly discuss about the Second World War.

\textbf{THE SECOND WORLD WAR}

Officially, the Second World War is said to have begun in September 1939, when Hitler, who was an autocratic ruler of Germany and driven by imperialistic mindset, attacked Poland with the intention to capture it. In response to his attack, Britain and France announced war against Germany because they had promised Poland to secure its territory through an accord after the end of the First World War. As a matter of fact, Germany, Italy and Japan were

\textsuperscript{16} Frances H O’neal, ‘China: An Emerging Power, a Great Power, or an Emerging Great Power?’, \textit{India Quarterly}, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, Vol. LXIII, No. 1 January–March 2007, pp. 57-77

\textsuperscript{17} ibid

\textsuperscript{18} The claims that America declining and China shining, by different scholars, reminds us about the relations between Australia and India what they share in the game of Cricket. For more than a decade, Australia has been a dominating Cricket team and behaved like a hegemon in Cricket. But, now for the last some years, because of repeated defeats by Indian cricket team, Australian position in cricket is declining while India, as a united team and because of winning continuous games, is emerging as a great cricket power and the biggest threat and competitor of Australia. Whenever both teams play, they try to dominate the game and be hegemon on each other but keep their game spirit at harmonic state to avoid any kind of conflict and controversy. However, it seems that India is rising as a cricket power and such development indicates the change in cricket world order, where Australia will no longer remain as a sole dominating cricket power while India is apparently about to replace Australia and will achieve number one position in cricket in coming years.
three discontented states which were not happy with the arrangements enforced by different treaties after the First World War.\textsuperscript{19} Therefore, in the decade of 1930s, these three states were attacking different countries to rearrange the status quo. Japan had already attacked China in 1937 and had been continuously in war with it since then. On the other hand, Italy which was ruled by another autocratic ruler Mussolini had attacked and captured Albania during early months of 1939.\textsuperscript{20}

The United States was not willing to be involved in the war and decided to remain neutral initially but later developments forced it to be the part of ongoing war. Germany and Japan continued their invasion into other states. After winning Poland, Hitler attacked Holland and Belgium too and captured them. After that he moved to France and by mid 1940, France was also defeated by Germany. During that period, Germany, Italy and Japan came closer and in September 1940, they signed an agreement called Tripartite Pact to cooperate with one another during ongoing war. Through this pact, they vowed to help one another, if some other power attacked any of them. The bloc came to be known as the ‘Axis Powers.’\textsuperscript{21} The conclusion of this pact appeared to be directed against the United States because they undertook to assist one another with all political, economic and military means if any one of them was attacked by a country which was not involved in the European War or in the Japanese-Chinese conflict at that time. This provision sought to force Washington to ‘think’ before taking aggressive stand against the axis powers. Through this pact, Japan agreed to recognize and respect the leadership of Germany and Italy in the establishment of a new world order in Europe while Germany and Italy pledged to recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in Greater East Asia.\textsuperscript{22}

During the later months of 1940, British Prime Minister, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill appealed to the US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt for assistance and support to defeat the axis powers and achieve their common objective to fight against the

\textsuperscript{19} After the end of the First World War, Japan wanted to be recognized as a great power in Asia while Germany and Italy had the same kind of ambition in Europe.


\textsuperscript{21} Walter Lafeber, The American Age : United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad : 1750 To The Present, WW Norton, New York, 1994, pp.391-395

\textsuperscript{22} http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/the-tripartite-pact-is-signed-by-germany-italy-and-japan

Accessed on May 3, 2011
imperialism. At this stage, the United States had smelt the war coming to its own soil\(^{23}\) and decided to abandon the policy of neutrality to involve itself indirectly in the war to prevent any crisis over the United States. Therefore, the United States switched from neutrality to active participant or from nonbelligerent to belligerent player of the war. The US Congress passed a ‘Lend-Lease Act’ in 1941. This Act allowed the Roosevelt Administration to provide military aid to its allies in the fight against Germany, Italy and Japan. The terms of this act stated that the allies were to repay the United States not in money but by returning the goods or using them in support of the cause or by a same kind of transfer of goods to the United States.\(^{24}\) The United States decided to help Britain and other states involved in the war by lending them goods, services and war equipments rather giving them money directly. According to the agreement, those states were supposed to return those goods after the war. It is estimated that the United States delivered war equipments and services of more than $50 billion to its allied countries. The United States and Britain navy submarines were cooperation to keep vigil on German war-ships.\(^{25}\)

Extending its belligerent role to the Asian region, the USA decided to give loan to China which was fighting against Japan. Approximately $265 million were given to the government of Chiang Kai Shek by the United States during the last months of 1940. Japan had occupied a major part of China and had established a puppet government of Wang Ching Wei.\(^{26}\) But, for the United States, it was not possible to recognize the government of Wang because it considered Japan as an intruder which had illegally occupied China and set up a puppet government there. So, Washington kept supporting the government of Chiang Kai Shek of the Nationalist Party.

On the other hand, in Europe, Hitler had become over-confident and over-ambitious too, after winning different smaller states one-by-one. Therefore, in June 1941, he dared to attack the Soviet Union itself. It was surprising for the Soviets because in August 1939, Japan and the Soviet Union had agreed upon a non-aggression pact through which the Soviet Union had

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\(^{23}\) After winning France, Germany had started bombing London as well. But Britain retaliated firmly and aggressively. Then Hitler decided to postpone its attack on Britain. United States was watching every movement of Germany. Washington interpreted that if Britain was defeated by Hitler, next he could turn to the United States. On the other hand, interestingly Hitler wanted to engage America with Japan to avoid any direct confrontation with America. That was the reason, he had done Tripartite Pact with Tokyo.


\(^{25}\) Julius W Pratt, no.20, pp.343-346

ensured Germany not to open a second war front against it and in return, the Soviet Union got its lost right on Poland. German attack on the Soviet Union brought Moscow and Washington closer and the Soviets gained sympathy of the United States. So despite having ideological differences with the Soviets, the United States decided to extend its lend-lease policy to Soviet government also and obliged it by lending war goods and services.\textsuperscript{27} It is believed that from 1941 to 1945, Soviet Union received different kinds of aid worth $12 billion from the Unites States.\textsuperscript{28}

Japanese forces were invading different countries and capturing them. In July 1941, Japan occupied whole Indochina region and showed its intention to move towards Southeast Asia. The United States decided to take strong steps against Japan and it froze all Japanese dollar assets kept in American Banks. It resulted in a huge economic loss for Japan.\textsuperscript{29} But in spite of it, Japan did not back down and decided to take preemptive measures against the United States. Tension prevailed to such an extent that a war seemed inevitable between them. The apprehension of outbreak of war between the United States and Japan became a reality when on December 7, 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, a US naval base on Hawaii Island. This base experienced a massive air assault from Japan and within a few hours thousands of Americans were killed in that attack.\textsuperscript{30} The US President Roosevelt called it ‘a day which will live in infamy’ and declared war against Japan the very next day. On December 11, Germany and Italy announced war on America because of their commitments towards Japan made through ‘Tripartite Pact’.\textsuperscript{31} This way, the USA became an active player in the Second World War.

As soon as the United States turned into a belligerent party of the war, a series of events started taking place quickly. On January 1, 1942, twenty six nations gathered in Washington to form a Grand Alliance against the axis powers. All of these states were in war with Germany, Italy or Japan. They signed on a Declaration of United Nations and vowed to fight together against the axis power until the war was won and peace had been established across the world. The major countries of Grand Alliance were the USA, Britain, the Soviet Union

\textsuperscript{27} Frank Ninkovich, \textit{The Wilsonian Century : US Foreign Policy Since 1900}, The University of Chicago, 1990, pp.119,131
\textsuperscript{28} Walter Lafeber, no.21, p.398
\textsuperscript{29} Frank Ninkovich, no. 27, p. 133.
\textsuperscript{31} Walter Lafeber, no.21, pp. 404-405
and China. This Declaration stated that the signatory states were convinced that complete victory over their enemies was necessary to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom and to protect human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands. The document further stated that the signatory states were engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to conquer the world. The statement declared,

“(1) Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.
(2) Each Government pledges itself to cooperate with the Governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle, for victory over Hitlerism.”

This step is seen as one of the serious steps taken during the Second World War to establish the United Nation Organization. Having learnt lessons from the failure of the League of Nations and the developments taken place between 1919 to 1939 i.e. the period between the end of first world war and the beginning of second world war, western countries were concerned about post second world war scenario, too. Therefore, they were making various efforts to establish such an international organization which could regulate the behavior of states, prevent conflict between them and establish peace and stability across the globe. For the same purpose, the US President Franklin Roosevelt had met British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in 1941 and they came up with the Atlantic Charter, on August 14. In the Atlantic Charter, both leaders had declared their policies. The Charter had stated that both countries wanted self-government in all states, free movement of ships in sea, establish peace, mutual economic cooperation among states and such kind of economic system which would ensure each state’s equal opportunity, approach and right on resources. Later, the Charter stated that Germany and Italy would be driven away from the occupied European countries and European boundaries would be restored to pre-1919 condition.

The Atlantic Charter worked as a basis for the establishment of the United Nations, and set forth several principles for the nations of the world. These principles included the rejection of all aggression, right to self-government, access to raw materials, freedom from want and fear, freedom of the seas, and disarmament of assailant nations. The states which

33 Norman A Graebner, America As a World Power: A Realist Appraisal From Wilson To Reagan, Universal Book Stall, New Delhi, 1984, p.87
signed on the Declaration of United Nations agreed upon the principles laid down in the Atlantic Charter as well.

Although Great Britain, the United States of America and the Soviet Union were cooperating but at the same time they were skeptical about one another’s tactical moves. The Atlantic Charter secretly signed by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, created doubts in the mind of Stalin. He thought that Britain and the United States would leave the Soviets behind in any kind of post world war arrangement. Therefore, on January 1, 1942, Stalin signed on the Declaration of United Nations, which adopted the principles of Atlantic Charter, and sought to become the active part of post war peace efforts and benefits. On the other hand, the United States and Britain were doubtful about the Soviet Union’s expansionary intentions, because taking the help of non-aggression pact done with Germany, the Soviet Union had occupied Eastern Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina during the early months of 1941.\textsuperscript{35}

The inclusion of China in the Grand Alliance was an indication of China’s recognition as a power by the United States. Before the Second World War, China did not hold any major place in Washington’s foreign policy but in 1937 when Japan attacked China, it showed its sympathy towards China. After the US active involvement in the war, Washington decided to give China the status of its trustworthy ally. The change in American perspective was due to its two major logistic schools of thoughts. First, the USA regarded Japan as an autocratic state which was fighting against western democratic values so China which was fighting against Japan, automatically gained importance in Washington’s eyes. And second, the United States wanted to engage China with Japan in Far East Pacific region so that Washington could concentrate to defeat Germany in Europe.\textsuperscript{36}

The United States took several steps to strengthen its relations with China during the world war. By a treaty with China, Washington gave up its extra-territorial rights that it had been exercising since 1844.\textsuperscript{37} Now China could try the US citizens residing in its territory. In 1943, the US Congress deleted Chinese exclusion laws and allotted Chinese immigration

\textsuperscript{35} Norman A Graebner, no.33, pp. 88-89
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, pp.80-81
\textsuperscript{37} In 1844, both the United States and Qing Dynasty of China had signed a ‘Treaty of Wanghia’ in which there was a provision that the American citizens residing in the territory of China could be tried only by the US consulate officials and not by Chinese authority. (Retrieved from http://history.cultural-china.com/en/34History6512.html Accessed on May 5, 2011)
quota as same as those of other countries of Europe. Besides, since 1937, the Chinese
government of Chiang Kai-Shek had received loans and credits worth $ 120 million through
the export-import bank of the United States.38

War was going on, at its full pace, at both fronts of Europe as well as Far East Asia-
Pacific region. By the end of 1942, Axis powers had an edge over allied forces. Germany
used to target American ships in Atlantic region and it had attacked a major part of the Soviet
Union as well. In the pacific region, Japan was moving ahead unbeaten and had captured
Burma, Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaya and several other islands spread across the Pacific
Ocean.39 But scenario changed since the beginning of 1943. In spite of having differences
over opening war-front strategy with the US and Britain,40 the Soviet Union was fighting
against Germany firmly and replying it aggressively. Because of massive retaliation from the
Soviet army, Germany had to withdraw from different occupied places. Soviet forces drove
Germany away and took back Leningrad and other lost territories from Germany during the
first half of 1943. The US and British forces invaded North Africa, Sicily and Italy and by
the mid 1943, got back North Africa and Sicily. Italy, too, could not withstand the retaliation
and met the same fate. Mussolini surrendered in September 1943.41

During the war, Stalin, Joseph Stalin, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill met
between November 28 and December 1, 1943 at Tehran, Iran. This summit is widely known
as Tehran Conference. The central issue of this conference was to discuss the final planning
of the war against Germany. The top leaders discussed to open a second front in Western
Europe. The Soviet Union agreed to wage war against Japan once Germany was defeated.42

Before this meeting, Churchill and Roosevelt met with Chinese leader Chiang Kai-Shek
in Cairo, Egypt and discussed war plans for the Far East. The Cairo Conference was held
between November 22–26, 1943 and it addressed the Allied position against Japan during the
world war and made decisions about postwar Asia. The Soviet leader Stalin refused to attend

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38 Julius W Pratt, no.20, pp.367-368
39 Walter Lafèber, no.21, p.414
40 The Soviet Union wanted the USA and Britain to open a second front in Europe against Germany in order to
lessen the burden of the Soviet forces while Britain, having learnt lessons from first world war, was reluctant to do
so and convinced America, too, to toe the same line. Britain believed that fighting against France could be expensive
so Britain and America decided to open front against North Africa and Italy rather than Germany.
41 Walter Lafèber, no.21, pp.422
42 Kennedy Hickman, ‘World War II : Tehran Conference,’

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the conference on the grounds that since Chiang was attending, it would cause provocation between the Soviet Union and Japan. The Cairo Declaration was signed on November 27, 1943 and released in a ‘Cairo Communiqué’ through radio on December 1, 1943, stating the Allies’ intentions to continue deploying military force until Japan’s unconditional surrender. There were three main clauses of the Cairo Declaration. First, all the islands in the Pacific which Japan had seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914, were to be taken from Japan. Second, all the territories Japan had captured from the Chinese, such as, Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be given back to the Republic of China. And, third, in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

As mentioned earlier, during the Second World War, while the allied forces were cooperating to defeat axis powers, at the same time they were giving proper consideration on post war scenario as well. A series of conferences and summit talks took place during 1941-45 on the issue of establishment of peace as well as post world war world order. Just as the allied forces were moving ahead and gaining victories, the major states such as the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain were becoming ambitious and diplomatically bargaining with one another regarding the right on the conquered regions and states. On the other hand, efforts were on to establish a global United Nations Organization to ensure peace in post war era. In this regard Dumbarton Oaks Conference held between August 21 and October 7, 1944 in Washington D.C., was a remarkable achievement. The principle objective of this conference was to discuss the possibilities of creating an international organization that would maintain world peace after the end of the world war. In fact, there was not one meeting at Dumbarton Oaks, but a series of meetings were held. These meetings were attended by the representatives of the Soviet Union, China, Great Britain and the United States. Chinese representative attended this conference from September 29, 1944 through October 7, 1944.

The discussion was complete on October 7, 1944. The four nations put their proposals regarding the structure of the world organization and opened it for the discussions to all the United Nations participating governments. The proposed United Nations organization was to

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43 The Soviet Union and Japan had signed Neutrality Pact in 1941 which made provisions for neutrality between both nations for five-year period. In 1943 the Soviet Union was not at war with Japan, whereas China, Great Britain and the United States were.
be established with four major bodies. There was to be a General Assembly which included all the members. Then it was decided to establish a Security Council of eleven members. The third body was an International Court of Justice and the fourth a Secretariat for the United Nations. The major part of the plan was that the responsibility to prevent future war was given to the Security Council. The General Assembly was supposed to study, discuss and make recommendations to promote international cooperation. The actual method of voting in the Security Council was left for future discussion. Another important feature of the Dumbarton Oaks plan was that member states were to keep armed forces at the disposal of the Security Council so that it could use those forces to prevent war and acts of aggression and violence in future.\footnote{http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/history/dumbarton.shtml Accessed on May 6, 2011}

The Yalta summit held in February 1945 threw clear light on post war picture. Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill met at the Yalta Conference, Crimea during February 4-11 and discussed about post world war arrangements. Each leader came to Yalta with an agenda. Roosevelt wanted Soviet military support against Japan after the defeat of Germany and Soviet participation in the United Nations, while Churchill desired on securing free elections for Soviet-liberated countries in Eastern Europe. Stalin sought to build a Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe to protect against future threats. In addition to these long-term issues, the three powers also needed to develop a plan to govern postwar Germany. It was decided to divide Germany in four zones to be controlled by four major powers-the Soviets, the United States, Britain and France-with a quadripartite occupation of Berlin as well. Poland was given under the Soviet’s observation until fair elections were held there. It was also agreed that the Soviet Union would get back its rights on Kuriles and Sakhalin islands.\footnote{http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/imperialism/notes/yalta.html Accessed on May 6, 2011}

Roosevelt wanted Stalin to enter the Pacific War with the Allies to defeat Japan. One Soviet precondition for a declaration of war against Japan was an American recognition of Mongolian independence from China, and recognition of Soviet interests in the Manchurian railways and Port Arthur. Roosevelt agreed for it without taking consent from Chinese leader Chiang Kai-Shek. Stalin agreed that the Soviet Union would enter the Pacific War three months after the defeat of Germany. Roosevelt was happy that the Soviet involvement in the war in Far East against Japan would shorten the war and could save many American soldiers’
lives. The leaders also agreed upon the voting procedure in Security Council and called for San Francisco Conference to finalize the Charter of the United Nations.  

The San Francisco Conference or the United Nations Conference on International Organization was a convention of delegates from 50 Allied nations that took place from April 25, 1945 to June 26, 1945 in San Francisco, California. China, the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States were the sponsoring powers and 46 other states participated which comprised all those that had signed the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942 or had declared war on the Axis powers by March 1945. The Conference reviewed, revised and rewrote the Dumbarton Oaks Conference decisions and finalized the Charter of the United Nations. The United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and China were to become the permanent members of the proposed Security Council with Veto Power. The Charter was adopted and signed on June 26, 1945 and came into effect from October 24, 1945.  

In San Francisco Conference, China was represented by V.K. Wellington Koo, who was China’s Ambassador to England at that time. On May 18, 1945, Koo explained that the Chinese delegation had two objectives at the United Nations conference. First was to contribute its part in order to establish machinery through which peace and security might be maintained. And the second objective was to cooperate with the other members of the United Nations to support the welfare of all people and establish the rule of law in international behavior. He stated that establishment of a United China could work as a stabilizing factor in the Far East and Pacific. He emphasized that this way China and other nations shared common purpose to maintain peace in the world.  

Immediately after the San Francisco Conference, in July 1945, the leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain met at Potsdam in Germany to clarify and implement the agreements previously reached at the Yalta Conference. Relations between the superpowers had become worse since Yalta Conference. By July 1945, the Soviet Army had taken control of the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania. Stalin had established a Communist government in Poland. Britain and America protested, but Stalin defended his actions. He said that the Soviet control of Eastern Europe

was a proactive measure against possible future attacks. He claimed that it was a legitimate sphere of Soviet influence. In the United States also, Roosevelt had died and Harry Truman became the US president who vowed to get tough with Stalin. Besides, Washington had successfully tested atom bomb, which meant that now it did not need Soviet’s help to defeat Japan.\(^5\)

The Soviet Union, Britain and the United States agreed upon some protocols in this Conference. According to the agreement, the Allied forces wanted to demilitarize and democratize Germany. They also agreed to divide Germany and Austria respectively into four occupation zones which were earlier agreed in principle at Yalta. It was also decided to divide Berlin and Vienna into four zones. They also agreed to bring Nazi war-criminals to trial. However, this summit was not a complete success because the big powers failed to reach on a consensus on the details of how to divide Germany, the size of reparations Germany was supposed to pay and on the question of Soviet Union’s influence over the Eastern Europe.\(^5\)

On July 26, 1945, in addition to the Potsdam Agreement, Churchill, Truman, and Chiang Kai-Shek, issued the Potsdam Declaration which outlined the terms of surrender for Japan during the Second World War in Asia. The terms of the Declaration specified the abolition of the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world occupation. The Proclamation proposed the occupation of points in Japanese territory to be designated by the Allied nations. It stated that Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as the Allied forces determined. It was decided that the Japanese military forces shall be completely disarmed. The declaration said that Japan would be permitted to maintain such industries which sustained its economy but not those which would enable it to re-arm for war. For this purpose, only access to raw materials was permitted. It was also decided to withdraw the Allied forces from Japan as soon as those objectives were complete. Finally the Head of the states called upon the government of Japan to proclaim the unconditional

\(^5\) [http://www.johndclare.net/cold_war4.htm](http://www.johndclare.net/cold_war4.htm) Accessed on May 6, 2011
surrender of all Japanese armed forces. They warned that if Japan did not agree for unconditional surrender, it could lead to utter destruction.53

Apart from establishing the United Nations Organization, the Allied nations decided to set up a post war economic system as well. On the economic front, Bretton Woods conference is believed to be important. The United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, popularly known as Bretton Woods Conference, was held during July 1-22, 1944. The delegates of all 44 allied nations gathered in Bretton Wood, New Hampshire to regulate the international monetary and financial order after the end of the Second World War. In this meeting, it was decided to set up two financial institutions—World Bank and International Monetary Fund—to establish a capitalistic and free open market kind of economic world order. In fact, during that period the US industry was producing goods in excess and American companies were in search of new markets to sell them. And World Bank and International Monetary Fund were going to be instrumental to fulfill such United States’ needs as it was decided to determine the world economy on the basis of value of gold and US dollar.54

Amid these developments, the Soviet Union emerged as a powerful nation after defeating Germany during the first week of 1945. Stalin did it all alone without getting any help from Roosevelt and Churchill. Now, Stalin showed his desire to send its troops to the pacific region and fight against Japan, too. Meanwhile, Japan offered to surrender on the condition that the monarchy would prevail in Japan after the end of war. But, the United States, on the name of unconditional surrender, rejected this offer. Till then, the Washington had developed atom bomb with the help of Britain and Canadian scientists. Now, since the power-equation was changing, the United States was not willing to let the Soviet Union enter the pacific region, fight against Japan and then claim any territorial right on it after victory. So, the United States was keen to end the war quickly and hastily decided to use nuclear weapon against Japan and dropped two atom bombs on Hiroshima on August 6 and on Nagasaki on August 9 respectively. Japan had no choice but to give up and it surrendered on August 15 accepting the terms of Potsdam Declaration. But, the United States compromised a little and approved the existence of institution of monarchy, even after the war, though, curtailed its

53 [http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/e06.html](http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/e06.html) Accessed on May 7, 2011
power. Political Scholars argue that had America accepted Japan’s proposal to surrender just after Germany’s defeat, atom bombs were not needed to be used. But, since the United States wanted to show its military might, it used the bombs against Japan and then later accepted, more or less, the same offer of Japan to end the war.\textsuperscript{55}

On September 2, 1945, representatives of the Japanese government and the Japanese armed forces formally surrendered to the Allied powers by signing the Instrument of Surrender. Through the Instrument of Surrender, Japan agreed to abide by the terms of Potsdam Declaration. A serious problem had arisen after Japan’s surrender in August as to which Chinese army would accept the surrender of the Japanese forces that were scattered throughout China. Although Communist were in effective control of a large part of China, but the United States recognized Chiang Kai-Shek as legal government of China and not the communists, so it was decided that Japan would surrender before Chiang Kai-Shek. Therefore on September 9, 1945, Japanese commanders in China and representatives of Chiang Kai-Shek signed the ‘Act of Surrender-China Theatre’ in Nanking. The Act of Surrender stated that all Japanese ground, sea, air and auxiliary forces within China excluding Manchuria, Formosa and French Indochina would surrender to Chiang Kai-Shek. The Act also directed all the Japanese forces to be dictated by Chiang Kai-Shek and obey his orders.\textsuperscript{56}

\textbf{BEGINNING OF THE COLD WAR}

During the Second World War, the United States was in illusion to make a friendly coalition with the Soviet Union and China to establish peace, security and stability across the world after the end of the war. But, Stalin, who was the communist ruler of the Soviet Union, had another plan in his mind. The Soviets wanted to spread the communist ideology all over the world. Therefore, after the end of the war, the Soviets started working on its strategy. The Soviet Union played a major role from behind the curtain to bring communist governments in Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and eastern part of Germany to name a few. But, the Soviet Union justified such steps to be necessary to ensure its security in post world war order. After having lost millions of people during the world war, Soviets wanted stable

\textsuperscript{55} Walter Lafeber, no. 21, pp. 446-450
\textsuperscript{56} \url{http://www.taiwandocuments.org/surrender02.htm} Accessed on May 7, 2011
and pro-Soviet governments in the states around their border which would not encourage any kind of instability and insecurity in its region.57

But, Washington was not ready to buy such arguments and was suspicious about Stalin’s intentions. Meanwhile, Stalin’s radio address on February 9, 1946, in which he reviewed the reasons for outbreak of Second World War, added fuel in the matter. Stalin delivered a lecture in Moscow in which he held responsible capitalistic kind of economy for creating war and destabilizing peace across the globe. In his speech he said,

“[The second world war] was the inevitable result of the development of world economic and political forces on the basis of modern monopoly capitalism. Marxists have declared more than once that the capitalist system of world economy harbors elements of general crises and armed conflicts and that, hence, the development of world capitalism in our time proceeds not in the form of smooth and even progress but through crises and military catastrophes.”58

In the latter part of his same speech, he became more aggressive and attacked capitalism by saying,

“… the unevenness of development of the capitalist countries usually leads in time to violent disturbance of equilibrium in the world system of capitalism, that group of capitalist countries which considers itself worse, provided than others with raw materials and markets usually making attempts to alter the situation and repartition the “sphere of influence” in its favor by armed force. The result is a splitting of the capitalist world into two hostile camps and war between them.”59

While concluding his speech, he said that victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War meant “that our Soviet social order…has successfully passed the ordeal in the fire of war and has proved its unquestionable vitality …that our multinational Soviet state has stood all the trials of war and has proved its vitality.”60

It is clear from Stalin’s speech that he was not in the mood of compromise with western countries and wanted to prove that the victory of the Soviet Union in the second world war was, in fact, the victory of Marxist–Communist ideology. On the other hand, obviously, the United States was not ready to digest Soviets’ proactive moves and all of the developments were going against the US’s own strategy. American policy makers were in the state of consistent surprise and were taken aback by the Soviet Union’s activities. So, they sought the help of George Frost Kennan, who was the counselor in the US Embassy at Moscow to analyze Stalin’s speech and report them. In reply, On February 22, 1946, Kennan sent back a

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57 Peter G Boyle, no. 48, pp. 54-62
58 Quoted in Michael H Hunt, Crises in U.S. Foreign Policy, Vail-Ballou Press, New York, 1996  pp.144-
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59 Quoted in ibid, p.145
60 Quoted in ibid.
long telegram interpreting proposed Soviet policy in post second world war era. In the telegram, he argued that the Soviets were the victim of a phobia regarding the possible implications of mutual direct contact between Soviet society and outside world. He examined that Soviet tyrants needed to justify their rule and in the name of Marxism they had got such mask to give a moral face of their autocratic rule. He emphasized that Soviet policy makers were ambitious and wanted to enhance power, prestige and province of the Soviet Union. He observed that the Soviet rulers wanted to destroy the US society and its political establishment in order to save Soviet Empire.  

“…we have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that with US there can be no permanent modus vivendi , that it is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be disrupted, our traditional way of life be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken, if Soviet power is to be secure. This political force has complete power of disposition over energies of one of world’s greatest peoples and resources of world’s richest national territory, and is borne along by deep and powerful currents of Russian nationalism. In addition it has an elaborate and far flung apparatus for exertion of its influence in other countries.”

Finally, in the telegram he asked how to tackle this force to curb its ambitions. He wrote, “….Problem of how to cope with this force…[is] undoubtedly greatest task our diplomacy has ever faced and probably greatest it will ever have to face….”

Later, he himself answered his own question in a famous article, ‘The Sources of Soviet Conduct,’ published in the July 1947 edition of Foreign Affairs journal. In this article he expounded the policy of containment for the US government against the Soviet Union. In the article, he analyzed the nature of Soviet foreign policy on the basis of its ideological historical background. He emphasized that Soviets believed in Marxist ideology and considered capitalism as an exploitation tool for the labor class. Such exploitation by capitalistic class leads to class struggle and then to war and revolution in society. Revolution against the capital-owning class will finally result in the establishment of the rule of working class and socialism in society. He said that the Soviets applied their principle in Bolshevik Revolution. Kennan further said that Marxism was merely an instrument for a minority elite class to establish and justify their rule. This elite class can not tolerate any kind of opposition

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62 Quoted in Michael H Hunt , no.58, p.147
63 Quoted in ibid.
64 Kennan’s telegram had crucial impact on US policy decision. The US policy makers were pleased with Kennan’s clear and logical interpretation of Soviet foreign policy. So, he was promoted and was appointed as the Director of Policy Planning Staff. Since, he was holding such official position, it was not appropriate for him to write an article in any journal. So, he suggested the publishers not to mention his name as the writer. Publishers agreed and his article was published with writer’s name as ‘X’.
to their rule and have become autocratic. The opposition of capitalism is deeply rooted in the state of the Soviet Union. He argued that the Soviet rulers were not trustworthy and they had been trying to spread their ideology and mobilize the world community against western capitalistic countries. He believed that the Soviet rulers’ intention was to bring more and more countries under communist ideology. So, he said that it was going to be a long time conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States.\textsuperscript{65}

Therefore, in his article he suggested for the US policy makers that, “the main element of any United States policy towards the Soviet Union must be that of a long term patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expensive tendencies.”\textsuperscript{66}

And in the later part of the article, he suggested how to implement this containment policy. He wrote, “the Soviet pressure against the free institution of the western world is something that can be contained by the adroit and vigilant application of counterforce at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points, corresponding to the shifts and maneuvers of Soviet policy….\textsuperscript{67}

It is clear from Kennan’s article that he was trying to suggest a step-by-step, systematic and schematized strategy regarding how to tackle the Soviets in post world war scenario. While concluding his article, he showed his trust in the US ability to curb the tentacles of the Soviet Union and prevent it from extending communist ideology across the world. He wrote that as a world power, it had been the duty of the United States of America to hold the Soviet Union’s ambition in submission.\textsuperscript{68}

Not only Americans but the Britishers were also worried and suspicious about the Soviet rulers’ possible expansionist intentions. In March 1946, former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill delivered a speech at Fulton, Missouri and warned Americans regarding the Soviet threat. He said,

“From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia, all the famous cities and populations around them lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject in one form or another not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow.”\textsuperscript{69}

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid. p. 575  
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid. p. 576  
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid, p.582  
\textsuperscript{69} Quoted in Cynthia A Watson, \textit{U.S. National Security}, ABC CLLO , California, 2002, p.134
Churchill’s ‘Iron Curtain’ speech has been believed to be an open proclamation of a confrontation against the Soviet Union about its perceived maneuver to expand its territory. On the other hand, some European countries such as Greece and Turkey sought financial support from the United States to rebuild their infrastructure after the war. Such of their request gave a pretext to Washington to adopt a firm policy against the Soviets. The US President Harry Truman addressed a joint session of Congress on March 12, 1947. His speech was the precursor of a policy known as ‘Truman Doctrine’. In his speech he said that the United States had received an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance from war affected nations which were trying to rebuild their national economies after the Second World War. He reminded that the primary objective of the foreign policy of the United States was the creation of conditions in which the US and other nations would be able to work out way of life from coercion. He further said,

“At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one. One way of life is based upon the will of the majority and is distinguished by free institutions, freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.
I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free people who are resisting attempts subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destines in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political process. I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of $400,000,000…”

Truman Doctrine is seen as the US declaration of psychological warfare against the Soviet Union and became the foundation for the Marshall Plan as well. Marshall Plan was a policy of economic aid offered in addition to the countries in Western Europe, also to the Soviet Union and other East European countries to reconstruct their infrastructures after the devastation of Second World War. This plan was named after George Catelett Marshall who was the Chief of Staff of American Army during the Second World War and later became Secretary of State during President Truman’s regime. George Marshall revealed his plan in a speech delivered at Harvard University on June 5, 1947. In his speech he said,

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“In considering the requirements for the rehabilitation of Europe, the physical loss of life, the visible destruction of cities, factories, mines, and railroads….It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos.”

Through Marshall Plan, the United States wanted to kill several birds with one stone. First, by giving economic assistance to Europe, America wanted to show its economic might to others in post world war order. Second, economic assistance was intentionally offered to the Soviet Union as well as other European countries. The theory behind the offer to the Soviet Union was that if the Soviet Union rejected this offer and if other European countries accepted it, such phenomena could bring differences between the Soviet Union and other European countries which could result as a constraint on so called Soviet expansionist mindset.

It is true that Stalin rejected Marshall Plan, but not quickly. First, he tried to trace the real intention behind this plan. His sources reported him that the United States was trying to exploit its economic power to influence European states and isolate the Soviet Union. Stalin believed intelligence reports and rejected the plan. During that period, not only the United States was suspicious about the Soviets’ intentions but the Soviets’ were also suspecting American intention equally. So, like the United States, the Soviet Union’s policymakers were also instructing their officials to report them about the US strategy in post world war era. Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov instructed Soviet Ambassador to the US, Nikolai Novikov to report to him about the US plans. Like Kennan, Nikolai also sent back a long telegram to Kremlin on September 27, 1946. In his telegram, he analyzed American policy. He wrote,

“The foreign policy of the United States which reflects the imperial tendencies of American monopolistic capital, is characterized in the post war period by a striving for world supremacy…. The establishment of American bases on islands that are often 10,000 to 12,000 kilometers from the territory of the United States and are on the other side of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans clearly indicates the offensive nature of the strategic concepts of the commands of the U.S. army and navy.”

71 Quoted in http://www.oecd.org/document/10/0,3746,en_2649_201185_1876938_1_1_1_1,00.html Accessed on May 8, 2011
…The strengthening of U.S. positions in the Near East and the establishment of conditions for basing the American navy at one or more points on the Mediterranean Sea…signify the emergence of a new threat to the security of the southern region of the Soviet Union.” 74

It is clear from Novikov’s telegram that suspicion was prevailing at both sides about each others’ intentions. Based on this report, Molotov delivered a speech on November 6, 1947 in a meeting about Soviet perception of American threat. He said,

“[T]he United States is constantly setting up new naval and air bases in all parts of the globe, and is even adapting whole countries for such purposes, especially those lying near to the territory of the Soviet Union. …

As we know, a sort of new religion has become widespread among expansionist circles in the USA. Having no faith in their own internal forces, they put their faith in the secret of the atomic bomb…

…now a days to indulge in new imperialist gambles is to play a dangerous game with the destiny of capitalism…[I]f the anti-imperialist and democratic camp unites it forces and avails itself of all its opportunities, it will compel the imperialists to be more sensible and restrained.” 75

In reply of Molotov’s speech, the US President retaliated in equal aggression. On June 12, 1948, in a national radio broadcast from the University of California, President Truman addressed the Americans. He said,

“We fought through world war II with only one purpose to destroy the tyrants who tried to impose their rule on the world and enslave the people…. Why then, after such great exertions and huge expenditures, do we live today in a twilight period, between war so dearly won and a peace that still eludes our grasp? The answer …. lies largely in the attitude of one nation the Soviet Union. …The Soviet Government has rejected the invitation to participate, freely and on equal terms in a great cooperative program for reconstruction of Europe [the Marshall Plan]. It has constantly maneuvered for delay and for propaganda effect in every international conference. It has used the veto excessively and unreasonably in the Security Council of the United Nations….It has used indirect aggression against a number of nations in Eastern Europe and extreme pressure against others in the Middle East.” 76

It is crystal clear from Truman’s speech that it was word-by-word reply of Molotov’s speech. The cold war had begun between the two super powers after the end of the Second World War. Tension was increasing day-by-day and speech-by-speech.

DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST ASIA

Almost during the same period i.e. 1945-1949, dramatic political changes were taking place in China. A civil war was going on between Chiang Kai-Shek’s Kuomintang government and

74 Quoted in Michael H Hunt , no.58, pp.151-155 , Emphasis in original
75 Quoted in ibid, pp.161-162
76 Quoted in ibid, pp. 162-163
the Communist party led by Mao ZeDong. In post world war East Asia, the United States wanted to see a stable, united, strong and democratic China so that Soviet Union’s influence could be curtailed in that region. Such strategy could become reality only if both Nationalist and Communist Party compromised to form a coalition government. So, the United States sent its Chief of Army Staff General Marshall to China to mediate between both parties and make them reach a compromise. General Marshall reached China in December 1945 and negotiated with both the Nationalist and Communist parties. After hard bargaining and mutual concessions, both sides became ready for a cease fire in January 1946. But, when mistrust, misconduct, mischief, misunderstanding and misconception were altogether present at their peak in both sides, how long could this ceasefire last? Soon, both sides figured out enough excuses against each other to break the ceasefire and in April 1946, they again stood up against each other to fight their natural war.

The Communists were mainly operating from their bases situated in Manchuria. Washington advised Chiang Kai-Shek to maintain peace and not to involve in any conflict with communists, if he wanted to retain power. At that time, Kuomintang government’s troops seemed to be defeating communists in Manchuria, so Chiang Kai-Shek turned a deaf ear to the US advice. On the other hand, Communists perceived that the United States would neither support them nor give any economic and military aid. Communists accused Americans for betrayal and they were apprehensive of US intentions. Mao ZeDong blamed that the United States had kept its forces in China even after the end of the world war in order to provide support, control and proper movement of Chiang’s forces against the Communists. On June 24, 1946, Mao ZeDong came up with a public speech. He enquired of Americans why they were conveying military aid to Kuomintang government alone while both sides had agreed upon an agreement of cease fire on equal terms. Thereafter, Communists became both anti-American and anti-Kuomintang and started their military campaign against Chiang’s forces. First, they drove away Kuomintang army from Manchuria. For this they used Japanese arms and weapons which were given to them by the Soviets before whom Japanese

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77 In fact the civil war was going on in China from 1920s, when Chiang Kai-shek, a nationalist party leader, and Mao ZeDong who was a Communist leader were in constant state of struggle to establish their own government in China. Chiang Kai-Shek had overthrown Manchu Dynasty from China in 1911-12, but he failed to provide a stable government. (Retrieved from http://library.thinkquest.org/26469/history/ Accessed on May 9, 2011)
army had surrendered in August 1945. When Kuomintang forces surrendered in Manchuria, their arms were snatched by the communists. In fact, these arms were given by the US government to Chiang Kai Shek. By the end of 1948, Nationalist army was driven away from Manchuria. Then, Mao moved ahead in the Chinese mainland. In January 1949, first Peking city and then, during first half of 1949, Communist Army occupied whole of North China. Finally in September 1949, communists captured Nanking, the capital city of Kuomintang government. On October 1, 1949, Mao ZeDong announced the establishment of People’s Republic of China (PRC), declared himself as its president and kept Peking as his capital.\(^79\)

Just two days after PRC’s establishment, the Soviet government announced its decision to recognize the newly formed Chinese government and established diplomatic relations too. Very soon, North Korea, Mangolia and East Germany, all communist states, recognized the new communist government of Mao. On the other hand, Chiang Kai-Shek managed to carry his major part of army to Formosa island (now Taiwan), which was situated approximately 120 miles away from Chinese mainland with almost 6,00,000 army men and a fair amount of gold stock. From there, Chiang declared himself as the legitimate ruler of China and his administration as the Chinese ‘government in exile’.\(^80\)

The United States was astonished as well as disappointed with such developments in China. The incidents which were taking place in China were going against the wish and strategy of Washington. The United States wanted a pro-American, strong, unified China in post world war era in order to keep the Soviet Union out of this region and to prevent it to influence East Asian states. Since the end of 1949, domestically the US government was criticized, blamed and held responsible by opposition party leaders for having ‘lost China’ to the hands of communists. There was a perception among the US think tanks that a communist China may be ultimately influenced and taken over by communist Soviet Union resulting in the expansion of communist areas. Such apprehension seemed to become reality when on February 14, 1950; Soviet Union and China concluded a ‘Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance’. Through this agreement, the Soviet Union vowed to safeguard China in future from any Japanese or its allies’ acts of aggression. Both states agreed to respect each other’s national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Later, on

\(^{79}\)Ibid, pp.154-161  
\(^{80}\)Lawrence H Battistini, no. 26, p.233
April 19, 1950, a Sino-Soviet Trade Agreement was also signed between both states. Through these agreements Moscow started the programme of monetary aid and peripheral assistance to China in order to rebuild infrastructures so that it could regain its military and economic strength.\(^{81}\)

The Soviet Union’s friendly attitude towards China was raising eyebrows among the United States’ policy makers and strategists. Truman Administration was being criticized for not taking care of its national security. Critics argued that the Soviet Union would influence and then bring China under its grasp finally resulting in the expansion of Communism in East Asia. Critics said that Moscow would establish a puppet government in Peking and then ultimately assume control of China. They warned the US government against alleged Soviet imperialism and suggested to extend containment policy to Asia as well. Even national Security Council also recommended not to trust the communist government of China. The study report sent to the President Truman in the last week of December 1949, stated,

> “The United States should continue to recognize the National Government of China…. The United States should avoid recognizing the Chinese Communist regime…The United States should exploit through appropriate political, psychological and economic means, any rift between the Chinese communist and the USSR and between the Stalinists and other elements in China….”\(^{82}\)

On the other hand, the US Secretary of State Dean Gooderham Acheson, delivered a speech on January 12, 1950, titled ‘Crisis in Asia- An Examination of U.S. Policy’. In his speech, he, too, showed his anxiety over so called Soviet imperialism. He said,

> “[T]he Soviet Union is detaching the northern province of China from China and is attaching them to the Soviet Union….

> …

> The Consequences of this Russian attitude and this Russian action in China are perfectly enormous.”\(^{83}\)

Taking note of concerns expressed from various corners, President Truman decided to put forward military and economic assistance to East Asian countries. The US government provided technical and military aid to Korea, Indonesia, Philippines and Republic of China functioning from Taiwan.\(^{84}\) Through such arrangements, Washington wanted to make a circle of states around China which would be pro-American in order to protect the US grasp and

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\(^{82}\) Quoted in Thomas H Etzold and John Lewis Gaddis (eds.), no.72, pp.252-253

\(^{83}\) Quoted in Michael H Hunt, no.58, pp.199

\(^{84}\) Norman A Graebner, no.33, p.173
interests in East Asia. Besides, the United States took a policy decision to keep supporting the government of Chiang Kai-Shek which was being run from Taiwan. Because, supporting communist government of China was, in fact, like supporting communist ideology of the Soviet Union which was completely against of the US policy interests. On the other hand, even Peking was also not sure about Washington’s intentions. Mao ZeDong used to speak against the US policies and in favor of those of the Soviets’. When the communists were about to take over Peking in the mid 1949, on June 30, 1949, in commemoration of the Chinese Communist Party's twenty eighth anniversary, he delivered a speech and announced his Party’s foreign policy principle. In the same speech, he presented his famous ‘lean to one side’ theory and expressed his firm desire to be the part of communist world led by the Soviet Union. He said,

“You are leaning to one side.” Exactly. The forty years’ experience of Sun Yatsen and the twenty eight years’ experience of the Communist Party have taught us to lean to one side, and we are firmly convinced that in order to win victory and consolidate it we must lean to one side. In the light of the experiences accumulated in these forty years and these twenty eight years, all Chinese without exception must lean either to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism….

“….Internationally we belong to the anti-imperialist front headed by the Soviet Union and we can look for genuine, friendly assistance only from that front, and not from the imperialist front….**85

On another occasion, on August 14, 1949, he said,

“Part of the intellectuals…have illusions about the United States. They are easily duped by the honeyed words of the U.S. imperialists , as though these imperialists would deal with People’s China on the basis of equality and mutual benefit without a stern, long struggle.”**86

If we consider Mao’s speeches, it would become clear that communist China was suspicious about the US policies and its future plans. Because of such perceptions about each other, China and the United States were not able to establish a convenient relationship during the initial months of Mao’s rule. And such perceived notion kept China and the United States at a distance while brought China and the Soviet Union nearer. However, the reasons for coming closer of Moscow and Peking were also rooted in Washington’s aggressive and preemptive measures, taken during the early months of the beginning of the cold war.

According to the wartime understanding, after the end of the Second World War, Germany was divided into four parts and occupied by the Soviet Union, Britain, United

86 Quoted in Michael H Hunt , no.58, p.195
States and France. In 1948, the United States, Britain and France decided to merge their zones and thus formed West Germany. Now, there were two German states—East Germany or German Democratic Republic influenced and occupied by the Soviet Union and West Germany or Federal Republic of Germany which was formed by joining three zones occupied by Britain, the United States of America and France. The United States wanted to see West Germany as a well settled state finally to integrate with western Europe while the Soviet Union which had established a puppet government in East Germany, did not want Germany to become again a powerful nation as it had harmed the Soviets twice. Therefore, the Soviet Government was apprehensive and afraid of such developments and considered the US policies against its interests. In 1950, Britain, the United States and France decided to provide military aid to West Germany in order to strengthen its position in Europe. They justified rearming of West Germany by saying that Soviet Government had accumulated a great size of its army in East Germany. In fact, it was George Kennan’s idea to give so much importance to Germany. He had studied in Germany and served as vice-counsel also in Hamburg before the Second World War. So, he believed that the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union would be determined in future on the issue of German settlement. He found Germany as of great significance for the US security.87

Besides, the United States led the campaign to establish the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949 with European states. Those European states who received economic aid through Marshall plan, were now expecting military shield from the United States to protect themselves from any possible Soviet military assault. Keeping European states’ expectations in its mind, on April 12, 1949, the United States along with Britain and Canada signed on the Charter of NATO with other democratic countries of Western Europe. Article 5 of charter proclaimed that in case of one or more of the signatory states were attacked militarily by any state, it would be considered as an attack on all of them and thus the member states would fight collectively against the assailant. The purpose of creation of such organization was not only to provide military assistance to any signatory state during a war like situation but also to lift up the European states and prepare them to face and defeat

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any potential political and military threat from the Soviet Union. United States wanted to use NATO as a deterrent because it believed that no country would dare to attack on the member states if they were protected under a military umbrella from the United States.

At the same time, the Soviet Union, which was developing nuclear weapons since the middle of Second World War, successfully tested its atom bomb in August 1949 and ended the United States monopoly in nuclear arms. But, in reply, in January 1950, the US President Harry Truman announced that Washington would develop Hydrogen bomb. Meanwhile, the United States successfully prevented the communists’ victory in the Italian elections in April 1948. Because of the US diplomacy Yugoslavian president Tito also broke its relations with the Soviet Union.

Because of such developments, the Soviet government appeared to be on backfoot. Therefore, establishment of a cordial relationship between the Soviet Union and China was natural and inevitable. Events were taking place according to the changing scenario at world political theatre, when the Korean War came which worsened the relations between the super powers.

THE KOREAN WAR AND CHINA—US RELATIONS

Korean crisis started in June 1950, when North Korea attacked South Korea. Korea was under Japanese occupation till Second World War. In 1945, when Japan surrendered, the Soviet forces were in the Northern part of Korea while the United States forces were in the Southern part of Korea. Both countries decided to maintain status quo and considered 38th parallel line as a dividing border line. Thus, the Northern part of Korea remained under the control of Soviet Union while the Southern part remained under the US occupation. The United States wanted the unification of both zones of Korea and its strategy was to bring Korea under its influence after its integration. Therefore, under the supervision of United Nations, Washington arranged an election in May 1948 in Southern Korea and thus a government of Republic of Korea was formed. Surprised by the United States action, the Soviet Union also held an election in September 1948 in the Northern part of Korea and formed People’s Republic of Korea. Now, officially there were two Korean states-North

Korea and South Korea. In South Korea, Syngman Rhee became the President and formed a dictatorial and anti-communist government while in North Korea Kim Il-sung established his government based on the Soviet model. After the establishment of two governments both the Soviet Union and the United States decided to withdraw their troops from their respective zones. Soviet Union withdrew by the end of 1948 while the United States did so in 1949. But, in spite of withdrawing its troops, the United States continued its containment policy in South Korea and kept providing it military, technical and economic aid.  

The rulers of both Koreas wanted to invade each other’s region in order to unify Korea and create a single Korea under their control. In April 1950 Kim Il-sung went to Moscow and got Stalin’s support for a policy to unify Korea under his command. Although theoretically Stalin agreed with the idea of the unification of Korea, he refused to become an active and direct part of Kim’s plans and advised Kim to secure Chinese support instead. In May 1950 Kim traveled Beijing and got success in gaining Mao’s support for his plans. At that time, Mao’s support for Kim was mainly and basically political. Getting indirect approval from Stalin and Mao ZeDong, North Korean President King Il-sung attacked South Korea on June 25, 1950. The United States was anxious that a full-fledged war in Korea could quickly convert into another world war if China or the Soviet Union decided to get involved in this issue. The Truman administration feared that a war in Korea could instigate a general war in Europe. Truman thought that this aggression could start a chain reaction that would undermine the authority of the United Nations and may be a catalyst for further Communist aggression in other parts of the world. Therefore, within one week, the United States decided to rescue South Korea from this attack. On June 27, the United Nations recommended member states to provide military assistance to South Korea. On the same day, the United States quickly sent air and sea forces to help South Korea. On June 29, Washington sent its ground forces as well to support other forces.

One angle of the United States’ changing attitude towards Korea and whether to get involved in this crisis was Japan. The US East Asian experts saw Japan as the critical counterbalance to the Soviet Union and China in the region. The perception among the US

92 David Rees, Korea: the Limited War, St Martin's, New York, 1964, p.22
Administration’s officials that the security of Japan required a non-hostile Korea led to President Truman’s decision to intervene in Korean crisis. The United States wanted to support Japan to make it a counterweight against the Soviet Union and China, and Korea was seen as integral for that purpose.\(^{93}\)

Meanwhile, the US President Truman associated Korean issue with that of Taiwan. In his public statement made on June 27, 1950, he said,

“"The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that Communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war…. [T]he occupation of Formosa[Taiwan] by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area. Accordingly I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa….”\(^{94}\)

Next day Mao ZeDong also delivered a public speech and criticized the US decisions to send its army to Korea and Taiwan Strait. He said,

“"[T]he affairs of Asia should be managed by the peoples of Asia themselves, not by the United States….US intervention in the internal affairs of countries such as Korea, the Philippines, and Vietnam is completely unreasonable. The sympathy of the entire Chinese people…will be on the side of those subject to aggression and certainly not on the side of American imperialism.”\(^{95}\)

In spite of China’s criticism, the United States sent its Seventh Fleet\(^{96}\) to Taiwan Strait and its army to Korea. Within three months of fighting, the US forces drove North Korean forces back to 38th parallel line. But, that was not enough for Washington. Now Harry Truman became ambitious and showed his desire to invade North Korea, win it and create a single unified state of Korea. On the other hand, China was giving warnings to the United States not to cross 38th parallel line otherwise it would intervene and send its troops to that region. Since China had borders with North Korea, therefore it was concerned about its own security. Mao was anxious about the new developments and he perceived that after winning Korea, the United States could attack China as well. Meanwhile, the US Army commander MacArthur went to Taiwan and expressed Washington’s support for Chiang’s government.

\(^{93}\) Young C Kim, *Major Powers And Korea*, Silver Spring, MD, Honolulu, 1973, p. 30

\(^{94}\) Quoted in Michael H. Hunt, no.58, p.202

\(^{95}\) Quoted in ibid, p.203

\(^{96}\) The U.S. Seventh Fleet is the largest U.S. numbered fleet, with 60-70 ships, 200-300 aircraft and approximately 40,000 Sailors and Marines operating on any typical day. The Seventh Fleet was formed on 15 March 1943 in Brisbane, Australia, during World War II. It is the United States Navy’s permanent forward projection force based in Yokosuka, Japan, with units positioned near South Korea and Japan. In addition to U.S.-based carrier and expeditionary strike groups that conduct rotational deployments to the region, there are 21 ships forward deployed to U.S. facilities in Japan and Guam. (Retrieved from [http://www.c7f.navy.mil/forces.htm](http://www.c7f.navy.mil/forces.htm) and [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Seventh_Fleet](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Seventh_Fleet) Accessed on May 9, 2011)
Being confident of its victory, the US forces crossed 38th parallel and entered North Korea. In such situation, China finally instructed its army to enter North Korea and attack the US troops. Chinese army attacked the American troops aggressively and killed many of them. In November 1950, the US forces were about to lose the war. Chinese forces had crossed 38th parallel line and entered South Korea. But, then the US forces also retaliated firmly and succeeded to send Chinese army back to 38th parallel line. China claimed that the vast Chinese armies were actually ‘volunteers’ who had entered Korea to resist the United States so called imperialism. But the United Nations called them ‘aggressors’. The war kept going on and lasted for more than 30 months. Till then, both sides were tired of ongoing war and they started to find a solution and stop the war. Finally, after negotiations, war ended in 1953. On July 27, 1953, both sides agreed to keep 38th parallel line as an international border and a cease fire was announced.  

In spite of heavy economic, military and human lives lost, Chinese were happy because they had driven away the US forces from North Korea and safely protected the communist regime. For Chinese, it was winning a war against so called US imperialism and gaining prestige in world politics by defeating United States. Chinese had preserved North Korean Communist regime as a buffer between their border and the unfriendly regime of South Korea. On the other hand, for Washington it was an unpleasant experience--a huge loss of money, men and prestige. Now, the United States started considering China as its enemy and giving recognition to Mao led People’s Republic of China could be only considered as equal to last nail in the coffin. The United States perceived China as an extension of Soviet communism to Far East Region. Therefore, Chiang Kai-Shek kept getting support and recognition from the United States.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE KOREAN WAR: MILITARY ALLIANCE AND ARMS RACE

There were a number of implications of the Korean War. First, because of this war almost for the next 20 years, China-US relations could not become normal. Second, the US containment policy got extended from Europe to Asia. Now, the United States considered both the Soviet

98 Warren I Cohen, no. 89, p.74
Union and China its rivals and it was necessary to contain China in Asia Pacific region. In order to prevent the spread of communism, the US foreign policy got transferred from anti-Soviet to anti-Communism as a whole. The United States decided to promote and protect not merely neutral but anti-communist regimes in Asia and not only in Taiwan but in Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand also.99

For this purpose, the United States committed itself to several treaties and military alliances with Asian countries. Japan had gained importance in the US policy just after one year of the end of the Second World War because of the changing political scenario globally. In 1946, the United States had announced the abandonment of the reparations program and started to implement less restrictive economic guidelines against Japan. On May 12, 1949, the United States decided to terminate all reparation payments for the duration of the occupation and to allow Japan to resume full scale production to war related industries such as iron, steel, ship building and oil refining. And from the beginning of 1948, the United States started thinking to rearm Japan.100

In the middle of the Korean War, on September 8, 1951, 48 nations along with United States signed a ‘Peace Treaty’ with Japan which finally ended the Allied states’ occupation of Japan and reaffirmed Japan’s sovereignty. The treaty provisions stated that the Allied Powers and Japan were determined to treat their relations as sovereign equals and vowed to collaborate in friendly manner to support their common interest of promotion and maintenance of international peace and security. The Allied Powers recognized the full sovereignty of the Japanese people over Japan and its territorial waters. The signatory states agreed upon the right of self defense of Japan which indirectly meant the rearming of Japan. The article 6 of this treaty stated,

“All occupation forces of the Allied Powers shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present Treaty, and in any case not later than 90 days thereafter. Nothing in this provision shall, however, prevent the stationing or retention of foreign armed forces in Japanese territory under or in consequence of any bilateral or multilateral agreements which have been or may be made between one or more of the Allied Powers, on the one hand, and Japan on the other.”101

On the basis of this provision, on September 8 itself, Japan and the United States signed a bilateral ‘Security Treaty’. Through this agreement, the United States agreed to safeguard

99 Joseph Camilleri, no. 81, p.28
100 Ibid, p.35-36
Japan from any military aggression or attack. For this purpose, the pact permitted the United States to set up its military bases and station its troops in Japan. But, in fact, this provision was included to secure the US strategic interests in this region. The agreement contained five articles, which directed Japan to grant the United States the territorial space so that Washington could establish a military presence in the Far East. Moreover, the accord stated that Japan would be prohibited from providing foreign powers any bases or any military-related rights without the consent of the United States. The treaty came into force on April 28, 1952. Later, on March 8, 1954, the United States and Japan agreed upon a ‘Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement’ which guaranteed American military and economic aid to Japan. Now Japan has gained prominent place in the US foreign policy. The United States wanted to attach Japan with West to save it from communists.\(^{102}\)

Taiwan remained central to the United States Pacific strategy because the US control and influence over this island enabled the United States to dominate with air power almost every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore. Therefore, a bilateral agreement was signed between the United States and Taiwan through which the United States guaranteed Taiwan’s security. The treaty named as ‘Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty’ was signed on December 2, 1954 in Taipei and came into force on March 3, 1955. Both countries vowed to help each other in any kind of military aggression against each other. This action established Taiwan as part of the collective security system in the East Asian and Pacific region. The treaty called upon both states to settle any international dispute in which they may be involved by peaceful means. In fact, through this provision, the United States wanted to prevent Taiwan to begin any military attack against Communist China without getting permission from Washington. Besides, this treaty granted the United States the right to place its land, air and sea forces to protect Taiwan and the Pescadores as may be required for their defense. However, the treaty was limited in application because it included the provision to defend only Taiwan and the Pescadores islands and some other islands such as Kinmen and Matsu were not protected by this treaty.\(^{103}\)

Besides, on September 8, 1954 United States signed Manila Pact or Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty which established the Southeast Asia Treaty

\(^{102}\) Julius W Pratt, no. 20, p. 441  
\(^{103}\) [http://usinfo.org/sino/dtreaty_e.htm](http://usinfo.org/sino/dtreaty_e.htm) Accessed on May 10, 2011
Organization (SEATO). It was perceived as an organization which was supposed to defend and protect Southeast Asian countries from any military aggression. But, no forces were assigned to SEATO and the signatory states decided to confront any armed aggression in the SEATO region according to their own constitutional practices. The US purpose for the establishment of this organization was to prevent the spread of communism to the pacific area. As the US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had mentioned in the US Department of State Bulletin that the SEATO would make a substantial contribution to preserve free governments in Southeast Asia and to prevent communism from spreading into the Pacific area, where it would seriously threaten the defense of the United States.\(^\text{104}\)

While United States was involved in making alliances with different countries, the Soviet Union was also not left behind. It made military alliances with China and established its bases in East European countries. The Soviet Union signed Treaty of Peace with each of them. Besides, on May 14, 1955 the Soviet Union also established a military alliance similar to NATO which was named as Warsaw Treaty Organization. The Warsaw Treaty Organization of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance or more commonly referred to as the Warsaw Pact, was a defense treaty signed by eight communist states in Eastern Europe. The founding members of this Pact were Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, East Germany and the Soviet Union. The eight member countries of the Pact showed their determination to defend one another if any member came under attack. It was considered as counterweight to NATO. Warsaw Pact was in fact the military dimension of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance which was set up in 1949 by the same members. The principle aim of this collective body was mutual assistance and coordination in economic development of the member states.\(^\text{105}\)

After the Korean War, a new type of arms race began between the super powers. The Soviet Union, the United States and People’s Republic of China; all of them increased their defense budget and became involved in developing various kinds of conventional and unconventional weapons. In 1952, and in 1953, both the United States and the Soviet Union tested Hydrogen bombs respectively. Besides, the Soviets were busy in developing missiles, too. The Soviet Union launched its first space satellite Sputnik in 1956 and proved its

\(^{104}\) Oliver E Clubb, Jr., *The United States And The Sino-Soviet Bloc In South East Asia*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1962, p-60

capability to develop missiles which could carry nuclear weapons. In reply, the United States also developed missiles and by the end of 1950s, while the Soviets had 100 Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM), the Americans had approximately 550 ICBMs. Besides, they had stockpiled a fair amount of warheads, too.\footnote{Glenn Blackburn, \textit{The West And The World Since 1945}, St. Martin’s Press, New York, 1996, pp.12-13}

Middle Eastern region was important for both the United States and the Soviet Union because of its oil resources. In 1947-48, when Britain withdrew itself from this region and handed over the Israel-Palestine issue to the United Nations, the United States and the Soviet Union both were apparently seen desireous to fill in that power vacuum. During the initial years of 1950s, the Soviets were providing military and economic assistance to Middle Eastern states and thus countries like Egypt and Syria had come under Soviet influence. In 1955, the Soviet Union and Egypt concluded arms deal where the Soviets were to provide Egypt Czechoslovakia-made arms. The Soviet Union had sympathy towards Arab nation i.e. Palestine and was trying to win hearts of Arabs. When the United States found the Soviet Union becoming influential in Middle East, it also opened its front in this region. In 1954, the United States committed itself to Iraq with a military assistance agreement. And in 1955, it supported the formation of the Baghdad Pact. Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Pakistan and Britain were the members of this pact. This Pact was known as Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).\footnote{William A Rugh, \textit{American Encounters With Arabs}, Praeger Security International, Westport, Connecticut, 2006, pp.36-46}

Because of the presence of the United States and the Soviet Union, the Middle East became a new platform for both of them to show their power, influence and superiority on each other. Even the Arab countries found themselves separated and divided in two blocs. One group was led by Egypt, Iraq and Syria which opposed the US policies in this region and fought against another group which was led by Saudi Arabia. In between, the US President Dwight David Eisenhower announced a policy regarding Middle East which was later known as Eisenhower Doctrine. On January 5, 1957, he addressed the Congress and said that Russians were trying to dominate Middle East. He said that to oppose and restrain the Soviet influence in that region, the United States would provide economic and military support to any country, if the victim nation requested Washington for such aid against armed aggression.
of any country controlled by international communism. This doctrine was practiced in Jordan and in Lebanon in 1957-58.\textsuperscript{108}

Both the United States and the Soviet Union came on the verge of war on Cuban missile crisis issue. During late 1950s and early 1960s, the Soviet Union was involved in arms race with the United States. The Soviet Union had developed missiles which were powerful and could be launched against Europe. At the same time, the U.S. missiles were also capable of striking the entire Soviet Union. During late April 1962, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev decided to place intermediate-range missiles in Cuba. The theory behind it was that a missile deployment in Cuba would double the Soviet strategic arsenal and provide a real deterrent to a potential U.S. attack against the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz, the then prime minister of Cuba, wanted to defend his island from any possible attack from the United States. Therefore he agreed to place the Soviet missiles on the island. In the summer of 1962 the Soviet Union secretly built its missile installations in Cuba. But the United States came to know about it during the mid October when some intelligence reports revealed that Soviet missiles were under being deployment in Cuba. After one week of discussion, the Kennedy Administration decided to impose a naval quarantine around Cuba in order to prevent the arrival of more Soviet offensive weapons on the island. The Administration also announced that any nuclear missile launched from Cuba would be regarded as an attack on the United States by the Soviet Union and demanded that the Soviets remove all of their offensive weapons from Cuba.\textsuperscript{109}

On October 27, a US U-2 spy plane was shot down over Cuba which was trying to take photograph of the Soviet missile installations. However, quickly tensions began to ease on October 28 when Khrushchev announced that he would dismantle the installations and take the missiles back to the Soviet Union, expressing his trust that the United States would not invade Cuba. Further negotiations were held to implement the October 28 agreement, including a United States demand that Soviet light bombers be removed from Cuba, and specifying the exact form and conditions of United States assurances not to invade Cuba. In the month of November the Soviet Union removed its missiles from cuba and thus both sides prevented a nuclear war-like situation. Besides, the United States also agreed to remove its

\textsuperscript{108} Burton I Kaufman, \textit{Arab Middle East And The United States}, Mayne Publishers, New York, 1996, p.25

missiles from Europe and Turkey. Thus both countries prevented a nuclear war like situation.\textsuperscript{110}

**TWO TAIWAN STRAIT CRISIS AND CHINA-US RELATIONS**

On January 5, 1950, the US President Harry Truman had announced that the United States would not engage in the dispute of Taiwan Strait, which meant that Washington did not want to intervene if the Chinese communists were to attack Taiwan. However, on June 25, 1950, when the Korean War broke out, President Truman sent the Seventh Fleet into the Taiwan Straits by declaring the neutralization of the Straits of Formosa. He ordered the US forces to prevent any attack on Taiwan by Communist China and also prevent the Kuomintang forces to attack People’s Republic of China. He wanted to maintain peace in that region and avoid any clash between both the Chinas. But, during the Korean War, because of Communist China’s aggression against the US forces, on February 2, 1953 President Eisenhower lifted the US Navy blockade of Taiwan, imposed by former President Harry Truman, which had prevented Chiang’s forces from attacking Communist China.\textsuperscript{111}

When the United States removed its military presence in the Taiwan Straits, Chiang Kai-shek became ambitious and increased his efforts to get back control of mainland China. During August 1954, he approved the deployment of troops in the Nationalist stronghold islands of Quemoy and Matsu. Washington’s issued warnings to the communists against taking any retaliatory actions against the Nationalist government, Mao saw the developments as an opportunity to integrate Taiwan with the mainland China. The Chinese Premier Zhou En-lai declared on August 11, 1954 that Taiwan must be ‘liberated’. Mao wanted to use Taiwan as an instrument to unite the people of both Chinas against perceived potential foreign threats like the United States. So, Mao ordered the bombing of the occupied offshore islands. From September the Communists began bombing some islands such as Quemoy and the Tachen Islands. During mid September, the US Joint Chiefs of Staff suggested the possibility of the US nuclear strikes against China. In November, China sentenced 13 US airmen shot down over China in the Korean War to long jail terms. It incited the United States to consider seriously the use of nuclear weapons against China. Despite domestic

\textsuperscript{110} Douglas Brinkley, *Dean Acheson: The Cold War Years 1953-71*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1992, pp. 154-174

\textsuperscript{111} [http://www.enotes.com/topic/First_Taiwan_Strait_Crisis](http://www.enotes.com/topic/First_Taiwan_Strait_Crisis) Accessed on May 11, 2011
political pressure, President Eisenhower refused to bomb mainland China or use of American troops to resolve the crisis. On January 18, 1955, mainland Chinese forces occupied Yijiangshan Island and drove away the Nationalist forces from there. The two sides constantly kept fighting on Kinmen, Matsu islands and along the mainland Chinese coast. Meanwhile, the US President Eisenhower and the US Congress decide to follow a diplomatic path and adopted the Formosa Resolution in January 1955. The Resolution allowed the US to defend Taiwan and authorized the president to use American forces to ensure the safety of the islands under Taiwanese government against any armed attack. The passage of the resolution started a series of indirect negotiations and talks between the United States and China. On April 23, 1955, China declared at the Afro-Asian Conference that it was ready to discuss the situation with the United States. And on May 1, 1955 China stopped bombing of Quemoy Matsu Island showing its willingness to end the crisis. On August 1, 1955, China released the 11 captured US airmen previously sentenced to jail terms.

During the first Taiwan Strait crisis of 1954-55 the Soviet Union was hesitant to support China’s campaign to ‘liberate’ Taiwan. On the other hand, the United States had shown its willingness to use nuclear weapons to defend Nationalist government’s toehold islands. During the war, it was clear that the Soviet Union did not want to be involved in the war with the United States that did not serve any purpose for it. Thus, not getting any support from Moscow, Beijing decided to stop the military operations against the Quemoy Island. After the crisis, China could assert to gain a partial success because Nationalist troops had withdrawn from Tachen Island during the clash.

Later, between 1956 and 1957, Mao ZeDong reworked his strategy and showed his desire to accomplish a peaceful settlement of the conflict with the Nationalists. On the other hand, Chiang Kai-shek’ was not ready to remove troops from Quemoy and Matsu. By 1958, tension in the Taiwan Straits started again. Mao was worried about the enhanced US interest in Taiwan Mao changed his policy and decided to take tough stand against Taiwan. Besides,

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113 Ibid.
Mao ZeDong had adopted the strategy of socialist transformation of Chinese society, known as the Great Leap Forward.\textsuperscript{115} So, he wanted to integrate Taiwan with mainland China in order to make his policy of Great Leap Forward successful. Mao perceived that Taiwan could be instrumental in mobilizing the people in order to the rapid advancement of China’s industrial and economic capabilities. So, Mao ordered his forces to bomb of Quemoy Island. Thus, the Second Taiwan Strait crisis started on August 23, 1958. Taiwanese forces in Quemoy also retaliated against the attack. During this clash, approximately 2,500 Taiwan’s troops and 200 Communist China’s forces were killed. This appeared to be the continuation of the first Taiwan Strait crisis of 1954-1955. The US President Eisenhower decided to provide aid to Taiwan government according to its obligations in the 1954 U.S.-Taiwan defense treaty. Eisenhower Administration ordered his naval forces to help the Chiang Kai-shek government in protecting Quemoy’s island. At the same time, the Soviet Union sent its foreign minister, Andrei Gromyko, to Beijing to discuss China's actions. Getting no support from the Soviet Union and having run out of artillery shells, the Chinese government called a ceasefire on October 6, 1958.\textsuperscript{116}

Later, Mao claimed that through the resumption of the bombing on the islands, he wanted to ‘teach the Americans a lesson’ for interfering in China-Taiwan matter. But, it was believed that his assessment was based on his idea that an international crisis could go in favor of Beijing. Mao ZeDong wanted to project as ‘imperialist aggressors’ and he wanted to use the Taiwan situation to show that China had an independence communist identity and was not under the influence of the communist Soviet Union. Both of the strait crises contributed to the growing distrust between the three superpowers of the era—the United States, China and the Soviet Union.\textsuperscript{117}

\textsuperscript{115} The Great Leap Forward of China was an economic and social campaign of the Communist Party of China reflected in planning decisions from 1958 to 1961. It aimed to use China’s vast population to rapidly transform the country from an agrarian economy into a modern communist society through the process of rapid industrialization, and collectivization. Mao Zedong led the campaign based on the Theory of Productive Forces, and intensified it after being informed of the impending disaster from grain shortages. The Great Leap was not merely a bold economic project. It was also intended to show the Soviet Union that the Chinese approach to economic development was more vibrant, and ultimately would be more successful, than the Soviet model. (Retrieved from http://www-chaos.umd.edu/history/prc2.html Accessed on May 11, 2011)

\textsuperscript{116} http://charl.blog.edu.cn/2008/33311.html Accessed on May 11, 2011

\textsuperscript{117} http://www.coldwar.org/articles/50s/taiwan_crisis.asp Accessed on May 11, 2011
CHINA-SOVIET RIFT AND EMERGENCE OF CHINA AS A POWER

After concluding the Treaty of Friendship, alliance and Mutual Assistance in 1950, the Soviet Union and China were coming closer. During Korean War, they were united and confronted the US aggression together. On October 12, 1954, both countries came up with a Joint Declaration in which they vowed to ‘strengthen and broaden their ties of brotherly friendship’. The Soviet Union announced to grant China credits worth $ 130 million. The Soviet Union also agreed to give economic aid to establish 15 new industries. A proposal to build two new railroads to link both the countries was also considered.\(^\text{118}\)

Prima facie, it appeared that both countries shared a very close relationship but in fact everything was not perfect between them. After agreeing on Mutual Assistance Treaty in 1950, China took it for granted that the Soviet Union would assist China in nuclear, military and economic field so that China could develop properly in every sphere. But, the Soviets were not willing to meet all the expectations and demands of the Chinese. China wanted nuclear weapons from the Soviet Union. For this purpose, in October 1957, both countries signed Nuclear Assistance Agreement, but in June 1959, the Soviet Union terminated this agreement unilaterally. Besides, Variation of opinion had also occurred between Moscow and Beijing regarding how to deal with Washington in future. Josef Stalin had died and a new thinking of ‘Peaceful Coexistence’ emerged in the new regime and leadership of the Soviet Union. Soviet Premier Nikita Sergeyvich Khruschev wanted to soften its relations with the United States and détente was supposed to arrive replacing the enmity of the cold war. The Soviet think tanks believed that if there would be any détente between their relations with the United States, it would not be a loss for them. The Soviet Union was regarded as a super power; Central Europe was under Soviet influence. So, according to Soviets in a case of détente there was nothing to lose.\(^\text{119}\)

On the other hand, China did not agree with the views of the Soviet Union. Chinese leaders were trying to remind the Soviet Communists about the ideology of Lenin. On the occasion of Lenin’s Anniversary, in the month of April 1960 and afterwards, China published a series of articles titled ‘Long Live Leninism’ in which Chinese leaders criticized the peaceful coexistence policy of the Soviets. In one article Mao wrote,

\(^{118}\) Joseph Camillari, no.81, p.49  
\(^{119}\) Gregory Clark, In Fear of China, Barrie and Rockliff, London, 1968, pp.98-102
“We believe in the absolute correctness of Lenin’s thinking: War is an inevitable outcome of systems of exploitation, and the imperialist system is the source of modern wars. Until the exploiting classes come to an end, wars of one kind or another will always occur. There may be wars among the imperialists for redivision of the world, or wars of aggression and anti-aggression between the imperialists and the oppressed nations, or civil wars of revolution and counter-revolution between the exploited and exploiting classes in the imperialist countries, or of course, wars in which the imperialists attack the socialist countries and the socialist countries are forced to defend themselves….

Peaceful coexistence of different countries and people’s revolutions in various countries are in themselves two different things….

Peaceful coexistence refers to relations between countries, revolution means the overthrow of the oppressing classes by the oppressed people within each country, while in the case of the colonies and semi-colonies, it is first and foremost a question of overthrowing alien oppressors, namely the imperialists.”

After the end of the Korean War, China had become ambitious. Meanwhile, some of the Asian and African countries were getting freedom from colonial rule and both the Soviet Union and China wanted to bring those countries under their influence and become their leader. In this regard, China reached on an agreement of Panchasheel with India in 1954 and tried to ease territorial dispute between both of the countries. China tried to emerge as a leader of Afro-Asian countries, in the Bandung Conference of independent Afro-Asian nations in 1955.

China also wanted to lead the expansion of communist ideology itself. China rejected the theory of ‘Peaceful Coexistence’ of Khrushchev towards the United States and believed that so called US imperialism and capitalism could only be fought through war only and not with peaceful means. China had started making fun of Americans and called them ‘Paper Tigers’.

In 1957, Mao said,

“ I consider that the present world situation had reached a new turning-point. There are now two winds in the world: the east wind and the west wind…I think the characteristic of the present situation is that the east wind prevails over the west wind: that is, the strength of socialism exceeds the strength of imperialism.”

China had opened a front against the Soviet policies towards the United States and started running a campaign against the Soviet Union. Chinese leaders delivered speeches and wrote articles against the Soviet policies. Because of such initiative of China the Soviet Union started losing credibility among international communist community while on the other hand China was rapidly emerging as a leader of communist ideology. By the end of 1950s, China

Accessed on May 12, 2011
121 R S Yadav, From Ideology To Pragmatism: A Study of Soviet And Russian Policy Towards The Indian Ocean, Nirmal Book Agency, Kurukshetra, 1995, p.50
122 Quoted in Gregory Clark, no. 119, p.100
had its weight, authority, influence and significance well coordinated at the international arena. China was recognized as an important communist state actor whose voice had to be considered by communist parties and communist states across the world.\textsuperscript{123}

China started to give its foreign policy a solid form. Now its foreign policy objective was to preserve its national unity, integrity to become independent in every field, to develop nuclear weapons and other conventional arms. Besides, its long term strategy was to achieve recognition from world community as a great power.\textsuperscript{124} Now China did not want to be seen as a junior partner of the Soviet bloc rather it wanted to lead the communist ideology from the front.

During the last years of 1950s, both the Soviet Union and the United States had developed their atom bombs as well as missiles and in the process of détente, they were trying for a nuclear test ban treaty to prevent other nations to develop such weapons. China opposed such moves of Washington and called it American effort to divide the world into two camps-Nuclear weaponized states and non-nuclear weapon states. China clearly opposed this effort stating that all countries of the world, small or big or nuclear or non-nuclear, were equal and it was not appropriate to divide the world on nuclear issues. China made an allegation against the United States to keep monopoly on nuclear weapons to pressurize other states.\textsuperscript{125}

China had set up an Institute of Atomic Energy in 1957 and was sincerely working on the development of nuclear weapons. October 16, 1964 was the day when China declared that it had exploded an atom bomb successfully. A press release was issued which called it a major achievement of the Chinese people. On the other hand, the United States called it “a tragedy for the Chinese people”. The US President Lyndon Baines Johnson condemned Chinese nuclear test and said that the Chinese Communist nuclear detonation was a reflection of policies which did not serve the cause of peace.\textsuperscript{126}

The Detonation of atomic bomb changed Chinese place in international politics. China was appreciated and praised by third world countries. For China, this test was a demonstration of its potential. However, Chinese nuclear test changed the dimensions of

\textsuperscript{123} Joseph Camillari, no.81, pp.59-61
\textsuperscript{125} Marton H Halperin, \textit{China And The Bomb}, Pall Mall Press, London, 1965, pp. 49-52
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid, pp.71,84,87-88
China-US relations as well. Now, the United States had to take China sincerely and assess its every action in the backdrop of its nuclear strength.

**INDIA – CHINA WAR AND CHINA- US RELATIONS**

India and China had signed an accord of *Panchsheel* in 1954 and vowed to abide by the principle of peaceful coexistence. But in the later part of 1950s, it seemed that China was violating those principles and was trying to capture Indian Territory near the border in Jammu and Kashmir. In 1958, Indian Prime Minister Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru accepted this fact in Parliament. China was building a road in an area which was called Aksai Chin. This territory was considered to be geopolitically significant for China as via road China could reach to its Sinkiang and Tibet region. In October 1962, China attacked India and Chinese forces starting pushing back Indian forces even from Indian territories. Indian forces were not equipped with modern arms and thus were unable to face Chinese aggression. Soon, China captured North Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA) area. Indian Prime Minister Nehru sought assistance from world community. In general response America agreed to provide India arms and in the first week of November, American arms, ammunitions and weapons arrived India. By the mid of November, China had captured Ladakh, Bomdila and a major part of NEFA. On November, 22, 1962, China announced unilateral cease fire. Later, China put some conditions on India and returned most of the parts of NEFA but kept the area of Aksai Chin under its control, which was strategically of great value for China. It was believed that behind Chinese abrupt cease fire was that China was apprehensive about more active participation of the United States in this war which could lead to a more complex situation.127

**VIETNAM WAR AND CHINA- US RELATIONS**

Vietnam War was the US longest war in its history. To understand the reasons of American involvement in Vietnam War, we need to understand historical background of Vietnam problem. In South East Asia, the region Indo-China was under French occupation till the Second World War. The Indochina region comprised Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. But,

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after the war, when decolonization began in Afro-Asian countries, France was defeated at the camp of Dienbienphu by the Vietnamese forces. French defeat made the way to determine the fate of this region. All the parties agreed to hold a conference in Geneva in 1954. This conference instructed France to withdraw from this region. It also established two independent states of Laos and Cambodia and divided Vietnam into two parts at 17th parallel line–North Vietnam and South Vietnam. In North Vietnam, a communist government of Ho Chi Minh was established and its Capital was Hanoi while in South Vietnam power was given to the king Bao Dai. His Capital was Saigon. The Geneva agreement also called for the unification of Vietnam after two years when a fair election would be held under supervision of international invigilators.128

At this juncture, the United States landed in this region to give a twist in the plot and make the situation more complex. On April 7, 1954, American President Eisenhower explained his ‘Domino Theory’ before the world community. According to this theory, if a state’s government collapses because of the threat and aggression of Communism, then it could cause the collapse of neighboring states and they might come under communist rule and finally this phenomena would spread all over the world establishing communism in every nook and corner of the globe. North Vietnam was under the communist rule of Ho Chi Minh, so according to domino theory, there was a possibility of its neighboring countries falling in the hands of communist rulers. So, South East Asia could come under communist influence and rule and then it could spread further to other regions. That was American presumption. Therefore, the United States started supporting the non-communist forces and parties in Vietnam and its neighboring countries such as Laos and Thailand. At that time, in Laos different communist and non-communist forces were fighting with each other and a civil war was going on there. Here, China and the United States reached on an agreement to neutralize Laos and end the civil war. The war ended and Laos was neutralized and foreign troops were supposed to leave this country. Two governments were functioning in Laos - in North East, government of Pathet Lao and in rest of Laos, government of Souvanna Phouma. According to an unofficial understanding, the United States was to leave Laos, as early as possible. But, the United States was not ready to acknowledge surrender so easily. In 1964, it

changed its decision to leave Laos. On the contrary, it established its bases in Laos and used its own force against the communist government of Pathet Lao. From there the United States supported non-communist forces in Thailand and South Vietnam as well.\footnote{Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics Since 1945*, Longman, New York, 1989, pp.319-322}

Meanwhile, in Vietnam, events were taking place swiftly. The United States was supporting the government of Bao Dai in South Vietnam because Ho Chi Minh, President of North Vietnam was a communist ruler. In South Vietnam, Bao Dai’s Prime Minister, Ngo Dinh Diem was the person who held the real power in government. Neither South Vietnamese government nor the US government had accepted the provisions of Geneva Accord, because according to Geneva Accord, elections were to be held in both zones of Vietnam to unite it under a single ruler. Both the United States and South Vietnam were aware of Ho Chi Minh’s popularity in both North and South Vietnamese region. They knew, if elections were held, Ho Chi Minh was about to win comfortably.\footnote{John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, Tata Mc Graw Hill, New Delhi, 1989,p.163}

In 1959, North Vietnamese government encouraged guerilla warfare against South Vietnamese government through its underground supporters living in South Vietnam. The purpose was to remove South Vietnamese government and integrate whole of Vietnam under the rule of Ho Chi Minh.\footnote{William C Johnstone, ‘United States Policy in South East Asia’ in Martin C Needler (ed.), *Dimensions of American Foreign Policy: Readings And Documents*, D Van Nostrand Company, Princeton, 1966, p.253} South Vietnamese Prime Minister Diem removed Bao Dai from power through a plebiscite and became the president of Republic of Vietnam. He got support from the United States but later he got involved in organized crime, torture and arresting of his opponents. Besides, farmers were demanding for land reforms but he did not listen to them. Soon, he was an unpopular ruler and the US decided to remove him. Washington encouraged a military coup against him which succeeded and thus South Vietnam came under military rule. Military rulers started a campaign against National Liberation Front (NLF), a communist group fighting against the government. Later, this military regime also failed to meet expectations of South Vietnamese people. The United States decided to extend its role in South Vietnam.\footnote{Wayne C Macwilliams And Harry Piotrowski, no.128, pp.206-210}

The American perception was that communist forces of North Vietnam were getting support from China. It expressed its concerns about falling South Vietnam and other neighboring countries in communist hands. Since Vietnam had borders with China, so such
apprehensions seemed more likely for the US policymakers. The United States perceived that communism could spread in South East Asian region which meant prevention of American access to this area. South East Asia was strategically important for the United States because of its geo-political significance. America used to get raw materials from here and used international water for shipments. Therefore, the United States started sending its special forces to South Vietnam in the beginning of 1964. In August, 1964, the US government claimed that North Vietnamese forces had attacked its two naval ships in the Gulf of Tonkin. In reaction, the US Congress passed Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and authorized the president to counterattack North Vietnam to secure US forces and prevent any future aggression. Meanwhile, in South Vietnam, different factions were fighting with one another and a military coup took place followed by a military government.\textsuperscript{133}

North Vietnam continued bombing on South Vietnam and the US forces. More and more guerilla fighters infiltrated and the Viet Cong (North Vietnam communist forces) became strong enough to confront American forces aggressively. American troops started facing troubles in South Vietnam terrain. They were not familiar with fighting war against guerillas in dense forest, high mountain and between high temperature. The environment of South Vietnam did not suit them at all and overpowered American hi-tech arms and trained troops.\textsuperscript{134} Soon, American forces were in trouble and North Vietnamese communist forces started overrunning them. A major blow against the US forces was Tet offensive after which American government realized that it was high time they had pulled out of war. Viet Cong began a massive attack on South Vietnam on Tet, South Vietnamese new year day. They captured 36 provincial capitals out of 42, and attacked even the American embassy in Saigon. The psychological impact of this attack on Americans was overwhelming. Even American people started speaking against the war and urged the government to call American army back home. The US government, too, wanted any excuse so that it could come out of Vietnam. But, North Vietnam was not ready to talk and give concessions. Then America had to seek help of the Soviet Union and China to make North Vietnam ready for negotiations. Finally, both of them intervened and under pressure of China and the Soviet Union, North Vietnam came to table to talk for peaceful settlement of the problem. All parties reached on a

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid, pp.211-212
consensus agreement in January 1973. The United States quickly became ready to withdraw from South Vietnam and a coalition government of all parties of Vietnam was to be formed which would work for its unification. Later, in 1975, North Vietnam attacked South Vietnam and in April they captured it completely along with Laos and Cambodia. Thus, Vietnam, finally, came under communist rule. In the beginning of 1975, withdrawal of American forces was complete.\textsuperscript{135}

**NEW DIMENSIONS IN CHINA – US RELATIONS: PING PONG DIPLOMACY**

American President Richard Milhous Nixon’s regime is seen as a beginning of new era in China America relations. As mentioned earlier, China–Soviet relations had reached to a very tensed condition in 1960s and there were military clashes at their international borders regarding territorial disputes. When Richard Nixon became president in 1969, he wanted to start new warm and friendly relations with China. He was aware of China-Soviet conflict, so he and his security advisor, Henry Alfred Kissinger, wanted to exploit this opportunity for rapprochement with China. It was Henry Kissinger’s idea to use China against the Soviet Union. Playing ‘China card’ against the Soviets was a new strategy invoked by the Nixon Administration. An axis of China–the Soviet Union-the United States was taking shape where American realpolitik thinkers believed that a friendly relationship between China and the USA will conciliate the relationship between the Soviet Union and the USA. Through, various channels such as Pakistan, Romania and Egypt, China and the United States were exchanging messages to resume talks to ease their relations. The US President Nixon expressed his desire to visit China publicly. China reciprocated positively and showed its goodwill and wish to welcome President Nixon warmly.\textsuperscript{136}

Meanwhile, in April 1971, American Table Tennis team had gone to Japan to participate in a tournament where Chinese team was also present. At the midst of tournament, Chinese team invited American Table Tennis team to play a tournament in China. On the advice of American government, this invitation was accepted. On April 14, 1971, American Ping-Pong team was in China. Chinese Premier, Chou En Lai himself welcomed American team and expressed hope that such gesture by both sides would open a new chapter in China-US relations.

\textsuperscript{135} Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, Simon And Schuster, New York, 1994, pp. 674-702

\textsuperscript{136} Henry Kissinger, *White House Years*, Little Brown And company, Boston, 1979, pp.163-194
relations. Later, Chinese team was also invited in the United States to play a tournament and Chinese also accepted this invitation. Such activity of both of the countries is called Ping Pong Diplomacy because they sought the help of a game to conciliate their relations.\textsuperscript{137}

Later, China sent message inviting an American representative to Peking to create an environment for Nixon’s visit to China. After a long discussion, Nixon sent Henry Kissinger as his special representative as a confidence building measure between both sides. In July, 1971, Henry Kissinger went China via Pakistan on a secret trip. He met Chou En Lai, Chinese Premier, and talked on the possibility to normalize relations of both countries. Chou officially invited Nixon for a visit to China through Kissinger. Meanwhile, at the United Nations one Albanian resolution to include People’s Republic of China in Security Council was accepted at the floor of General Assembly and thus Communist China became the official member of the United Nations in stead of Taiwan.\textsuperscript{138}

In February 1972, Richard Nixon visited China and met Mao ZeDong and Chou En Lai. On February 28, 1972, both countries signed on Shanghai Communiqué. Through this communiqué both sides announced their decision to oppose any kind of hegemony of Asia, indicating to the Soviet Union. The document pledged that it was in the interest of all nations for the United States and China to work towards the normalization of their relations. Through this communiqué the Chinese side reaffirmed its position that the Taiwan question was the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States. The Chinese side reaffirmed that the Government of the People’s Republic of China was the sole legal government of China. It maintained that Taiwan was a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland. The Chinese side reiterated that the liberation of Taiwan was China’s internal affair in which no other country had the right to interfere and it appealed that all US forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The communiqué stated that the Chinese Government firmly opposed any activities which aim at the creation of ‘one China, one Taiwan’, ‘one China, two governments’, ‘two Chinas’ and ‘independent Taiwan’. On the other hand, the American side declared that the United States acknowledged that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintained there was but one China and that Taiwan was a part of China. America declared that the US

\textsuperscript{137}Ibid, pp. 684-718
Government did not challenge that position. It reaffirmed that the United States wanted a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirmed the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all US forces and military installations from Taiwan. The United States agreed to progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminished. The two sides agreed that it was desirable to broaden the understanding between the two peoples.\(^\text{139}\)

Nixon’s visit to China was a breakthrough in relationship between both countries. After this visit, their relations became calm. Released on December 15, 1978, both nations again came up with a communiqué which came into force from January 1, 1979. The communiqué stated that the United States of America and the People's Republic of China have agreed to recognize each other and to establish diplomatic relations as of January 1, 1979. The United States recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal Government of China. But the American side said that within this context, the people of the United States will maintain cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan. In this communiqué both sides reaffirmed the principles agreed on by the two sides in the Shanghai communiqué and they emphasized all the provisions laid down in the same declaration. With this communiqué both nations decided to set up Embassies in each Washington and Beijing and decided to establish diplomatic relations. Thus, the Americans recognized the existence of communist China.\(^\text{140}\)

The third and final communiqué during the cold war period was issued by both nations on August 17, 1982. Through this communiqué the United States recognized the Government of the People’s Republic of China as the sole legal government of China. Washington also acknowledged the Chinese position that there was but one China and Taiwan has been part of China. Within this context and background, the two sides agreed that the people of the United States would continue to maintain cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan. On this basis, relations between the United States and China were normalized. Both sides differed on the issue of the US arms sales to Taiwan. This issue could not be settled so the two nations decided to raise the issue again following normalization. Both sides agreed that that this issue would seriously hamper the development


of United States-China relations. They also agreed to respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and not to interfere in each other’s internal affairs. They believed that it constituted the basic guiding principles of the United States-China relations.  

SOVIET INVASION IN AFGHANISTAN
On December 2, 1979, the Soviet Union sent its thousands of troops to Afghanistan. Afghanistan was facing a civil war between Islamic fundamentalist groups and a reformist government which was determined to establish a liberal society and state in Afghanistan instead of Islamic rule. The Soviet Union wanted to establish its own satellite government in Afghanistan in order to keep it in Soviet bloc. Since, Afghanistan’s border was adjacent to the Soviet Union, thus, soon Soviets forces reached to the number of approximately 2,00,000. Afghanistan had no experience of colonial rule and Afghans were not ready to accept any foreign country to interfere in their internal matter. Therefore, Afghans started fighting against the Soviet forces with their age old weapons. The Soviet forces had hi tech weapons and tanks and they caused several casualties. Afghans were fighting guerilla warfare against the Soviet forces between mountain and dense forest. At such situation, the United States decided to provide assistance to Afghan guerillas to fight against the Soviet army. The US provided hi-tech stinger missiles and other sophisticated weapons to Afghan guerillas. The US tactics changed the way of war. Soviet helicopters and tanks seemed to be vulnerable in front of American stinger missiles and other weapons. Soon, soviet forces were on the verge of defeat. Finally, finding no other way out, the Soviet Union decided to call back its army from Afghanistan. In 1989, all of the Soviet troops had returned from Afghanistan. It was a humiliating defeat for the Soviet Union which finally led to its collapse.

DETENTE BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE USA AND END OF THE COLD WAR
The change in behavior of super powers was apparent from the decade of 1950 itself when they had shown their desire to ease their relationship. After the death of Stalin, Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev, expressed his desire for peaceful coexistence. In 1959,
Khrushchev went to America on a goodwill visit and met American President Eisenhower. In 1960s, both sides signed on nuclear test ban treaties. In May 1972, American President Nixon went on a visit to Moscow. Both sides agreed to find solution of their problems through dialogue. They declared some fundamental principles about how Soviet and American relations in future would progress. Both countries decided to cooperate in cultural, economic and commercial field. They decided to curtail their nuclear weapons. For this purpose, both sides signed on Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT – I) agreement. This agreement was made to limit their nuclear weapons and warheads. Later, in 1977, both sides signed SALT–II agreement to negotiate and reduce their stockpile of unconventional weapons. In 1970s, both countries signed a number of agreements related to trade, business and technical assistance. Peaceful détente was going on smoothly when the Soviet Union invaded in Afghanistan and thus SALT-II talks were postponed by American side. But, later during the period of 1985-1991, both sides came up with other Treaty named as Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START-I) and it was signed by the US President George Bush and the Soviet President Mikhail Gorvachev in July 1991.143

In 1989, when the Soviet Union pulled out of Afghanistan, international political scenario had changed. In 1985, Gorbachev had become Soviet Premier and his reform policies—policies of Glasnost and Perestroika144—were undermining communist grasp on power in Moscow. Baltic States had started demanding their independence from Soviet Union. In 1989, Warsaw Pact was dissolved. In the same year, Berlin wall was demolished and in 1990 the unification of Germany was complete. In August 1990, NATO announced that the cold war was over. Poland, Hungry, Bulgaria, all East European states were no longer under Soviet influence. Soviet economy had become weak and political authority had lost its credibility among its own people. In 1991, Lithuania, Azerbaizan, Armenia and other Baltic states became independent and finally on December 26, 1991, Soviet Parliament announced

144 Glasnost and Perestroika refers to the concepts of ‘openness’ and ‘restructuring’ respectively introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev whose effects led to major changes in Soviet society as well as profoundly influencing the world balance of power and East-West relations. The twin processes aimed to reduce inefficiency and corruption in the Soviet Union and to encourage political liberalization. The main goal of glasnost policy was to make the country’s management transparent and open to debate. On the other hand, Perestroika referred to the restructuring of the Soviet political and economic system. (Retrieved from http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O48-glasnostandperestroika.html Accessed on May 15, 2011)
the collapse of the Soviet Union. Thus a super power called Soviet Union became a part of history and the cold war ended.\textsuperscript{145}

After going through the historical evolution of China-US relations since the Second World War, we find that the relation between the United States and China was a mixture of conflict and confusion, drift and differences, cooperation and competition and feeling of friend and foe at the same time. Before the Second World War, China was not an important entity for the United States, but after the Second World War, when the Soviet Union emerged as a super power, Communist China automatically gained a significant place in US foreign policy. During the cold war, China and the United States first shared adversarial relations and because of China–Soviet tensed relations, they became friends at least, if not allies.

In the later part of the cold war, both America and China were cooperating with each other but still suspicion was present in both sides about each others’ true intentions. There were basic differences between them regarding some sensitive issues such as Taiwan and human rights on which they were not ready to compromise and give any concession to each other. But still they cooperated with each other to confront their common adversary the Soviet Union. The normalization of their relation was based upon their shared interests against the Soviet Union and not on mutual understanding. They were not really concerned to make their relations sweet; rather their sour relations with the Soviet Union brought them close. They helped each other but were still afraid of each others’ moves. On the one hand, they were partners but on the other they were competitors also. Their contradicting relationship during the cold war period opens the possibility for further investigation into how their relationship would make progress in the post cold war era. From next chapter, this work proceeds to study the strategies and policies of both countries to analyze and understand the true nature of their relationship.

\textsuperscript{145} Steven W Hook and John Spanier, American Foreign Policy Since World War II, CQ Press, Washington, 2000, pp.232-244