### Michael Share

## Trump, Russia, and China: The First 100 Days\*

**Michael Share**, Department of History, University of Macau Macau, China

Summary. On April 30 the United States and the World marked the 100th day in office of Donald Trump as President of the United States. The first 100 days are considered as a key indicator of the fortunes for a new President's program. This article briefly reviews the 2016 campaign and election, the 11 week transition period, his first 100 days, a brief examination of both American-Russian relations and Sino-American relations, and lastly, what the future bodes for each under a Trump Presidency. The 100 Day period has been chaotic, shifting, and at times incoherent. He has made 180 degree shifts toward many major issues, including Russia and China, which has only confused numerous world leaders, including Presidents Putin and Xi. There has been a definite disconnection between what Trump says about Russia, and what his advisors and cabinet officials say. So far Trump has conducted a highly personalized and transactional foreign policy. All is up for negotiation at this a huge turning point in American foreign policy, the greatest one since 1945. Given all the world's instabilities today, a rapprochement between the United States and Russia is a truly worthwhile objective, and should be strongly pursued.

Keywords: Donald Trump, the first 100 days, the 2016 American campaign for Presider, foreign policy, American-Russian relations, Sino-American relations, Vladimir Putin, Xi Jinping, US-Russia rapprochement.

#### \* От редакции.

В этом номере мы предлагаем вниманию читателей «Международной аналитики» статью (на языке оригинала) американского историка Майкла Шэра «Трамп, Россия и Китай: первые 100 дней».

Майкл Шэр, в настоящее время профессор (part-time) Университета Макао, много работал в российских архивах, выступал в Москве и Санкт-Петербурге. Публикуемая ниже статья, любезно предоставленная автором, основана на докладе, сделанном им в апреле 2017 г. в посольстве Российской Федерации в Таиланде.

В сферу научных интересов Шэра входит история политики Российской империи/Советского Союза/Российской Федерации в отношении периферии Китая — то есть, прежде всего, Гонконга, Макао и Тайваня, хотя он занимался и политической историей западных частей этой периферии<sup>1</sup>. Все эти регионы объединяет то, что в них сталкивались интересы России и других держав, проводивших, в особенности в тот период, когда субъектность китайского государства была ослаблена, свои версии «китайской политики». Ее различным этапам и эпизодам посвящена книга Шэра «Где сталкивались империи», опубликованная в 2007 г.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> См., например, ero статью: Share M. The Russian Civil War in Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang), 1918–1921: A Little Known and Explored Front // Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 62 (2010), No. 3, p. 389–420. URL: http://sites.bu.edu/revolutionaryrussia/files/2013/09/Russian-Civil-War-in-Xinjiang.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Share M. B. Where Empires Collided: Russian and Soviet Relations with Hong Kong, Taiwan and Macao. – Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2007.

Давний интерес автора к «взаимоотношениям России и Запада на Востоке» реализуется в ней применительно к событиям новейшей истории и прежде всего к первым внешнеполитическим шагам президента США Д. Трампа на фоне роста могущества КНР.

Разумеется, динамика современной мировой политики и тем более не слишком устоявшейся политики нового президента США такова, что осуществлять ее оперативный мониторинг на страницах журнала с ежеквартальной периодичностью невозможно. Однако сама по себе неожиданность поворотов этой политики делает попытки их оценки и трактовки на конкретных временных срезах (а именно такая оценка и трактовка, конечно, субъективная и не отменяющая многих других альтернативных взглядов на отношения в треугольнике США — Россия — Китай, и предложена Майклом Шэром по случаю традиционного стодневного рубежа нового американского президента) представляющими несомненный интерес с точки зрения фиксации развивающейся у нас на глазах политической истории.

30 marked the 100th day since Donald J. Trump was inaugurated President of the United States. Following one of the greatest upsets in US political history, Donald Trump was elected last November in a race many, hitherto reliable polling agencies, thought Hilary Clinton was certain to win. One, *Huffington Post* declared she was 99 % certain to be elected<sup>1</sup>. While Democrat Hilary Clinton took the popular vote by almost a three million-vote margin, Trump took a majority in the Electoral College, which is the decisive factor in the US Presidential election.

Traditionally the first 100 days of a new President is considered a key indicator of the fortunes for the President's program. In this paper the author will briefly review the campaign and election, Trump's first 100 days, a brief examination of both American-Russian relations and American-Chinese relations, and lastly, what the future bodes for each under a Trump Presidency.

The American campaign for President, first for nomination, and then for election, was unprecedented in its personal intensity, and in the views expressed by all sides. While former Secretary of State Hilary Clinton took the Democratic Party nomination as predicted, her race to the nomination was not the easy path that had been forecast. She faced strong competition from a hitherto little-known Democratic Socialist, septuagenarian US Senator from a small state, Bernie Sanders. That race, not settled until a month before the nominating Convention, should have foreshadowed that she would not have the smooth path toward victory, which she and her campaign advisors thought. The Republican nomination started with an unprecedented number of candidates. At one point, 17 people sought the Party's nomination, which became a bitterly and deeply personal contested race. Out of the slugfest, Donald Trump, a New York City property developer, billionaire, and television celebrity, with no prior experience in government or military service, emerged as the Republican candidate, only weeks prior to his party's nominating Convention.

The Clinton-Trump race reached an intensity not seen in modern US political history. While policy differences were stark, personal issues took precedence. Trump campaign people claimed Clinton through her misuse of her e-mail server, and allegedly causing the deaths of the American Ambassador and his three bodyguards in Benghazi, Libya, was a criminal as crowds at Trump's campaign-rallies shouted: "Lock her up". Clinton campaign people declared that Trump was a narcissist, racist, sexist, anti-Islamic, anti-Hispanic, etc. as a video surfaced in October of Trump bragging about his sexual conquests. The Director of the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) intervened in the election by sending two letters again in October declaring, first, there was an FBI investigation into possible Clinton law breaking, and then that there was not. His unprecedented intervention likely kept thousands of Clinton voters home, perhaps costing her the election. The personal and vicious attacks by both sides made most people wish the election was over, as dislikes regarding each candidate exceeded 50 %, again, another unprecedented fact about this remarkable Presidential election<sup>2</sup>.

Almost all political pundits in each political party were convinced Hilary Clinton would be elected President on November 8. Thus, when the impossible happened, and Trump won, albeit by a narrow margin, people on all sides were stunned in the greatest upset in Presidential history since the 1948 Truman victory over Dewey. It was a huge repudiation of Clinton, and in fact, the Democratic Party establishment. Trump won by appealing to working class white people, living in the American South and upper mid-West states, who have felt left out in the world-wide drive for Globalization, as well as a reaction against former

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Huffington Post. November 7, 2016. URL: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/ polls-hillary-clinton-win\_us 5821074ce4b0e80b02cc2a94

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibidem.

President Obama and the so-called Washington Establishment by many Americans. Furthermore, Hilary Clinton ran a bad campaign, taking states, and regions, and voters for granted, and exhibited arrogance that this was her turn for the Presidency. Clinton never reached out to millions of voters, who felt neglected. Her close ties to Wall Street bankers and investors, and the huge sums she received for speeches to crowds of wealthy people convinced many she did not know the problems of ordinary Americans. The election showed the country is divided between rural and urban areas, with Clinton taking both the liberal and cosmopolitan East and West Coasts, and numerous cities in between, and Trump the rest of the country<sup>3</sup>.

The transition period, from the November 8, until the inauguration on January 20, almost 11 weeks, proved just as tumultuous. Donald Trump appointed a far-right wing and controversial cabinet and advisory team, several of who pledged to destroy the agencies they now headed. Approving many of these appointees has proved very slow and complicated, as the Democrats have contested most nominees. One especially controversial choice was Trump's selection of General Michael Flynn as his National Security Advisor. Trump engaged in twitter wars against numerous people and organizations, which caused figures in both political parties to question his judgment and temperament. Trump reiterated his promises to build a "tall and beautiful" wall along the US-Mexican border, curb immigration, deport undocumented migrants, particularly those guilty of crimes, end the admission of all Syrian refugees, reenact high tariff barriers, particularly against Mexico and China, end the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement, renegotiate the NAFTA and possibly NATO treaties in what he said would be an "America First" agenda.

On January 20, Donald Trump was inaugurated the 45th President of the United States, delivering a short, nationalistic, and fiery Inaugural Address warning that American wealth had been "ripped from homes and redistributed around the world", and that now was the time to put "America first". Thousands of people took part in anti-Trump protests in Washington, DC, and across America<sup>4</sup>. Those protests continued the next day with a millions strong Women's march in cities across the United States, and indeed in a number of world capitals. In his first three months as President, Donald Trump has tried to carry out a number of his campaign promises:

- 1. He said he would start building a 40-foot (13 meter) wall all along the Mexican border. He has requested a billion dollars from Congress to begin construction. Mexico has reiterated it will not pay one penny toward this wall.
- 2. Trump said he would end "illegal immigration and suspend immigration from terror problem regions"—basically Moslem countries. Twice Trump tried to enact strict curbs on immigration or visits from 6 or 7 largely Moslem countries in the Middle East and North Africa. Twice his executive orders have been tied up in the courts through challenges by states, most recently Hawaii<sup>5</sup>.
- 3. He has said he would deport illegal immigrants already in the US, and tighten border security. Deportation of illegal immigrants, including children who have lived most of their lives in the US, has been stepped up. He has requested in his upcoming budget funds for a larger border force, as well as more judges to head deportation court hearings.
- 4. Trump vowed to "repeal and replace" "Obamacare", a health plan enacted under his predecessor. Trump's healthcare plan, essentially designed and pushed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Paul Ryan, had to be withdrawn before facing certain rejection, due to its provisions, which would cost some 16 million people their insurance, and raise premiums on older, poorer, and more rural Americans, all largely Trump voters. This was a humiliating defeat for Trump, one that has weakened him politically. Only this week on the eve of his 100th day was a new attempt to resurrect Ryan's health plan rejected once again by Republicans in the House of Representatives<sup>6</sup>.
- 5. Trump pledged to nominate a staunch Conservative to the Supreme Court to fill a vacancy created by the death of Antonio Scalia, over one year ago. Trump nominated a very qualified and distinguished young Conservative, Neil Gorsuch, who was approved by the US Senate on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Politico.com. November 15, 2016. URL: http://www.politico.com/magazine/tag/ 2016/2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Politico.com. Trump's Inaugural Address Annotated. January 20, 2017. URL: http://www.politico.com/story/2017/01/2017-trump-inaugural-address-what-he-said-what-he-meant-233926

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Politico.com. Hawaii Federal Judge sets Hearing on Blocking New Trump Travel Ban March 8, 2017. URL: http://www.politico.com/story/2017/03/hawaii-federal-hearing-trump-travel-ban-235833

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Huffington Post. April 27, 2017. URL: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/news-roundup-for-april-27-2017\_us 590219d0e4b0768c2682e3bc

April 7 following a Democratic Party filibuster, crushed only when the Republicans changed the Senate rules allowing a simple majority vote, instead of the previous 60 vote number in the 100 seat Senate<sup>7</sup>.

- 6. Trump has vowed to defeat and destroy ISIS, the major terrorist organization. Trump has stepped up his bombing campaigns in Syria, Yemen, and Iraq, as well as deploying small numbers of combat troops in Syria. ISIS, while weakened, is still powerful. Trump has promised to work with Russia and other countries in fighting and defeating ISIS. That, too, has not happened due to both domestic and foreign factors. Those factors included the firing of his National Security Advisor, Gen. Michael Flynn, for lying to the Vice President Mike Pence about his ties to foreign governments, including Russia and Turkey. Then, in a reversal of previous policy statements on Syria, and in reaction to a horrific sarin chemical attack, Trump on April 7 launched a cruise missile attack on a Syrian government air base causing extensive damage, infuriating Russia, one of Assad's main supporters. Russia's Foreign Ministry characterized the attack as an act of aggression that would have grave consequences. The world waits to see what Trump will do next in Syria and the entire Middle East. It is easy to get into a war, but much harder to get out. His policy, or lack of policy, in the Middle East is contradictory. Will Donald Trump reduce worldwide commitments in his "America First" policy, or will he expand them as Republican neo-Conservatives, who seem to be playing a greater role, wish? We simply don't know.
- 7. Trump has promised to renegotiate or abandon several trading blocs, including the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), NAFTA (North America Free Trade Association), and renegotiate bilateral treaties with Japan, China, Mexico and other countries whom Trump believes are taking advantage of the US. Trump did abandon the TPP, and will likely renegotiate several bilateral treaties. Trump met Xi Jinping, President of China, on April 6-8, and possible, new American tariffs came up for discussion. Trump recently abandoned yet another campaign call that China was a "currency manipulator". Following telephone calls with the Presidents of Mexico and Canada, Trump quietly abandoned his long trumpeted plans to leave NAFTA<sup>8</sup>.
- 8. Trump said he will "cancel job-killing restrictions on the production of American energy", including natural gas, oil and coal; although many have pointed out that there will be no new jobs in coal, as its decline is due more to market forces than to regulations. He also promised to withdraw from the Paris Agreement on Climate change enacted last year. Trump is cancelling quickly restrictions on oil and coal production, and has appointed "climate change deniers" to key positions, including the head of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Trump has approved the Keystone Oil pipeline project running from Canada through the United States, a plan Obama stopped.
- 9. Trump promised to "drain the swamp" of Washington political establishment figures, focusing his anger on lobbyists. Yet Trump has admitted his team is full of Washington insiders<sup>9</sup>.

Trump's record at the end of this three month period, at best is a mixed one, at worst chaotic, contradictory, and incoherent. This record is partly the result of Washington's increasing absorption into the claim that the Russian government meddled and perhaps tilted the US election in favor of Donald Trump.

Increasingly, as his Presidency goes into his fourth month, Donald Trump and a number of top administration, and former administration and campaign officials have been bogged down by questions about his campaign's potential ties to Russia, as well as Moscow's alleged role in hacking the Democratic National Committee (DNC), and a number of top-level Clinton campaign officials. Recently, it also emerged that a number of these Trump officials and former officials, including Gen. Flynn, Attorney General Jeff Sessions, and son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner met with Russian Ambassador Sergei Kislyak. The alleged purpose was to damage Clinton and boost Trump's bid for election. Paul Manafort, Trump's campaign manager, resigned last August after questions arose about his ties to Russia, and in particular, with the deposed Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych. Sessions rescued himself in early March from any investigation into Trump associates' contacts with Russia. Flynn was fired for misleading Pence. Those are the facts. In this ever-increasing scandal that is taking more and more of this very new administration's time and energy, there is a lot of smoke, but little real fire. Whether this will be a "cancer growing on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Politico.com. April 7, 2017 URL: http://www.politico.com/blogs/donald-trump-administration/2017/04/trump-schedule-today-white-house-236993

<sup>8</sup> Huffington Post. April 27, 2017. URL: http://www.politico.com/story/2017/04/27/ trump-schedule-today-white-house-237683

 $<sup>^9</sup>$  Politico.com. Trump Winning GOP Converts with Cabinet Picks, December 10, 2016. URL: http://www.politico.com/story/2016/12/trump-cabinet-picks-gop-converts-232450

body of the Presidency", as Watergate was described over 40 years ago, remains to be seen<sup>10</sup>.

Let me comment now on some of these allegations, and then on their implications for American-Russian relations.

- 1. Trump has lavished praise on President Putin. He has said that Putin is a strong leader, very smart, and declared it would be good to cooperate with Russia. All are true statements. All, in fact, pale in comparison with what Franklin Roosevelt said about "Uncle Joe" Stalin, Nixon about Brezhnev, and Bill Clinton about Yeltsin. The American media, print, television, and internet sites have demonized Putin in a way that I do not remember since the United States demonized Khrushchev over a half century ago. Even that, such as Khrushchev's banging his shoes on the table at the UN in 1960, was done in a more mocking tone than the current hatred I see day and night against the Russian leader, calling him a murderer and thug, almost an agent of Satan, who is out to destroy the United States, the West, and the entire post-World War II settlement.
- 2. Trump and his associates have had business dealings with Russian oligarchs. Yes, but so have many other American corporations, such as General Electric, Morgan Stanley, Starbucks, and McDonalds<sup>11</sup>.
- 3. There is no factual evidence presented, as of yet, that Putin ordered the hacking of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), or an actual Kremlin operation on Trump's behalf.
- 4. Gen. Michael Flynn, Paul Manafort, Attorney General Sessions, Jared Kushner, Carter Page, etc. have met with Russian officials, including the Ambassador, prior to them taking current office. So what? What is wrong with meeting and talking with Russian officials? Obama's Russian advisor and Ambassador Michael McFaul visited Moscow in 2008 for talks with Russian officials<sup>12</sup>. To this author it smacks of 1950s McCarthyism when people were denounced as Communists for meeting Soviet officials. Some of those people, from various occupations, lost their jobs and even went to prison, their lives destroyed forever.

What does this scandal mean for American-Russian relations? What is the current state of relations between these two great states? We must remember, that these two issues: Alleged Russian interference with the US election, and improving American-Russian relations are separate. Unlike China, Russia is not an emerging peer competitor to the United States. Russia is a regional power struggling to retain part of its former sphere of influence. Russia could be, and should be an ally of the United States in the fight against international terrorism and Islamic extremism<sup>13</sup>. Recently so-called "lone-wolf" terrorists have attacked London, Stockholm, and St. Petersburg. Having good relations with Iran, Russia could act as a mediator between the two countries, should the Trump administration want better relations<sup>14</sup>. Russia, the United States, and indeed the world seek a non-nuclear armed Iran. A third area of cooperation would be working with Russia's ally China, as well as Japan and South Korea, to curb North Korean nuclear ambitions. Fourth, there can be no settlement of the Syrian Civil War, and the future of Syria, without the cooperation of the United States and Russia. Each country is crucial in reaching a lasting peace agreement. Unilateral actions by either country will not help the path toward critical negotiations as the war enters its sixth year with some 500,000 deaths, and millions of refugees and injured civilians. There are thus several areas where American-Russian cooperation would ease international tensions, and where the two countries have mutual goals. Perhaps the reader can think of other trouble spots, such as climate change.

The fact is recent American policy in the former Soviet Union has been a failure. The United States and NATO did not fight and will not fight for Georgia, or the Ukraine<sup>15</sup>. Neither country will be admitted into either NATO, or the EU. Syria has also been a failure for the United States and its allies, as they do not have a coherent or consistent policy there. They cannot decide between unseating President Bashar Assad, or wanting to contain the Jihadists, who want to destroy him. Regarding the future of the Ukraine, both can work toward implementing the Minsk Accord agreement of February 2016. A compromise would

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Brainyquote.com. John Dean. "I began by telling the President that there was a cancer growing on the Presidency and that if the cancer was not removed the President himself would be killed by it." URL: http://www.quotes.net/quote/6227

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Cohen S. F. Why We Must Oppose the Kremlin Baiting Against Trump // Nation. February 22, 2017. URL: https://www.thenation.com/article/why-we-must-oppose-the-kremlin-baiting-against-trump/

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> *Lieven A.* Why Trump is Right on Russia // International New York Times, February 14, 2017, p. 17. URL: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/14/opinion/why-trump-is-right-on-russia.html (Рус. пер.: Ливен Анатоль. Почему Трамп прав в отношении России. URL: http://inosmi.ru/politic/20170215/238733176.html)

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem.

likely include a demilitarization of the Eastern Ukraine, provides full autonomy for the region, and having the truce secured through United Nations peacekeepers. Russian annexation of the Crimea should be accepted<sup>16</sup>. The fact is that Russia will not give it up short of a loss in a war. America and Europe should recognize that fact, and end sanctions.

Russia's actions in these matters may be questionable; but are overwhelmingly reactive to what the West has done. Here I refer to the "March East" that NATO and the EU have conducted in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. When Gorbachev and US Secretary of State James Baker met in February 1990 to end the Cold War, and discussed the reunification of Germany, they agreed unofficially that there would be no eastward march of NATO. Specifically Baker assured Gorbachev that if Soviet forces withdrew from Eastern Europe, NATO would not move in to replace them. Baker told Gorbachev: "Not even one inch". German Chancellor Helmut Kohl gave similar assurances [1]. Those oral pledges have long been violated. The West fails to understand the unique and supreme historic, ethnic, cultural, and strategic importance the Ukraine holds for Russia<sup>17</sup>. While Russia is not happy at the West's violations of its oral agreements, and stationing airplanes and troops in the three Baltic republics, Russia has no territorial interest there, and will not intervene in the Baltic region.

China may be a sticking point. China and the United States have enjoyed nearly 40 years of relatively stable diplomatic relations. It is the most crucial relationship in the world today<sup>18</sup>. One specialist drawing from history noted that when a defending global power faces a challenge to its supremacy by a rising power, as Britain did one hundred years ago from Germany, war often results<sup>19</sup>. We are now commemorating the 100th anniversary of World War I. Tensions have flared from time-to-time between China and the United States. The pro-democracy protests in Tiananmen Square in spring 1989, the deployment of an American aircraft carrier in the Taiwan Strait in 1996, and the American bombing of China's Belgrade embassy in 1999 were some of the biggest tests, but these tensions proved manageable. Since taking office, Trump has pulled back from the hardline language he used during and immediately after the Presidential campaign last year, when he threatened to label China a "currency manipulator", raise tariffs by 45 % on Chinese imports, which would likely cause a trade war, and militarily stop China re-provisioning its bases in the South China Sea. On April 6 to 8, Xi Jinping and Donald Trump met at Trump's "Southern White House" in Mar-a-Lago, Florida, a summit both recognize would be a "very difficult one". They discussed numerous issues, including Syria, North Korea, trade, the South China Sea, and America's role in East Asia. This summit could well determine the relationship between the two great powers for the next four years. The summit conference went better than expected<sup>20</sup>. Trump dropped his anti-China rhetoric, accepted an invitation to visit China, and both sides agreed to tackle trade imbalances, and bilateral relations were stabilized. Yet few agreements were signed, and a deep gap still exists between the two powers regarding the Korean peninsula. As experts noted, the Syrian bombing during the midst of talks distracted the Trump team and American media. The Americans may seek to use Russia to get compromises from China, but Russia will not play along.

Russia has defended what it regards as her vital national interests. Russia opposed the American invasion, and war in Iraq in 2003, opposed the overthrow of Col. el-Gaddafi in Libya in 2011, and currently, opposes any overthrow of Assad in Syria. In Russia's eyes, all have led to chaos and jihad. Given all the world's instability, a rapprochement between Russia and the United States is a truly worthwhile objective<sup>21</sup>. It has a great capacity to relieve tensions, combat poverty, and save lives. However, the issue of a Russian-American rapprochement within the current political climate in the United States has become so toxic that the two Presidents cannot schedule any meeting or talk. The author leaves you with the question: Why not talk? We talked during the darkest days of the Cold War. What is different about today? While the writer does not agree that relations between Russia and the United States are at "an all-time low", relations are at its lowest level since 1973, when the two nations almost went to a nuclear conflagration during the Israeli-Arab War that year. Therefore, it is in the interest of both countries, and indeed the world, for relations to improve between these two great states. As we commemorate the 150th anniversary of the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867, we should remember that sale was recognition for Russian support

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Lieven A. Why Trump is Right... p. 17.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>CNN. Fareed Zakharia GPS. March 20, 2017. URL: http://podcast.cnn.com/fareed-zakaria-gps/episode/all/3m0KewVpkR%3Ca%20class

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Politico.com. April 8, 2017

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Jenkins S. If Trump's Goal is Friendship with Russia, it's a Prize Worth Lying For // The Guardian. 03.03.2017. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/ 2017/ mar/03/lies-russia-trump-obama

of the North in its struggle against the South during the American Civil War, and American appreciation for that support.

At the end of Donald Trump's three months in office we can say that the 100 day period has been chaotic, shifting, and at times incoherent. There is a definite disconnect between what Trump says about Russia and what his advisors and cabinet officials say. Here the writer would include very tough recent comments by the Secretary of Defense James Mattis, UN Ambassador Nikki Haley, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, and his new National Security Advisor Admiral McMaster. It seems that to achieve an "America First" foreign policy, Trump will conduct a highly personalized and transactional foreign policy. Nothing is accepted: be it old alliances, treaties, friendships, and hatreds. All is up for negotiation in a huge break in American foreign policy from what has been a bipartisan world vision approach since the end of World War II. Trump has taken foreign policy to its most realpolitik moment in generations, playing down issues of human rights or democracy that animated his predecessors for the past 40 years. His "America First" approach focuses not on how other nations treat their people, but on what they can do for the United States.

But as noted a bit earlier, even that bedrock from his Presidential campaign, "America First", was challenged as US missiles hit a Syrian air base, an action Republican neo-Conservatives, who favored intervention in the Iraq War and elsewhere in the Middle East, cheered. Furthermore, this foreign affairs novice President at his news conference on April 12 reversed himself 180 degrees on NATO — "no longer obsolete", China—no longer a "currency manipulator", and Syria — "Assad is a butcher". Never has an American President reversed himself so quickly on so many issues at one time<sup>22</sup>. The only consistent feature, the author would say, is that Trump did not personally criticize Putin, leaving a slim sliver of hope for future American-Russian relations. Given all the world's instabilities today — Syria, Korea, the South China Sea, floods of migrants and refugees, the Ukraine—a rapprochement between America and Russia is a truly worthwhile objective. Its capacity to relieve tensions, relieve resources, combat poverty, and save lives is colossal.

# Трамп, Россия и Китай: первые 100 дней

**Майкл Шэр**, профессор, департамент истории, Университет Макао. Макао, КНР.

Аннотация. 30 апреля 2017 г. Соединенные Штаты и мир отметили 100 дней пребывания Дональда Трампа на посту президента США. Первые 100 принято рассматривать как основной показатель того, какой будет будущая президентская программа. В статье кратко обсуждается предвыборная кампания и президентские выборы 2016 г. и 11-недельный переходный период; вкратце рассматриваются американо-российские и китайско-американские отношения и, наконец, их перспективы в период президентства Трампа. Действия американского президента в течение прошедших 100 дней были хаотичными, изменчивыми и порою непоследовательными. Он на 180 градусов менял свои подходы к важнейшим проблемам, включая отношения с Россией и Китаем, что только озадачивало многих мировых лидеров, включая президента Путина и председателя Си. То, что говорил и говорит о России Трамп, сильно отличается от того, что говорили и говорят о ней его советники и члены кабинета. Пока что Трамп проводит в высокой степени персонализированную и допускающую всяческие сделки политику. Предметом переговоров может быть все, и это самый значительный с 1945 г. перелом в американской внешней политике. С учетом всех нестабильностей сегодняшнего мира сближение между Соединенными Штатами и Россией является воистину стоящей того целью, и эту цель надлежит активно преследовать.

**Ключевые слова:** Дональд Трамп, первые 100 дней президентская кампания 2016 г., внешняя политика, российско-американские отношения, американо-китайские отношения, В.В. Путин, Си Цзиньпин, российско-американское сближение.

## References / Литература

- 1. Conradi P. Who Lost Russia? How the World Entered a New Cold War. London: Oneworld Publications, 2017.
- 2. Foreign Affairs. Entire Issue. May-June 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Baker P. Trump's Shift on Russia Brings about Whiplash // New York Times. April 13, p. 1. URL: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/11/world/europe/russia-putin-trump. html