



Regenerating the Policy of War by Proxy: American Foreign Policy and the Ukrainian-Taiwanese Crises

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Abstract:

The present study purports to highlight the contemporary American foreign policy toward Russia and China with placing too much focus on the policy of War by Proxy. It further investigates the real motives behind the American unconditional support for Ukraine and Taiwan. This study assumes that the American involvement in the ongoing Ukrainian and Taiwanese crises is implemented through the regeneration of one of its Cold War strategies which is known as the war by proxy. This study employs the historical and analytical research approaches to offer a comprehensive and insightful analysis in support for the arguments. The main finding of this study reveals that the primary goal behind the American regeneration of the policy of war by proxy is to hinder the newly formed Sino-Russian alliance and to curb any potential counterweight to its hegemony and the new world order that was established following the end of the Cold War period.

Keywords: American Foreign Policy; Sino-Russian Alliance; Taiwanese Crisis; Ukrainian crisis; War by Proxy.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, the decades-long bipolar system that prevailed during the Cold War era ceased to exist (Yilmaz, 2008). The United States ascended as the world's sole hegemon, establishing a New World Order that sought primarily to impose America's unilateral dominance over the whole world and undermine any growing power that may threaten the country's interests worldwide.

The shifting global dynamics have witnessed the resurgence of certain communist powers, particularly Russia and China, whose economic and political clout poses a threat to America's influence and the capitalist principles it seeks to promote. Contextually, political and economic reforms in the world's structure, and especially the rise of the Sino-Russian alliance necessitated an American move to safeguard the country's interests and its world hegemony. For the U.S., this entailed the regeneration of the Cold War strategy of War by Proxy, as evidenced by its involvement in the ongoing Ukrainian and Taiwanese Crises.

Historically, the U.S. and the USSR embraced proxy warfare by providing economic, military and logistic support to other states fighting in favor of the two nations' interests during the Cold War era. As a matter of fact, none of both superpowers could logically risk the possibility of an armed conflict against each other. Accordingly, they engaged in a series of proxy wars, backing warring sides in other nations (Bar-Siman-Tov, 1984).

A plethora of existing literature has exaggeratedly praised the idea that the U.S. claims support for Ukraine and Taiwan's sovereignty as independent states. This study, however, claims that the policy adopted by the U.S. in dealing with the ongoing crises is, actually, a regeneration of the Cold War tactic of war by proxy which the U.S. adopts as the appropriate solution to preserve its world hegemony and to isolate, politically and economically, certain powers such as Russia and China from the international arena.

1. From Isolationism to Interventionism:

America's journey toward world hegemony witnessed the country's foreign policy altering from isolationism to interventionism, where the U.S. became involved in the vanguard of all world affairs. Hence, it took the lead to influence international politics and shape the post-Cold War global order unilaterally. In order to comprehensively grasp the historical context of this policy change, it is imperative to take into account the arguments put forth by both "isolationists" and "interventionists".

As one of two foreign policy dichotomies, isolationists support a country's non-interference in other nations' internal affairs. Interventionists, on the other hand, advocate the involvement of the country in foreign affairs and politics. From the American point of view, isolationists believe that the U.S. should refrain from intervening in conflicts out of the country's sphere, especially in Asia and Europe, and avoid getting embroiled in world politics. Interventionists, however, claim that the U.S., as an exceptional nation, is predestined to take the burden of world affairs and politics, which is in the country's interest to strengthen national security and promote the American ideals beyond its borders (Milestones: 1937–1945 - Office of the Historian, n.d.-a; PDF).

It should be noted that America's first step toward isolationism goes back to the post-colonial period. As a former colony that experienced an oppressive rule, the U.S. decided to avoid getting involved in other nations' affairs. This decision was further reinforced by President James Monroe's declaration of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, which warned against any European attempts to expand into the Western Hemisphere. The doctrine served as the backbone of America's foreign policy until WWI. The country's isolationist policy was, however, abandoned when Germany launched unrestricted submarine warfare, sinking all merchant ships in the North Atlantic, including the American ones, and killing many American citizens. This was followed by the Zimmermann incident in 1917, which revealed a secret German-Mexican alliance that was conspiring against the U.S., leading American-German relations to deteriorate (Rose, 2021; Milestones: 1914–1920 - Office of the Historian, n.d.-a).

The devastating consequences of WWI prompted the United States to readopt isolationism as its foreign policy. In a speech addressed to a joint session of Congress in 1918, President Wilson proposed what became known as Wilson's Fourteen Points for peace talks to end the war and prevent possible future conflicts. These points would later lay the groundwork for the League of Nations, an international body which is devoted to ensure peace and settle disputes between nations. Although Wilson requested America's participation in this organization, the Senate rejected it, believing that neutrality would better meet the interest of the country and its national security, and the U.S. never became a member of the League of Nations (Locke & Wright, 2019; Milestones: 1914–1920 - Office of the Historian, n.d.-b).

The American isolationist foreign policy was challenged again in the wake of WWII. When the war began in 1939, many Americans voiced a desire for the U.S. to remain neutral, and so the country did not actually participate in the conflict. Nevertheless, under the Lend-Lease program, the United States provided military support to its allies in their struggle against the Axis powers, which were exerting significant control over Europe during that period. (Milestones: 1937–1945 - Office of the Historian, n.d.-b). In 1940, the Japanese Empire conquered Southern Indochina, blocking all routes that allowed China to import weapons and fuel. The United States, with military installations in the Pacific, reacted by implementing economic sanctions against Japan, including an embargo on oil exports, in an effort to impede Japanese expansion in the Pacific region. It was not until 1941, when Japan launched a surprise attack on American bases at Pearl Harbor, that the United States was compelled to formally engage in World War II, thereby ending years of the country's isolationist stance. (Gompert et al., 2014; Anthony & Gardner, 2015).

The United States' departure from its prior isolationist stance resulted in the nation's rise as the preeminent global power, ushering in a transformative period of economic, military, and political advancement in American history. Accordingly, manufactories that used to produce consumer goods shifted to producing war munitions including guns, tanks and other military equipment, much of which was supplied to America's allies during the two world wars. The shortage of manpower necessitated the employment of women in roles from which they had previously been excluded, in order to fill the positions of men who had enlisted in the military. This helped the U.S. to, conclusively, recover from a decade of the Great Depression and lessened the unemployment rate by up to 25% (Vergun, 2020). Politically, America's weight on the international stage grew as it helped build the post-war world, being one of the founding members of the United Nations Organization (UNO) which succeeded the forerunner League of Nations (Runde, 2020).

Contextually, U.S. interventionism intensified significantly during the Cold War era and ever since, allowing the U.S. to play a major role in many conflicts around the world including the Korean War (1950-1953), the Vietnamese War (1955-1975), the Gulf War (1990-1991), and the War in Afghanistan (2001-2021).

2. Cold War Politics:

Post-WWII laid the seeds for a new level of escalating tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. In spite of being former allies during WWII, the two nations began a scramble for ideological, economic and military superiority. During the Cold War era, both superpowers pursued policies and strategies aimed at advancing their respective interests and expanding their global influence. One notable policy, which serves as the central focus of this research, is the War by Proxy.

2.1. War by Proxy:

War by proxy is a type of military conflict in which certain states fight on behalf of external superpowers, which themselves do not directly participate in the war. It is worth noting that a conflict is designated as a proxy war when major powers intervene by providing military and logistic support to their warring proxies (Latchford, 2022).

According to Krieg and Rickli (2019), the concept of proxy war, also referred to as a 'surrogate war', dates back to ancient empires whose patrons used to shift the burden of warfare

to substitutes, generally varying from privateers, mercenaries and rebels to terrorist groups and militias, to lead conflicts in areas that were out of their reach or when these empires themselves did not have adequate experience to do so, using their own forces.

Proxy warfare has become more prevalent in modern times, gaining more significance in shaping international relations. During the Cold War era, the United States and the Soviet Union sought to widen and exert their influence beyond their existing borders. Fearing that rising tensions between them would push the conflict to the verge of a nuclear war. Both superpowers began supporting conflicting parties in various regions around the world, marking the birth of proxy warfare as a new policy adopted during this era. The Korean and the Vietnamese Wars are examples of the adoption of proxy wars during that period.

2.1.1. The Korean War:

The Korean War was the first military conflict fought between the Communist and Capitalist Blocs. Following the collapse of the Japanese Empire in 1945, the U.S. and the USSR seized control of the Korean Peninsula, which was previously annexed by Japan in 1910 (Boehme, 2018). The country was then divided between both superpowers, along the 38th parallel, with the Soviets occupying the Northern zone and the Americans controlling the Southern one. The intended temporary division was designed to persist until the creation of an independent and unified Korea. However, due to a lack of consensus between the United States and the Soviet Union regarding the type of government to be established on the peninsula, the two occupation zones evolved into separate states in 1948, each governed by its respective regime. The intended temporary division was designed to persist until the creation of an independent and unified Korea. However, due to a lack of consensus between the United States and the Soviet Union regarding the type of government to be established on the peninsula, the two occupation zones evolved into separate states in 1948, each governed by its respective regime. A Soviet-backed communist state, The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), was created under the leadership of Kim Il-sung in the North while an American-backed capitalist state, the Republic of Korea (ROK), was led by Syngman Rhee in the South (Hong, 2008; Milestones: 1945–1952 - Office of the Historian, n.d.-a).

On June 25, 1950, the conflict erupted when the Soviet-backed North Korean army passed the 38th parallel, invading South Korea and taking control of its capital, Seoul. As South Korea's ally, the U.S. intervened, in compliance with President Harry Truman's order, by assisting the South Korean army. The United States perceived the invasion as part of a global conspiracy to widen the spread of Communism and, therefore, intensified its efforts by urging United Nations members to send forces and extra military equipment in support of South Korea (Grant, 2015). In response, China entered the war on behalf of communist North Korea and drove UN forces back across the 38th parallel (Damian, 2020). The conflict went back and forth, and after more than two years of ongoing negotiations, the war came to an end with the signing of a truce agreement, in 1953, under which a new demilitarized zone was created between the South and the North, exacerbating relations between the two Koreas up to the present day (Vergun, 2023).

2.1.2. The Vietnamese War:

The Vietnamese War was another military conflict that strained American-Soviet relations during the Cold War era. The war has its origins in the anti-colonial movement in Vietnam which grew as a result of the long-standing struggle against the French colonial presence in the country. Having been influenced by Chinese and Soviet Communism, revolutionary leader, Ho Chi Minh, founded the Viet Minh, also known as the League for the Independence of Vietnam, to help resist Japan which had also established a colonial foothold in the country during WWII. Following the demise of the Japanese Empire, the Viet Minh continued fighting for their independence against the French occupation. This sparked the First Indochina War which marked the end of the French rule at the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, and the provisional division of Vietnam into two zones, along the 17th parallel. Supported by China and the Soviet Union, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) was founded in the North by the Viet Minh.

Meanwhile, a U.S.-backed Republic of Vietnam (ROV) was formed in the South under the leadership of Ngo Dinh Diem (Hosch, 2010).

The ongoing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union led ultimately to the outbreak of the Vietnamese War in 1955. Seeking to reunify Vietnam under one communist government, the Viet Minh began backing guerilla forces in the South, known as the Viet Cong. This raised concerns in the U.S. over the threat of communist expansion, and it quickly responded with the John F. Kennedy Administration sending U.S. military advisors to assist the South Vietnamese government. In 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson intensified America's involvement in the Vietnam War by ordering a bombing campaign against the North, retaliating to a North Vietnamese attack on two American destroyers installed in the Gulf of Tonkin, under the so-called 'Gulf of Tonkin Resolution' (Milestones: 1961–1968 - Office of the Historian, n.d.). Committed to defending their ally, China and the USSR sent troops and other military equipment to North Vietnam, including weapons and aircraft (Lind, 2013).

Hosch (2010) states that the Vietnam War continued until peace negotiations were held between both sides, concluding with the signing of the Paris Peace Accords in 1973 which called for a cease-fire and the removal of all American forces from South Vietnam. North Vietnam, however, persisted in its effort for the ultimate victory of a unified Vietnamese state under the banner of Communism. Consequently, North Vietnamese forces captured the Southern capital of Saigon and compelled South Vietnam's surrender. This would signal the end of the long-lasting Vietnam War in 1975 as well as the reunion of South and North Vietnam into a single communist state, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV), with Hanoi as its capital. In addition to the significant casualties suffered by the belligerent parties involved in the conflict, the war represented a substantial setback for the United States, as it was unable to prevent the expansion of Communism in the region, resulting in the loss of over 57,939 U.S. military personnel.

3. Nature and Origins of the Russian-Ukrainian Crisis:

For decades, Ukraine had been part of the Communist Bloc and one of the core founding republics of the Soviet Union. However, when the USSR ceased to exist in 1991, the former Soviet republic emerged as an independent state with its own government and institutions. Claiming to be the legitimate heir to the USSR, Russia refused to recognize Ukraine's independence and held the torch to restore sovereignty over the country and bring it back under its sphere of influence, paving the way for decades of escalating tensions between the two nations.

The Russian-Ukrainian crisis has its origins in the Euromaidan movement of November 2013. The movement was triggered as a result of protests by Ukrainians against then-president Victor Yanukovych's refusal to sign an association agreement with the European Union (EU), shifting instead to a pro-Russian agenda. Consequently, the protests forced Yanukovych to resign from office and led to a new pro-European government taking charge. Russia, which views Ukraine as part of its territorial integrity, responded aggressively by the annexation of Crimea in February 2014 as it believed that the new Ukrainian government would jeopardize Russia's national stability and interests. The Russian annexation of Crimea, previously part of Ukraine, was internationally condemned with the EU and many countries, including the U.S., placing a bunch of sanctions on Russia, as a reaction. The annexation, widely viewed as a violation of international laws, caused significant upheaval that had a profound impact on Ukraine's economy. This escalation further worsened the existing crisis and strained Russia's relations with the West. (Kingston, 2023).

Kingston (2023) argues that the annexation of Crimea fueled the emergence of pro-Russian separatist movements in Eastern Ukraine. Backed by Russia's forces, the separatists seized control of the Donbas region, in particular Donetsk and Luhansk. This prompted the two Ukrainian provinces to secede from Ukraine, declaring themselves the Donetsk People's Republic (DPR) and the Luhansk People's Republic (LPR). Since then, Russia has been

providing logistic and military assistance to separatist fighters in the Donbas, including weapons, traineeship and other forms of military aid.

The culmination of the Russian-Ukrainian Crisis occurred with Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 (Welfens, 2023). Following the election of Volodymyr Zelensky as president of Ukraine in April 2019, he publicly affirmed the nation's aspirations for full membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU), as well as the enhancement of relations with the west (Kuzio, 2019). It can be contended that Zelensky's declarations may have been a significant factor in exacerbating the existing situation, particularly considering President Vladimir Putin's repeated cautions to NATO regarding its expansion to the East. However, this assertion contradicts Western narratives and their contention that Russia's involvement in the Ukrainian domestic affairs actually exacerbated the situation. They argue that NATO should not be held accountable, as its expansion was intended to promote peace and stability in Ukraine and Europe as a whole. (Wolff, 2015).

Few months after installing its military bases along Ukraine's borders, Russia launched an extensive invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022 (Boungou & Yatié, 2022). Welfens (2023) states that the invasion came in adherence to President Putin's order for a special military operation, which he justified as an endeavor to "denazify" the country, to preserve the rights of persecuted people suffering genocide in the Donbas region and, most of all, to deter any attempt to enlarge NATO into Ukraine. Welfens added that the aggression was followed by several Western economic sanctions on Russia, including limiting the ability of some of the country's banks to access major global payment networks and restricting its oil imports to the European Union countries.

Despite Ukraine's resistance to the invasion and the support it receives from Western countries, Russia has persisted in its military offensives in Ukraine, with the aim of bringing the country under its sphere of influence. The invasion, which many consider the largest war in Europe since the Second World War, claimed the lives of thousands of civilians and military personnel, left others homeless and forced millions to leave the country, seeking asylum in other neighboring nations such as Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and many others who have also committed to providing military aid to Ukraine since the beginning of the conflict (Baghel, 2022; Person & McFaul, 2022, p.18).

4. U.S. Support for Ukraine: Motives and Aims:

The U.S. has been providing financial, humanitarian and military assistance to Ukraine since Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014, and it further intensified this steadfast support when Russia invaded Ukraine in 2022, claiming to recognize and advocate for Ukrainian sovereignty and territorial integrity. In addition to the economic sanctions imposed on Russia, a total of \$48 billion was provided to Ukraine, \$32 billion of which was dedicated to military aid including traineeship, advisory services and other defense equipment including anti-air missiles, radars, rifles and other weapons. Furthermore, the U.S. Congress passed a spending legislation authorizing an extra \$45 billion to the Ukrainian government. In January 2023, the U.S. provided approximately \$9.9 billion in humanitarian aid including food and medical care, with the Joe Biden's administration welcoming more than 100,000 Ukrainians who were forced to flee their country (U.S. Department of State, 2023b; Grieger, 2023).

The geopolitical positioning of Ukraine has garnered significant attention from the United States as a means to counteract Russia's dominance in Eastern Europe and limit its impact in the area. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and Ukraine's independence, the U.S. claimed support for the country's transition to a democratic nation that upholds free and fair elections, a market economy and other liberal principles that the U.S. claims to promote. Moreover, it dedicated great efforts to ensure Ukraine's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In light of strengthening these bilateral relations, the U.S. government granted Ukraine a 'permanent normal trade relations status', removing all trade barriers and boosting the flow of goods and services between the two nations (Yekelchuk, 2020; U.S. Department of State, 2021). Therefore, should Ukraine become fully integrated into Russian

territory, the United States would be unable to thwart Russian expansionism and promote American liberal values in the region.

Ukraine is a key economic partner for the U.S. It is one of the world's largest producers and exporters of agricultural goods, particularly wheat, sunflower and corn. Before Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the Ukrainian agricultural sector made up about 41% of the country's total exports, worth approximately \$27.8 billion. In 2021, Ukraine's exports of wheat, maize and sunflower exceeded 4 million metric tons per month (Welsh et al., 2023; Welsh & Dodd, 2022). According to statistics published by the Statista Research Department in 2023, the U.S. ranked as Ukraine's ninth top trading partner in 2022, with a total of \$3.07 billion in imports and exports between the two nations. In 2022 and through the Agriculture Resilience Initiative (AGRI) - Ukraine, the U.S. donated \$100 million to better improve Ukrainian agricultural exports and provided more than 8000 Ukrainian farmers with seeds, fertilizers and other necessary equipment to help supply their annual harvest, which is in the U.S. interest to resist the global food security crisis triggered following the Russian invasion of Ukraine (U.S. Embassy in Ukraine, 2022).

Additionally, Ukraine has a diversified energy sector, with coal and natural gas taking a great deal of its energy sources. It holds the second-largest natural gas reserves in Europe, with nearly 900 billion cubic meters of proven reserves in 2021 and served as a bridge for Russia's gas exports to the continent. In addition to the EU's assistance, the U.S. has allocated about \$200 million in support of Ukrainian energy sector since the beginning of the Russian-Ukrainian War, as it is in the interests of both the EU and the U.S. to lessen their reliance on Russia's energy sources (Cahill & Palti-Guzman, 2023; International Trade Administration, 2021).

5. Origins of the Chinese-Taiwanese Crisis:

The origins of the Chinese-Taiwanese Crisis go back to the post-WWII period, in particular the Chinese Civil War. For almost fifty years, Taiwan was a Japanese colony. However, when Imperial Japan fell apart at the end of WWII, the Republic of China (ROC), founded by the Chinese National Party at the time, seized control of mainland China under the leadership of Chiang Kai Shek and established a provisional government there, with the support of the Allied powers (Lee, 2014).

In 1921, communist revolutionaries founded the Communist Party of China (CPC) and quickly gained support, particularly among peasants. Initially, the CPC improved relations with the Nationalist Party, also known as the Kuomintang (KMT), and cooperated in areas of mutual interest. This cooperation, however, was shortly lived with both parties claiming sovereignty over China. Tensions grew between the two, leading eventually to the outbreak of the Chinese Civil War in 1927 (Elshaikh, n.d.).

The war was ended in October 1949 when Chinese communist leader Mao Zedong announced the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Beijing with Chiang and his army fleeing to Taiwan. The CPC's victory in the Chinese Civil War signaled the birth of Communism in China and set the stage for decades of growing tensions between the ROC and PRC as well as the deterioration of U.S.-China relations (Milestones: 1945–1952 - Office of the Historian, n.d.-b).

The escalation of the Chinese-Taiwanese Crisis reached a critical point during the 1950s, precipitating a sequence of armed confrontations concerning the territorial jurisdiction of the Taiwan Strait. The People's Republic of China (PRC), asserting its claim over Taiwan as a renegade province necessitating reunification with mainland China, initiated extensive military assaults on the islands of Jinmen and Mazu, which were under the governance of the Republic of China (ROC). This aggressive action instigated the onset of the First Taiwan Strait Crisis in 1954. Concerned about the potential spread of Communism throughout the region, the U.S. intervened under the Mutual Defense Treaty with the ROC, providing military aid to the island and pledging another intervention if the situation further worsened. The PRC saw the move as a threat to its national security and, thus, resumed bombing the two islands, fueling the Second

Taiwan Strait Crisis in 1958. The United States reacted by augmenting its military equipment deployment to Taiwan, prolonging the conflict until tensions were mitigated through the initiation of diplomatic normalization between the United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC). (Milestones: 1953–1960 - Office of the Historian, n.d.).

Taiwan's international status further exacerbated the ongoing crisis. Ian (2023) argues that the PRC has always affirmed its stance that Taiwan is an integral part of its territory and will act accordingly to bring it back, if necessary, by force. Contextually, many countries were committed to the 'One China Policy' which stated that:

There is but one China in the world, Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory, and the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the whole of China.
(Bush, 2017, p.3)

The U.S., however, continued backing the island in favor of reinforcing its self-defense capabilities until 1979, when it shifted diplomatic recognition from Taipei to Beijing under the U.S.-P.R.C. Joint Communiqué, formally abiding by the One China Policy while maintaining unofficial ties with the ROC (U.S. Department of State, 2018). The ongoing China-Taiwan conflict persists, characterized by the People's Republic of China's steadfast refusal to relinquish sovereignty over Taiwan, while the latter continues to assertively safeguard its territorial integrity.

6. U.S. Support to Taiwan: Motives and Aims:

Strategically located in the Indo-Pacific region, Taiwan has long been regarded by the U.S. as a bridge to advance its interests and strengthen relations with other allies in the region (The White House, 2022). Despite its commitment to the One China Policy, the U.S. has always ensured a strong partnership with the island since the Taiwan Relations Act was brought to light in 1979, approving the U.S. adherence to Taiwan's security by providing the island with the necessary weaponry system, purportedly bolstering its self-defense capabilities and countering perceived Chinese aggression. The act aims at boosting the American-Taiwanese relations by collaborating in areas of common interest such as science, health, education and others (U.S. Department of State, 2022).

The strategic geographic location of Taiwan holds paramount importance for the United States, serving as a means to counterbalance China's influence and safeguard its regional allies. This is in alignment with the nation's vested interest in upholding its credibility and reputation as the primary guarantor of security in East Asia. (Bergsten et al., 2009). Additionally, the ROC is a vital economic partner for the U.S., being the country's ninth biggest trading partner in 2022, with almost \$160 billion in binary trade (U.S. Department of State, 2023a; Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, n. d.). Its total investment in the U.S. is estimated at approximately \$137 billion in 2020, much of which is directly invested in manufacturing, wholesale trade, and depository institutions which provide about 21.000 jobs in the United States (U.S. Department of State, 2022).

Taiwan has one of the world's top high-tech supply chains. The country enjoys a monopoly in the global semiconductor industry, producing about 92% of the world's most advanced semiconductors used to power today's electronic devices including smartphones, computers and cars (Hass et al., 2023). Additionally, the island houses the world's largest producer of these chips, the Semiconductor Manufacturing Company (TSMC), which accounts for almost 15% of the country's GDP and supports many U.S.-led tech giants such as Apple and Nvidia as well as other American advanced systems like artificial intelligence and quantum computing (The Project 2049 Institute & US-Taiwan Business Council, 2023). Therefore, any possible Chinese aggression against Taiwan would not only disrupt the production and flow of semiconductors worldwide but also freeze international supply chains. Accordingly, it will be just a matter of

time before the world, and especially the U.S., witnesses an economic crisis, losing one of the most powerful economies in the world. Hence, the United States' support of Taiwan is believed to serve the purpose of reducing the islands and other allies' dependence on technological products manufactured in China. (Gordon et al., 2023; Feigenbaum & Weisel, 2021).

Taiwan's democratization process proved to be the focus of America's interest to preserve the U.S.-led liberal international political order (Rahman, 2001). Following decades of a one-party system with the KMT, led by Chiang Kai-Shek, the first Taiwanese opposing political party was established in 1986, and the island carried out its first direct presidential elections in 1996. Upon her election as president of Taiwan in 2016, Tsai Ing-Wen unequivocally articulated her intention to strengthen the island's ties with the United States. Furthermore, she consistently affirmed Taiwan's unwavering commitment to its democratic principles in the face of China's efforts to compel reunification with the mainland. (Rigger, 2021; DeLisle, 2018).

The U.S., which claims human rights and democracy promotion as the forefront principles of its foreign policy, praised Taiwan's evolution to a democratic entity that shares, along with the U.S., a commitment to advance freedom and the rule of law. Notwithstanding its commitment to the One China Policy, the United States has notably signaled its backing for Taiwan's self-governance. This is evidenced by the numerous visits made by high-ranking American officials to the island, such as the visit by the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Nancy Pelosi, in August 2022, stating that: "The visit should be seen as an unequivocal statement that America stands with Taiwan, our democratic partner, as it defends itself and its freedom" (Hass et al., 2023; Huang, 2022, para.1). In fact, Pelosi's visit further strained American-Chinese relations and escalated the cross-strait conflict, with China immediately responding with a series of military parades set around the island. The American ambivalence regarding the status quo reflects Taiwan's role as a significant component of the U.S. containment policy aimed at countering China's Communist expansion in the region. (Bellocchi, 2023; Bergsten et al., 2009).

Conclusion:

This study offers a thorough analysis of the United States regeneration of the policy of War by Proxy from the Cold War era and its application in present foreign policy towards the Ukrainian and Taiwanese crises. It is further designated to unveil the realities behind America's unconditional support for Ukraine and Taiwan. Following an in-depth analysis of previous and current knowledge on the topic, the primary finding of this study is the identification of the current American involvement in the Ukrainian and Taiwanese crises as a revival of the Cold War strategy of War by proxy. This strategic approach allows the U.S. to undermine the political and economic advancement of both Russia and China while maintaining its global interests and hegemony, all without direct military engagement.

Ever since its founding as a republic, the U.S. has been claiming to be the guardian of liberal values around the world. However, this stance appears incongruent with its involvement in the internal affairs of other nations, often contributing to multidimensional crises. In the case of Ukraine, the U.S. has provided military assistance to the Ukrainian government since Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014, encompassing the provision of weaponry, training, and financial aid to aid Ukraine in countering perceived Russian aggression. Similarly, the U.S. has recently intensified its support for Taiwan, evident through high-level official visits to the island and increased arms sales in response to escalating tensions across the Taiwan Strait, actions that can be interpreted as efforts to contain China's expanding influence in the region.

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