



50th Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations  
Between the Republic of Turkey  
and the People's Republic of China

# Common Destiny Shared Future

## ABDÜLKADİR EMİN ÖNEN

Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey in Beijing  
The Last Semi-Century and the Future of Turkish-Chinese  
Relations Based on Mutual Respect and Friendship

## LIU SHAOBIN

Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Ankara  
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**Graphic Design** • Çiçek İlsever

**Editorial Office** • Esentepe Mah. Yzbaşı Kaya Aldođan Sk. No: 4 İ Kapı No: 209 Şişli-İstanbul

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### Owner and General Manager

Emine Sađlam on behalf of Turkish-Chinese Business Development and Friendship Association

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## Principles of Publication

At a time when US ambitions for a unipolar world order have lost their appeal, a new order is taking shape thanks to the multipolarization of world politics and the acceleration of cooperation between developing countries, rejecting the globalism of imperialist states. Under these conditions, the new agenda of global cooperation should respond to the needs and aspirations of developing countries seeking joint development and solidarity under the guidance of public-driven projects. In particular, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) -put forward in 2013 by Xi Jinping, President of the People's Republic of China- provides a suitable opportunity and a sound foundation for the implementation of this new agenda of global cooperation.

BRI is an epoch-making move to re-implement the concept of the Silk Road, which dates back 2,000 years, to a time when China was immensely contributing to global prosperity and the development of trade and cooperation. The revival of this concept entails a much more comprehensive approach that also incorporates rail and sea transport, and digital systems.

BRI proposes to bring together over 60 countries across Asia, Europe, Africa, and Latin America -together accounting for nearly half of the world's gross domestic product- for prosperity and development at the initiative of China. Unlike the Western-centered world order, BRI seeks peaceful collaboration for improving global trade and production towards common goals for humanity. It firmly rejects crude imperialist exploitation. Two thousand years ago, the Silk Road was a conduit for the flow of gunpowder, spices, silk, compasses and paper to the world. Today, it offers artificial intelligence, quantum computers, new energy and material technologies, and space-age visions to developing countries. In addition, the New Silk Road provides incentives and opportunities for the development and implementation of bio-economic schemes in stakeholder countries against the threat of climate change and other environmental threats that bring the entire ecosystem to the brink of extinction.

Turkey has a significant role -real and potential- in accelerating South-South cooperation. Turkey is conveniently located as Asia's farthest outpost to the West. It assumes a critical position as a pivotal country on BRI's North-South and East-West axes. However, China's development and BRI's contribution to the future of humanity have remained to a large extent underrecognized and superficially evaluated in Turkish academia, media, and politics. This is mainly because Turkey's academics, media professionals, and policy makers have been observing China using Western sources. In the same manner, China and BRI's other potential partners have been viewing Turkey through a Western lens.

BRIQ has committed itself to developing an in-depth understanding of the present era, with a particular emphasis on the new opportunities and obstacles on the road to the New Asian Century.

BRIQ assumes the task of providing direct exchange of views and information among Chinese and Turkish academics, intellectuals, and policy makers. In the meantime, this journal will serve as a platform to bring together the intellectual accumulation of the whole world, especially developing countries, on the basis of the Belt and Road Initiative, which presents a historic opportunity for the common future of humanity.

BRIQ is also devoted to publishing research and other intellectual contributions that underline the transformative power of public-driven economies, where popular interests are upheld as the basic principle, ahead of individual profit. The fundamental tasks of BRIQ are to demonstrate how BRI can contribute to the implementation of this public-driven model, and to help potential BRI partners -including Turkey- to realize their real potential.

BRIQ stands for the unity of humanity and a fair world order. It will therefore be a publication for the world's distinguished intellectuals, especially those from Eurasia, Africa, and the Americas: the defenders of a new civilization rising from Asia on the basis of peace, fraternity, cooperation, prosperity, social benefit and common development.

BRIQ features a broad range of content, from academic articles to book reviews, review essays, interviews, news reports, and feature articles.

The Editorial Board can issue calls for papers for special issues and invite authors to contribute manuscripts; however, it also welcomes unsolicited submissions.

Submissions are invited in English or Turkish. All submissions are to include a short biography (150-word limit) and should be sent as Microsoft Word attachments to [briq@briqjournal.com](mailto:briq@briqjournal.com). Articles or other content that have been previously published or are under review by other journals will not be considered for publication.

BRIQ follows American Psychology Association (APA) style, 6<sup>th</sup> edition, <https://www.apastyle.org>) and uses American English spelling.

BRIQ applies a double-blind review process for all academic articles.

Academic articles should be between 5000 and 9000 words in length, including abstracts, notes, references, and all other content. Please supply a cover page that includes complete author information, and a fully anonymized manuscript that also contains an abstract (200-word limit) and five keywords.

Book reviews should not exceed 1,000 words; review essays covering two or more works can be up to 3,000 words.

News reports consisting of brief analyses of news developments should not exceed 1,500 words; feature articles combining reporting and analysis can be up to 3,500 words.

Please contact the Editorial Board for interview proposals.

# EDITORIAL

## The Truth Revealed on the 50th Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations: China and Turkey Will Rise Together

The peoples of Asia have taken their place on the stage of history as the hosts of a rising civilization in the 21st century, where the values of labor, humanism, solidarity, and sharing are being rediscovered in the face of a decaying Atlantic. The rise of the peoples of Asia against imperialist aggression will play a decisive role not only in their own regions but also in the future of the entire world.

China at the eastern end and Turkey at the western end of our continent are the two leading countries of the Asian civilization. Under current conditions, the interests of Turkey and China are closely intertwined.

Both countries face similar national security threats. Moreover, the source of the threat is the same. Both countries are the target of imperialist aggression, as they were at the beginning of the 20th century. The United States (US) administration has declared China, Russia, and rising nationalisms in the developing world as national security threats. In line with this decision, the US targets Turkey as well as China, because they reject the yoke of imperialism and defend their rights and interests with an armed determination in matters concerning national interests.

Turkey is located in Western Asia, where today's geopolitical power struggles are concentrated. It is fighting the armed threats posed by the US in Cyprus, the Eastern Mediterranean, Syria, and Iraq. This is reminiscent of the kind of threats that China is facing in the South China Sea and the Taiwan Strait. In addition, eliminating US-backed separatist terrorism is among the national security priorities of both countries. The US feeds and supports terrorist organizations to divide Syria, Iran, Iraq, and Turkey as well as China.

Certainly, the most important area of partnership for both countries is the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The BRI creates a unique opportunity for Turkey, which today wants to step out of the global financial hegemony and head towards a "production revolution". Likewise, Turkey offers a window of opportunity for China and other BRI countries as a crucial jumping-off point for the BRI's expansion into Europe, Southwest Asia, and North Africa.

In summary, if Turkey wins, China will win; if China loses, Turkey will lose. It follows that China and Turkey will rise together.

China and Turkey are obliged to be companions as the leading countries of a humane and nature-centered common future that will save humanity from imperialist aggression, the nature from destruction, and societies from decay. The star of the shared future, which will be formed by those whose destinies are common, has already begun to shine.

\*\*\*

With our last issue, BRIQ has completed its 2nd year. With its original design, qualified content, scientific depth of its articles, and authors from different countries, we have produced 8 issues that are worthy of our claims that we announced in the first issue. Our contributors include academics from leading universities in countries such as China, Turkey, Russia, Iran, Mexico, Australia, Egypt, Syria, Italy, and Germany. Our first eight issues included 59 peer-reviewed articles, essays, interviews, and book reviews. In addition, BRIQ featured photographs, paintings, and cartoons of the world's leading artists to contribute to cultural interactions between peoples. To date, the total number of citations of articles featured in BRIQ has reached 32 and since May, BRIQ has been listed on Citefactor, one of the leading international indices. In the coming months, BRIQ will be included in other international indices.

As we enter our third year, as BRIQ we reiterate our call to the academics, experts, and intellectuals of the developing world, especially those in Turkey and China:

BRIQ, which is a powerful tool in breaking the Atlanticist academic domination and enriching the content of the new international order, is your journal, too! Let's strengthen it together with your contributions!

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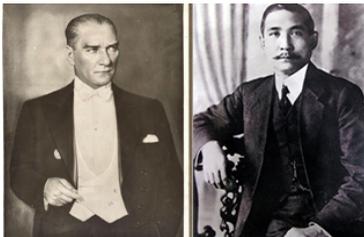
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# AMBASSADOR OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY IN BEIJING ABDULKADİR EMİN ÖNEN



*Abdulkadir Emin Önen was born in Ankara on 15 March 1976. He completed his undergraduate education in Public Administration at Istanbul Fatih University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences in 2001. He received his master's degree in Political Science from the Fatih University in 2010. His dissertation is entitled "Asian Perception in Turkish Foreign Policy since 2003". He established his own consulting company in import and export business in China/Guangzhou. He was elected as Member of Parliament from Şanlıurfa for the 23rd and 24th Parliamentary Terms, Justice and Development Party. He served as Vice-President of the Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA) in 2009-2011. He was the Chairman of Turkey-China Inter-Parliamentary Friendship Group and President of Turkish Group at Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE PA) between 2011 and 2015. He also served as Vice-President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the International Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE PA) between 2013 and 2015. Mr. Önen serves as Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to the People's Republic of China.*

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# THE LAST SEMI-CENTURY AND THE FUTURE OF TURKISH-CHINESE RELATIONS BASED ON MUTUAL RESPECT AND FRIENDSHIP

**Article by H.E. A. Emin Önen,  
Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey in Beijing,  
Written to Be Published on the Special Issue of the BRIQ\*  
28.10.2021**



THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY AND THE people' s Republic of China are the heirs of two ancient civilizations at the two ends of the Silk Road. This year, we celebrate the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations (1971) between the two states. In fact, 50 years is a very short period of time, considering the deep-rooted history of both civilizations and their interaction dating back to many millennia. However, the momentum gained especially since 2010, when our relations were upgraded to the level of “strategic cooperation”, is remarkable.

At this point, I would especially like to

emphasize that I am honored and glad to be representing Turkey since 1 December 2017 – the day I assumed my duty as the Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey – in the most populous country of the world and in such a historical capital as Beijing.

In this vein, I am pleased to clearly observe that the bilateral relations between the two countries in various fields from economy to trade, and from tourism to collaboration in joint transportation projects have visibly improved in recent years, the contacts at all levels and sectors have intensified, and our cooperation on regional and global issues as

\*Spots have been added by BRIQ.

well as our bilateral relations has been strengthened. It is quite normal in the course of history for these two dynamic powerhouses, which have achieved a significant progress on their paths of development, to cooperate even more. However, despite the breakthroughs observed in almost every field in the last decade, the volume and level of our relations are still far from reflecting their true potential. This fact requires consideration and more effort.

**Turkish-Chinese cooperation has proven to be based on solid foundations, especially in difficult times.**

Undoubtedly, diplomacy pursued at the leaders level plays an important role in maintaining the momentum in our rapidly developing bilateral relations and in coordinating our approaches towards complex regional and global challenges. H.E. President Erdoğan and H.E. President Xi held regular consultations by phone calls throughout the year. They have exchanged views on regional and global challenges, while continuing to make joint decisions on issues of common interest. It is obvious that the close dialogue between the two leaders will guide raising the profile of Turkish-Chinese strategic cooperation in the years to come. As a matter of fact, the visit of Foreign Minister H.E. Wang to Turkey in March 2021 and the meetings of H.E. Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu and Mr. Wang in Tashkent last July also pointed to this situation, and have been very beneficial for Turkey and China to better understand each other's pers-

pective on important international issues.

Turkish-Chinese cooperation has proven to be based on solid foundations, especially in difficult times. Turkey was one of the first countries to provide much-needed medical supplies to China at the beginning of the Covid-19 outbreak in Wuhan; and when the virus started to spread in Turkey in the middle of 2020, this time China responded in the same way. Afterwards, the Covid-19 vaccine "CoronaVac" produced in China, was used and continues to be used for millions of our citizens in our national vaccination campaign.

Despite the non-disappearance of the pandemic from our lives, and the consequent international travel restrictions and many other challenges, my colleagues at the Embassy and I, are trying our best to advance the positive agenda of our bilateral cooperation, particularly in the areas of culture and economy.

In line with this understanding, in last May, we inaugurated Yunus Emre Institute's 59th branch in the world and the first center in China, in Beijing, in one of the world's leading cultural capitals. It is our pleasure that our Chinese friends show great interest in this center, which plays an important role for both communities to get to know each other better.

On the other hand, we are also preparing to open our fourth Consulate General in China in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan province. So, after Beijing, Hong Kong, Shanghai and Guangzhou, we will be represented in another rapidly developing and important region of China.

We are determined to revitalize our people to people relations as soon as possible,

which were interrupted by the pandemic. Resuming the reciprocal flights, whose number was close to 50 per week in the pre-pandemic period, increasing the number of flights and the diversification of the destinations would also elevate the number of Chinese tourists – which reached a record-high level by increasing to almost 600,000 in 2019 – visiting our country and assist us in reaching our target of “1 million Chinese tourists annually”. Facilitating mutual visits would also pave the way for renewed educational and academic contacts.

**Our countries, which are the natural heirs of the historical Silk Road, share the vision of integration through Eurasia through comprehensive connectivity projects such as the “Middle Corridor” and the “Belt and Road Initiative”.**

In 2020, our bilateral trade reached the record level of approximately 26 billion Dollars, making China the second largest trading partner of Turkey.

On the other hand, we put great effort into keeping the economic and commercial ties between our countries as dynamic as possible. In 2020, our bilateral trade reached the record level of approximately 26 billion Dollars, making China the second largest trading partner of Turkey. In line with our aim to stabilize the deficit in our bilateral trade, we are also taking important steps to increase our exports to China. In this context, in the first 8 months of 2021, our exports to China increased by 45% compared to the same period

of the previous year and reached 2.4 billion Dollars. Turkey’s exports of food and agricultural products to China increased by 112% in the first eight months of this year, reaching 230 million Dollars. We aim that our exports to China reach the highest level in our history by the end of 2021. We also continue to work on our plans to integrate Turkish export products into China’s major e-commerce platforms to seize the opportunity offered by the new digital economies. In parallel, we encourage more Chinese origin investments in Turkey. I see no obstacles to doubling or even tripling our trade volume and mutual investments with the right planning, determination and sincere cooperation.

We attach great importance to our relations with China also within the framework of our “Asia Anew” initiative, which was launched in 2019 and aims to deepen Turkey’s relations with Asian countries and contribute to economic integration across the continent.

In this vein, transportation corridors are of critical importance. Our countries, which are the natural heirs of the historical Silk Road, share the vision of integration through Eurasia through comprehensive connectivity projects such as the “Middle Corridor” and the “Belt and Road Initiative”. As a part of this shared vision and as a tangible result of our intense efforts to harmonize these two ambitious projects, the first export freight train service from Turkey to China was launched in December 2020. The train reached Xi’an from Istanbul in just 12 days, following the Trans-Caspian East-West Central Corridor via the Kars-Tbilisi-Baku railway. Efforts are underway to increase the number of these freight trains in the upcoming period. Gre-

ater use of this rail link will enable Turkish and Chinese products to be delivered to their respective destinations more easily and quickly and will also make a great contribution to eliminating the ongoing vulnerabilities in global supply chains.

**We celebrate the semicentennial anniversary of our diplomatic relations, we should plan and gradually put into practice the foundations of the steps to be determined in the light of the “win-win” principle, which will ensure the further deepening of the ties between our two countries in the next 50 years.**

The importance of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People’s Republic of China for the Belt and Road Initiative is enormous with its logistics, economic and cultural dimensions. A significant part of the Uyghur Turks, who are one of the essential elements of the Belt and Road geography, live in Turkey. Therefore, we attach special importance that the Uyghurs and the other Turkic peoples living in China, with whom we have undeniable linguistic, religious, historical and cultural ties, live in peace, security and prosperity as equal citizens, fully enjoying their rights arising from national and international law, develop and transfer their culture to new generations, make the best use of the development of the region and hence contribute to our relations with China. In our contacts with the Chinese side, we regularly discuss the issues that we believe need more effort in this regard, especially the ones related to Turkish

citizens. I believe that the establishment of a constructive and result-oriented dialogue on this matter, as in other aspects of our bilateral relations, will positively affect our relations.

To summarize, the strong mutual political will to develop our relations, manifested especially in the last fifteen years, has been further strengthened by intense high-level political contacts, and paved the way for our cooperation in many areas. It has been proven in the turbulent environment created by the pandemic that our bilateral ties are built on strong foundations. Increasing high-level engagement at the political level and strengthening social contacts in many fields such as tourism, culture, civil aviation, science and technology give us strong clues that the next half century will be much more valuable for Turkey and China. Therefore, as we celebrate the semicentennial anniversary of our diplomatic relations, we should plan and gradually put into practice the foundations of the steps to be determined in the light of the “win-win” principle, which will ensure the further deepening of the ties between our two countries in the next 50 years.

Doubtlessly, it is not possible for any country to traverse the road to a prosperous future alone. With this understanding, I fully believe that our relations will be carried forward in the future in line with the interests of the people of the two countries. The deepening and development of our relations will not only be beneficial for the welfare and development of the people of the two countries, but also contribute to the peace, stability and development of the region and the world.🌸

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# AMBASSADOR OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO ANKARA LIU SHAOBIN



*Liu Shaobin was born in 1963. Since 1985, Mr. Liu has been working for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China. Respectively, he served as Counsellor and Director of the Department of Asian Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, Minister Counsellor at the Chinese Embassy in the Republic of Korea, Deputy Director-General of the Department of External Security Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, Minister at the Chinese Embassy in Japan, and General Director of the Department of External Security Affairs. He serves as Chinese Ambassador to Turkey since October 2020.*

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# BELT AND ROAD COOPERATION MARKS A NEW CHAPTER ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND TURKEY



THE YEAR 2021 MARKS THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY of diplomatic relations between China and Turkey. Over this period, thanks to the joint efforts of the governments and people of the two countries, China-Turkey relations have overcome numerous international challenges and entered a mature and stable stage of development. Especially since establishing a strategic cooperative relationship in 2010, cooperation between the two countries in fields such as politics, economy, people-to-people exchanges, culture, science and technology has developed rapidly.

Growing mutual political trust between China and Turkey has provided a solid guarantee for further deepening bilateral relations. The two countries' leaders have always planned and grasped China-Turkey relations from a strategic and long-term perspective. The two countries firmly support each other in safeguarding their national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and in pursuing a development path in line with their own national conditions.

In recent years, under the leadership of President Xi Jinping and President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, bilateral relations have been consistently improving, as marked by a consensus on mutual respect for each other's core interests and major concerns. For the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations, the two leaders had a telephone call and conveyed congratulatory messages to each other, positively evaluated the achievements of bilateral cooperation in various fields, and determined the direction of development of bilateral relations for the new period.

In March 2021, Wang Yi, State Councilor and Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited Turkey. Chinese and Turkish foreign ministers extensively exchanged views on promoting the healthy and stable development of the strategic cooperative relationship between China and Turkey.

The fruitful results of pragmatic cooperation between China and Turkey have provided significant benefits for the people of both countries. China-Turkey cooperation in areas of trade, in-

\*Spots have been added by BRIQ.

vestment and finance is progressing steadily. China has become Turkey's second-largest trading partner as it has actively taken a series of measures to increase imports from Turkey. High-quality Turkish agricultural products such as cherries, pistachios, dairy, aquatic and poultry have been welcomed by Chinese consumers. Between January and September 2021, bilateral trade volume increased by 44.1% to reach \$24.49 billion, and China's non-financial direct investment in Turkey reached \$160 million with an annual increase of 647.9% compared to the previous year. Financial cooperation between China and Turkey has deepened further, and the scale of local currency swaps has reached 35 billion yuan.

### **The ancient Silk Road represents a bridge for communication and exchange between the two civilizations for thousands of years.**

In just a few years of entering the Turkish market, Bank of China and Industrial and Commercial Bank of China have provided tens of billions of dollars of financing support for joint projects and local projects between the two countries. China and Turkey are actively exploring new ideas and measures to optimize their trade structure and enhance their economic and trade cooperation in order to seize the opportunities of the development of the digital economy and fully release the potential of cooperation between the two countries in the areas of trade in services, digital economy and e-commerce.

People-to-people and cultural exchanges between China and Turkey, which are becoming increasingly close, have prepared a solid public base for friendship. China and Turkey have a long history of friendship and the ancient Silk Road represents a bridge for communication and

exchange between the two civilizations for thousands of years. Since establishing diplomatic relations, people-to-people and cultural exchanges between China and Turkey continue to expand. The two countries have concluded 26 pairs of sister provinces or sister cities, and thanks to activities such as the Year of Culture and the Year of Tourism, people from each country know each other better than ever. The Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Center was officially opened in Beijing, while China opened 4 Confucius Institutes in Turkey, becoming a window for Turkish people to learn Chinese and Chinese culture. China and Turkey also have more than ten universities offering courses in the other's language.

In the face of the Covid-19 outbreak, China and Turkey have stood by each other and overcome existing difficulties together and have carried out active and fruitful close cooperation in providing anti-epidemic materials and sharing experience in fighting the pandemic. China's Sinovac has cumulatively provided a large number of vaccines to Turkey at its most urgent moment, accumulating more than 70 million doses, which has greatly helped Turkey fight the pandemic and created a new highlight for China-Turkey relations.

The process of harmonizing the development strategies of China and Turkey has reached a high point in the process of high-quality joint construction of the Belt and Road. Turkey is one of the first countries to support the joint construction of the Belt and Road. President Erdoğan, who attended the first Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation, emphasized in his opening speech that the Belt and Road Initiative is a bridge of friendship that will accelerate the development of Turkey-China relations. In November 2015, President Xi Jinping and President Erdoğan witnessed the signing of the memorandum of understanding between the two governments during the G20 Antalya summit to align the Belt and Road Initiative and the "Middle

Corridor” strategy. This has been a driving force for the two countries to deepen their mutually beneficial cooperation and share the benefits, and marks a new chapter in the deep-rooted friendship between China and Turkey, which began with the ancient Silk Road. In July 2021, President Xi Jinping, in a phone call with President Erdoğan, reiterated that China and Turkey will strengthen the alignment of the Belt and Road Initiative and the “Middle Corridor” strategy, pointing the way for the two countries to further deepen cooperation and promote common development.

**“Iron Silk Road”, which spans across the Asian continent from one end to the other, has re-connected China and Turkey and ensured the rapid circulation of goods between the two.**

Cooperation between the two countries for the joint construction of the Belt and Road has yielded productive results. For example, the China-Europe Freight Train “Chang’an” connecting China’s Xi’an to Turkey’s Istanbul, opened regular traffic in both directions. This “Iron Silk Road”, which spans across the Asian continent from one end to the other, has re-connected China and Turkey and ensured the rapid circulation of goods between the two. Turkey’s Kumpart Port plays an important role in the Belt and Road. After a consortium of Chinese companies bought 65% of the port, the original Turkish team remained completely in place, a local management model continued, and the container capacity and revenues of the port gradually increased.

Industrial development of the two countries in such areas as infrastructure and renewable energy is constantly being harmonized. Chinese companies are implementing mega-projects

such as the Ankara-Istanbul High Speed Railway Phase II Project, the Ankara 500MW Photovoltaic Industrial Park and the Tuz Gölü Underground Natural Gas Storage Project. Construction of the Hunutlu Thermal Power Plant, China’s largest Belt and Road project in Turkey, is progressing smoothly. All of these projects have created a large number of local jobs. Huawei has established the second largest R&D center abroad in Turkey, while smartphone brands such as Xiaomi, Vivo, Oppo, and white goods giant Haier have also invested in factories in the country, contributing to Turkey’s technological development and innovation.

The year 2021 marks the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China (CPC). Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, proudly declared at the Party’s centenary ceremony that we have realized the first centenary goal and are marching in confident strides toward the second centenary goal, which aims to realize the vision of a great modern socialist country in all respects. The Turkish people have also put forward “Vision 2023-2053” and are making efforts to realize the “2023 Goals”.

As China and Turkey realize their great dreams, the two countries will face more opportunities and broader space for development. Standing at a historical starting point, we hope that China and Turkey will understand and respect each other’s core interests and major concerns, strengthen mutual political trust and strategic cooperation, manage contradictions and differences appropriately, protect the political foundation of bilateral relations together, extensively explore intersection points of interest, achieve new fruits in pragmatic cooperation in various fields by accelerating the high-quality joint construction of the Belt and Road, and make intense efforts for developing China-Turkey strategic cooperative relationship and building a community with a shared future for mankind. 🌸

# The Mutual Construction of Image of China and Turkey: Perceptions, Problems, and Policy Proposals\*



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**YANG CHEN\***

Asst. Prof.  
Department of History,  
Shanghai University, China

**XIE FANG\*\***

Master Candidate  
Department of World History, College of Liberal Arts  
Shanghai University, China

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*\*Dr. Yang Chen is Assistant Professor in the Department of History of Shanghai University's College of Liberal Arts and Executive Director of the Centre for Turkish Studies at Shanghai University. He has published two books about Turkey and several papers in journals such as Critical Sociology, Sociology of Islam, Belt & Road Initiative Quarterly, Arab World Research, and more. His main areas of research are Islamic movements in Turkey, party politics in Turkey, Turkey's foreign policy, and China-Turkey relations.*

*E-mail: [ycwf2008@163.com](mailto:ycwf2008@163.com)*

*<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4840-642>*

*\*\*Xie Fang is a master's candidate majoring in World History in the College of Liberal Arts and a research assistant of the Center for Turkish Studies at Shanghai University. Her research fields include the early history of Republic of Turkey and Turkey-Greece Relations.*

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## ABSTRACT

Since establishing the strategic cooperative relationship between China and Turkey in 2010, bilateral relations have entered a new era with more political mutual trust, economic cooperation, and cultural exchanges compared with the previous 40 years. However, in contrast to frequent official contacts, ordinary people's views on each country have not kept pace with this new development. In the eyes of the Turks, the image of China is still linked to some negative events. Due to several historical reasons, China's understanding of Turkey remains at a superficial level. If Chinese and Turkish people become closer emotionally and understand each other more, then the two countries' images will significantly improve, and China-Turkish relations will inevitably strengthen.

**Keywords:** China Studies, China-Turkey Relations, Image of China; Image of Turkey, Turkish Studies

2020 AND ITS AFTERMATH HAVE BEEN AN important period for Chinese and Turkish history and the development of their bilateral relations. 2020 marks the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the China-Turkey strategic partnership. Furthermore, 2021 marks the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations between China and Turkey and the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. In 2023, Turkey will have seen a century since its founding. Facing the COVID-19 pandemic and its unprecedented negative consequences, China and Turkey are constantly struggling to realize their "Chinese Dream" and "Turkish Dream", respectively. They both strive to choose an independent road.

Moreover, Turkey and China also share similar views on their respective development strategies, exemplified in their mutual synergy for improving the cooperation between the "Belt & Road" Initiative and the "Middle Corridor" Project. China attaches great importance to Turkey's increasing role in regional and global affairs, while Turkey is also very supportive of China's rise (Colakoglu, 2014). This completely contrasts the suspicion, criticism, and even containment of the development of China and Turkey by Western countries.

Since the strategic cooperative relationship between China and Turkey was established in 2010, bilateral relations have entered a new era with more

political mutual trust, economic cooperation, and cultural exchanges compared with the previous 40 years (Chen, 2020). However, in contrast to frequent official contacts, ordinary people's views on each country have not kept pace with this new development. In the Turks' eyes, China's image is still connected with negative events, and Japan and South Korea's positive image in Turkey are still way ahead of that of China. Due to historical reasons, China's understanding of Turkey is not sufficient either. The construction of the "Belt and Road" Initiative mainly addresses connectivity in policy, infrastructure, trade, finance, and people-to-people exchange. Arguably, the "people-to-people exchange" is the most important basis for developing relations between the two countries. As an old Chinese saying goes, "Friendship, which derives from close contact between the people, holds the key to sound state-to-state relations". If Chinese and Turkish people become closer emotionally and understand each other more, then the two countries' images of each other will significantly improve, and China-Turkish relations will inevitably strengthen.

This article is structured as follows. The first part analyses current developments in the Sino-Turkish strategic cooperative relationship since 2010 based on a macro-level. The second part describes the image of China in the eyes of the Turkish people



China-Turkey relations are normalizing thanks to the leadership of the two heads of state. (United World, 2019)

and the image of Turkey in the eyes of the Chinese people. The third part explores the possible reasons behind these diverging perceptions. The article will conclude with a section that proposes suggestions on how to improve the image of each other.

### **The Status Quo Development of China-Turkey Relations**

Since 2010, the development of China-Turkey relations can be roughly divided into three stages. The first stage is from establishing the strategic partnership in 2010 to the attempted military coup in 2016. The main feature of China-Turkish relations at this stage was “two steps forward and one step backwards”. Although China and Turkey held the “Chinese Culture Year” (2012) and the “Turkish Culture Year” (2013) in each other’s countries at this stage, relations deteriorated in 2014 and 2015 following violent terrorist incidents in Xinjiang. During this period, the Turkish side was hesitant towards further development of China-Turkey

relations, and the main driving force of the bilateral relations was the Chinese side.

The second stage is from the attempted military coup in 2016 to February 2019. The main feature of this stage was that “misfortune tests the sincerity of friends”. On August 3-6, 2016, the Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Zhang Ming visited Turkey (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2016). On April 18-20, 2017, the Chinese Vice Premier Liu Yandong visited Turkey (Yang & Chun, 2017). Both visits were conducted when Turkey was under difficult circumstances and were regarded by Turkey as supporting its national sovereignty and unity. Subsequently, President Erdogan attended the Hangzhou G20 Summit on September 3rd 2016. In May 2017, President Erdogan participated in the First Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation hosted in Beijing and delivered a keynote speech. This series of interactions reflects both the importance that China attaches to Turkey and Turkey’s trust in China.

The third stage is from February 2019 onwards. The main feature of this stage is “go forward with caution”. On February 9th 2019, the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson stated that the Chinese government had established a “concentration camp” in Xinjiang to imprison one million Uyghurs. They accused the Chinese government of seriously infringing on the human rights of the Uyghurs and other Muslims by trying to “eliminate” their race, religion, and culture (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2019). This makes Turkey the first country in the Islamic world to criticize China on Xinjiang-related issues, which has aroused great attention from international media.

**Evidently, the lack of political mutual trust is still the crux of developing Sino-Turkish relations. However, thanks to the leadership of the two heads of state, China-Turkey relations can always calm and set sail again.**

China and Turkey’s relations are like a seesaw when following this series of events. The outbreak of the July 5th Incident in 2009 caused the deterioration of Sino-Turkish relations. On that day, a serious wave of violent crime of beating, smashing, looting, and burning occurred in Urumqi, Xinjiang. Many innocent people and police officers were killed or injured, many vehicles were burnt down, and many shops were smashed and burned. However, the reaction from Turkey was not to blame the violent terrorists but criticize China’s Xinjiang policy. Fortunately, in the next year, the two countries managed to reduce the influence of this event and

establish a strategic cooperative relationship. In July 2015, however, an anti-China demonstration broke out in Turkey. Following President Erdogan’s visit to China at the end of July, relations between the two countries returned to normal.

After the unsuccessful military coup in Turkey broke out in 2016, China-Turkey relations have further developed, and a consensus has been reached on issues such as anti-terrorism. In February 2019, the Turkish Foreign Ministry’s accusation of China’s Xinjiang policy again led to a crisis in Sino-Turkish relations. However, with President Erdogan’s visit to China in July, bilateral relations returned to normal again.

Evidently, the lack of political mutual trust is still the crux of developing Sino-Turkish relations, meaning that, whenever such issues break out, the political relations between the two countries become turbulent. However, thanks to the leadership of the two heads of state, China-Turkey relations can always calm and set sail again.

### **The Chinese Perception of Turkey and the Turkish Perception of China**

In the past ten years, with the continuous increase of personnel exchanges between China and Turkey, Turkey’s image in China has continuously improved, and some Turkish keywords have become frequently mentioned in China as well. One is “hüzün” (Pamuk, 2007). This word comes from Istanbul: Memories and the City, the work of Orhan Pamuk, winner of the Turkish Nobel Prize in Literature. As a well-known writer, almost all Pamuk’s novels have been translated into Chinese, and the Turkish image constructed in his novels is well-known to Chinese readers. Of course, the current Turkish Republic is not a gloomy existence, but very modern, bright, and beautiful, in sharp contrast with the gloomy existence of the late Ottoman Empire.



Meeting with Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi within the framework of the 50th anniversary of our diplomatic relations. (Xinhua/Mustafa Kaya, 2021)

The second is “romance”. In the Chinese imagination, Turkey is a romantic place with excellent geography and scenery. Just mentioning names, like the Mediterranean Sea, the Aegean Sea, and the Bosphorus Strait, will arouse clear visions and longing in the Chinese. That’s why the song “Take You to Romantic Turkey” is so popular in China.

The third is “diversity”. Turkey is a country with diverse cultures. The remains of many empires are constantly being excavated in Turkey. Mosques, churches, synagogues, and more can be seen everywhere in Istanbul. Besides, Turkish cuisine incorporates the essence of diets from neighbouring countries and has won the reputation of the world’s third-largest nation of delicacies.

In addition to these positive impressions, the image of Turkey in the minds of the Chinese people has also been affected by the following historical events, which

have also deeply influenced the Turkish impression of China. The first event is the Korean War. In China’s historical narrative, the Korean War was for the real founding of New China. In 1949, the People’s Republic of China had just been established, and the United States isolated and blocked New China in all aspects. Militarily, the US launched the Korean War, sent the Seventh Fleet to invade the Taiwan Strait and intervened in the Indochina War in Southeast Asia. Politically, the United States asked the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other countries not to recognize the legitimacy of New China and manipulated the United Nations to prevent New China from sending legal representatives to replace seats illegally occupied by the Kuomintang. Economically, blockades and embargoes were imposed on China and merchant ships of all countries were prevented from entering New China’s ports. To break the siege and blockade of Western

countries headed by the United States, China sent a “volunteer army” to participate in the Korean War. At this time, the Turkish Democratic Party government sent a “Turkish brigade” to join the “United Nations Army” led by the United States. China and Turkey became enemies at the time.

**Western agitation and propaganda greatly contribute to amplifying problems, which inhibits the steady development of bilateral relations. If the two populations can share similar perceptions on this issue, the steady development of relations between the two countries will acquire a more solid public foundation.**

This incident also had a profound impact on Turkey’s understanding of modern China. Before the Korean War, Turks knew little and had no views about China. In the Korean War, though, Turkey had war correspondents for the first time. They went to the Korean battlefield to report on the fighting between China and Turkey at that time. Most reports on China emphasized that China was a communist country and that Turkey, as a member of the anti-communist camp, must resolutely oppose “Red China”. However, the difference in ideology alone cannot inflame the emotions of the domestic people. Therefore, many reports trace the contradictions and conflicts between China and Turkey in history, arousing Turkish national sentiment and deepening hostility towards China (Ungor, 2006).

The second is the Varyag incident. The Varyag aircraft carrier is the predecessor of China’s first aircraft carrier Liaoning. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the Varyag aircraft carrier had not yet been completed and could only be left idle in Ukraine. La-

ter, a Macau businessperson bought it in 1998, hoping to transform it into a comprehensive maritime tourism facility. However, in July 2000, when the Varyag left the Black Sea port and headed for the Bosphorus Strait, Turkey was pressured by a third country and refused to let the Varyag fly due to it being oversized. It was only allowed to be released on October 31st 2001 (Xian, 2011). More than one year’s non-release and negotiations made the Chinese feel a great humiliation, especially alongside continuous pressure from the West starting in the 1990s. Several years ago, when Admiral Cem Gürdeniz, the naval colonel in charge of this matter at the time, visited Shanghai, he explained that the Varyag was not allowed to pass through the strait for several reasons, including that the aircraft carrier was too large to pass through the sea bridge and that this created great risk for accidents. However, Chinese public opinion was not familiar with this reasoning. Chinese people have always mentioned the Varyag aircraft carrier stories as bitter memories that continue to exert negative impressions of Turkey.

The third is the so-called “Xinjiang issue”. In fact, it is known that some Western countries are the main force providing shelter and assistance to the so-called “East Turkistan” separatists, but when the Chinese people mention this issue, they always think of Turkey. In Turkey, Xinjiang is frequently referred to as “East Turkestan” in the media and public opinion. Even some politicians and political parties intensify this problem to seek their own narrow political interests (Rui & Lei, 2016). Furthermore, Western agitation and propaganda greatly contribute to amplifying these problems, which inhibits the steady development of bilateral relations. From this point of view, if the two populations can share similar perceptions on this issue, the steady development of relations between the two countries will acquire a more solid public foundation (Ye, 2015).

In addition to the above incidents, the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 brought new challenges and opportunities to China-Turkey relations.



Traditional Chinese dragon dance is held in Istanbul in the Year of Chinese Culture. (China Daily, 2012)

In the global fight against the pandemic, China has paid a huge price and is willing to help and cooperate with all countries in need. For example, in Turkey, President Erdogan personally took a vaccine made in China, which greatly boosted Turkey's image in the minds of the Chinese (Wei, 2021). China has also cooperated with Turkey to produce vaccines. However, some Turkish scholars with Orientalist thinking argued that this is China's "vaccine diplomacy" in adherence to Western hegemonic discourse instrumentalized by politicians. Such a recurring cycle of events brings severe challenges in promoting bilateral relations.

### **The Root Causes of Mutual Misunderstanding between the Chinese and Turkish People**

China-Turkey relations suffer from persistent misunderstandings between the people of China and

Turkey. This also applies to both countries' scholars, which inevitably affects the mutual construction of positive images. If there is no public support and mutual understanding, then the promotion of bilateral relationships will face numerous obstacles. One could enumerate the reasons behind such misunderstandings as follows:

First, there is still a gap between China and Turkey in their respective diplomatic priorities from a political perspective. In China's strategic thinking, strategic partnership with Turkey is extremely important because Turkey is both a NATO member country and a dialogue partner of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. This makes Turkey an important cooperative partner in Eurasia. In addition, Turkey has become a rising regional power, a land bridge connecting Europe and Asia, and an indispensable part of China's implementation of the "Belt and Road" initiative. For Turkey, developing

relations with China is of great significance, mainly for two reasons. Strategically, Turkey hopes to send a message to traditional Western allies that China is a strategic alternative. This can be seen from the growing military relations between the two countries, which is evident in Turkey's application to join the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Economically, Turkey believes that the Chinese market has invaluable economic opportunities, which is why it emphasizes its role as a bridge between the East and the West, thereby reducing its dependence on the Western economy (Chaziza, 2016). This shows that treating the West as a third party has become an important factor in China-Turkey relations. In addition, China and Turkey suffer from inconsistencies in their understandings of important global issues such as UN reform, the Syrian crisis, the Arab Spring, and more.

**In 1990, bilateral trade volume was US\$283 million, whereas in 2000 it rose to \$1.441 billion. In 2012, it was \$24.128 billion and rose to \$27.3 billion in 2015. In 2020, it was estimated at \$24.08 billion.**

Second, from a business perspective, Turkish businesspeople attach great importance to China's market. Turkey hopes to cooperate with China on railways, bridges, and hydropower projects, but the growing trade deficit has become an important concern for Turkey. China values its economic exchanges with Turkey. For example, Huawei Technologies Co. Ltd set up a research and development centre in Turkey. Huawei's 5G technology breakthrough relies greatly on Turkish scientist Prof. Erdal Arıkan's scientific achievements. Moreover, these products can directly enter the EU market thanks to the customs union between Turkey and Europe. This has laid favourable conditions for

China to expand investments in Turkey.

Over the 21st century, trade volume between Turkey and China has gradually increased and continues to do so. In 1990, it was US\$283 million, whereas in 2000 it rose to \$1.441 billion. In 2012, it was \$24.128 billion and rose to \$27.3 billion in 2015. In 2020, it was estimated at \$24.08 billion (Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China, 2021). However, the real issue is that although China is Turkey's second-largest trading partner in the world and the largest in Asia, the total trade volume between the two countries has not yet made a breakthrough since 2010, meaning there is still a large gap in the mutually declared goal of US\$50 billion.

Another problem is that Turkey does not hold an advantage in Sino-Turkish trade exchanges. The products exported to China are mainly raw materials, and the imported products are mainly machinery. How to reduce the trade deficit, upgrade the exchange of products between the two countries, and expand mutual investment between the two countries are all issues that China and Turkey need to address and resolve together.

Third, from an academic perspective, China and Turkey have held the "Turkish Cultural Year in China", "Chinese Cultural Year in Turkey", and "2018 Turkey Tourism Year in China". The exchanges between the cultural and intellectual circles of the two countries have begun to increase, and an increasing number of scholars and students work and study in each other's respective countries. However, the overall understanding between the two cannot satisfy the needs of both sides. In Turkey, Sinology or Chinese Studies has achieved remarkable results since its establishment at Ankara University in 1935, but it is currently facing difficulties such as insufficient faculty, difficulties in recruiting students, and inadequate social and government support (Saritas & Yang, 2014). In China, although many universities have established Turkish Studies Centres dedicated to Turkey Studies, their supply of accurate and

authentic knowledge is still inadequate. This is the fundamental reason China and Turkey still lack a correct understanding of each other and mostly rely on third-party materials to realize this aim. This situation urgently needs to be resolved.

### **Preliminary Measures to Reduce the Misunderstanding of Each Other**

As mentioned above, resolving the misunderstandings between the people of China and Turkey requires the participation of multiple actors and the joint effort of politicians, businesses, scholars, journalists, and the great masses. The most significant factor is to strengthen the exchanges between the two peoples, cultivate a group of experts and scholars familiar with each other's national conditions, and quickly improve their correct understanding of each other through the supply of more knowledge about China and Turkey. This aim can be achieved by the following:

First, promote the development of Turkey Studies in China and China Studies in Turkey and increase the supply of professional, unbiased, accurate knowledge in each other's countries. Although Turkey Studies as a research area started relatively late in China, it has achieved rapid development in the past ten years. For example, in China, several centres specializing in Turkey Studies have been established across the country. An academic journal named "Turkish Studies" was issued, the Turkish Studies Consortium was established, and the academic conference on Turkish Studies is held multiple times each year. Of course, in general, these works still fail to meet the needs of Chinese academic circles and ordinary people. For example, book publications on Mustafa Kemal Atatürk have been abundant in Turkey and the rest of the world, but there has not been a monograph published in China, and there is still no Chinese version of Atatürk's Nutuk. Therefore, there is still a long way to go for Chinese Turkey scholars.

Similarly, China Studies seems to face a similar situation in Turkey. The number of scholars studying contemporary China is still relatively limited, meaning the supply of knowledge about China is inadequate and cannot satisfy the needs of the Turkish people. A significant development in this area is the creation of a research centre called The Istinye University Centre for Belt and Road Studies (or Kuşak ve Yol Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi, KUYÇAM) in 2020. This is Turkey's first research centre that focuses on the "Belt and Road", emphasizing China Studies. The new era of China-Turkey relations calls for the emergence of a new generation of researchers.

Second, vigorously develop China-Turkey tourism cooperation and increase direct exchanges between ordinary people. Tourism brings economic benefits, is a cultural industry, and represents the most advantageous means for people to connect. Turkey's tourism industry is highly developed, attracting 40 to 50 million tourists every year, but the number of tourists from China only increased from 100,000 to the current 500,000 before the COVID-19 pandemic, thus only accounting for a small percentage of total travellers to Turkey. However, even this small number of tourists has already played a very important role in promoting the romantic image of Turkey in China. The same is true for China. Turkish students visiting China through summer camps or other exchange programs also help to challenge stereotypes. Tourism encourages a more accurate and authentic lens for ordinary people to view the other country, first-hand experience that is often more effective than news, media, and art.

Third, actively establish joint research centres and even joint universities to consolidate mutual trust between the two countries through cooperation in scientific research. Turkey already has similar scientific research cooperation projects with many other countries that have achieved concrete results. In recent years, the number of Chinese students

studying in Turkey and the number of Turkish students studying in China have increased, thus showing great potential for the future. However, if a joint research centre or a joint university can be established, then higher-level scholars can go on mutual visits and conduct dialogue, exchanges, and share in fields of cutting-edge technology and social sciences. Such exchanges are key to breaking the dominant role that Western countries have in producing knowledge, eradicating the research paradigm of “Orientalism”, and working together to realize the independent paths of the two countries.

### Conclusion

In the past two hundred years, China-Turkey relations have been built on “common destiny” and “political equality”. A hundred years ago, the Ottoman Empire was regarded as the “Sick Man of Europe” while China was called the “Sick Man of East Asia”. When the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of China met again in 1925, both countries faced a historical turning point in their resistance to Western imperialism, and national independence. Now, in the 21st century, China’s “Chinese Dream” and Turkey’s “Turkish Dream” are waiting to be realized. Bilateral relations between China and Turkey have a firm foundation for mutual sympathy, support, and cooperation, but they must go further in developing mutual understanding between ordinary people. Through continuous contact, understanding, and cognition, the two populations can understand each other, eliminate past misunderstandings, and lay a solid foundation for promoting bilateral relations that are further rooted and reach even higher than before.

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# Interactions Between Two Republics: The Republic of Turkey and the Republic of China (1923-1949)



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**NECATİ DEMİRCAN**

PhD Student  
Global Studies,  
Shanghai University, China

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*Necati Demircan was born in 1992 in Sakarya. He graduated from Sakarya University, Department of International Relations, in 2017. Between 2018-2021, he completed his master's degree in International Relations and Diplomacy at Shanghai University. Demircan is a PhD student in the Department of Global Studies at Shanghai University.*

*Email: [ndemircan11@shu.edu.cn](mailto:ndemircan11@shu.edu.cn)*

*<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5319-9629>*

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## ABSTRACT

The years between 1923 and 1949 are a lost period in terms of bilateral relations between Turkey and the Republic of China (中华民国). Research conducted in this area is limited; studies examining Chinese relations of the Atatürk period or general bilateral relations are limited, too. Friendly relations between the two Republics, which had similar revolutions and reforms, were established in 1926, allowing them to influence each other ideologically. Especially in China, many books, newspaper reviews, and articles were published about Atatürk and the Turkish Revolution. Chinese delegations have made various visits to Turkey to study the Turkish Revolution. Even though bilateral relations have been occasionally interrupted in periods as by the Second World War era, the general trend was toward continuity. This study evaluates the relations between Turkey and the Republic of China by examining the Prime Ministry archives, Presidency Archives, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, and newspaper archives of the period (Cumhuriyet, Ulus, Milliyet, and Akşam), and Chinese sources.

**Keywords:** Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Republic of China, Sun Yat-Sen, Three Principles of the People, Turkey

## Introduction

TURKEY AND CHINA ARE TWO IMPORTANT asian powers, each with a deep-rooted history and civilization. The 1911 Chinese Revolution led by Sun Yat-Sen at one end of Asia and the Turkish Revolution led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk at the other represent an important awakening in Asia. The Republic of China, founded in 1912, and the Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923, were two young republics that gained their independence by overthrowing the monarchic regime and resisting imperialism. The subsequent democratic revolutions carried out by these two deep-rooted civilizations brought along a mutual interaction. Sun Yat-Sen laid out a political program based on the Three Principles of the People, which included nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood to fight against the feudalist autocracy. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's Six Arrows program and Sun Yat-Sen's Three Principles of the People (三民主義; Sān Mǐn Zhǔyì) were fundamentally in harmony (Perinçek, 1999:23; Gürcan, 2010).

Lenin stated that the democratic revolution wave that started with the 1905 Russian Revolution

continued in Asia by spreading to Turkey, Iran, and China. Moreover, he explained how Sun Yat-Sen's populist principles were a Narodniks movement based on the people's desire for full democracy and republic and that the movement would create a radical wave of new ideas. He emphasized that this program was a revolutionary movement that mobilized the working masses in China and allowed the Chinese people to escape centuries of captivity (Lenin, 1973: 163-169). Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was pursuing a populist, secular, revolutionary program for a democratic revolution that resisted imperialism and tried to build national economy against its capitulations. Despite their geographical distance, the similarities between the two republics brought them closer and were instrumental in establishing friendly relations. Before they established a diplomatic relationship,

China was interested in Turkey. At the heart of this interest was the resistance of both countries against imperialism. Cai Hesen (蔡和森)<sup>1</sup>, a member of the Communist Party of China (CCP), enthusiastically hailed Turkey's victory over the imperialists in his article written in 1922. He stated that Turkey and

<sup>1</sup> Cai Hesen: Member of the CCP and a close friend of Mao Zedong.



Employees of China's First Embassy in Turkey.  
(Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 11 June 1935)

China were exposed to the pressures of imperialism and that the Anatolian victory of the Turks was a development that would encourage all oppressed nations, especially China (Fidan, 2019: 5-10). Another CCP member, Gao Junyu (高君宇), also hailed Turkey's victory over imperialism (Junyu, 2019: 97-102).

Turkey's success against imperialism has had a significant impact on China's progressive intellectuals. This situation encouraged the strengthening of China's relations with Turkey. The fact that the revolutions of 1911 in China and 1923 in Turkey were similar in character further aligned the two countries. The frequent visits of Chinese delegations to understand the success of the Turkish Revolution and the reports they gave about Turkey highlight this situation. Turkey similarly followed developments in China and Far Asia. Especially

during the Sino-Japanese War, reports from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Tokyo Embassy were published on events in the region and China's economic developments (BCA, 1940).

Although many interactions between the two countries exemplify close friendship and understanding, a study containing sufficient information about the relations between Turkey and the Republic of China in the period was not found in the literature review. It has been observed that the studies conducted in general are studies involving a narrow-ranging period and with limited resources. For this reason, there is an important need to clarify the relations between Turkey and China between 1923 and 1949. This is a study to address the lack of a descriptive study on the relations between Turkey and the Republic of China for 1923 to 1949.

### Diplomatic Relations Between Turkey and the Republic of China (1923-1949)

After establishing the Republic of Turkey, a great effort was made to solidify a peaceful diplomatic network with other countries through foreign policy. The first diplomatic contact with the Republic of China was made on 17 October 1925 by an initiative of the Belgian Embassy of Turkey to establish diplomatic relations (DBA, 1925; 1925a; 1925b). Turkey contacted China's Ambassador to Belgium, Wang Jingqi, to show its intention to develop friendly relations with China and to sign a trade agreement. Having received information that the Turkish Government wanted to establish diplomatic relations with China, the Beiyang Government<sup>2</sup> ordered the Chinese ambassador in Belgium to immediately contact the Turkish chargé d'affaires to negotiate and sign a trade agreement. However, when the Turkish chargé d'affaires stated that the most favored nation registration clause

should be used in the trade agreement to be signed, the negotiations on the trade agreement were firmly opposed by the Chinese Government. However, China recognized Turkey as a large Asian state and understood that a trade agreement should be signed as soon as possible to establish friendly relations (Huang, 2003).

**Turkey attempted to have the Japanese ambassador Hulusi Fuad Tugay recognized as the Chinese Chargé d’Affaires. China accepted this request. Thus, Hulusi Fuad Tugay became Turkey’s first Chinese diplomat.**

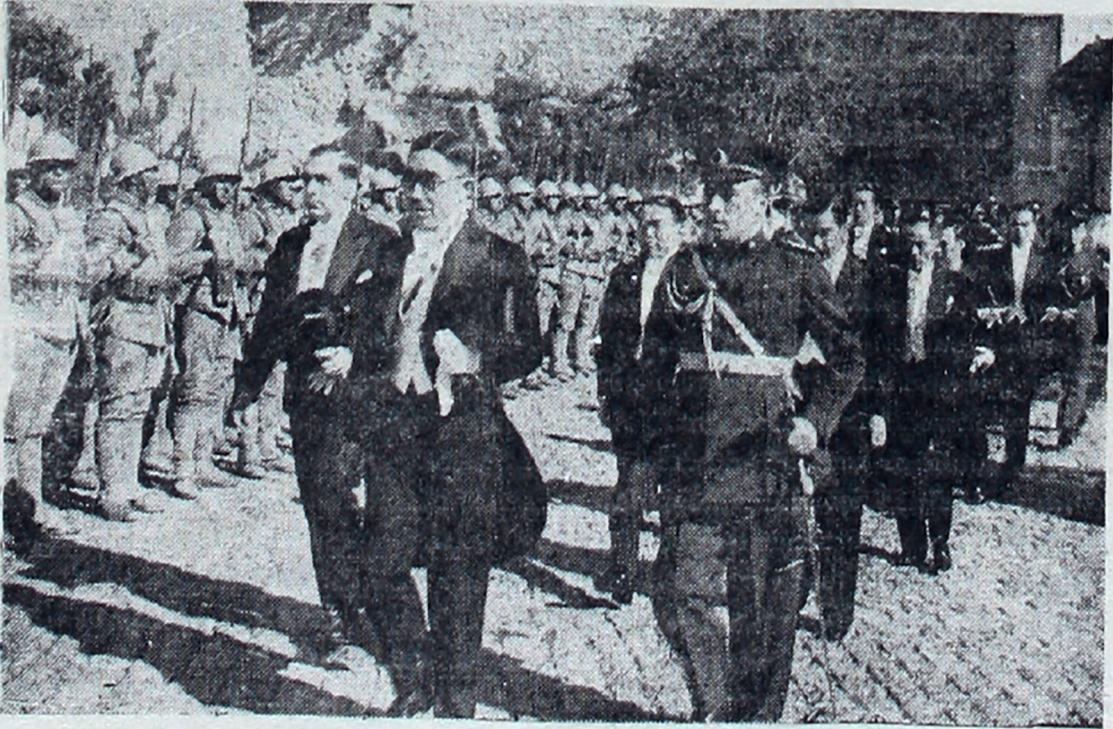
On 4 March 1926, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Beiyang Government called the diplomat Zheng Yanxi in Russia and asked him to contact Zekai Apaydin, Turkey’s Ambassador to Russia. While the consultations and negotiations between Zheng Yanxi and Zekai Apaydin were continuing, 165 Chinese led by Wang Zengshan and Ma Hongdao, who lived in Turkey for many years, submitted a joint petition to the Beiyang government to accelerate the friendship and signing of the trade agreement with Turkey. The Beiyang government prepared a draft of an 8-point China-Turkish friendship treaty. However, China’s Xinjiang Province Governor, Yang Zengxin (杨增新), opposed signing any agreement with Turkey, fearing that Turkey could influence Xinjiang Muslims to create a power element in the region (Huang, 2003: 54). The establishment of the national government in Nanjing interrupted negotiations between Turkey and China.

In 1929, while negotiations on the friendship

treaty between the two countries were continuing, Turkey attempted to have the Japanese ambassador Hulusi Fuad Tugay recognized as the Chinese Chargé d’Affaires. China accepted this request (BCA, 1929). Thus, Hulusi Fuad Tugay became Turkey’s first Chinese diplomat. Hulusi Fuad Tugay arrived in Shanghai on 1 April 1929 and went to Nanjing on 9 April to be accepted by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. During the meeting, the Chinese Foreign Minister conveyed his satisfaction with establishing bilateral relations and stated that China is going through the revolutions Turkey had gone through, therefore expressing how the Chinese government and the Chinese nation had sympathy towards Turkey (BCA, 1929a). Turkey’s chargé d’affaires experienced various accommodation and economic problems between 1929 and 1931 and consequently had to leave China in 1931.

Mutual negotiations and correspondence were made between Turkey and China to sign a friendship agreement from 1925 to 1934, but, due to various reasons, an agreement could not be reached. At the end of nine years of mutual negotiations, on 4 April 1934, a four-point friendship agreement was signed in Ankara between Tevfik Rüştü Bey, Deputy Foreign Minister on behalf of Turkey, and M. V Hoo Chi Tsai (胡世泽hushize), the Bern Ambassador on behalf of the Republic of China (Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 1934). After China and Turkey signed a friendship and trade agreement, diplomatic representations were established between the two countries, and political and economic relations were strengthened. For example, in the same year, China’s exports to Turkey exceeded 100,000 silver dollars. This amount constituted 2.5% of China’s exports at that time. Thus, trade between Turkey and China doubled. In particular, Chinese citizens came to Turkey to work and do business, which greatly encouraged

# Çin Elçisi Çankaya'da



Cumhur Başkanımız Kamâl Atatürk dün saat 16 da yeni Çin elçisi general Uyautsu'yu, Çankaya'da, her zamanki törenle, kabul etmiştir. Elçi Cumhur Başkanımıza güven mektubunu sunmuştur.

Yukarıki fotoğraf, elçinin askerimiz önünden geçerek köşke doğru ilerlediği sırada alınmıştır.

The First Chinese Ambassador He Yao Zu was in Çankaya to present his letter of trust. (Ulus Newspaper, 17 May 1935)

social interactions between the two countries (Huang, 2003:55). At the same time, after signing the Turkish-Chinese friendship treaty, the number of Chinese delegations to Turkey increased. In this case, the curiosity of the Chinese about the Turkish Revolution and the rapid development of Turkey was effective.

It is possible to understand China's interest

in the Turkish Revolution from the interview of Turkey's first Chinese ambassador. After establishing bilateral relations, China's first envoy, He Yao Zu (贺耀祖), expressed his intent in the Cumhuriyet newspaper in Nanjing to try and apply the Turkish Revolution to his country by studying it. China's first Turkish diplomats had a very high interest in the Turkish Revolution.

Nimetullah, the second clerk of the Chinese Embassy in Ankara, completed his secondary and high school education in Turkey and even graduated from the Faculty of Letters of Istanbul University.

**Wang Pengsheng believed that Turkey's success offered an important lesson for China, and the modern and humanitarian policy drawn by Atatürk was an example for all nations of the world.**

Nimetullah frequently mentioned the Turkish Revolution in the conferences he gave in China (Cumhuriyet, 1935:1-2). In addition, Wang Pengsheng (王芑生), undersecretary of the Chinese Embassy in Ankara, believed that Turkey's success offered an important lesson for China. He stated that Japan and Turkey brought about successful national revolutions in Asia, but the difference was that while Japan had imperialist ambitions, Turkey adopted a peaceful policy. According to Pengsheng, the modern and humanitarian policy drawn by Atatürk was an example for all nations of the world. He said that the Chinese nation should strive to walk the path drawn by Atatürk (Cumhuriyet, 1935b: 1-4).

On 7 May 1935, China's first Ambassador to Turkey, He Yao Zu, arrived in Istanbul. The Ambassador said on the first day, "I bring the Chinese nation's respectful greetings to your Great Chief and his precious friends who saved Turkey. We hope that by establishing an embassy in Turkey, we will help strengthen the relationship between the two friendly nations. Since I did not give the letter of confidence to

your President, I say these words not as an envoy, but as a true Turkish friend" (Cumhuriyet, 1935c: 2). On 16 May 1935, He Yao Zu, the first Chinese Ambassador to Turkey, began his mission by presenting a letter of confidence to President Atatürk, stating how "It is an unprecedented opportunity for us to learn important lessons from Atatürk", the Chinese envoy told Anadolu newspaper.

Giving an example from a Chinese poem, he stated that "The greatest pleasure is to have a new friend, and after a long separation, an old friend can come to a new friend. It is impossible not to say that we have become new friends after our historical relations of 3000 years have become old acquaintances. By a beautiful coincidence, it rained with thunder before I delivered the letter of confidence. In our old books, thunder brings movement. It is a good omen that will strengthen our relations from today on. And rain means friendship. Our ancestors called their old friends the old rains. We are very pleased that this symbol has come to our official relations with our former relations" (Ulus, 1935:3; 1935a: 1-3; Anadolu, 1935: 1-4; Yeni Asır, 1935: 3).

These words from the Chinese Ambassador reveal a deep awareness of the historical past between the Turks and the Chinese, and his belief in the Turkish Revolution's application to China was very strong. It is further possible to see this belief of the ambassador in the statements he gave to Turkish and Chinese newspapers and in the reports he wrote to the Chinese government about Turkey.

The interest and relevance of Chinese diplomats in Turkey to Turkish development and modernization are great, for they enabled the revolutionary and progressive personality of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to play an influential role. In 1938, the newly appointed Chinese Chargé d'Affaires M.D. Toung stated in an interview with the Cumhuriyet newspaper that he



He Yao Zu, First Chinese Ambassador.  
(Ulus Newspaper, 17 May 1935)

was very pleased to be in Ankara, which combined the charms of the east and the west. He stated that the Turks took civilization from the east to the west, and now they took the new and modern civilization from the west to the east. He stated that the Chinese President, Chiang Kai-shek (蒋介石), always commemorates Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his revolutions with admiration and how “The Chinese nation is fighting against the Japanese for its glorious future with the methods of Kemal Atatürk in the national struggle. We are defending national dignity, honor, and peace. China has never fought. Its history and philosophy prove this. It is a Chinese love of peace” (Cumhuriyet, 1938: 5). Turkey’s struggle for national independence against imperialism was an important symbol of Chinese resistance against Japanese imperialism. The common attitude between

Turkey and China against imperialism is evident in this interview.

Turkey also strived to establish an embassy in China after an 8-year hiatus. Emin Ali Sipahi (Ministerial) arrived in Chongqing on the morning of 21 December 1939. The Chinese warmly welcomed the first Turkish ambassador assigned to their country. Diplomat Mao-Lan-Tuan, Chinese foreign press members and the Turks living in China welcomed the ambassador. Emin Ali Sipahi was received by Chiang Kai-Shek on 27 December and began his duties as the first Turkish Ambassador to China (BCA, 1940). However, due to the continuation of the Sino-Japanese War during this period, the Turkish ambassador had to continue his duty from Shanghai between 1940 and 1941.

Due to the Second World War, relations were not interrupted, but there were occasional gaps in the appointment of ambassadors. The Chinese Ambassador, Feng Chun Chang, who was appointed to Ankara on 2 June 1942, was received by President İsmet İnönü (Cumhuriyet, 1942: 1). The Chinese Ambassador, Chang, left Turkey for another mission and the Vatan newspaper, believing that the ambassador had been appointed to a different location, wrote that he was an exceptional person, that he had established many friendships in Ankara in a short time. He made a news report that the departure of the Chinese envoy from Turkey would cause serious hesitation and leave a gap (Vatan, 1942: 1). In 1943, bilateral relations were upgraded to the ambassadorial level, and Hulusi Fuat Tugay was appointed to Chongqing as the first Ambassador and submitted a letter of confidence on 13 June 1944.

In 1944, a delegation consisting of three people, Wan Yun Woo, Wen Yuan Ning, and Han Li Woo, came to Turkey to develop the Turkish-Chinese friendship (BCA, 1944). After the Second World War, the Turkish embassy continued to work in Nanjing and Shanghai. Despite the civil war in China, efforts to improve bilateral relations continued. In a note from the Chinese embassy in 1945, they stated that they

wanted to open a consulate in Istanbul (BCA, 1945). Remarkably, there was no correspondence between the Presidents until this period. After the Second World War ended, on 15 August 1945, President İsmet İnönü sent a congratulatory message to the President of China, Chiang Kai-Shek, celebrating his victory over Japan (BCA, 1945a). This represents the first correspondence between the Presidents. In 1947, Li Ti Tsu was appointed as the Chinese Ambassador to Ankara. After the intensification of the civil war in China and the realization that Nanjing would be placed under communist rule, the Turkish Foreign Ministry ordered the Ambassador to withdraw to Hong Kong. Thus, after the disappearance of the Republic of China, the Turkish government could not determine what attitude to take, resulting in diplomatic relations being cut off.

### China's Interest in the Turkish Revolution

Before diplomatic relations between Turkey and the Republic of China were established, interest in the Turkish Revolution in China was high. Between 1920 and 1930, a total of 46 political comments and reports was written in newspapers and magazines about the Kemalist Revolution and reforms, the 1908 Revolution, and the War of Independence (Ye, 2021: 72-77). It is enough to look at the abundance of reports in the Chinese press to understand China's intense interest in Atatürk and the Kemalist Revolution. From 1919 to 1949, 745 articles were written about Atatürk's life and struggle in the Chinese press (Alan, 2020: 21-26).

Before establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries, Shi Zaoji the Chinese Ambassador to the United States, visited Turkey in 1925. In his observations, the Ambassador stated that Turkey was in a much worse situation than China at the end of the World War I, but in 3 years, China dumped its enemy into the sea, signed the Lausanne Peace Treaty, abolished its capitulations, established a new regime, and rapidly developed and built a new capital.

In particular, the Chinese diplomat was attracted by Turkey's careful decision not to borrow foreign currency and its resolute stance on abolishing capitulations. The ambassador believed that there were many important points that China could learn from in this determined attitude of Turkey towards foreign powers. In his writings, he asserted that Turkey's successful experiences are a reference for China, though he acknowledged that the Turkish example could not be applied exactly (Fidan, 2019: 53-60). Here, considering the social differences between China and Turkey, the ambassador thought it was right to take Turkey as an example with a specialized perspective on China.

**Hu Hanmin and Sun Ke held a meeting with İsmet İnönü, the Prime Minister of Turkey. Hu Hanmin was impressed by Turkey's successful reforms and sincerely stated that Turkey should be taken as an example.**

The visit of Hu Hanmin (胡汉民) and Finance Minister Sun Ke (孙科)<sup>3</sup> to Turkey in 1928 was important to bilateral relations between Turkey and China. Although bilateral relations had not been officially established yet, this was the highest-level visit of China to Turkey. Hu Hanmin and Sun Ke were individuals who held significant political weight in the Kuomintang. The delegation observed social change, educational mobilization, fiscal reforms, the CHP (Republican People's Party), and Turkish nationalism in Turkey. In addition, Hu Hanmin and Sun Ke held a meeting with İsmet İnönü, the Prime Minister of Turkey. Hu Hanmin was impressed by Turkey's successful reforms and sincerely stated that Turkey should be taken as an example (Fidan, 2019: 62-73). After this visit, relations between the two countries developed rapidly and dele-

<sup>3</sup> Sun Ke: 1911 He is the eldest son of Sun Yat Sen, the leader of the Chinese Revolution. Hu Hanmin was one of the most prominent leaders of the Kuomintang who served Minister of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Legislative Council.



gation visits to observe Turkey increased.

In the 1930s, China's interest in the Turkish Revolution gradually increased. It is possible to understand this from the increase in the visits of the Chinese delegations to examine the Turkish Revolution closely. The first official visit was in 1930 by a Chinese military delegation of three, consisting of General Vonk Moo Song, Colonel Cenk Kay, and Pilot M. V. Chio. The delegation stated that "All of China follows the Turkish youth and revolutions with great relevance and appreciation". It also stressed that "the Chinese intelligentsia recognized and loved Mustafa Kemal as the greatest saint". The delegation was interested in revolutions, especially the revolution of the Turkish alphabet and found observation very fruitful. It expressed "How China considered adopting Latin letters after Turkey as the guide to the civilization of the East. However, in their review, they stated that it was not realistically possible, so they worked to make reading the old

letters easier by correcting and standardizing them" (Cumhuriyet, 1930: 2; 1930a: 2).

The second official visit was the visit of the Chinese military delegation to Istanbul and Ankara on 17 February 1934 to observe the Turkish army. The delegation consisted of Nanjing Military Academy commander General Yang Shiyesin (Chih-Zhang Zhizhong 張治中), Colonel Huvang, Lieutenant Colonel Voo, Captain Chen Soai Shiyeh, Lieutenant Tishan Loo, and Clerk Tong. After conducting military studies in America and Europe, the delegation visited the military barracks in Turkey (Cumhuriyet, 1934: 1-4; 1934a). The head of the delegation stated that they were very pleased to have the opportunity to get to know the young Republic better. He stated that his views on the Turkish army were very important for China. In addition, the delegation was also accepted by Atatürk. The head of the delegation stated how

Turkey had made important revolutions in a short time and rose rapidly due to its valuable leader. He underlined his admiration for Atatürk in the development of Turkey and emphasized the lack of such a leader in the Chinese Revolution (Cumhuriyet, 1934b: 1-4; 1934e: 2).

China has given special attention to the study of the Turkish Revolution to sustain its economic, military, and political development. On 14 June 1934, a delegation of 4 people consisting of M. Chang, M. Farrai Chang, M. Z. D. Shu, and M. Shelley Love arrived. The delegation examined the Republican regime, its benefits, working style, and system in Ankara to organize a program that would strengthen China financially and morally. The head of the delegation stated that they visited the committee working in the Foreign Ministry in Nanjing to convey their examinations. The delegation leader stressed how Turkey was the most remarkable country to undergo major revolutions and development during its examinations. He stated that Turkey is the country that they pay the most attention to. The chairman of the delegation emphasized that it is an important necessity to observe Turkey closely, which is embodied by a genius leader and valuable staff around him. (Cumhuriyet, 1934c: 1-4; 1934d: 5).

In October 1934, a military delegation consisting of 1 General (Sin Ju Tu), 2 Colonels, 2 Lieutenant Colonel, and 1 Professor (Wu-Tang) came to examine the military developments in Turkey and Europe. The delegation visited Istanbul Police School, Harbiye High School, War Academy, and Galatasaray High School and took a close interest in the Scouting organization. Wu-Tang wrote a note in the school's visiting book about how they found the scout organization and especially its equipment to be excellent. The delegation then continued its trips in Ankara (Akşam, 1934a: 7; 1934b: 4; Cumhuriyet, 1934f: 2). Their telegram when the Chinese military delegation left Turkey stated that

“appreciated the great achievements of the CHP, recalling the critical condition China had before the War of Independence, which is similar to the current situation in China” (BCA, 1934).

In 1937, at the request of the League of Nations and the Chinese government, Professor Pen came to observe Turkey's health and social organization. In his observations, Pen stated that it was essential for China to imitate Turkey, which showed significant development in its health and society. He stated the importance of Turkey having Atatürk as a leader, who directed the civil and social revolutions after the liberation struggle. According to Pen, Turkey was the only example for China (Cumhuriyet, 1937: 3).

**Wang Pengsheng thought that the relations between the two states had a long history and that both states had gone through similar difficulties.**

Wang Pengsheng (王芃生), the undersecretary of the Chinese Embassy in Ankara, thought that the relations between the two states had a long history and that both states had gone through similar difficulties. He believed imperialist states wanted to suppress the two nations, aligning their destiny. He noted that the liberation and development of the Turkish nation under the leadership of Atatürk caused indescribable joy in the whole of China and that Turkey's development success in ten years was an important lesson in China as in other countries. For this reason, he suggested that the Chinese press should discuss Turkish success frequently:

“This success is the source of the great feeling of friendship held by the Chinese state towards the Turkish nation. For China, Turkey's development was a

great lesson to be benefited from. Therefore, it was decided that China should establish an embassy in Ankara that was given more importance than the embassies in other countries.”

Pengsheng thought it would be a pleasure for the Turks to see the salvation of the Chinese by taking lessons from the Turks. Madam Wang, the wife of the undersecretary, stated in her declaration that she was very glad that the Turkish woman had won the right to be elected, stating that she had been satisfied that this right had been in China since 1911. Embassy employee Nimetullah Ma (Beijing Muslim clerk) translated Atatürk’s Speech, Ziya Gökalp’s principles of Turkism, and Ömer Seyfettin’s stories into Chinese (Cumhuriyet, 1935a: 1-9).

Before He Yao Zu, China’s first Ambassador to Turkey, came to Turkey, his leading questions were as follows: “how Turkey developed a unique political path between communism and fascism”, “how Turkey’s parliament was able to continue its work without turning into an autocracy despite being a single party”, and “how Turkey developed economically in a short time”.

**He Yao Zu and the embassy employees who went to Turkey had a deep understanding of the Turkish Revolution and believed that China should learn from the experiences of the Turkish Revolution. of the Turkish nation under the leadership of Atatürk**

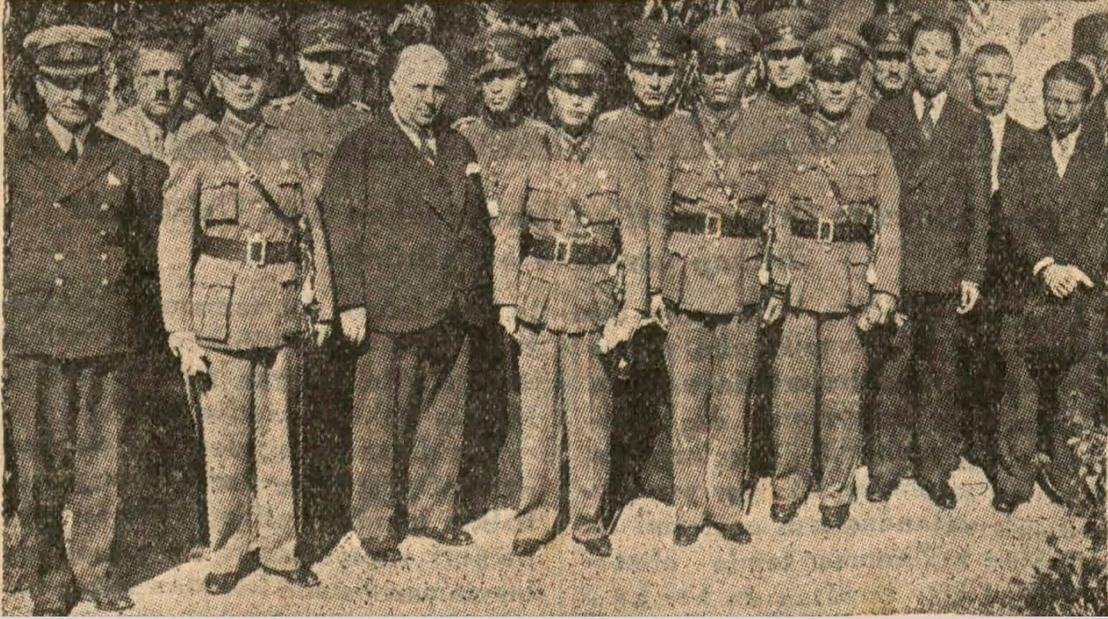
Firstly, He Yao Zu stated that the cultural and historical depth of the Turks was effective in creating a unique political path, even if other ideologies influenced it. However, this influence was tempered by a deep-rooted historical heritage that created a strong nationalism that played an important role in finding

its own way despite the ideologies of fascism and communism. He outlined how success in Turkey was due to the successful execution of the constitution and the separation of powers. He also noted that the stability in Turkey’s rapid economic development was achieved by reducing imports and through government incentives for local production in industry and agriculture:

“This model of Turkey corresponds to the Three Principles of the People. This proves how far-sighted Sun Yat-Sen was. The Turkish model succeeded in practice, and if this model was applied to China, there would be prosperity in a short time” (Fidan, 2019: 88-99).

At the same time, the election of China’s first ambassador to Turkey was carefully considered. He Yao Zu was the most suitable candidate to take on this important task at that time. He prepared a report on “Turkey’s Revival History and Our Efforts in the Country’s Difficult Times”. In this report, he presented an analysis of China and Turkey’s history and current situation, stressing the importance of Turkey as a model for China. It showed that He Yao Zu and the embassy employees who went to Turkey fulfilled their duties and played an important role in strengthening the communication between China and Turkey. He Yao Zu and others had a deep understanding of the Turkish Revolution and believed that China should learn from the experiences of the Turkish Revolution. Wang Pengsheng, the first secretary of the Chinese Ambassador to Turkey, was a well-known historian. He outlined China and Turkey’s long and close friendly relationship since the 11th century BC to explain that Sino-Turkish relations have not been interrupted since ancient times. He brought many ancient Chinese books with him, proving that the friendship between the two countries has a long history. Consequently, the ancient Chinese books taken by the Turkish ambassador of China satisfied the desire of the stabilized Turkey to discover the origin of the nation (Geng, 2013).

## Çin askerî heyetinin tetkikleri



The visit of the Chinese Military Delegation to the Istanbul Police School. (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 3 October 1934)

### Turkey's Interest in China

Turkey also conducted political and academic studies aimed at recognizing China. As relations improved between the two countries, the Faculty of Language and Geography of Ankara University was established (1935), and Sinology and Turkology studies were started. After the arrival of Wolfram Eberhard in Turkey in 1937, sinology studies in Turkey greatly expanded. Eberhard taught Sinology and history at the Faculty of Language Geography of Ankara University between 1937 and 1948. In 1947, Eberhard's book 'A History of China' was published. However, due to the cessation of bilateral relations after establishing the People's Republic of China in 1949, the study of Sinology in Turkey was disrupted.

The Turkish embassy conducted several studies aimed at recognizing China and the Kuomintang. Two of Eberhard's books about Atatürk and the Turkish

revolution published in China (The New Turkey-Song Su Shen and Kemal-Xing Moqing) were translated into English and sent to the Atatürk corner in Izmir. In addition, the Turkish embassy translated the Chinese Kuomintang party charter and the Chinese Constitution and sent it to the CHP (Republican People's Party) (BCA, 1942; 1948). At the same time, the Chinese embassy also did similar work for the Kuomintang on understanding the CHP.

After the Sino-Japanese conflict in Manchuria, the Turkish government prepared a 23-page report on the subject. This report stated that China was the target of the Japanese imperialists and that the capitulations offered by Japan to the Chinese government were the most terrible example of Japanese imperialism. The Turkish example was frequently cited regarding the abolition of the capitulations in Manchuria, where the nationalist movements in China increased daily. Furthermore, during the protests in which Japanese

goods were boycotted and the Japanese consulate was set in stone, university students held demonstrations with the banner “Do not forget about the example of Turkey”. The goal of the Japanese imperialists was to seize China to dominate Central Asia (BCA, 1931). In fact, a correspondence sent from the Turkish Embassy in Warsaw stated that the Japanese were planning to use the Turkish and Muslim communities in Asia against the Chinese and Soviets. In addition, a Japanese map showing the Turkic communities in Asia was also added to the correspondence (BCA, 1933).

### **Turkish-Chinese relations between 1923 and 1949 were a period of friendship in which they strived to improve their knowledge of each other.**

Japan’s imperialist goals were instrumental in encouraging the Turkish government to take a pro-Chinese stance. The Turkish government wanted the issue to be resolved peacefully and expressed its discomfort that Japan pursued an imperialist policy. Turkey’s Bern Ambassadors Cemal Hüsnü Bey and Sivas Deputy Necmettin Sadık took part in the commission formed by the League of Nations on the Sino-Japanese conflict (BCA, 1932).

In addition, the Turkish press paid attention to China’s struggle for independence against Japanese imperialism. An article called “The Chinese Future of Chiang Kai-Shek” was published. Moreover, articles on Chinese modernization and life between Turkey and China (Nadi, 1943: 1-4; Chiang, 1945:2) also reflected this support (Cumhuriyet, 1935d: 7). The fact that Turkey recognized the imperialist threat in China and openly expressed its support for resisting it demonstrates the importance of uniting against imperialism in bilateral relations.

### **Conclusion**

The most influential factor in the development of diplomatic relations between Turkey and China was the issue of how the Turkish Revolution and the Chinese Revolution had a similar character. Sun Yat-Sen’s Three Principles of the People and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s Six Arrow program pioneered democratic revolutions in Asia. Particularly, Chinese intellectuals’ interest in the rapid development and reforms of the Turkish Revolution helped to effectively establish diplomatic relations with Turkey. The visits of Chinese military and diplomatic delegations to Turkey were the clearest indication of this situation. China saw Turkey as a role model country in development and reforms. In addition, Turkey also considered China to be a peaceful country in the east and actively tried to get to know China to strengthen relations.

Furthermore, employees of the Chinese embassy in Ankara comprehended the historical depth of the relations between Turkey and China and the Turkish Revolution. In Turkey, it seems that when bilateral relations were strengthened, studies were carried out to understand historical China by giving special attention to Sinology and Turcology studies. At the same time, given that China was the target of Japanese imperialism and Turkey was fighting a war of independence against imperialism made it easier for the two countries to align. Turkey had a policy that supported China against imperialism in embassy reports and the Turkish press. Despite the chaos of the Second World War and the civil war in China, the relations between the two countries have since developed steadily.

Turkish-Chinese relations between 1923 and 1949 were a period of friendship in which they strived to improve their knowledge of each other. The relationship between the two countries focused on solidarity against imperialism and mutually learning. 

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# Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's *Halkçılık* and *Devletçilik*: A Comparison with Sun Yat-sen's Political Thought



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**WANG SANYI**

Prof. Dr.  
Department of History,  
Shanghai University, China

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*Wang Sanyi is a professor in the Department of History, College of Liberal Arts at Shanghai University and Ph.D. student supervisor. He is also a researcher at the Center for Turkish Studies at Shanghai University. He is a member of the Association of Modern History of the World in China and the Association of the Middle East Studies in China. His major research fields include Modern and Contemporary History of the World, History of Empires, and History of the Middle East. He has published several books such as Research on the Late Ottoman Empire (1792-1918), On Britain's Mandate over the Middle East, Challenges of the Industrial Civilization and Economic Transition in the Middle East (1809-1938), The Road of Turkey, and more.*

*Email: sanyiw@163.com*

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## ABSTRACT

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Sun Yat-sen are both great men who overturned the old system to open a new era and have ideas and guidelines for governing countries. Among the six principles of Kemalism, Halkçılık and Devletçilik have similar contents to Sun Yat-sen's The Principle of Democracy and The Principle of Livelihood. Kemal Atatürk does not literally mention "civil rights" and "people's livelihood" in six principles, but in Halkçılık asserts "people's rule" rather than autocracy, advocates that power comes from the people, and that the responsibility of the government is to seek welfare for the people. Kemal Atatürk's Devletçilik focuses on the state-led planned economy and protecting the private property of farmers, like in Sun Yat-sen's Thought of Livelihood. This paper consists of three parts. The first part compares Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Sun Yat-sen's main contributions and key thoughts, the second part Halkçılık and Devletçilik of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Sun Yat-sen's corresponding thought, and the third part the historical background and objective conditions of their ideas.

**Keywords:** Comparison, devletçilik, halkçılık, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Sun Yat-sen

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## Introduction

MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK IS A WELL-KNOWN historical figure in Turkey, just as Sun Yat-sen is in China. The similarities between the two figures are clear. First, they were both Republic Founders, the Republic of Turkey in 1923 and the Republic of China in 1912. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is known as the "father of the Turks", his surname, Atatürk, was given to him by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Sun Yat-sen is known as "the father of the Nations" in the Republic of China since he was its first provisional president.

Second, they both contributed to eradicating the "Empire system" and overthrew the old order (the Ottoman Empire and the Qing Dynasty).

Third, they had ideas and outlines of how to

rule the state. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had the "The Principles of Kemalism" (Tongas, 1939), and Sun's political philosophy is known as the "Three Principles of the People": that is, The Principle of Nationalism, The Principle of Democracy, and The Principle of Livelihood.

Fourth, both suffered troubles with their health from great causes. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk lived to 57 years old (1881-1938), and Sun Yat-sen lived to 59 years old (1866-1925).

Fifth, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Sun Yat-sen are figures of charisma for respectively producing moral power among the people of their countries.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Sun Yat-sen are great men with far-reaching influence, meaning research on them has been very abundant. In terms of materials, Atatürk's articles and works,



Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Atatürk website, 2021)



Sun Yat-sen (China Daily, 2019)

personal notes, speeches, letters, conversation records, and public government archives are very rich as “original materials”. There are countless biographies of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The existing research involves Atatürk’s policy, thought, diplomacy, contributions, and all aspects of his daily life. In Chinese books, like the “History of the Middle East” (Zhi, 2010), more emphasis is placed on the achievements of Atatürk’s revolution and modernization reform.

Sun Yat-sen left many first-hand materials, such as letters, speeches, conversations, writings, and telegrams. There are also many kinds of biographies and papers on Sun Yat-sen too. Only Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Sun Yat-sen’s political thoughts are taken as an example in this paper, especially regarding their similarities and differences.

### **Main Contributions and Key Thought**

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk established the Republic of Turkey and carried out successful reforms (Kinross, 2002). In detail, his historical contributions can be summarized as follows:

1) He successfully led the national liberation movement, won national independence, and safeguarded Turkey’s national dignity and sovereignty.

2) The Republic of Turkey was founded, the sultanate and the Caliphate system were abolished, and the constitution of the Republic of Turkey was promulgated, which laid the foundation for democracy and modernization.

3) He developed the national economy and promoted economic modernization with nationalist policy.

4) He reformed education and the Turkish alp-

habet, which improved the nation's culture and trained a large number of professional workers and artists.

5) Through the reform of social customs, superstition was eliminated, science was promoted, polygamy was prohibited, women were given the right to vote, and the secularization of social life was realized.

### **Sun Yat-sen's thought and governing program, "Three Principles of the People", was put forward by Sun himself and included different contents.**

In a word, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk played a central role in the creation of modern Turkey.

Sun Yat-sen was a pioneer of China's democratic revolution. He first held the banner of anti-Qing and anti-feudalism movements, launched multiple armed uprisings, organized revolutionary political parties, and led the revolution of 1911; he founded the Republic of China, overthrew feudal autocracy, and promulgated the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China, which rooted the concept of Republic deeply in the hearts of the people. However, Sun Yat-sen had not finished his cause when he died.

Atatürk's thought and governing program, the famous "The Principles of Kemalism", was gradually formed in practice from 1919 to 1931. After 1931, "six arrows" were used to represent the "six principles" of the party platform of the Republican people's party. These became "the Principles of Kemalism", also known as "Atatürkçülük" in Turkish or "Atatürkism" in English.

The "six principles" are summarized as follows:

1) Republicanism, Cumhuriyetçilik in Turkish, represents the republican system instead of monarchy, reflecting the principle of "the rule of the people" rather than individual dictatorship.

2) Nationalism, Milliyetçilik in Turkish, means Turkey's territorial integrity, Turkey's national independence, and its position in the international community.

3) Populism<sup>1</sup>, Halkçılık in Turkish, refers to state power belonging to the people (power comes from the people), everyone equal before the law, the government as the government of the people that seeks welfare for all, objection to privileges, opposition to the division of Turkish society into different classes.

4) Reformism, İnkılapçılık in Turkish, also translated as "Revolutionism", means a constant re-evaluation of the status quo to actively forge ahead and unremittingly carry out social and economic reform.

5) Laicism, Lâiklik in Turkish, includes political and religious separation, opposing the interference of religious forces in state power (remove the interference and restraint of religion in politics), the secularization of law, education, and social life, and abolishing religious privileges.

6) Statism, Devletçilik in Turkish, addresses state intervention in the economy, the encouragement of private businesses, development of the national economy independently, with "Monopoly" in some areas. The goal is to realize independence, freedom, and equality in Turkey and the civilization and progress of Turkish society (Xian, 2001).

Sun Yat-sen's thought and governing program, "Three Principles of the People", was put forward by Sun himself and included different contents.

<sup>1</sup> Editor's Note (Ed.N.): "Populism" in Turkey is different from that of other countries. In general, this word includes pejorative meanings, however, in Turkey it has positive meaning which refers to prioritizing of public interest.



Ataturk in Ankara (Atatürk website, 2021)

1) The Principle of Nationalism is to oppose the rule of Manchu, the Qing Dynasties, and the aggression of foreign powers, overthrow warlords, seek the equality of all ethnic groups in China, and recognize the right of national self-determination.

2) The Principle of Democracy refers to the implementation of democratic politics shared by ordinary civilians. The government has the power of legislation, judicature, administration, examination, and supervision so that the people have the power of election, recall, creation, and referendum. It emphasizes the distinction between direct civil rights and power, that is, that the government has governance and the people have political power.

3) The most important part, The Principle of livelihood, includes: first, average land ownership and, second, the control of capital, meaning private individuals cannot manipulate the people's livelihood (Xian, 1948).

Sun Yat-sen envisioned that through implementing the Three Principles of People, “people make the best of their talents, places, things and goods” (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Modern History ed.,1981a). All aiming towards making the country rich, the people strong, and the whole world as one community. Sun Yat-sen once explained that every country must follow its own methods when dealing with livelihood problems, not necessarily imitating the West because Western countries have not solved their own problems and the Kuomintang can solve the livelihood problem of the Chinese people through equal land ownership and capital control (Wells, 2001).

Atatürk's and Sun Yat-sen's thoughts have the same goals that reflect national desires to become rich and strong from poverty and the urgent requirement to integrate into the mainstream civilization of the world.

### A Comparison of *Halkçılık* and *Devletçilik*

Referring to Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of People", we see that only "Nationalism" among the six principles of Kemalism is the same as Sun Yat-sen's "Nationalism". However, their respective definitions and applications of "Nationalism" varies greatly. Despite this, *Halkçılık* and *Devletçilik* have similar contents to Sun Yat Sen's The Principle of Democracy and The Principle of Livelihood, which this paper focuses on comparing.

#### Among the six principles of Kemalism, there are similar contents to Sun Yat-sen's "civil rights" and "people's livelihood".

Sun Yat-sen's nationalist thought has gone through an evolution process. At first, it was "platoon Manchu", which proposed "expelling Tartar prisoners and restoring China" by focusing on an anti-Manchu rule. Later, he abandoned the simple "Han chauvinism" and emphasized the "five ethnic republics". In a speech in 1924, there was a new interpretation of nationalism, which included opposing the aggression of foreign powers and recognizing the right of national self-determination. Sun Yat-sen's nationalism is relative to cosmopolitanism. In Sun Yat-sen's view, the way to restore the national spirit is to catch up, make yourself strong, and maintain due independence. When you become strong, you should "help the weak and help the lean, do our national duty, and use the inherent moral peace as the foundation to unify the world and become a rule of great harmony" (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Modern History ed., 1981b).

"Nationalism" in Kemalism is the most complex of the six principles; it cannot be explained in a few words. After the disintegration of the multi-ethnic empire, the Turks could only establish their own Republic. Its territory was dominated by Anatolia and Eastern Thrace, meaning the residents were limited to Turkish speakers and a few Armenians and Kurds. In fact, the Republic of Turkey had undergone "national reconstruction" before it became the Turkish nation that nationalism defined in the constitution. In his speeches in March 1922 and March 1923, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk focused on his national view, defining the relationship between "Turkish national tradition" and "Islam", and put forward the goal of rebuilding the "Turkish Identity". Mustafa Kemal Atatürk separated the "Turkish nation and its history" from those complex thoughts and ideas (Tao, 2011). To reconstruct national identity, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the historians who supported him created a "Turkish view of history" by studying Turkey's early history, compiling history textbooks, and holding a history conference.

Among the six principles of Kemalism, there are similar contents to Sun Yat-sen's "civil rights" and "people's livelihood". Regarding civil rights and people's livelihood, Sun emphasized eradicating the idea of imperial power and returning the government to the people. He also emphasized solving the basic survival problems of the people and put forward that "the first priority of construction lies in people's livelihood". In the "six principles" of Kemalism, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk did not literally mention "civil rights" and "people's livelihood" in six principles but asserted "people's rule" rather than autocracy in "Republicanism". He also advocated in "Populism" that power comes from the people and that it is the



Atatürk in Dolmabahçe Palace (Atatürk website, 2021)

responsibility of the government to seek welfare for all, which is consistent with Sun Yat-sen's principle of "civil rights".

Sun Yat-sen's thoughts on "civil rights" are very precious. The Five Power Constitution proposed by Sun refers to the separation of legislative, administrative, and judicial powers in Western countries, drawing lessons from the examination and supervision system in China's ancient political system. He created two powers of examination and supervision, which is unique in the history of world political thought. Sun Yat-sen's understanding of "civil rights" is that "Managing people's affairs is politics. Having the power to manage people's affairs is political power. Today, managing political affairs with the people is called civil rights" (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Modern History ed., 1981c). Sun Yat-sen's view of history is as follows: people compete for power with the monarch, resulting in revolution; in the era of civil rights, good people fought

with evil people, justice fought with power, and civil rights gradually developed. Civil rights advocate equality in political status. It is necessary to break the monarchy and make everyone equal. Therefore, civil rights correspond to equality (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Modern History ed., 1981d). This truth is concise, easy to understand, and thorough.

In Atatürk's reform, the reform of the legal system was put at the core, and legal means were used to protect civil rights, the safety of people's lives and property, and people's right to education and development. The State encourages the private economy and protects the private property of farmers. The Izmir economic conference in 1923 discussed this national economic development by formulating national economic policy, encouraging the development of private enterprises in Turkey, implementing the protective tariff policy, and establishing the national bank. From 1927 to 1929, the land law was passed to distribute land

to landless farmers. The government encouraged industrial mechanization and established credit and sales cooperatives (Berberoglu, 1982). After 1929, Turkey adopted the Soviet model and implemented the policy of state intervention in the economy. Obviously, the issues of “civil rights” and “people’s livelihood” in Atatürk’s principles summarize the experience of the Turkish government in the process of institutional reform and national construction.

### **Mustafa Kemal’s Halkçılık and Devletçilik have been put into practice and achieved results.**

In contrast, while Sun Yat-sen’s thoughts on “civil rights” and “people’s livelihood” are reasonable, they are just his personal ideas. After the northern expedition, the Kuomintang gained national power and respected Sun Yat-sen’s “Three Principles of People” in theory rather than in practice. In fact, it neither promoted civil rights nor solved the problem of people’s livelihood.

In short, Kemalism is a summary of practical political practice, which is to the point and easy to operate. Mustafa Kemal’s Halkçılık and Devletçilik have been put into practice and achieved results. Although Sun Yat-sen’s “Three Principles of People” are systematic, comprehensive, thoughtful, and farsighted, Sun Yat-sen’s thoughts on “civil rights” and “people’s livelihood” were never put into practice.

### **Comparison Based on Their Historical Backgrounds**

To compare the similarities and differences between Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Sun Yat-

sen’s political thoughts, we should analyze their historical background and basic conditions.

First, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his supporters completed the multiple tasks of dynastic, institutional, and social change. The most critical reforms were at the political level. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk realized one “replacement” and two “separations”. The “replacement” was the well-known “replacing the sultanate with the republican system”. The first “separation” was the rapid realization of “separation of politics and religion”, the breakdown of intervention by religious forces in the political field to realize secularization. The second “separation” was the gradual realization of the “separation of military and government”. When founding the Republic of Turkey, most of the political elites were soldiers. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and İsmet Bey set an example, took off their military uniforms and engaged in full-time political work or foreign affairs. It also stipulates that the officers in parliament must withdraw from military posts and realize the civilian leadership of the military.

Next, we should highlight more differences between these two important historical figures.

Sun Yat-sen’s revolutionary activities were early, but until his death in 1925, “the revolution was not successful”. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk led the war of national independence and achieved success in more than three years. Sun Yat-sen was inspired by Atatürk’s success and Turkey’s victory. Sun Yat-sen’s article praised the 1908 Turkish Revolution to inspire Chinese revolutionary martyrs. Atatürk’s starting point is very different from Sun Yat-sen. When Mustafa Kemal Atatürk led the national independence movement, he was already a senior military general and a member of the Ottoman Parliament (constitutional monarchy from 1908 to 1918).

Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary activities relied on his ambition and talent, which experienced many failures.

**Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was a great politician and strategist, and his personal quality, talent, and perseverance are undeniably superior.**

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was a great politician and strategist, and his personal quality, talent, and perseverance are undeniably superior. However, there are some objective conditions for his success: first, the Ottoman Empire collapsed, so Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's mission was to save the Turkish nation. Second, the humiliation of the Ottoman Sultan government made the "light" of the Sultan and the Caliph no longer as dazzling as before, and the difficulty and resistance of abolishing the two systems were greatly reduced. Third, the westernization reform practice of the late Ottoman Empire made the concept of Western civilization go deep into the minds of intellectuals. In particular, the second constitutional government (1908-1918) directly reserved and trained several leading cadres for the Republic of Turkey, including Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself.

In contrast, Sun Yat-sen was not as lucky as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Sun Yat-sen's task was too ambitious: to establish a republic on a vast territory and change the fate of more than 400 million people of dozens of ethnic groups such as Han, Mongolian, Hui, etc. Moreover, Sun Yat-sen was not a soldier and had no army at first (Huangpu Military Academy was established only in 1924). He was not in the government and

had no social status. In the face of a fragmented society and a huge illiterate group, Sun Yat-sen's revolution was much more difficult. Sun Yat-sen did not have political resources (power, social status, etc.) and just relied on one belief and constant persuasion. Therefore, Sun Yat-sen is not comparable to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on this point.

Third, when commenting on these two historical figures, we should take an attitude of transcending utilitarianism. Sun Yat-sen and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk are both magnanimous leaders who did not care about fame and wealth, personal gains, or losses. According to the standard of Chinese historian Qian Mu's evaluation of historical figures, Sun Yat-sen and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk were born at the end of the world as "figures with performance". Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was a successful figure, and Sun Yat-sen was an unsuccessful figure, but his influence was still great.

Atatürk's political practice was unique and has a prominent position in world history. Sun Yat-sen was erudite and knowledgeable, had great feelings, was generous, and understood the nature of civilians. He dared to be the first and was resolute, optimistic, visionary, and calm in the case of setbacks and change. His spirit and personality are admirable. Sun Yat-sen's pursuit to strive and build a new China with "the most enlightened politics and the most comfortable people" is so lofty and beautiful a goal that it is worth fighting for (Sun, 2011).

## Conclusion

Contemporary Turks can openly talk about Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, question the "Atatürk era", and even criticize his doctrine as Turkey's

progress. His reform was successful, because he carried out sweeping institutional changes and transformed other aspects of society. The goal of Atatürk's reform was to move towards a modern civilized society. The reform of educational concepts and methods gave birth to a huge knowledgeable group in Turkish society, brought up citizens with independent personalities, and made them the cornerstone of modern civilized society in Turkey. Sun Yat-sen's goals and aspirations were similar, but they were never truly realized. We should understand the historical background and the special situation faced by Sun Yat-sen at that time when evaluating his success and look to his influence and ideas instead.

Decades later, the Chinese revolution led by Mao Zedong won a victory and established an independent People's Republic in China. The Chinese Communists believe in Marxism, absorb the tradition of Chinese civilization, and recognize that the Three Principles of People are the political basis of the Anti-Japanese national united front. Sun Yat Sen's thought had an important influence on Mao Zedong's new democratic theory. The success of Mao Zedong's revolutionary practice made Sun Yat Sen's last wish to establish a nation-state and strive for freedom and democracy come true in China, while Atatürk's legacy was abandoned due to Turkey's integration into the Atlantic System and the fact that Atatürk's legacy was wrongfully interpreted as Westernization. Although Turkey and China are both Asian countries, their development paths are different.

On the comparison between Sun Yat Sen and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, academic papers and works have been published. For example, the article "The Evolution of Turkish Nationalism: An Unconventional Approach Based on a Comparative and International Perspective" by Efe Can Gürcan, focuses

on the similarities and differences between Sun Yat Sen's nationalism and Atatürk's nationalism (Gürcan, 2010). For us, the thoughts of these two great figures need further reading and thinking on the basis of this paper. 🌸

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# The Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between the Republic of Turkey and the People's Republic of China (1960-1971)\*



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## BARIŞ ADIBELLİ

Asst.Prof.  
Department of Political Science and International Relations,  
Kütahya Dumlupınar University, Turkey

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*Dr. Barış Adibelli graduated from Selçuk University, Department of Public Administration in 1999. He completed his master's degree in the Department of International Relations at the Social Sciences Institute of the Middle East Technical University in 2002, and his doctorate in the Department of International Relations at the Social Sciences Institute of Ankara University in 2009. His academic studies focus on the Asia-Pacific region and especially on Chinese foreign policy. He is currently a faculty member in the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Kütahya Dumlupınar University.*

Email: [baris.adibelli@dpu.edu.tr](mailto:baris.adibelli@dpu.edu.tr)

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4270-9312>

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## ABSTRACT

This study examines the process leading to the establishment of relations between Turkey and China on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of this development. One could argue that the relationship between the two ancient countries of Asia and their people was established through a very difficult process shaped by the Cold War environment. Establishing a diplomatic relationship between the two countries, which were in different ideological camps, was an extremely challenging task in a Cold War climate. It is important to point out that opposition to communism, which used to dominate Turkish politics and society, constitutes the main obstacle to the establishment of connections between the two countries in this period. Therefore, this article focuses on ideological and political dynamics. Undoubtedly, the political climate created by the 1971 military memorandum was an important landmark in this process. On the other hand, China's membership in the United Nations and Taiwan's (Nationalist China) removal from the United Nations –alongside Turkey's stance in this process– played an important role in the establishment of relations between the two countries.

**Keywords:** China, Cyprus, Taiwan, the USA, Turkey

## Introduction

THIS STUDY EXAMINES THE PROCESS leading to the establishment of relations between Turkey and China on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of this development. One could argue that the relationship between the two ancient countries of Asia and their people was established through a very difficult process shaped by the Cold War environment. Establishing a diplomatic relationship between the two countries, which were in different ideological camps, was an extremely challenging task in a Cold War climate. It is important to point out that opposition to communism, which used to dominate Turkish politics and society, constitutes the main obstacle to the establishment of connections between the two countries in this period. Therefore, this article focuses on ideological and political dynamics.

The reunion of the two former neighbors in the westernmost and the easternmost parts of Asia on the political plane actually meant the end of the Cold War between the two countries. This was a time when China's relations, not only with Turkey but also with the rest of the world, began to normalize. Moreover, Turkey was witnessing the beginning of a new era in its foreign policy since the 1970s. The first fruits of this new era were born with the normalization of relations with China and the Cyprus Peace Operation. To understand this process of normalization in the 1970s, it is necessary to consider Turkey's changing stance in international politics since the Menderes period. From 1950 to 1971, Turkey faced military intervention twice. The first generated a military coup, whereas the second resulted in a memorandum that led to a new civilian government. However, these interventions did not cause an axis shift in



Dış İşleri Bakanımız Hasan Saka ve Amerikan Büyük Elçisi Mr. Edwin C. Wilson dün öğle üstü anlaşmayı imzalarlarken  
(Bu resim Ankara Foto muhabirimiz Cemal İkişel tarafından uçakla yollanmıştır.)

# Amerikan yardımı anlaşması imzalandı

*Bizim dün imzaladığımız anlaşma,  
Yunanlıların imzaladıklarından bariz  
şekilde farklı bulunuyor*

Menderes period - American aid agreement signed in 1947 (July 13, 1947, Cumhuriyet).

Turkey's foreign policy.

China and Turkey came to the stage of establishing diplomatic relations in 1971 by going through a very difficult ordeal. After the Second World War, Turkey preferred the Western Bloc and established closer relations with this camp in the 1950s. Similarly, the People's Republic of China was established in 1949 and became an important member of the Eastern Bloc. The first encounter between Turkey and China in the Cold War climate was observed in the Korean War, the first and last hot conflict of this period. Turkey participated

in the Korean War as a combatant among the countries led by the USA, called the "Free World", and fought alongside the USA against North Korean troops and Chinese volunteers. While the war was still going on, Turkey was also accepted into NATO, the military pact of the Western Bloc.

## The Menderes Period

The experience of Turkey's multi-party political system, which started in 1946, exerted a significant influence on Turkish foreign policy

characterized by the establishment of closer relations with the United States of America (USA). The signing of 4 bilateral agreements in the military field between Turkey and the USA (Common Security Agreement-1951, NATO Status of Forces Agreement-1952, Military Facilities Agreement-1954, Tax Exemptions Agreement-1954) is a strong indication of this development in the first half of the 1950s (Oran, 2001: 555-559). In this period, the Menderes government followed the example of the USA and recognized the government of Chiang Kai-shek, namely the Republic of China, located in the island of Taiwan, instead of the communist government established on the mainland.

Between 1950 and 1960, the Menderes government adopted all the policies of the Western Bloc, especially its Middle Eastern policy. In this context, Turkey took part in all the Atlantic initiatives geared towards the US policy of encircling the Soviet Union, such as the Baghdad Pact (later named Central Treaty

**The negative experiences in relation to economic issues with the USA were actually the first breaking point in Turkey-US relations. This break led Menderes to development its commercial relations with the Soviet Union.**

Organization, CENTO). In this period, the USA was seen as an important security pillar of Turkey against the Soviet Union, as well as the main financial pillar and source of the Menderes government's economic and social policies aimed at transforming Turkey into a "Little America".

In 1955, Turkey was invited as the guest of honor to the Bandung Conference. However, due to Turkey's defense of the USA and the Western Bloc, this caused a great disappointment for other countries participating in the congress, especially for India which had great sympathy for Turkey. In addition, the Turkish delegation made its first contact ever with the Chinese communists led by Zhou Enlai at this conference (Bağcı, 1990: 61-63). However, despite these developments, the Menderes government continued to evaluate China as part of the so-called "red threat", a concept that was prevalent in the Western Bloc. During this period, Menderes supported Chinese Taiwan and South Korea, visited these countries and gave a speech in their parliaments. Although Mao and his friends had a deep respect for Turkey and the Turkish people, they did not hesitate to criticize the Menderes government. In many instances, especially in the Middle East, both countries took opposing positions. For example, in 1957, as tensions rose between Turkey and Syria, China took a position against Turkey, which was supported by the USA. Syria was supported by the Soviet Union (Adıbelli, 2016:194-197).

Starting from the mid-1950s, however, Turkey's economic policies took a sharp turn. The Menderes government no long received the loans expected from the USA, and this situation pushed the government to look for new sources of funding. In this context, Japan, South Korea, Chinese Taiwan and even later the European Economic Community were seen as new sources of economic support for the Menderes government. The negative experiences in relation to economic issues with the USA were actually the first breaking point in Turkey-US relations. This break led Menderes to development its commercial relations with the



Stalin, became more pronounced in the 1960s. In the border conflict between China and India in 1962 (Hillam, 1966: 95-102), the Soviet Union openly supported India. The border disputes that broke out in 1969 between China and the Soviet Union was the last straw between the two countries (Robinson, 1972: 1175-1202).

While this was happening in the Eastern Bloc, there were also important developments in Turkey. Between 1950 and 1960, Turkey, which acted together with the USA in the policy of containing the Soviet Union, took active part in international and regional organizations and attempted to pursue an effective foreign policy in the Middle East region, giving greater importance to its own foreign policy priorities. In this context, Turkey adopted a more introverted but non-aggressive, more defensive foreign policy approach.

**In Johnson's letter, the USA openly threatened Turkey, contrary to the spirit of alliance between the two countries, and stated that the USA and NATO would not help Turkey against a possible Soviet attack.**

Although the easing of hostility between the blocks started in this period, this tendency was not reflected in Turkey. In fact, this period in Turkey was the most affected by the rivalry between the blocks. It faced the indirect threat of the Soviet leader Khrushchev due to the U-2 spy plane incident which first took off at Incirlik base and then was shot down on Soviet soil. It became the subject of bargaining outside of

Turkey, and as a result of this negotiation, Jupiter missiles were removed from Turkey in 1963 (Hale, 2003: 135-139).

While all this was going on, there occurred an important development in Cyprus. Ankara increasingly grew concerned about the frequent violation of the rights of the Turkish community in the island and increasing Greek interventionism in the island since 1960. The Cyprus problem quickly became an international problem. The international community stood with the Greek Cypriot theses, and while Turkey devoted its efforts to bringing the rights of the Turkish Cypriots to the forefront on almost every platform, which eventually failed. Moreover, during this process, violent attacks against the Turkish community in Cyprus had already begun. These developments brought along discussions about intervening on the island within the scope of Turkey's rights arising from the guarantor agreement (Bölükbaşı, 2001: 57-142).

Finally, what happened in Cyprus started a process in which a possible Turkish intervention in the island became a necessity in 1964. Prime Minister İnönü's intention to intervene found an echo in the White House shortly, and then US President Johnson sent his famous letter, which went down in history as the Johnson Letter warning Turkey against intervention, on 5 June 1964. In the letter, the USA openly threatened Turkey, contrary to the spirit of alliance between the two countries, and stated that the USA and NATO would not help Turkey against a possible Soviet attack. At the same time, the letter made it clear that Turkey could not use American weapons in a possible conflict (Johnson & İnönü, 1966: 386-388).

The letter caused a great reaction against the USA on the part of Turkey. In response to the

US attitude, Turkey considered to recognize the People's Republic of China and the development of relations with the Soviet Union. In this context, on October 30, 1964, after 23 years, Foreign Minister Erkin became the highest-level Turkish official who visited the Soviet Union (Cumhuriyet, October 31, 1964:1). In addition, after a long hiatus in 1964, the cocktail party held at the Turkish embassy in Moscow on 29 October Republic Day included the Soviet side. As a result, Johnson's letter caused Turkey to seriously reconsider its relations with the United States for the first time and crossed an important threshold in recognizing China. At the same time, 1964 was the year when Turkey adopted a multi-faceted foreign policy.

**The main concern of Turkish journalists was the Cyprus problem, and China's point of view on this issue was a matter of curiosity. Chinese Prime Minister Zhou said that the problem merged as a result of imperialist policies followed by Western countries.**

In fact, one should also note that "attempts to recognize China were conceived by the State Department bureaucracy in 1963–64. The coalition government headed by İsmet İnönü was preparing for this issue. Suat Hayri Ürgüplü's government, which came after him, also made serious preparations on this path. However, the Justice Party under the leadership of Süleyman Demirel, which came to power alone in 1965 and was seeing itself as the continuation of the Democratic Party, undermined the recogniti-

on of China due to its policies in line with the USA" (Cumhuriyet, August 6, 1971: 1).

### **Statements by Chinese Prime Minister Zhou Enlai about Turkey**

While these changes were taking place in Turkey, China was also closely followed the developments in Turkey. Chinese Prime Minister Zhou Enlai made a surprise statement to Turkish journalists he received in Beijing on April 13, 1965, stating that China wants to establish relations with Turkey. Zhou Enlai told Turkish journalists the following about the relations between Turkey and China:

There is no problem for us in establishing relations between Turkey and China. First, we can establish scientific and economic relations. Then we can start semi-official contacts. Both China and Turkey are Asian countries. There is a very old and deep connection between them in terms of history and culture. We know that the Turkish and Chinese peoples have established a traditional friendship. Relations between China and Turkey should be established by considering the principles of the Bandung Conference, such as territorial integrity, equality and living in peace. With this visit of yours, the first step of the friendship to be established between the two countries has been taken (Statement by Zhou Enlai to Akşam, 1965: 82).

The main concern of Turkish journalists was the Cyprus problem, and China's point of view on this issue was a matter of curiosity. Chinese Prime Minister Zhou said that the problem merged as a result of imperialist policies followed by Western countries and said, "In

order to find a solution to this issue, the aims of imperialism should be eliminated and peaceful negotiations should be held, taking into account the interests of the nations involved (Turkish and Greek communities)” (Statement by Zhou Enlai to Akşam, 1965:83). The Chinese Prime Minister also asserted that he would do his best to improve the negotiations at the Conference of Asian-African Countries, which was seen as a continuation of the Bandung Conference, the first step of which was planned to be held in Algeria as a solution to the problem:

I learned that Turkish State Representatives will come to the Asia-African Countries Summit Conference to be held in Algeria this summer. I will meet with Turkish representatives at this Conference. Makarios is coming to this conference. I am sure that it will be beneficial for me to see the Turkish representatives there and learn their views on the Cyprus issue. As I said before, the Cyprus issue should be resolved peacefully, taking into account the interests of the communities. (Statement by Zhou Enlai to Akşam, 1965).

In addition, Zhou Enlai saw the conference in Algeria as a platform where he could meet and exchange views with the Turkish delegation. However, this meeting did not take place because the Conference of Asian-African States was postponed indefinitely and later cancelled. The Chinese Premier pointed out that the relations between the two countries should be normalized primarily through semi-official contacts between the peoples, journalists, scientists, and economists. The Chinese Prime Minister, in his response to the question of what kind of results would be achieved in the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Turkey, said the following:

Both China and Turkey are Asian countries. There is a traditional friendship between the Turkish and Chinese nations. Both of our countries have suffered from imperialist rape and oppression. We both now face the common task of reinforcing our national independence and increasing Asian-African cooperation. We believe that Turkey and China will be founded on the “Five Principles” (respect for each other’s sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual acceptance of non-aggression, non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, equality and mutual benefits, living together in peace) and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. Normal relations will be in accordance with the interests of both the two nations and the Asian nations. We recently learned that: “The Turkish government leaders and the public have expressed their desire to improve relations with our country. In our view, this shows that they respect the facts and value the cohesion between Asian countries. We welcome this indication. (Statement by Zhou Enlai to Akşam, 1965: 84).

In the statements made so far, Zhou never voiced inter-bloc politics, any stance or policy against the Soviet Union or the USA, or even Turkey’s position within the Western bloc. For example, while talking about the development of economic and cultural ties between the two countries, emphasizing that this situation would be beneficial for the two countries, he stated, “(...) mutual aid should be strengthened with other Asian-African countries and engaged in the struggle for knowledge and experience.” He referred to the Third World policy of China at



Former Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, Zhou Enlai. (CGTN, 2017)

that time, and in a way tried to encourage Turkey to support this Third World policy. Therefore, he stressed China's intention to establish and develop relations with Turkey on new grounds, not within the bipolar blocks and ideological polarization of the Cold War.

In this period, Turkey's establishment of relations with China also affected the academic world. In this context, opinions began to emerge about the need for Turkey to recognize China. One of them is Fahir Armaoğlu's comment published on 11 September 1964. Armaoğlu stated that he believes Turkey's recognition will have significant results for both Ankara, and stated that such recognition would have some important consequences for Beijing, especially

in its conflict with Moscow, its struggle with Washington, and its relations with the newly independent states of Asia and Africa (Armaoğlu, 1964: 2).

In addition, Armaoğlu stated that as a result of this recognition, Turkey would take part in Asian politics, develop its relations with the newly-independent African countries and also have the opportunity to develop relations with some countries within the Soviet Bloc, as well as some Latin American countries. However, Armaoğlu also voiced a caution: "An important factor that Turkey should consider in recognizing Beijing is the development of relations between Turkey and Japan. For Turkey, this [relations with Japan] is necessary both economically and politically."

(Armaoğlu, 1964: 2). In fact, Armaoğlu advocated for the further development of relations with Japan in order to counter-balance China. In other words, there still remained a feeling of distrust towards China in the background. In terms of the stereotyped threats of the Cold War era, this is not surprising. Still, in his assessment, Armaoğlu sees Pakistan, Japan and China as the main pillars of Turkey's foreign policy towards Asia (Armaoğlu, 1964: 2).

### **Statements by Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi on Turkey**

Exactly one year after Zhou Enlai's statement, on March 21, 1965, Foreign Minister Hasan Işık's statement that Turkey desires to achieve better relations with China gave a new impetus to rapprochement efforts between the two countries (Chronology March-May-1965, 1965:199). After this statement by Foreign Minister Işık, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, Marshal Chen Yi, who was visiting Pakistan, delivered a speech to Turkish journalists. President Eyüp Khan of Pakistan and Foreign Minister Zülfikar Ali Bhutto stated that they wanted to act as a mediator for the recognition of the People's Republic of China by Turkey, just like Pakistan, and that the response of the Turkish Government was still expected (Acar, 1965: 1).

In addition, Chen Yi stated that he first told the Turkish Ambassador during his visit to Afghanistan in 1960 that China wanted to normalize its relations with Turkey and that China had a positive opinion on this issue. He stated that it is the natural role of the Turkish Government to determine what needs to be done for this, and that Turkey is a country whose past is rooted in Asia. He went to say that

China is an ancient Asian nation, and therefore they are waiting for the decision of Turkey with interest (Acar, 1965:1). In addition, Chen Yi emphasized that Turkey has difficulties in its relations with the great powers and China is also suffering from this situation; therefore, it is necessary for the two countries to cooperate, saying, "They should live in friendship. There is no disagreement, no conflict of interest between them. No harm has touched Turkey. We have not seen any harm from Turkey. I hope that a solution can be found to normalize our relations." (Acar, 1965: 1).

In the 1960s, it had become a custom for the Chinese to refer to the Cyprus problem in almost any statement about Turkey. However, it should be noted that all Chinese officials have adopted a routine, diplomatic and neutral stance on the Cyprus issue in a specific pattern. In his speech to Turkish journalists, Chen Yi expressed his belief that the principle of the federal state would not resolve the Cyprus conflict unless the principles of equality of nations and mutual respect are respected in addressing the Cyprus issue (Acar, 1965:1). Meanwhile, the Beijing administration responded positively to the World Red Cross Organization's call for help to the Turkish Cypriots and provided 70 thousand liras in aid. Instead of sending the money to the Red Cross account in Switzerland, China sent the money directly to Turkey. He made a gesture against Turkey by sending it to the Turkish Red Crescent via the Central Bank (Cumhuriyet, March 28, 1965:1).

Despite the positive statements of the People's Republic of China and Turkey regarding the establishment of relations between the two countries, some parliamentarians also visited Chinese Taiwan and made important statements there. One of them was Lebit Yurdoğlu, the former Minister of Rural Affairs. In July 1965,

he made an 11-day visit to Chinese Taiwan, where he was received by the country's prime minister. In his statement at the airport in Chinese Taiwan's capital Taipei, Yurdođlu said that 90 percent of the Turkish people are hostile to communism (Cumhuriyet, July 8, 1965:3).

Senator Sami Kūçük gave a speech in the Parliamentary Senate of the Republic during the 1965 Budget negotiations. During the visit of the President of the Senate of the Republic

**As it is understood from the statements in the 1960s, both countries used careful language in order not to alienate each other and tried to approach each other through common issues rather than political and ideological differences.**

Enver Aka to Pakistan in November 1964, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan told him that China supported Turkey's Cyprus cause and that the Soviet Union also supported this case. He said that China also made an attempt to support his position. Therefore, Sami Kūçük pointed out that the People's Republic of China, which wanted to stand by Turkey in this just cause, should be recognized as a balancing factor in Turkey's foreign policy, as Pakistan had done (Cumhuriyet Senatosu Tutanak Dergisi, February 1, 1965:1023).

Within the framework of all these developments, efforts were undertaken to prepare a trade agreement between Turkey and China in November 1965. To establish commercial relationships between the two countries, the Turkish representative of the

Leipzig Fair, Şadi Atagöksel, was invited to China by the Beijing Export Development Center, and said on his return that "A new and large marketplace has been opened to Turkey" (Cumhuriyet, November 26, 1965: 5). On December 6, 1966, this time a trade delegation from China came to Izmir and met with Turkish businessmen at the Izmir Chamber of Commerce. Hsiao Fang Chou, head of the Chinese trade delegation and vice-chairman of the International Trade Promotion Council, said in a statement; "This is the first time we are going on such a trip. Today, China is on the way to develop its foreign trade. We are facing many challenges in the development of our foreign trade. The difficulties come from countries that claim to be so-called socialists rather than imperialist countries. In this context, we want to do business under equal conditions. Developing relations will be very beneficial for both countries" (Cumhuriyet, December 7, 1966: 7).

As it is understood from the statements in the 1960s, both countries used careful language in order not to alienate each other and tried to approach each other through common issues rather than political and ideological differences. Within the scope of the Third World policy, China's support for the Palestinians in the Arab-Israeli conflict and its refusal to recognize imperialist Israeli Zionism attracted attention in Turkey. This was especially as China considers bilateral relations within the scope of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which is the basis of its foreign policy. The fact that Chinese Taiwan, which represents China in the UN Security Council, did not stand by Turkey's side in some issues such as Cyprus at the UN, and that the USA followed suit, was also effective in

Turkey bringing the China card to the table. In addition, China's successful participation in the nuclear club in 1964 by carrying out the atomic bomb test also increased China's position vis-à-vis Turkey.

### Sino-Turkish Relations in the 1970s

By the 1970s, the issue of China's representation in the UN had long exceeded a dimension that could no longer be ignored. Since 1950, the problem of China's representation in the UN had always been the main agenda item for the UN and international politics. China's first serious attempt for UN membership was in 1960. However, the USA started to stall the process by arguing that the representation problem was an important one and should be negotiated.

While the USA argued that Chinese Taiwan should represent the Chinese society, many countries also sided with the People's Republic of China. However, Turkey, following the path of the USA, voted against China's membership to the UN and caused criticism from various quarters. Cumhuriyet newspaper's lead writer, Nadir Nadi, criticized Turkey's follow-up to the United States on China in his column in the newspaper:

In terms of international relations, it is obvious that the situation is far from serious. As a matter of fact, some NATO member states, especially England and France, have officially recognized the People's Republic of China, and these states have re-established their relations. As for our stance, the fact that we are following a policy that has made it a principle not to stray from the yoke of the USA for a moment has been conspicuous once again. As a result of the pressure of the events, America will eventually officially recognize

the People's Republic of China, do we have to walk behind it? (Nadi, 1970:1)

Haluk Bayülken, Turkey's permanent representative at the UN, explained the reason for Turkey's game against China in the UN as follows:

Keeping the principles and objectives of the UN law and the development of the United Nations in constant consideration, we followed this meeting with full attention and listened to various views with great interest and contemplation. On this occasion, I would like to express once again the commitment of my government to the principle of universality. This view has been expressed many times from this podium. Indeed, from its inception we have recognized the United Nations Organization as a world organization in which all nations, within the understanding of the law, can achieve their rightful place in the community, regardless of their size or their political, social and economic beliefs. We have always been driven by the desire to make this belief a viable reality. I would like to add that we are still willing to act in this direction today. However, unfortunately, since the draft resolution in document no. a / 1.605 does not fully meet these stipulated issues, it is not considered possible to be approved. Therefore, we must cast our vote against this proposal. My government stands ready to carefully consider any proposal for the representation of the People's Republic of China at the United Nations. (The draft resolution in the aforementioned document recommends the expulsion of the Nationalist Chinese Government from the United Nations with the acceptance of the representatives of Mainland China) (Dışişleri Bakanlığı Belleteni, 1970:72).

Meanwhile, the United States had also started to make attempts to improve relations with China since 1969, and a few attempts by the Nixon administration failed. Despite this, in 1970, Nixon instructed his then national security adviser, Henry Kissinger, to prioritize relationships with China. Nixon had already begun to express at every opportunity that they could no longer ignore the increasing importance of China.

The issue of the recognition of China had now become the number one topic of foreign policy agenda in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. While the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was discussed in the 1971 Budget negotiations, the discussions in the context of China focused on two main topics: firstly,

why Turkey did not vote positively in China's membership process to the UN and secondly, China should be recognized as soon as possible. Salih Tanyeri, speaking on behalf of the CHP group in the meetings pointed out that China's entry into the United Nations was no longer a matter of time; he said that the need of the United Nations for China outweighed China's needs for the UN. After all, China had 800 million people and nuclear power. In addition, Salih Tanyeri states that "Turkey's attitude and vote towards China, although they recognize Britain, Italy, France, Canada, the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway from the states included in NATO, is in line with the attitude and vote of the United States." (Cumhuriyet Senatosu Tutanak Dergisi,1971:347).



US President Nixon shakes hands with Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai on his visit to China, February 21-28, 1972. (Shou, 2020)

Speaking on behalf of the National Unity group, Ahmet Yıldız, on the other hand, said, “We cannot find any rational aspect to our policy regarding China, with which we have had no bad relations in the past,” and then Yıldız directed a number of questions to the government:

Why did we oppose the recognition of this giant country at the United Nations, which NATO members Italy and Canada want to recognize, England and France maintain advanced relations with, and even the United States has indirect talks and affirmed it will recognize conditionally? Even though recognizing China is not considered contrary to NATO membership, we find the hostility we stubbornly maintain to be very strange. Is there a reason we do not know about the unrealistic policy pursued by the Government against China, with which we can establish beneficial political and economic relations? Is there any intention to change this wrong policy? We would like to learn. (Cumhuriyet Senatosu Tutanak Dergisi, 1971:359)

Kasım Gülek (Senator of CHP) also emphasized that China is a state that was about to become a superpower, referring to the policy of China's increasing influence in the Middle East and Africa, and continued: “We have been saying for years, it is time for Turkey to recognize Continental China. We believe that with the Canadian formula, it is possible for Chinese Taiwan to remain in the United Nations and for the Mainland China to be recognized.” (Cumhuriyet Senatosu Tutanak Dergisi, 1971:373). Kasım Gülek made the following observations on China's attitude towards the Cyprus issue: “It would have been necessary to make this recognition a few years ago, when

Mainland China said that “federation gives birth” to Cyprus. At that time, Mainland China was in great need of these recognitions. We have missed the full point of this; it would be appropriate not to miss it even more.” (Cumhuriyet Senatosu Tutanak Dergisi, 1971:374).

After all these speeches, Minister of Foreign Affairs İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil came to the podium and explained the foreign policy of his government, and in this context, he mentioned the most important agenda of the day: the China issue. Çağlayangil, like other speakers, said that with its 800 million population, China had now become a reality in international politics and a factor that should be taken into account without wasting any time, adding that the People's Republic of China was gaining weight and making its presence felt day by day due to its population and potential. On the other hand, he emphasized that Turkey's realistic attitude towards Mainland China should be evaluated in the light of the international conjuncture and the basic principles that every state, big and small, justifies its representation at the UN (Cumhuriyet Senatosu Tutanak Dergisi, 1971:383).

After these discussions took place in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Chinese Taiwan (Republic of China) hastily sent its deputy foreign minister to Ankara. On February 25, 1971, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs held meetings with Orhan Eralp, the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and focused on Turkey's future relations with the Republic of China. He also delivered the message sent by Taiwan President Chiang Kai-shek to President Sunay and the Secretary General Eralp, calling for the further development of Taiwan's bilateral relations with Turkey in all

fields, especially in trade and culture. During these meetings, Taiwan's deputy foreign minister insisted Foreign Minister Çağlayangil to visit Chinese Taiwan (Cumhuriyet, 26 Şubat 1971:1).

**China and Turkey maintained confidentiality on the subject of establishing relations, because there was the danger of preventing or delaying the establishment of new relations due to ongoing rivalries in the Cold War climate.**

By March, important developments were observed in Turkey's domestic politics. Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel resigned from the government as a result of the memorandum given by the Turkish Armed Forces to the Demirel government on March 12, 1971. Osman Olcay, one of the senior diplomats of the ministry, was brought to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On March 26, 1971, Prime Minister Nihat Erim, under the foreign policy title of his government's program, made a statement regarding China, "We are seriously examining the problem of establishing political and economic relations with Mainland China, on which our public has recently focused, in terms of whether it is in line with our national interests." (Neziroğlu and Yılmaz, 2013: 3280). For the first time, a statement about establishing relations with the People's Republic of China was included in a government program.

Exactly one month after the new government mentioned the establishment of relations with China in its program, Foreign Minister Olcay

announced to the public that direct contacts had begun between Turkey and the People's Republic of China with the aim of establishing diplomatic relations (Cumhuriyet, April 26, 1971:1).

During this period, both China and Turkey maintained confidentiality on the subject of establishing relations, because there was the danger of preventing or delaying the establishment of new relations due to ongoing rivalries in the Cold War climate. The government of the People's Republic announced that they agreed to start negotiations for the establishment of diplomatic relations with Turkey and both countries appointed their ambassadors in France to carry out these negotiations (Cumhuriyet, May 9, 1971:1).

### **Turkey Establishes Contact with China**

In the first days of August 1971, it was announced that Turkey would recognize China in a few days. It was understood that the parties reached an agreement on diplomatic recognition in July and working on a confirmation date. At that time, according to the leaked news from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the announcement was firstly set for the end of July, but this date was postponed for various reasons such as the Taiwan's ambassador departure from Turkey. In addition, Turkey's ambassador to Chinese Taiwan was instructed to start preparations for his return to Turkey (Cumhuriyet, August 3, 1971:7). Meanwhile, at a secret meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly on August 2, Foreign Minister Olcay shared information on the ongoing efforts to establish diplomatic relations with China (Cumhuriyet, August 3, 1971:7).

## Turkey's Recognition of the People's Republic of China

Turkey and China came together in Paris to conclude the establishment of diplomatic relations that they had been negotiating for a long time. On June 4, Turkey's Ambassador to Paris Hasan Esat Işık and China's Ambassador to Paris Huang Chen announced the following statement to the public.

### Declaration on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Turkey

The Governments of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Turkey have decided to establish diplomatic relations on the basis of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for the principles of equality of rights and reciprocity of interests.

The Turkish Government recognizes that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only legal Government of China. The Chinese and Turkish Governments decided to exchange ambassadors as soon as the administrative formalities and practical arrangements were completed and agreed to provide each other with all necessary assistance for the establishment of diplomatic missions in their respective capitals and to facilitate their fulfillment of their duties in accordance with international principles and practices.

Hasan Esat Işık

Huang Chen

(Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of diplomatic relations Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Turkey, 1971:6)

Following Turkey's official recognition, the following congratulatory article was published as an editorial in the People's Daily (Renmin Ribao) in China on 7 August:

After the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Turkey announced on August 5 that diplomatic relations were established at the embassy level on the basis of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, reciprocity of interests, and respect for the principles of rights and equality, we offer our sincere congratulations on this issue.

There is a long tradition of friendship between the Chinese and Turkish peoples. The friendly relations of our two peoples go back to ancient times. The historically famous "silk road" stretches from China's Gansu and Xinjiang via Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia to Turkey. Friendly relations between China and Turkey were interrupted only by the obstacles of imperialism and colonialism. The declaration that China and Turkey have now established diplomatic relations is in full harmony with the common aspirations of the two peoples and the common interests of the two sides. The Turkish people have a glorious tradition of revolutionary struggle. The Chinese and Turkish peoples, who were once subjected to imperialist attacks and oppression, have always sympathized and supported each other in the joint struggle against imperialism. We strongly support the Turkish people in their struggle to protect national independence and defend state sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The government of the People's Republic of China is the only legal government representing the entire Chinese people, and

Taiwan Province is an integral part of China's holy land. Whether "two Chinas", "one China, one Taiwan" or "Taiwan independence" or "Taiwan's status to be determined", any plan aimed at separating Taiwan from China will certainly fail. Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, said, "We should strive to establish normal diplomatic relations with all countries that wish to live in peace with us, based on territorial integrity and sovereignty and equality and mutual respect for mutual benefit."

The Chinese Government firmly advocates that all countries, regardless of their size and different social systems, should be equal and live in peace. We have constantly sought to establish and develop friendly relations with all countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and mutual respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity. The current agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the governments of China and Turkey is the result of the joint efforts of the two sides. The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Turkey opened wide horizons for friendship and cooperation between the two countries. We firmly believe that the friendship between the Chinese and Turkish peoples will definitely grow day by day.

**Renmin Ribao, 7 Ağustos 1971**

(Greeting the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between China and Turkey, 1971:6,11).

Turkey's initiation of a new era with China aroused satisfaction in Turkey, although not as much as in China, and it was reported as news on the front pages of the newspapers. Haluk Sayınsoy, General Director of Foreign Affairs and Administrative Affairs, explained the task of

establishing relations with China, and announced to the Turkish public that the relationship would be established at the press conference on 5 August. In addition, Sayınsoy stated at this press conference that there would be an exchange of ambassadors between the two countries in 1972 (Cumhuriyet, August 6, 1972:7).

The first support from politicians came from Kasım Gülek in the Senate of the Republic. Gülek said that it was a good move for Turkey to recognize China, and that all Turkey's friends recognized China, so Turkey had to recognize it as well, adding that "We have peaceful relations with many countries whose regimes we do not adopt, it is even late to recognize China." (Cumhuriyet Senatosu Tutanak Dergisi, 1971:461). In addition, Gülek made a statement supporting China and Turkey in the most difficult period of the Cyprus problem, declaring his stance. At that time, he stated that maybe it would be more advantageous for us to know China, and the government's direction was correct. (Cumhuriyet Senatosu Tutanak Dergisi, 1971:461).

With Turkey's recognition of China, one of the first reactions that appeared in the public was the claim that this diplomatic step was made under the influence of the USA. aid Koçaş, Deputy Prime Minister, responded to these allegations on 6 August at the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, saying, "This decision was taken exclusively by considering the interests of Turkey. Our decision has not been influenced or even suggested by any foreign state." (Cumhuriyet, August 7, 1971:1). In his speech, Koçaş said the following about the recognition of China:

We have not had diplomatic relations with

the People's Republic of China, which is the largest state in the world with a population of 750 million. Our government, which mainly dealt with these investigations and made a situation judgment, was decided and the case was announced to the whole world's public opinion. This decision has been taken exclusively by considering Turkey's interstate interests. No foreign state influence in our decision; In fact, there was no suggestion, the events quickly showed that our country took this decision just in time, and some other countries took action after we started the negotiations (Cumhuriyet, August 7, 1971:7).

In his speech at the National Assembly, Deputy Prime Minister Koçuş also touched upon the situation and future of Taiwan, which was another issue that emerged with the recognition of China and received much criticism. He said that Turkey would not be a supporter of secession, but as a natural result of our relations, Turkey would support the membership of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

Noting that the Taiwanese Embassy would leave our country after the beginning of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, and that China would establish an embassy of 15 people in Turkey in accordance with the agreement, Koçuş later said:

All transactions will take place in mutually equal rights. While presenting this issue to your supreme delegation and our noble nation, I would like to specifically state that regardless of their regimes, both sides will never interfere in each other's internal affairs, but that it will be natural for our economic relations to develop rapidly along with diplomatic relations. While I present this decision, which is the product of a

unifying and constructive thought on all kinds of domestic policy problems, to be welcomed by all parties and esteemed members, as a new manifestation of the unity and solidarity that our nation has shown throughout history in foreign policy, I wish that it will be beneficial for our nation, our country and world peace (Cumhuriyet, August 7, 1971:7).

Meanwhile, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate of the Republic held a special meeting on the recognition of the People's Republic of China, upon the request of Fethi Tevetođlu, senator of the Adalet Party and member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. In this secret meeting, Sadi Koçuş, Deputy Prime Minister for Political Affairs, and the officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs explained the purpose and reasons for the decision taken by the government on the recognition of the People's Republic of China (Cumhuriyet, August 7, 1971:7). As a continuation of this process in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the government also informed political party leaders about the issue. Prime Minister Nihat Erim also met with the leaders of the parties in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and gave information about the relations established with China. In this context, Prime Minister Erim met with Turhan Feyziođlu, Chairman of the National Trust Party, and Ferruh Bozbeyli, Chairman of the Democrat Party, at the Parliament on August 9, and evaluated his meeting with the Prime Minister from Bozbey as follows:

We had discussions about the recognition of the People's Republic of China, which is



Meeting where the People's Republic of China was officially recognized at the United Nations. (United Press International, 1971)

today's issue. As you know, the work of the old and new governments has finally come to a conclusion... The positive results of this decision for our country, especially in terms of our economic relations and defense policy, should be clearly revealed. I am not convinced that the efforts are sufficient to ensure the continuation of our close relations with nationalist China (Cumhuriyet, August 10, 1971:7).

The main reaction against the recognition of China came from the Adalet Party. Adalet Party Chairman Süleyman Demirel severely criticized the recognition of China and turning its back on Taiwan in his statement to the press on 8 August. In his speech, Demirel stated:

The recognition of Red China by Turkey takes place in our press and radios as the topic of the day. It is said that Red China is a world-class power, recognized by many countries as the reason for the recognition. It is also claimed that establishing relations with Red China will bring many benefits to our country. In other words, it is stated that the interests of the country are taken into consideration without this recognition. The issue of which interests of Turkey are taken into consideration by recognizing China and what Turkey will gain by embarking on such a path is not clearly expressed; it is even being avoided. If everyone knew Red China! ... If those in charge claim that recognizing Red China is in the interests of the country, they also have to explain

to the public what these interests are. In my opinion, in today's environment and at this time, recognizing Red China is not beneficial for Turkey. You didn't recognize them for 23 years, but what damage have we received? While Turkey has so many issues, it is surprising that recognizing Red China is presented to the Turkish public as a very important achievement. Turkey does not currently have any crops to sell to Red China, nor does it have anything to buy from Red China. In this respect, it is not possible to claim that there will be great benefits in terms of economic relations (Cumhuriyet, August 9, 1971:7).

Demirel made the following assessment regarding the status and future of Turkey's relations with Taiwan:

In recognition of Red China, it is regrettable that the condition of severing relations with Nationalist China (Taiwan), which had fought for nearly 25 years against the communist spread in Southeast Asia, was accepted. Those in charge, while recognizing Red China, should explain to the Turkish public to what extent they accept the conditions put forward by Red China, what conditions are put forward by us and to what extent the other party accepts them. Thus, the public will have an opinion on whether Turkey's interests are protected or not. In summary, hastily recognizing Red China will not benefit Turkey. I also declare that we regret the discontinuation of our relations with the nationalist China, which is an anti-communist country with friendly feelings (Cumhuriyet, August 9, 1971:7).

Deputy Prime Minister Sadi Koçuş responded to the harsh criticisms of the Adalet Party and its Chairman Demirel on Turkey's recognition of China with an off-the-topic speech in the National Assembly. In his talk, he criticized the statement of Adalet Party leader Süleyman Demirel opposing the recognition of the People's Republic of China and explained with documents that attempts to establish relations with Mainland China started during the Adalet Party's rule. Deputy Prime Minister Koçuş said, "Mr. Demirel, under his presidency, cannot have forgotten the answers given by the relevant and authorized authorities in the Senate and the National Assembly, in the commissions of a government that has responsibility for nearly six years, and also the answers he gave to a written question. For reasons we cannot understand, he has abandoned his old view." (Cumhuriyet, August 10, 1971:7). On the other hand, Koçuş stated that they accepted Demirel's statement as a personal statement of the government, and said, "We understand the most obvious characteristic of being a government as continuity in words and actions unless there are major changes." (Cumhuriyet, August 10, 1971:7).

In the continuation of his speech, Koçuş presented the views of the Adalet Party on China by giving examples from the recent past, and cited the 1971 statements of Foreign Minister Çağlayangil of the Adalet Party government regarding the recognition of China. Most importantly, on February 20, 1971, Deputy Chairman of Foreign Affairs, Hasan Dinçer,

said in his speech at the National Assembly that the People's Republic of China with its 800 million population is an indisputable fact, and that efforts would be made for both their recognition and their membership to the United Nations (Cumhuriyet, August 10, 1971:7).

### **Eventually, Liu Chun was appointed as the Ankara Ambassador of the People's Republic of China on May 26, 1972.**

Süleyman Demirel, the leader of the Adalet Party, who had not taken the rostrum since the day he left the Prime Ministry with the 12 March memorandum, responded from the rostrum of the Parliament on the allegations of Koçuş regarding the recognition of China. Demirel pointed out that governments should explain their policy decisions with their own justifications. Concluding his speech, Demirel stated that for the same reason, Turkey may as well request the recognition of North Korea (Cumhuriyet, August 10, 1971:7).

Speaking on behalf of the CHP group, the group's vice chairman, Necdet Uğur, criticized Demirel's words and said, "Wouldn't it be necessary for someone who has been responsible for the government of the Republic of Turkey for 5 years to rise above such an important foreign policy issue? Demirel says national interests are not an enigma, and the government should explain it.

448 people have the right to say such a word; two people do not. One is Demirel and the other is Çağlayangil. Does Demirel not know about Mainland China, the American-Russian relations, Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)? If he doesn't know, it's a shame for this country. How can Demirel, who served as the Prime Minister for 5 years, not know this?" (Cumhuriyet, August 10, 1971:7).

Deputy Prime Minister Koçuş, who came back to the podium to respond to the criticisms on behalf of the government, stated that they were always ready to answer Demirel's questions in a secret session, and that the Adalet Party government had also initiatives for the recognition of the People's Republic of China (Cumhuriyet, August 10, 1971:7).

Eventually, Liu Chun, who was appointed as the Ankara Ambassador of the People's Republic of China on May 26, 1972, approximately 10 months after Turkey's recognition of China, started his duty by presenting his letter of credence to President Cevdet Sunay. Before being appointed as ambassador to Turkey, Liu Chun had served as the Asian Affairs Desk Manager at the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In August, Nuri Eren, Turkey's senior diplomat at the United Nations representation, was appointed as Turkey's Ambassador to Beijing. Nuri Eren started his duty in Beijing on October 31, 1972.

### **Review and Discussion**

Turkey's establishment of diplomatic relations with China is a by-product of Turkey's changing foreign policy. Although the period

between 1950 and 1960 was a period in which Turkish foreign policy was on the axis of the West, and particularly that of the United States, the period of 1960-1980 is called a period of relative autonomy, according to writers such as Mehmet Gönülbol (1996) and Baskın Oran (2001). Indeed, when we look at foreign policy developments of this period, it is seen that Turkey had started to follow its own national interests rather than following a bloc policy. The most important foreign policy problem of this period was disagreements with the USA, especially due to the Cyprus problem. This difference of opinion led Turkey to revise its policy of balance, a traditional foreign policy strategy. Therefore, relations with the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union were reviewed.

**Since the 1960s, the increasing influence of China in international politics, which attracted attention all over the world, had also shown its effect in Turkey so that the**

Since the 1960s, the increasing influence of China in international politics, which attracted attention all over the world, had also shown its effect in Turkey so that the establishment of relations with China had come to the agenda. China had become a controversial issue in the press, politics and academic world in Turkey. Although in the 1960s, as a reaction to the US attitude towards Cyprus, especially in 1964, Turkey was warned aga-

inst the Cyprus issue in a harsh way and the political figures of the period brought up the recognition of China as a response to the threatening Johnson Letter, this could not go beyond being a weak bluff against the USA. Despite this, the issue of recognizing China was on Turkey's agenda. However, this issue remained bound to the Turkish-American relations, and their position over the Cyprus issue. Undoubtedly, this problem did not arise as a one-sided request. In the 1960s, positive messages came from China as well. The statements made by Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai and Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister Chen Yi showed that the Beijing administration was also willing to establish relations with Turkey.

The issue of recognizing China had also been a domestic policy issue and discussion in Turkey. In particular, one dimension of the political fight between the Adalet Party, which had to leave power as a result of the military memorandum in 1971, and the Erim government that replaced it, was the issue of recognizing China. Members of the Adalet Party carried out their criticism against the Erim government, both in the press and in their speeches in Parliament, regarding the recognition of China. On the other hand, the Erim government argued that the Adalet Party started the process of recognizing China and would eventually complete it.

The most important point of the discussions in the process of the recognition of China was the accusations that Turkey was following the path of the USA's stance with China, espe-

cially in the UN. Both the Adalet Party and the Erim government faced such accusations. Turkey's stance with the USA in voting on China's membership in the UN further increased the reactions against the USA in the Turkish public opinion.

A number of technical issues also arose throughout the process of Turkey's recognition of China. In particular, the situation of Chinese Taiwan, which represented China at the UN, had been the subject of much debate. Turkey's thesis from the very beginning was that both Chinas should stay in the UN, which in this respect was already the thesis of the USA. However, China opposed the inclusion of Chinese Taiwan in the UN, citing the "one China principle". China stated that the countries that would establish diplomatic relations with him should also comply with this one-China principle, otherwise, China would not establish diplomatic relations. Another issue was the discussion about Turkey discontinuing its good relations with Taiwan, which had lasted for years, which would be against the principle of Pacta Sunt Servanda, that is, the principle of pact and fidelity, and that there should be an intermediate formula for this. Particularly, the Adalet Party made great efforts in this regard. On the other hand, Chinese Taiwan did not provide support in the UN Security Council on important issues of Turkey. For example, Chinese Taiwan gave almost no support for Cyprus. Taiwan is a country that has completely followed the helm of the USA. However, China's assessments of the Cyprus problem since the 1960s are closer

to Turkey's theses and Turkey has interpreted this as a supportive gesture. In addition, the fact that China, unlike Chinese Taiwan, would have its own agenda at the UN, meant that an alternative friend and supporter for Turkey would be in the UN Security Council in the future.

In the shadow of all these discussions, Turkey recognized the People's Republic of China on August 4, 1971. In 1972, the embassies of both countries were opened and ambassadors were appointed. Since that day, the relations between the two ancient peoples of Asia have continued to develop for 50 years. Although 17 years of these relations occurred the influence of the Cold War climate, official presidential visits were made to China for the first time in the 1980s, and more visits were made from China to Turkey. In the 1970s, Süleyman Demirel, who was vehemently opposed to the recognition of China, gave the Order of Merit to the Chinese President Jiang Zemin in Ankara in 2000, exactly 30 years later, guided by his own motto that "yesterday is yesterday, today is today" once again. 

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## The Awaited Call\*

Hüseyin Haydar\*\*

*(One Belt One Road Symphony)*

The long-awaited call came today.  
The sword fell from the hand of the cruellest  
oppressor of the oppressors.  
Do you know from whom the blessed call came?  
A sun reddened in the skies of socialism.  
Turned pale at that moment, the public enemy  
executioner.  
Which valiant man's call was this incoming one?  
The fruit of immortality of the people which  
grows on time.  
At the bottom of the rocks, the flowers suddenly  
cheered up,  
The crying baby laughed; the white lambs bleated.

The message of wisdom arrived today,  
Our powers became stronger, our minds became  
wiser.  
Come on, open your doors to your doors,  
Let's tie a belt, let's belt a road.  
Did you see that the ants crossed the mountain?  
Our hands were dreamed, our hearts started to  
talk:  
The Asian ship full of love came out of the port.  
Extend your hands to each other, open your arms,  
Let your eyes stare into each other's eyes, my  
brothers.  
The heart train unloaded; didn't you see?

A letter of a comrade, a blessed greeting came.  
From whom did the Chinese silk handkerchief  
from the Silk Road come?  
From Shanghai stone, from Beijing soil,  
Through the cliffs and the mountains, from the  
flying iron bird,

From the white bones of the martyrs of the  
revolution.  
The windy call that comes across its rivers,  
It came from the sea, the land, the air.  
Flowing from the steppe cliffs breathlessly,  
Did you see the rose-laden waggons of Asia?

We are starting our blessed journey once again.  
Not mortal gods, but immortal man standing:  
Tell the eagle of the sky to come,  
From one shoulder to another the greeting flew  
and came.  
In the Yellow River and the Euphrates Martyrs  
resurrected,  
The call kissed the beetles and bugs of the bronze  
steppe.  
Come on, let's gather in the Asian square,  
Blackthorn rose bloomed on the marble; didn't  
you see?

The long-awaited call came today: We're setting  
off.  
We are rearing up from the Mediterranean to the  
Chinese Sea.  
We will wrap the belt of peace round the waist of  
the bride of the world,  
With songs, we will make the Milky Way a crown  
on her head.  
We answered with the decision of Taurus, in the  
language of the Euphrates:  
Children of the same house, the same sun, we are  
ready.  
We are here! We are united with the sheaf of crop  
of Asia.

\* Translation: Nilgün Yorgancı

\*\* Hüseyin Haydar was born in 1956 in Trabzon. He studied economics and finance. He worked as a member of the editorial board and as a technical director in YAZKO's (Writers and Translators Cooperative) Literature and Translation magazines. His first poetry collection, *Acı Türkücü*, won the 1981 Academy's First Prize for Poetry. Later, many of his books were published and won national awards. He served as a member and visual director of the Ulusal Kanal Broadcasting Board and as a member of the Turkish Writers' Union (TYS) Board. He prepared and presented the tv program titled Literature Front at Ulusal Kanal. He is a member of Patriotic Party Central Ruling Board and National Science Strategy Center. He has been publishing his poems every week in his column titled Poet's Toil in *Aydınlık* newspaper for ten years.

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# The Sinology and Chinese Studies Symposium: A Brand-New Unifying Perspective of Chinese Studies in Turkey



ANIL SOLMAZ\*

Chinese Language and Literature, Shanghai University

## Introduction

BY ACCOMPLISHING THE AIMS OF THE United Nation's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development 10 years ago, the People's Republic of China has demonstrated the strength of its economy as a global leader (Solmaz, 2021). China's rise is acknowledged by many countries and, as a result, has inevitably spurred the field of Chinese Studies. Indeed, the dominant role of the Chinese language in socio-economic and socio-cultural aspects has also energized the field of Sinology – the study of Chinese language, history, customs, and politics.

Engaging with Chinese Studies and conducting original research will undoubtedly benefit Turkey's national interests. This is a

time that gives rise to, not only economic and commercial concerns, but also security, strategic, and cultural pressures as part of the symptoms of rising multipolarity. However, there are two major problems faced by Turkey concerning Chinese Studies: a) researchers often obtain information from Western sources, b) the field in Turkey has not reached maturity yet. These two problems hinder Turkey's ability to understand China and cause research to be disconnected from China's realities. Western-centric studies have ignited anti-Chinese sentiments in Turkey, which distorts Turkey's perception of China.

The current situation in Chinese Studies and the predominance of research that lacks a sound scientific basis necessitate the need

\* Anil Solmaz is a master's student in Chinese Language and Literature at Shanghai University. His research interests include historical linguistics, field linguistics and language documentation, Chinese linguistics, Turkish languages.  
Email: solmaz\_4141@hotmail.com



**1 SINOLOGY AND CHINESE STUDIES SYMPOSIUM**  
September 24-25 2021

**ORGANIZERS**

Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Turkey  
Istanbul University - Department of Chinese Language and Literature  
Istinye University - The Center for Belt and Road Studies  
Shanghai University - Center for Turkish Studies  
SISU - Center for Turkish Culture Studies  
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for a new beginning in this field. At this point, one could argue that the Sinology and Chinese Studies Symposium, which focuses on Turkey's interests and scientific rigor, has created a new platform in this field and responded to the strategic needs in Turkey. In this article, I will try to explain the importance, benefits, and shortcomings of the Symposium by discussing and making suggestions for the future of this event, which aims to establish itself as a tradition.

### The First Sinology and Chinese Studies Symposium

The foundations of the Symposium were first laid out at the Sunday Talks<sup>1</sup> meetings of the Turkish Student Association (TÖB), which was formed by Turkish students in China. The lea-

ders of this union, who temporarily returned to Turkey due to the pandemic, continued its activities in Turkey. They held online seminars<sup>2</sup> with scholars from leading departments of Sinology, Chinese Language and Literature, and Chinese Translation and Interpretation in Turkey, as well as institutions such as Shanghai University, which has lately emerged as a pioneer of Turkish Studies in China. These events, which brought Turkey and China together, revealed the need for further developing the field of Chinese Studies in Turkey.

Thereupon, the TÖB, the Belt & Road Initiative Quarterly (BRIQ), the Istinye University Center for Belt & Road Studies, and the Istanbul University Chinese Language and Literature Department formed the core staff and initiated the First Sinology and Chinese Studies Sympo-

<sup>1</sup> See for detailed info. (Türk Öğrenci Birliği, n.d.)

<sup>2</sup> See for online webinars. (Çin Türk Öğrenci Birliği, n.d.)



Participants

sium in Turkey. The number of co-organizers was later increased to include the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Turkey and Shanghai International Studies University.

### The Organizing and Scientific Committee

The Organizing Committee is the body that best proves the unifying and inclusive character of the Symposium. In particular, the heads of departments in well-established and leading universities in Turkey conducting Sinology and Chinese Studies were invited to the organizing committee. Inclusiveness was ensured by inviting competent scholars from other universities to the scientific committee. The Organizing Committee of the First Sinology and Chinese Studies Symposium is as follows;

- Mehmet Adnan AKFIRAT, Chairman of the BRIQ Administrative Board
- Ruilin SHI, Undersecretary of Culture, The PRC Ankara Embassy
- Prof. Dr. Eyüp SARITAŞ, Head of the Department of Chinese Language and Literature at Istanbul University
- Assoc. Prof. Gürhan Kırilen, Head of Department of Sinology at Ankara University DTCF
- Assoc. Prof. Efe Can GÜRCAN, Chairman of the Center for Belt and Road Studies at Istinye University
- Dr. Nurcan KALKIR, Head of the Department of Chinese Language and Literature at Erciyes University



Chinese Ambassador to Turkey

- Mustafa ALTINKAYA, Chairman of TÖB Beijing
- Anıl SOLMAZ, Chairman of TÖB Shanghai

The Scientific Committee, under the chairmanship of Prof. Dr. Eyüp SARITAŞ, consists of fifteen scholars from Turkey and China covering a wide range of specializations, including Sinology, Chinese Language and Literature, Chinese Translation and Interpretation, International Relations, Sociology, and History.<sup>3</sup>

With the Scientific Committee, which includes scholars from Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University and Okan University, the Symposium has brought together rooted and leading

institutions dealing with China and Chinese in Turkey. This is an important step for the first Symposium, but it is necessary to further expand the scientific committee, make greater use of universities in China, and attract scholars from Europe and the Americas. These aims should be included in the success criteria for future studies.

### Participants and Proceedings

Four hundred and ninety-seven applications were made to attend the two-day symposium, which was organized as a “hybrid” of face-to-face attendance at the Istinye University Congress Center in Istanbul and online attendance on Zoom on 24-25 September 2021. There were also guests from Germany, America, Azerba-

<sup>3</sup> See (Sinoloji Sempozyumu, n.d.)



Prof. Dr. Eyüp Sarıtaş, Head of the Scientific Committee

ijan, India, and the Netherlands, though most attended from Turkey and China. Such diversity is undoubtedly a success for a symposium held for the first time - it became an international event.

Another feature of the Symposium was the quality of the opening speeches. China's Ambassador to Ankara and Turkey's Ambassador to Beijing acknowledged the significance of the Symposium in their speeches. They emphasized how important this symposium is for the two countries to get to know each other on a scientific level and emphasized the importance of joint work. Furthermore, the presented papers discussed a broad spectrum of topics, including the Turkic languages spoken in China, Wolfharm Eberhard and Turkish Sinology, the geopolitical economy of China's peaceful deve-

lopment, and the North Pacific Ocean Strategy concerning China. A total of fifteen proceedings were presented and discussed in four sessions moderated by Assoc. Prof. Gurhan Kirilen, Prof. Dr. Giray Fidan, Prof. Dr. Caner Karavit, and Dr. Nurcan Kalkır, respectively.

### **The Importance of the Symposium for Turkey And China Studies The Course of Chinese Studies in Turkey**

With the recent acceleration of diplomatic and commercial relations, Turkey's interest in Chinese Studies has increased. This is also thanks to becoming the second-largest economy in the world. Our historical and intersecting ties, exhibited by the findings of Pre-Islamic Turkish history from the Chinese pages, trace Chinese Studies in Turkey back even further than we

thought. However, the field of Chinese Studies in Turkey owes its current status to the pioneering studies of Wolfram Eberhard. His work, *History of China* (Eberhard, 1947), published by the Turkish Historical Society, is his best-known work alongside his articles and lectures. After leaving Turkey for the University of California in 1949, he continued his studies in the United States. After this period, Chinese Studies in Turkey went into stagnation.

**Although most of the studies carried out in Turkey after Eberhard fall within the domain of Classical Chinese Studies, China's socio-economic and socio-cultural achievements have pushed Contemporary China Studies to the fore.**

Though, it would not be correct to say that the Chinese studies in Turkey came to an end with Eberhard's departure to the United States. Today, Chinese Studies are kept alive thanks to the proliferation of academic events and research centers in Turkey. Although most of the studies carried out in Turkey after Eberhard fall within the domain of Classical Chinese Studies, China's socio-economic and socio-cultural achievements have pushed Contemporary China Studies to the fore. The departments of Sinology and Chinese Language and Literature, which are included in universities such as Ankara University and Istanbul University, contribute to this field. In addition to these, Turkish universities are trying to meet the needs of this

field by establishing Chinese Research Centers (see Istanbul Aydın University). Recently, the field of International Relations has focused on China and started to examine Chinese movements such as the Belt and Road Initiative. A case in point is the Istinye University Center for Belt & Road Studies, which is the first research center to focus its efforts on the Belt and Road in Turkey.

Undoubtedly, the number of such initiatives in China Studies will increase as Turkey's foreign policy increasingly focuses on Asia. At this point, the most important task is to consolidate the field of Chinese Studies, which offers a systematic and solid philosophy.

#### **The New Perspective offered by the Symposium into China Studies**

At this point, the First Symposium of Sinology and Chinese Studies has built a new unity by bringing Sinology and Chinese Studies together. A ship, whose route was not drawn by experts and could not successfully take the wind behind it, would not reach the targeted place. The Symposium's Organizing and Scientific Committee will be the new route and wind for the field of Chinese Studies in Turkey. The main philosophy of the Symposium is to explain China to Turkey and Turkey to China from the authentic and primary sources and to enable both countries to benefit from each other using scientific methods. It has refreshed the field of Contemporary Chinese Studies in Turkey by refuting the arguments of research centers that have become tools for political purposes and

institutions that imitate the West. This movement is unifying and integrating, which will ensure a sound future for China Studies.

Another important element is the feature of the Symposium that appeals to China. Given that the field of Turkish Studies in China has just started to mature, it is an indisputable fact that China also needs to reach first-hand sources and especially the “authentic” sources. When such sources are examined, it will be revealed that much false information has been published about Turkey in line with the information obtained from secondary (and Western-centric) sources. A misleading picture has been drawn about Turkey in Chinese public opinion. In consideration of this problem, the Symposium’s close contact with the Chinese Embassy and the Turkish Studies Consortium in China will have a positive impact on the research of the two countries. In this respect, the Symposium is not only an important platform for Turkish researchers who are involved in Chinese Studies but also a wider channel where valuable researchers conducting Turkey Studies in China can convey their views.

### Conclusion

The First Symposium of Sinology and Chinese Studies has been a breath of fresh air in Contemporary China Studies in Turkey with its technical and scientific aspects. It is the first and most important step taken for the institutionalization required in Turkish Sinology and Chinese Studies. With the international status it has gained, the Symposium has also laid the foundation and qualifications necessary to broadcast Turkey’s accumulated knowledge in Contemporary Chinese Studies to the world.

The Symposium has demonstrated theoretical knowledge by bringing together experts from Turkey and China as part of the Organizing and Scientific Committee. The most important task ahead is to expand the scope of academic discussions by including everyone who are involved in Chinese Studies on this platform. For researchers from Turkey to reach first-hand sources on China, it should act as a mediator in creating opportunities for field and archive studies in China. It should form a journal that will publish these studies and root this journal for scientific purposes.

The First Symposium on Sinology and Chinese Studies was concluded successfully. We left behind a historical milestone in the field of Chinese Studies in Turkey. The period we are in is critical for Turkey to better recognize and understand China’s national aspirations. This makes it necessary for all valuable Chinese researchers in Turkey to make use of this symposium with the highest efficiency. See you at the next symposium! 🌸

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# Building the Shared Future of Humanity Through Sports: Towards the 2022 Winter Olympics



**ARDA TUNÇEL\***

Organizing Committee Secretary of the Forum

THE 2022 WINTER OLYMPICS WILL BE HELD in Beijing from February 4-20. The Olympics, which is generally considered one of the “fairest” sports platforms in the world, and where every country can send its athletes under equal conditions, continues in all its glory even under pandemic conditions. The contest keeps our hopes alive for a more equal, just and peaceful world. However, hegemonic approaches, led by the USA, to regulate developing countries via a “human rights” policy, endanger the egalitarian nature of the Olympics, which values all nations equally. The United States considering the possibility of boycotting the Beijing Winter Olympics points to the seriousness of this threat. Although there is no final boycott decision as yet, the widespread co-

verage of some of the protests in Western media outlets make it necessary to revisit the Olympics and its misuses in international politics. Within this framework, the “**Building the Shared Future of Humanity Through Sports: Towards the 2022 Winter Olympics**” forum was held on 20 November 2021 at Istinye University Valley Campus and via Zoom, under the leadership of the Turkish Student Union in China, Belt and Road Initiative Quarterly (BRIQ), and The Istinye University Center for Belt and Road Studies. The forum served as an open platform for debate around the questions below:

- What methods do Western states use to intervene in developing countries through the Olympics?

\* Arda Tunçel was born in 1995 in Ankara. In 2019, he graduated from Department of International Relations at Ihsan Dogramaci Bilkent University. During his BA, he carried out a research project on ‘One Belt One Road’ and wrote a research paper. He worked as a Student Brand Manager at Red Bull Turkey company in 2017-2019. In September 2019, he began his MA on international trade at Shanghai University. He is currently working on the effects of the Belt and Road Initiative on the relationship between Turkey and China. He is currently a board member of the “Association of Turkish Student in China”. Email: [ardatuncel.ch@yandex.com](mailto:ardatuncel.ch@yandex.com)



COMMEMORATING THE 50<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE BEGINNING OF  
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN TURKEY AND CHINA

**BUILDING THE SHARED FUTURE  
OF HUMANITY THROUGH  
SPORTS:  
Towards the 2022 Winter Olympics**



November 20  
(in Turkish and English)

**ORGANIZERS**

Belt and Road Initiative Quarterly (BRIQ)  
The Istinye University Center for Belt and Road Studies (CBRS)  
Turkish Student Union in China (TÖB)



- How can we save the Olympics, which is the people's sports holiday, from the intervention of Western states?
- How can we ensure that the Olympics fulfill its promise as the symbol of nations competing in sports on equal terms, peacefully and for cohesion?
- What are the roles played by the Olympics in building the shared future of humanity?

The opening speakers of the forum were Adnan Akfırat (President of the China Business Development Friendship Association and Chairman of the BRIQ), Suat Çelen (President of the Turkish Gymnastics Federation), Erdem Doğan, Sports Director of the Turkish National Olympic Committee, and Liu Shaobin (Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Ankara).

In the opening speeches of the forum, the speakers emphasized that the Beijing Winter Olympics will be a shining example of the rising Asian Civilization, that any behavior to

overshadow the role of the Olympics in building the shared future of humanity together is detrimental, and that Turkey is also carrying out its Olympic preparations in accordance with this mission. Speaking on behalf of the organizing committee, Adnan Akfırat stated that US President Biden's "diplomatic boycott" statement is not only displaying an arrogance towards the host country, but also against all humanity and therefore should be condemned.

Adnan Akfırat conveyed the mission statements of the Beijing Winter Olympics:

- Let's instill the Olympic spirit in the youth of the world!
- Let's encourage millions to embrace winter sports!
- Let's promote social progress through the winter games!
- Let's create a world of harmony for all humanity by developing mutual understanding!

The opening speeches were followed by the first session of the forum, entitled **“The Role of Sport in Creating the Shared Future of Humanity”**. This session was moderated by the President of the Republican Woman’s Association and former Vice Rector of Gazi University, Professor Tülin Oygür. The contributors included Cevad Prekazi (Albanian origin –former Yugoslavian football player), Sümeyye Boyacı (National Paralympic swimmer), Hakan Reçber (National taekwondo athlete), and Ljubodrag Simonović (philosopher, writer and retired Yugoslavian basketball player).

**The speakers stated that peace and sports are part of the innate human rights and that the US is preventing this with its current attitude.**

The speakers expressed their views regarding the impact of sports on life and personal development, the significance of state planning and social policies for the development of sports, the role of sports in cultural interactions, and the contribution of sports to world peace. The statements expressed by the speakers, including world-famous and medal-winning, about the impact of the Olympics on social and individual progress, once again revealed the importance of this forum. In the closing speech of the first session, the moderator, Professor Tülin Oygür, underlined that the Olympics are an important step towards building the shared future of humanity together, and emphasized the importance of sports in the fight against drugs, which is one of the biggest threats to the future of humanity. At this point, Tülin Oygür called for support and cooperation with the Mothers Movement, which was initiated by the Republican Women’s Association, against drugs.

The second session of the forum, **“Western Politics of Human Rights and Olympics”** was moderated by Assistant Professor Suat Eren Özyiğit, head of

the Department of International Relations at İstinye University. The contributors included Assoc. Prof. Fahri Erenel (Director of the İstinye University Social Sciences Institute), Assoc. Prof. Umut Başoğlu (President of General Gymnastics Movement Training Technical Committee) and Deputy Chairman of Turkish Orienteering Federation), and Hüseyin Cem Zeren (Columnist and risk expert).

While Umut Başoğlu explained his views on how the deficiencies in physical literacy lead our society towards obesity and harmful habits, Fahri Erenel and Hüseyin Cem Zeren shared their view that the US accuses China of human rights violations, regardless of its own actions, because the US has fallen behind in economic terms and has lost its claim to dominate the world. In addition to these opinions, the speakers stated that peace and sports are part of the innate human rights and that the US is preventing this with its current attitude. In parallel with this, Fahri Erenel emphasized that the word ‘boycott’ is the most dangerous word for the Olympics as well as for humanity. He went on to call for the world’s citizens to reject such harmful attitudes. In the closing of the session, Suat Eren Özyiğit thanked the speakers and asked Professor Osman Ünver to deliver the closing speech.

In his speech, Professor Osman Ünver, stated that, if the essence of the Olympics can be preserved, there is still an important opportunity for world peace and that all humanity should take a stand against discussing a boycott in order to establish the common future of humanity through the medium of sport. On behalf of the organizing committee, which consists of Arda Tunçel (Member of the Board of the Turkish Student Union in China), Anil Solmaz (Shanghai representative of the Turkish Student Union in China, Adnan Akfırat (Chairman of the Board of BRIQ journal), Assoc. Prof. Efe Can Gürcan (Director of the İstinye University Center for Belt and Road Studies), Semih Nişancı (Sports Journalist); Anil Solmaz expressed his thanks to the speakers and participants. 🌸

# A Thousand Readers, A Thousand Hamlets: A Chinese Scholar's Response to the Ten Hot Issues about the Belt & Road Initiative

Wang Yiwei. (2020).

Response: Ten Voices on the “Belt and Road Initiative”.  
Tianjin: Tianjin People’s Publishing House.



LI NING\*

Department of History, College of Liberal Arts, Shanghai University

SINCE 2013, THE BELT AND ROAD Initiative (BRI) has become a pressing concern for the international community. The BRI is an international cooperation initiative put forward by China in response to major changes and new challenges unique to the present. There have been multiple voices doubting, misunderstanding, and criticizing the initiative from home and abroad. In response to this, Professor Wang Yiwei, who comes from the Chongyang Institute for Financial

Studies and National Academy of Development and Strategy at the Renmin University of China, has systematically responded to various questions from the Chinese people, Western countries, and countries along the BRI in his book, Response: Ten Voices on the “Belt and Road Initiative” (2020). The book examines what the initiative is, its purpose, and how to promote it.

In chapter 1, the author questions whether the BRI should spend its money on foreign invest-

\* Li Ning is a master's candidate majoring in World History in the College of Liberal Arts at Shanghai University. Her research fields include Turkish modernization and Kemal's reforms in Turkish rural areas, such as the Turkish Ocak, the People's Houses, and the Village Institutes. Email: enya510124@163.com ORCID: 0000-0002-8886-3876

ment. For some Chinese people, the domestic economy is facing downward pressure and needs investment, so why should China turn outwards? According to Prof. Wang, the initiative is designed to tackle two major domestic problems: the country's unsustainable development model and the effects of globalization. Consequently, China's development has transformed from a model relying on export and foreign direct investment to a model of investment and innovation with a long-term aim of building inclusive globalization to fight against protectionism. Only in this way can China break the containment of some Western countries. Therefore, investing in infrastructure, energy, ports, and people's livelihood projects contributing to improvement of their national economy along the BRI countries will help strengthen the strategic economic dependence of these countries, form a community of common destiny, and reduce dependence on the West.

**The BRI is composed of “five communications”, namely policy connectivity, infrastructure connectivity, trade connectivity, finance connectivity, and people connectivity - each will face risks.**

Chapter 1 continues by questioning whether this initiative is an over-expanding project. Prof. Wang demonstrates how it is not from three perspectives. First, from the perspective of supply and demand, BRI construction addresses China's over-capacity, the co-construction of China's high-quality and surplus production capacity, and the need for co-construction in the country's development.

Second, the BRI is not like the Marshall Plan, which combined economic with military expansion, but an opportunity to reach international public goods, provided by China, for the countries along the route. Third, this initiative is not a political initiative but an economic initiative. Therefore, private enterprises should become the mainstay of the BRI instead of state-owned enterprises. Both parties and participating companies must obtain benefits.

The third question of chapter 1 discusses “how to avoid risks in the construction of the BRI”. As Prof. Wang argues, the BRI is composed of “five communications”, namely policy connectivity, infrastructure connectivity, trade connectivity, finance connectivity, and people connectivity - each will face risks. Geographical risks threaten policy communication. Infrastructure connectivity needs to deal with security risks. Trade and finance connectivities are affected by economic and legal risks. If people's hearts cannot be connected, the BRI can be morally trapped.

The biggest risk does come from developed countries and their specific issues of debt, standards, geopolitics, and transparency. These doubts reflect the distrust of the Chinese model in developed countries. In this regard, China must open up to the world, for only when the BRI has achieved results and the countries along the route exemplify this development will Western doubts truly disappear.

Chapter 2 addresses the fourth question of whether the BRI is like the “Marshall Plan”. Prof. Wang acknowledges that there are similarities between the two projects in promoting economic development, strengthening exchanges and cooperation between regional countries, and enhan-

cing the regional influence of the initiator countries, but the former is fundamentally different from the latter. First, the Marshall Plan, with its Cold War background and ideological color, was part of the US's aspiration for global hegemony, while the BRI is the outcome of China's all-around opening-up. Second, the former takes camp and ideology as the criterion of participation, while the latter takes inclusiveness and openness. However, Prof. Wang also suggests that the BRI can learn from the Marshall Plan regarding its implementation and publicity.

The fifth question discusses whether there is a debt crisis in the "Belt and Road" construction. Prof. Wang does not agree with the statement that China is pursuing a "debt diplomacy" through the BRI. First, Western countries focus on this topic to frame other countries. They have done this before, so it is inferred that China will do the same. Second, from the perspective of debt background or debt structure, China is not the largest creditor of developing countries, and the so-called "debt crisis" in the construction of the "Belt and Road" is nothing but alarmist talk. Third, the BRI is "raising chickens and laying eggs" rather than "killing the hen for her eggs", in that China advocates international cooperation to solve the debt crisis.

The Chapter 2 handles the sixth question, whether the BRI is challenging international rules and the mechanism of the BRI is open and transparent. And this initiative is rule-oriented or development-oriented. These are typical questions from the West after the initiative was put forward. Prof. Wang believes that "China will not and need not start over and overthrow Western rules" (p100). China owns a culture of learning, not one of transmission, meaning China will likely not

export its model. The top priority is development rather than rules, and development is the key to solving the problems of participating countries along the BRI.

**The BRI brings together the four major civilizations of humankind: Egyptian civilization, Babylonian civilization, Indian civilization, and Chinese civilization.**

The Chapter 2 also seeks an answer for the seventh question about whether the BRI is China's version of the World Trade Organization (WTO)? Prof. Wang believes that this initiative promotes a new type of globalization, having its own characteristics. The BRI brings together the four major civilizations of humankind: Egyptian civilization, Babylonian civilization, Indian civilization, and Chinese civilization. Thus, the logic of the common rejuvenation of civilizations surpasses the logic of modern competition. The BRI creates a civilized order with civilized countries as the basic unit, by this means, international politics leaps from geopolitics, geoeconomics to geo-civilization. From a broad perspective, the Belt and Road Initiative has largely helped landlocked countries access the sea to realize land and sea connectivity. Similarly, it should fit with the local customs and religions and take root in a way that the local people want.

Chapter 3 addresses the eighth question, does the "Belt and Road" construction damage the environment? In fact, China has the most complex ecological environment and the highest population density. Relying on its superior application

capabilities, China has cultivated the world's most competitive green, low-carbon technology and sustainable development model. It is in the process of sharing the modernization experience. Therefore, on the issue of development sustainability, the author calls on all countries to believe in China with the courage of "the duck" that "witnesses the warmth of the river first in the spring" and actively participate in the construction of BRI.

**The author has provided convincing answers, which allows not only foreign readers to understand a real BRI but also allows many Chinese readers to have a deeper understanding of this initiative, China's development model, and China's globalization propositions.**

The chapter continues with the ninth question, does "Belt and Road" construction lead to differentiation? Prof. Wang cites the cooperation between China and Latin America as an example. He points out that China's BRI is in line with the needs of Latin American countries to respond to the middle-income trap. Through the new industrialization road, correcting the Western colonial system, increasing horizontal interconnection, complementing the shortcomings of infrastructure, guiding the flow of hot money to the real economy, curing the chronic diseases of neoliberal globalization, and eliminating the root causes of the global financial crisis, Latin America is actively co-constructing the BRI, and development has been achieved. Therefore, this case shows that the BRI will not lead to differentiation.

The tenth question examines whether the construction of the "Belt and Road" creates a strategic dependency on China. The BRI aspires to create "a road of peace", "a road of prosperity", "a road of openness", and so on. It aims to gradually eliminate the world's three major deficits: peace, development, and governance. It also emphasizes strategic docking and interconnection. Its purpose is to eliminate the barriers caused by geopolitics, eliminate the pain caused by colonial divide and rule, and finally realize people-to-people bonds.

In general, the book successfully condenses questions about the BRI in China and the world today. Based on years of international relations research and experience in more than fifty countries, the author has provided convincing answers to these questions, which allows not only foreign readers to understand a real "Belt and Road Initiative" but also allows many Chinese readers to have a deeper understanding of this initiative, China's development model, and China's globalization propositions.

However, the book also has certain flaws. For example, when the author outlines reasons for questioning the BRI, he always emphasizes the factors of international interest disputes, national strategic layout, and ideological orientation. We cannot deny the misunderstandings brought about by the above factors, but what is more noteworthy is that race, ethnicity, and religion in BRI countries are also important considerations. These factors relate to people-to-people bonds and should, therefore, be the starting point for China to respond to and resolve the voices that question the "Belt and Road Initiative". 🌸



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# THE FIFTEENTH FORUM OF THE WORLD ASSOCIATION FOR POLITICAL ECONOMY

**Rethinking Economic Analysis: Perspective of Political Economy**

**18-19 December 2021**

**Shanghai International Studies University, China**

The 15th WAPE Forum will be held on 18-19 December 2021, at Shanghai International Studies University, China. International participants will attend online due to COVID. This forum will be co-organized by World Association for Political Economy, Greek Association of Political Economy, and Shanghai International Studies University.

The broad theme of the conference focuses on the controversy between the two main alternative traditions in economic analysis, Political Economy and Economics. Economics (with their myopic understanding of the economy as simply market relations, neglect of social and political factors and class struggle and their almost overt support for capital against labour) has been historically proved incapable of grasping how economies work and forecast and confront competently economic crises. On the other hand, Political Economy (offering a social understanding of the economy, focusing on the sphere of production, linking economic analysis to social and political factors and to class

struggle) has been more successful in comprehending the actual workings of the economy and in analyzing economic crises. However, despite their long-standing failures, Economics continue to dominate academia and policy-making centers, especially in the West. Even after the last global economic crisis and its blatant failure to foresee and to resolve it, its dominance remains unwavered as it is supported by strong vested class interests. Nevertheless, there is growing unrest within both the academia and the society with this failed dominance. Political Economy is the main approach towards which all those dissatisfied with Economics turn.

This conference aims to juxtapose Political Economy and Economics and contrast their positions on the various fields and areas of economic analysis. Within its broad theme, WAPE 2021 invites all contributions that enrich the perspective of Political Economy and expand the ground for further discussion. Indicatively but not exclusively, proposed papers can touch upon the following issues:



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- 1) Curriculum reform in Economics: How Political Economy can challenge Economics' dominance of university curricula
- 2) Contemporary controversies in Macroeconomics: Neoclassicism, Keynesianism and Marxism
  - Neoliberalism and the New Macroeconomic Consensus
  - Marxism and Macro-economic modelling
  - How to evaluate US mainstream economics with Marxist Political Economy
- 3) History of Political Economy
- 4) New developments of Marxist Political Economy in contemporary China
- 5) Economic History
- 6) Theory of stages and periodization of capitalism
- 7) Theories and analyses of economic crisis
- 8) Profitability, crises and economic cycles
- 9) Race, class and gender
- 10) Methodology of economic analysis
- 11) Trends and challenges in contemporary economic policy
  - Neoconservative economic policies
  - Economic planning, fiscal and monetary policies reconsidered
  - A return of industrial policy?
- 12) Marxism and the Political Economy of money and finance
- 13) Labour process, markets and the Political Economy of Work
  - Labour movement and Trade Unions
  - Flexible employment and unemployment
  - The current state of Labour Process Theory
- 14) The Political Economy of poverty and inequality
  - Austerity and the welfare system
  - The current state of social policy
- 15) Political Economy of education
- 16) Political Economy of health and health policies
- 17) Environmental Political Economy
- 18) Urban and regional economics
- 19) Law and Political Economy
- 20) World economy: globalization or imperialism?
  - International conflicts and imperialism
  - The retreat of US hegemony and the emergence of a multi-polar world system
  - Political Economy of capital flows
  - BRICS, the newly emerging economies and the world economy
  - Global value chains and transnational corporations
  - Political Economy of foreign direct investment (FDI)
  - International Political Economy
- 21) Political Economy of European integration and the Eurozone crisis
- 22) Development studies at an impasse
  - Developmental state after the Post-Washington Consensus
  - Role and policies of international organizations (IMF, WB, WHO, UNHCR, UN etc.)
- 23) Country case studies



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## WAPE 2021 Forum- Turkey Panel (Webinar)

Time (Beijing Time):  
18 December 2021, 14.00-15.40

Duration: 100 minutes

Topic:  
**THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DECLINE AND WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT:  
TURKEY'S LESSONS FOR THE DEVELOPING WORLD**

Moderator:

Adnan Akfırat, Chairman of the BRIQ Journal

Panelists:

**1. Turkey's Program of Carrying Out A "Production Revolution":  
The Road to Revolution in the Developing World**

Speaker: Dr. Dođu Perinçek, Chairman of Patriotic Party (TURKEY)

**2. Debunking the Neoliberal Agenda of "Downsizing the State":  
What is the Role of the National State in Development?**

Speaker: Prof. Dr. Semih Koray, Bilkent University

**3. The Transformation of the Turkish Economy in the 2000s:  
A Balance Sheet of Neoliberalism**

Speaker: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Efe Can Gürcan, İstinye University

**4. How Universal is Turkey's Kemalist Economic Development Model?**

Speaker: Dr. Kuntay Gücüm, Editor in Chief of Teori journal

Discussant:

Prof. Dr. Sencer İmer  
Ufuk University, Head of the Department for Political Science and International Relations

## KAYIHAN KESKİNOK



*Kayihan Keskinok was born in 1923 in İzmir. He graduated from Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü [Gazi Institute of Education] in Ankara. In 1960, he made postgraduate study at Ecole de Beaux Arts [School of Fine Arts] in Lausanne. Between 1963-1968, he lectured in the Department of Painting at Gazi Institute of Education. He worked at TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Institution). Besides individual exhibitions of more than 40, he also participated in joint exhibitions in Turkey and abroad. His major paintings are available both in private collections and at State museums. He worked as a freelance artist and lectured at Sanatyapım Gallery, Art Studio between 1982-2012. He defined his art as a kind of figuratism based on anatomic values. Passed away on April 18, 2015 in Ankara, Keskinok was honored various awards including “Ministry of Culture, 50th Anniversary of Republic, Competition in Painting and Sculpture, Award of Atatürk and Republic”, “Republican Senate, Atatürk Painting Competition, first prize”, “Ministry of Culture, Painting Competition on Atatürk and his Revolutions, first prize”, “International Association of Fine Arts, Honored Award”, “GESAM Honored Award.”*

## SITKI FIRAT



*Sitki Fırat was born in Kemaliye/Erzincan- Turkey. He was interested in photography art while he was studying at Gazi Institute of Education. He was impressed by Şinasi Barutçu, his teacher. He studied Photography and Business Education in Germany, where he was sent with the support of the state in 1966. In 1980, he established the Fıratcolor Color photography laboratory with his sons Aykut and Artuk. He traveled to more than 30 countries and held exhibitions. After his exhibitions, “Turkey” in Beijing in 1989 and “China” in Ankara, he was invited to China for a project on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the People’s Republic of China in 1999. His photographs were published in the book, “Focus on China”. Having over 100 exhibitions at home and abroad, Sitki Fırat was awarded the “International Turkish World Service Award” by TÜRKSAV in 1998, the “Doyen Artist of the Year” by International Federation of Photographic Art (FIAP) in 2001, and the title of “Photography Artist of the Year” by the Ministry of Culture. Having many books on photography, he was also the owner of the “Culture and Arts Grand Award”. The great Master of Photography, Sitki Fırat, passed away on June 16, 2016.*

## RİFAT MUTLU

ONE-TOOTHED  
MONSTER

*Rifat Mutlu is a medical doctor specializing in neurosurgery. During serving as a doctor, he served as an Executive Committee member of the Izmir Medical Chamber in Turkey. He worked at the Umea University and the Uppsala University in Sweden, which conducted research and studies on the surgery of people with disabilities. After returning to Turkey, Mutlu, who worked as a neurosurgeon in public hospitals, served as the Provincial Director of the Agency for Social Services and Children Protection in Izmir. Mutlu, who started to work as the Deputy Secretary General of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality in 1999, established the first Emergency Rescue Health Project in Turkey, "AKS-110". He created the "Council of Disabled People" and the "Center for Youth with Disabilities". Rifat Mutlu, a member of the Cartoonists Society in Turkey, served as the İzmir representative of the Cartoonists Society between 2012 and 2014. His comic strip, "Birileri", was regularly published in the local and national press between 2004 and 2011. He has two cartoon albums named "İki Gözüm İki Çeşme" and "Birileri", and a cartoon book, "Anatolian Anecdotes with Cartoons". Having 11 personal cartoon exhibitions, Mutlu still draws political cartoons for Aydınlık Newspaper. Rifat Mutlu, a member of the Central Executive Board of the Patriotic Party, is currently Provincial Chairman of the Patriotic Party in Izmir.*

