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c) Book with Author Plus Editor or Translator

Gabriel Garcia Marquez, *Love in the Time of Cholera*, trans. Edith Grossman (London: Cape, 1988), 242-55.

d) Chapter in an Edited Book

Glenn Gould, "Streisand as Schwarzkopf," in the *Glenn Gould Reader*, ed. Tim Page (New York: Vintage, 1984), 310.

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Walter Blair, "Americanized Comic Braggarts," *Critical Inquiry* 4, no. 2 (1977): 331-32.

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Special Issue for China

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**Editorial**

We met with you readers in the special issue of "China" of International Politics and Security (IJPS) magazine. On behalf of myself, I would like to thank the IJPS Editorial team for this chance.

Economic growth model, the world prosperity created by the cheapness of the products it produces, the R&D budget allocated for technology production, technology investments, increase in military expenditures, a global power perception that will rival the USA, etc. issues have made China the most discussed country after the Cold War time. We should add to this discussion the dimension of Turkey, and East Turkestan question, besides the huge trade deficit of Way and Belt Initiative also.

In this context, IJPS aims to attract you, dear readers, into these discussions by the special issue of "China". It aims to contribute to future studies by presenting this issue which examines China, to the views and benefits of the academic world.

Ten remarkable articles are included in the special issue of "China". The first article of the issue is entitled "The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Regime Fragility: Explaining China's International Efforts at Solving Domestic Insecurity" by Thomas AMEYAW-BROBBEY. The article discusses the sources of distrust in the Chinese regime, its impact on world peace and conflict, and how the regime has addressed these challenges.

The second article is "Prospects of CSTO and SCO in Regional Politics of Central Asia" by Sarwat RAUF and Adam SAUD. In this article, the authors examined the coordination between the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in Central Asia and wanted to identify the priorities of the members of the two organizations and their possible actions towards each other.

The third article is titled "Bangladesh-China Economic Relations: Wolf in the Sheep's Clothing" prepared by Mufassir RASHID. In this article, the author, while analyzing the effect of China's neo-mercantilist policies on China-Bangladesh relations, tries to reveal how Chinese mercantilism is hidden under the "lamb's skin as an old wolf" called "development".

The fourth article is "The Dynamics of Internationalization for China in the Context of New Gramscianism" prepared by Ferdi Tayfur GÜÇYETMEZ. In this article, the author examines China's strategy of "passive revolution", assuming that the Soviet Union failed ideologically and wanted to achieve it using a different methodology.

The fifth article is titled "Huawei, 5G Networks, and Digital Geopolitics" written by Gökhan TEKİR. In this article, the author examined the international impact of China's technological expansion as a security threat to infrastructure networks of the USA, stating that the new global competition between the USA and China is shaped by the access point to the flows of networks.

Our sixth article is titled "Opportunities and Challenges in Turkish and Chinese Bilateral Relationship" prepared by Ahmet Faruk IŞIK. In this article, the author focuses on the bilateral relationship between Turkey and China and tried to analyze the challenges and uncertainties. According to the author, economic opportunities such as the "Belt and Road project", problematic areas such as the Uyghur problem, and the Syrian issue constitute hot spots of bilateral relations between the two countries.

The seventh article is "China's African Policy and Conflict Resolution Initiatives within the Framework of the One Belt-One Road Project" prepared by Belma ENGİN GÜDER and Cemre PEKCAN. In the study, writers discuss China's policies towards Africa and its approach to conflict resolution practices by focusing on the Belt-Road project and deal with both responsibility and rational interests and motivations.

The eighth article is "The First Scene of New Enclosure: US-China Rivalry in the South China Sea" by Sami YILDIRIM. In the study, the historical claims of China, the military aspect of China's encirclement by the USA, and the possibility of armed conflict in the South China Sea were examined in detail.

The ninth article is titled "Cultural Diplomacy of China: The Role of the Confucius Institutes and Criticisms" prepared by Buket ÖNAL. In the study, the role of the Confucius Institutes in China's Cultural Diplomacy, the opportunities it created, and the criticisms made to the institutes were analyzed.

The tenth and final article is titled "Approaches of the United States and the European Union to the 2019 Hong Kong Protests" prepared by Emre ÇALIŞKAN, Merve AYGÜN, and İlhan ARAS.



In the study, a general evaluation of the Hong Kong protests was made, and the approaches of the United States of America and the European Union to the protests were analyzed on the basis of similarities and differences. In the study, it was seen that the US had tougher rhetoric than the EU against the protests, and the Trump administration became one of the direct parties to the problem.

Finally, I would like to thank the editorial board, editorial team, technical staff, and referees who meticulously examined our articles, who made great efforts in publishing these important works in our special issue. We are thankful for writers who shared their works with us and contributed to the academic world in this issue. Hope this special issue will be useful.

Prof. Dr. Ragıp Kutay KARACA

Istanbul Aydın University
Guest Editor of Special Issue

Editörden

Uluslararası Politika ve Güvenlik (IJPS) dergisinin “Çin” özel sayısında siz okuyucularla buluştuk. Bu buluşmayı sağlayan dergi yönetimine şahsım adına teşekkür ediyorum.

Ekonomik yükseliş modeli, ürettiği ürünlerin ucuzluğunun dünyada yarattığı refah, teknoloji üretimi için ayırdığı ARGE bütçesi, teknoloji yatırımları, askeri harcamalarında artış, ABD’ye rakip olacak küresel bir güç algısı vb. konular Çin’i Soğuk Savaşın sonrasının en çok tartışılan ülkesi haline getirmiştir. Bu tartışmaların Türkiye boyutuna Doğu Türkistan, Kuşak-Yol İnisiyatifi ve ticaret dengesinde oluşan büyük açığı eklememiz gerekmektedir.

Bu bağlamda Uluslararası Politika ve Güvenlik (IJPS) dergisi, “Çin” özel sayısında siz değerli okuyucuları bu tartışmaların içine çekmeyi hedeflemiştir. Çin’i irdeleyen bu sayıyı akademik dünyanın görüş ve istifadesine sunarak bundan sonra yapılacak çalışmalara katkı yapmayı amaçlamaktadır.

“Çin” özel sayısında birbirinden değerli 10 makaleye yer verilmiştir. Sayının ilk makalesi Thomas AMEYAW-BROBBEY tarafından kaleme alınan “The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Regime Fragility: Explaining China’s International Efforts at Solving Domestic Insecurity” başlığını taşımaktadır. Makale, Çin rejimine olan güvensizliğin kaynaklarını, dünya barışı ve çatışması üzerindeki etkisini ve rejimin bu zorlukları nasıl ele aldığını tartışmaktadır.

İkinci makale Sarwat RAUF ve Adam SAUD tarafından hazırlanmış olan “Prospects of CSTO and SCO in Regional Politics of Central Asia”dır. Bu makalede yazarlar, Orta Asya’da yer alan Kolektif Güvenlik Anlaşması Örgütü (CSTO) ile Şangay İşbirliği Örgütü (SCO) arasındaki koordinasyonu inceleyerek, iki örgütün üyelerinin öncelikleri ve birbirlerine yönelik olası eylemlerini tanımlamak istemişlerdir.

Üçüncü makalemiz, Mufassir RASHİD tarafından hazırlanan “Bangladesh-China Economic Relations: Wolf in the Sheep’s Clothing” başlığını taşımaktadır. Bu makalede yazar, Çin’in neo-merkantalist politikalarının Çin-Bangladeş ilişkilerine etkisini analiz ederken, Çin merkantilizminin “gelişme” adıyla “yaşlı bir kurt olarak kuzu postu” altında nasıl saklandığını ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır.

Dördüncü makalemiz, Ferdi Tayfur GÜÇYETMEZ tarafından hazırlanan “The Dynamics of Internationalization for the China in the Context of New Gramscianism”dir. Bu makalede yazar, Çin’in Sovyetler Birliği’nin ideolojik olarak başaramadığını, farklı bir metodoloji kullanarak başarmak istediğini varsayarak, Çin’in “pasif devrim” stratejisini irdelemiştir.

Beşinci makalemiz Gökhan TEKİR tarafından yazılmış olan “Huawei, 5G Networks, and Digital Geopolitics” başlığını taşımaktadır. Bu makalede yazar ABD ve Çin arasındaki yeni küresel rekabetin ağların akışlarına erişim noktasında şekillendiğini ifade ederek, ABD’nin Çin’in teknolojik genişlemesini altyapı ağlarına yönelik bir güvenlik tehdidi olarak görmesinin uluslararası etkisini incelemiştir.

Altıncı makalemiz Ahmet Faruk IŞIK tarafından hazırlanmış olan “Opportunities and Challenges in Turkish and Chinese Bilateral Relationship” başlığını taşımaktadır. Bu makalede yazar, Türkiye Çin arasındaki fırsatlar, zorluklar ve belirsizlikleri analiz etmeye çalışmıştır. Yazara göre “Kuşak ve Yol projesi” gibi ekonomik fırsatlar, Uygur sorunu ve Suriye meselesi gibi sorunlu alanlar her iki ülke arasındaki ikili ilişkilerin sıcak noktalarını oluşturmaktadır.



Yedinci makale Belma ENGİN GÜDER ve Cemre PEKCAN tarafından hazırlanmış olan “Kuşak-Yol Projesi Çerçevesinde Çin’in Afrika Politikası ve Çatışma Çözümü Girişimleri”dir. Çalışmada, Kuşak-Yol projesi odak alınarak Çin’in Afrika’ya yönelik politikaları ve çatışma çözümü uygulamalarına yaklaşımı hem sorumluluk hem de rasyonel çıkar ve motivasyonlar ekseninde ele alınmıştır.

Sekizinci makale Sami YILDIRIM tarafından hazırlanmış olan “Yeni Çevrelemenin İlk Sahnesi: Güney Çin Denizi’nde ABD-Çin Rekabeti”dir. Çalışmada, Çin’in tarihsel hak iddiaları, ABD tarafından Çin’in çevrelenmesinin askeri yönü ve Güney Çin Denizi’nde silahlı çatışma olasılığı konuları detaylıca incelenmiştir.

Dokuzuncu makale Buket ÖNAL tarafından hazırlanmış olan “Çin’in Kültürel Diplomasisi: Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri’nin Rolü ve Eleştiriler” başlığını taşımaktadır. Çalışmada Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin Çin’in Kültürel Diplomasisindeki rolü, yarattığı fırsatlar ve enstitülere yapılan eleştiriler analiz edilmiştir.

Onuncu ve son makale Emre ÇALIŞKAN, Merve AYGÜN ve İlhan ARAS tarafından hazırlanmış olan “Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ve Avrupa Birliği’nin 2019 Hong Kong Protestolarına Yaklaşımları” başlığını taşımaktadır. Çalışmada Hong Kong protestolarının genel bir değerlendirilmesi yapılarak, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ve Avrupa Birliği’nin protestolara yaklaşımları benzerlikler ve farklılıklar temelinde analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmada, protestolar karşısında ABD’nin AB’den daha sert söylemlerinin olduğu, Trump yönetiminin sorunun doğrudan taraflarından biri haline geldiği görülmüştür.

Birbirinden önemli bu çalışmaların özel sayımızda yayımlanmasında büyük emekleri olan yayın kuruluna, düzeltmen ekibine, teknik kadroya ve makalelerimizi titizlikle inceleyen hakemlerimize teşekkür ediyorum. Büyük teşekkürü ise emek vererek hazırladıkları çalışmalarını bizimle paylaşan ve akademi dünyasına katkılar sunan yazarlarımıza olacaktır. Bu özel sayının faydalı olması dileğiyle.

Prof. Dr. Ragıp Kutay KARACA
İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi Öğretim Üyesi
Çin Özel Sayısı Misafir Editörü



From IJPS

China has been the most controversial country and the subject of the world in the last decades. Since Xi Jinping came to power in 2012, China has entered a new era. The “One Belt One Road” project has attracted worldwide attention. Trade war, human rights violations discussing for Uighurs, protests in Hong Kong, and Coronavirus are holding China up on the international agenda.

In this context, The IJPS felt a responsibility to open pages for academicians for discussing this hot spot. The call for paper has been very popular, we had to reject some valuable paper also because of doesn't meet publishing criteria.

Special thanks for his kindness to **Prof. Karaca** to accept our invitation to be a guest editor in this issue. Besides I am deeply appreciative of our diligent teams of IJPS and connoisseur reviewer also.

Chief Editor

Çin, son yıllarda dünyanın en tartışmalı ülkesi ve konusu olmuştur. Xi Jinping'in 2012'de iktidara gelmesinden bu yana, Çin yeni bir döneme girdi. “Bir Kuşak Bir Yol” projesi dünya çapında ilgi gördü. Ticaret savaşı, Uygurlar için tartışılan insan hakları ihlalleri, Hong Kong'daki protestolar ve Koronavirüs Çin'i uluslararası gündemde tutuyor.

Bu bağlamda, IJPS akademisyenlere bu sıcak noktayı tartışmak için sayfalar açma sorumluluğu hissetti. Makale çağrısı çok popüler oldu, bazı değerli makaleleri de yayınlama kriterlerini karşılamadığı için reddetmek zorunda kaldık.

Bu sayıda konuk editör olma davetimizi kabul eden **Prof. Karaca'ya** gösterdiği nezaket için teşekkür ederiz.

Ayrıca IJPS'nin çalışkan ekipleri ve uzman eleştirmenlerimize de çok müteşekkirim.

Baş Editor



The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Regime Fragility: Explaining China's International Efforts at Solving Domestic Insecurity

Thomas AMEYAW-BROBBEY*

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to discuss China's sources of regime insecurity, its impact on world peace and conflict and how the regime addresses these challenges. How does China's regime insecurity affect international relations, peace and conflict and how is it responding to such challenge in order not to disturb international peace and cooperation? How do China's public reactions affect international relations, conflict, peace and cooperation?

It argues that China's regime insecurity caused by strong nationalist emotions and domestic discontent is a potential source of impediment on world peace than its external strength. By using foreign policy initiative and primary sources, the paper shows that, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is one course of action the Chinese regime addresses its challenges. Specifically, China is strengthening regime security and external peace through foreign policy – providing for the international dimension of the domestic threat – by trying to decrease domestic discontent through securing international commercial activities with its BRI, to stem horizontal inequalities and regime insecurity.

I base the theoretical argument on the Diversionary Theory of War. The paper helps fill the gap in the discussion of China and international security which has been dominated by China's rise in power capabilities.

Keywords: China, Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), Regime Insecurity, Nationalism, Diversionary War theory.

Kuşak ve Yol Girişimi (BRI) ve Rejimin Kırılganlığı: Çin'in İç Güvenlik Sorunlarını Çözmeye Yönelik Uluslararası Çabaları

Özet

Bu çalışmanın amacı Çin'in rejim güvensizliğinin kaynaklarını ve bunların dünya barışına olan etkileri ile rejimin bu sorunu nasıl ele aldığını tartışmaktır. Bu kapsamda "Çin'in rejim güvenliği sorunu uluslararası ilişkilerini, barış ve çatışma parametrelerini nasıl etkiliyor ve Çin uluslararası alanda barış ve işbirliğini etkilemeyecek şekilde bu zorluklara nasıl mukabele ediyor? sorusu ile "Çin'de kamuoyunun tepkilerinin uluslararası ilişkilerine nasıl yansıyor?" soruları araştırmanın temel sorunsalını oluşturmaktadır.

Bu makalede Çin'in güçlü milliyetçi duygularının ve iç hoşnutsuzluğun neden olduğu rejim güvensizliğinin, dünya barışı ve Çin'in dış gücü için potansiyel bir engel olduğu savunulmaktadır. Bu kapsamda Çin'in dış politikadaki girişimleri ile birincil kaynaklardan elde edilen veriler, Çin'in Kuşak Yol Girişimini (BRI) bu zorluklarla baş etmek için kullandığı bir eylem biçimi olarak kullandığını göstermektedir.

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Özellikle Çin, yatay eşitsizlikleri ve rejim güvensizliğini engellemek için BRI ile uluslararası ticari faaliyetleri güvence altına alarak iç hoşnutsuzluğu azaltmaya çalışmakta - iç sorunların uluslararası boyuta yansımalarını azaltarak – böylelikle dış politika yoluyla rejim güvenliğini ve dış barışı güçlendirmeye çalışmaktadır.

Çalışmanın teorik arka planı Oyalayıcı Savaş Teorisi'ne dayandırılmaktadır ve bu makale akademik alanda Çin hakkında yapılan tartışmalarda görülen Çin'in yükselen bir güç olarak uluslararası güvenlik üzerindeki etkileri konusundaki eksikliklere katkı sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kavramlar: Çin, Yol ve Kuşak Girişimi (BRI), Rejim Güvensizliği, Milliyetçilik, Oyalayıcı Savaş Teorisi

1. Introduction

China occupies a major part of the current discussions in international relations, foreign policy analysis, and global security studies. Scholarly arguments have centered on the role of China in our world today and whether the days ahead would be peaceful or hostile and perhaps conflict.¹ The importance of China today in world politics is undoubtedly as a result of its economic development which has had great externalities on all other spheres of the country. With the socialism with Chinese characteristics, or state capitalism and other similar names that combined international market economy and investment with the remnants of socialism, the Chinese state was magically transformed.²

The purpose of this paper is to discuss China's sources of regime insecurity, its impact on world peace and conflict and how the regime addresses these challenges through foreign policy. How does China's regime insecurity affect international relations, peace and conflict and how is it responding to such challenge in order not to disturb international peace and cooperation? How do China's public reactions affect international relations, conflict, peace and cooperation? To answer these related questions, the paper looks at China's domestic system and weakness to argue that, the regime's insecurity caused by strong nationalist emotions and domestic discontents is a potential source of impediment on world peace than its external strength. By using a foreign policy initiative and primary sources, the paper takes a counter-intuitive approach of the diversionary war theory to explain that, Beijing is aware and in fact

1 Andrew J. Nathan, "China's Rise and International Regimes: Does China Seek to Overthrow Global Norms?," in *China in the Era of Xi Jinping: Domestic and Foreign Policy Challenges*, eds. Robert S. Ross and Bekkevold Jo Inge (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2016), 165-95; G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive," *Foreign Affairs* 87, no.1 (2008): 30-33; Henry Kissinger, *On China* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2011): 348-77.

2 Jinping Xi, *The Governance of China II* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press Co. Ltd., 2017), 5-67; Ian Bremmer, *The End of the Free Market: Who Wins the War between States and Corporations?* (New York: Portfolio, 2010), 4-6.



dealing with this domestic challenge by providing for the international dimension of the domestic threat with economic gains. The paper shows that, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) – as a foreign policy – is one course of action the Chinese regime addresses its internal challenges.

Specifically, China is strengthening regime security and external peace through foreign policy initiative – providing for the international dimension of the domestic threat – to try to decrease domestic discontents through securing international commercial activities intended to stem horizontal inequalities as well as insecurity caused by nationalist sentiments. This strategy is embodied in the BRI in two ways. The first is to use international commercial activities to eradicate domestic problems as much as possible such as to make the state and its people rich, and reduce income and regional inequalities. The second is to improve the development and growth of other countries, especially neighbors' economies, to have direct impacts on their publics' welfare and reduce their misperception and fear about China, to ward off negative international reactions caused by asymmetric development that could produce counter nationalist reactions at home that the Chinese regime cannot back down on. One caveat needs to be noted: the paper does not argue that BRI is related to diversionary war theory but explains however that, commercial or economic activities through the BRI provides a platform for China to counter the threat diversionary war theory poses. In effect, it is more related to the neoliberal economic interdependence and how it dismisses the diversionary war theory in relations to China.³ Apart from adding to the existing literature on economic interdependence and diversionary war, the paper helps fill the gap in the discussion of China and international security which has been dominated by China's rise in power capabilities. It also has policy relevance for policy makers, gives indications into China's foreign policy implications and how to deal with the country.

The discussion on China has predominantly been limited to its strength and growth in international power capabilities, insisting greater assertiveness. Martin Jacques is largely epitomized with the idea that as China's external power grows, it will seek to shape the world in its image and rule it and this phenomenon is inevitable.⁴ Reinforcing the argument for greater assertiveness and China's desire to change the global system, Shaun Breslin wrote that “China

³ I thank the journal's anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention for further clarification.

⁴ Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and Birth of a New Global Order* (New York: Penguin, 2009).



wants to change its role in global politics, and that the emphasis on keeping a low international profile that informed Chinese policy from the 1980s onwards is giving way to a more activist inclination.”⁵ In line with the power transition theory, Avery Goldstein argued that as China external strength growth through accumulation of material capabilities, it would likely become belligerent due to the benefits aggression offers.⁶ Denny Roy had also predicted that, a future wealthy China would lead to security challenges and undermine peace in Asia Pacific because it would likely use force acquired through its material capabilities to challenge established regional powers like Japan.⁷ According to Aaron Friedberg, the shift in China’s foreign policy towards more assertiveness can be found in Chinese leaders’ mindset and perception because “as their country has grown stronger, they have felt empowered to move back toward the position of centrality and influence to which they believe history entitles them.”⁸

Offensive realism also focuses on China’s external strength and material capabilities to assert that, it is more likely to pursue territorial expansion to achieve regional hegemony as a means of acquiring security that would lead to armed conflicts and perhaps war.⁹ The argument is that a wealthy China would be an aggressive state determined to achieve at least a regional hegemony because:

*A China that is much more powerful than any of its neighbors will be in a good position to use military threat to force the other side to accept a deal largely on China’s terms [or] ... unsheathe the sword and go to war to get its way.*¹⁰

Based on China’s economic growth and military development, Aaron Friedberg argued that China has grown in capacity to compete or engage in rivalry with the US for external power and influence and if the US does not work to ensure its position, it would be pushed aside by China.¹¹ Undoubtedly, such push could be violent that would disturb global peace. It is this

5 Shaun Breslin, “China and the Global Order: Signaling Threat of Friendship,” *International Affairs* 89, no.3 (2013): 615.

6 Avery Goldstein, “Power Transitions, Institutions, and China’s Rise in East Asia: Theoretical Expectations and Evidence,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 30, no. 4-5 (2007): 647–49.

7 Denny Roy, “Hegemon on the Horizon? China’s Threat to East Asian Security,” *International Security* 19, no.1 (1994): 149–50.

8 Aaron Friedberg, “The Sources of Chinese Conduct: Explaining Beijing’s Assertiveness,” *The Washington Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2015): 136.

9 John J. Mearsheimer, “China’s Unpeaceful Rise,” *Current History* 105, no. 690 (2006): 160–62.

10 John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc, 2014), 376.

11 Aaron L. Friedberg, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2011), 157–80.



argument that offensive realism generally drives forward. Viewing it from the lenses of conflict and war, it is thus more generally pessimistic about China's growth and external influence. John Mearsheimer believes that:

If China becomes an economic powerhouse it will most certainly translate its economic might into military and make a run at dominating Northeast Asia.... Of course, neither its neighbors nor the United States would stand idly by while China gained increasing increments of power.... In short, China and the United States are destined to be adversaries if China's power grows.¹²

Neoliberals however reach a contrary conclusion and more optimistic about China's growth when the same external strength and material capabilities are used. The argument is that the material benefits China accrues from extended economic interdependence and the cost aggression would have on such benefits would induce China to remain a status quo power and peaceful.¹³ M. Taylor Fravel is also optimistic of China's peaceful rise because the size and scope of the perceived benefits of aggression in relation to China is less than the potential costs of conflicts.¹⁴ Alastair Johnston however believes that the assertive Chinese argument itself is incorrect because China's current foreign policy behavior is not as assertive as others describe it as the new assertiveness ascribed to it understates its past foreign behavior and generally overstate its current one because there hasn't been any significant change in China's foreign policy behavior.¹⁵ Similar opinion is opined by Schweller and Pu that "China seeks a gradual modification of Pax Americana, not a direct challenge to it."¹⁶ This means that China might not be generally happy with the status quo and likely to voice its concerns and push for the necessary changes in responsible manner but not necessarily behaving as a revisionist power to destabilize the international system with violence. According to Mingjiang Li, rather than China changing the system, it will become more proactive and increase its influence in regional and global multilateralism as various constraints will hinder it from completely overhauling the

12 Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy*, 4.

13 John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China: Power, Institutions, and the Western Order," in *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics*, ed. Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 91–97.

14 M. Taylor Fravel, "International Relations Theory and China's Rise: Assessing China's Potential for Territorial Expansion," *International Studies Review* 12, no. 4 (2010): 509.

15 Alastair Johnston, "How New and Assertive is China's New Assertiveness?" *International Security* 37, no. 4 (2013): 32–35.

16 Randall Schweller and Xiaoyu Pu, "After unipolarity: China's visions of International Order in an Era Decline," *International Security* 36, no.1 (2011): 53.



established system and the multilateral architecture and will likely repeat past practices including “increasing participation and engagement, pushing for cooperation in areas that would serve Chinese interests, avoiding the assumption of responsibilities that it deems burdensome, blocking initiatives that are seen as harmful to its interests.”¹⁷

The problem with all these arguments is that, discussions on how China is likely to act in the longer term is characterized solely by its external strength made possible by accumulation of material capabilities. This paper took an opposite approach – internal weakness. Susan Shirk in 2008 also studied China’s internal weakness and asserted that the threat of global conflict in relation to China comes from China’s regime insecurity rather than external strength, and that “it is China’s internal fragility, not its economic or military strength that presents the greatest danger to us.”¹⁸ In effect, her central proposition was that regime insecurity is a major source of a U.S.–China clash. Thomas Ameyaw-Brobbe in 2020 also argued that China’s internal weakness – regime insecurity – caused by strong nationalism is likely to force the regime into a premature hegemonic war.¹⁹ This paper also followed this path and studied the subject from the inside and explained that, although internal weakness is a potential source of conflict as leaders could divert their problems outside through nationalism, China’s shrewd foreign policy initiative would help Chinese leaders to mitigate likely external conflicts and seek external peace, contrary to the assertion of diversionary theory.

The next section will look at the diversionary war theory and its application. The third section discusses some domestic sources of discontent that could engender regime insecurity and serve as sources of diversionary war tactics. The paper then assesses some likely conditions of great power clash involving China and the United States and its allies in section four. Section five discusses China’s foreign policy initiative intended to mitigate the threat of international conflict – the BRI – and how such initiative or method is being used by the regime to neutralize its domestic insecurity. The final section offers conclusion.

2. Diversionary Theory of War

17 Mingjiang Li, “Rising from Within: China’s Search for a Multilateral World and its Implications for Sino-US Relations,” *Global Governance* 17, no.3 (2011): 334.

18 Susan L. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6.

19 Thomas Ameyaw-Brobbe, “Hegemonic Theory is not Dead: Regime Survival and Premature Hegemonic War – Impact of China’s Economic Rise on the International System,” *Journal of Global Peace and Conflict* 8, no.1 (2020): 19-20.



Diversionsary war theory argues that there is a correlation between domestic strife and their external behaviors or foreign policy. It explains that when leaders face domestic threats to their rule, they divert domestic attention outside by provoking conflicts and confrontation with other states for the purposes of securing their office through rally-around-the flag, scapegoating or gamble for resurrection.²⁰ Diversionsary war basically discusses the effects of domestic political variables on external war. Levy (1988) set forth the idea that under certain conditions, public support of assertive national policies, especially when such policies are linked to the survival of an in-group, help decision makers to embark on aggressive external behavior or war as a means to increase or maintain regime survival, and that, a recognition of such role domestic factors play on wars would increase the explanatory powers and framework of individual wars.²¹ Various qualitative researches based on historical and case studies analyses have found instances where domestic strife have encouraged leaders to provoke conflict abroad in order to bolster their position at home.²²

Some scholars have shown that, a particular type of domestic strife – contested political institution – provides the condition under which the military will agree to use force abroad, and that, in the absence of such contestation, militaries would not be deceived by politicians' diversionsary tactics.²³ Critics charge that such tactics can only be possible under a condition of a minimal prior national unity because when a country is internally divided, leaders will avoid creating additional problems such as civil conflict. Diversionsary war explanations have evolved with time. Despite the huge popularity of the theory and some evidences shown in the United States' foreign policy, broader empirical support has remained elusive.²⁴ Patrick James therefore concluded that “seldom has so much common sense in theory found so little support

20 Clifton T. Morgan and Kenneth N. Bickers, “Domestic Discontent and the External use of Force,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36, no.1 (1992): 26-7; Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Randolph M. Siverson and Gary Woller, “War and the Fate of Regimes: A Comparative Analysis,” *The American Political Science Review* 86, no. 3(1992): 638-39.

21 Jack Levy, “Domestic Politics and War,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (1988): 666 –68.

22 Richard Ned Lebow, *Between Peace and War: The Nature of International Crises* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 169-90; Jack Levy and Lily Vakili, “Diversionsary Action by Authoritarian Regimes: Argentina in the Falklands/Malvinas Case,” in *The Internationalization of Communal Strife*, ed. Manus I. Midlarsky (New York: Routledge, 1992), 135-36.

23 Kurt Dassel, “Civilians, Soldiers, and Strife: Domestic Sources of International Aggression,” *International Security* 23, no. 1(1998): 113–14; Kurt Dassel and Eric Reinhardt, “Domestic Strife and the Initiation of Violence at Home and Abroad,” *American Journal of Political Science* 43, no.1 (1999): 60–61.

24 Karl R. DeRouen, “Presidents and the Diversionsary Use of Force: Research Note,” *International Studies Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (2000): 317–28.



in practice.”²⁵ Jaroslav Tir argued that, the lack of empirical support for the theory is due to its under specification of the mechanism under which the public reacts to a particular issue and this could be addressed by “territorial diversion” – “the possibility that the embattled leader may anticipate achieving their diversionary aims specifically through the initiation of territorial conflict.”²⁶ Instead of generating foreign policy crisis, one scholar however argued that internal problems could also create conditions for external cooperation and peace because “embattled leaders are willing to cooperate with other states in exchange for assistance” to deal with problems at home, and that, China’s regime insecurity or vulnerability is the reason why China settled many of its territorial disputes or attempted to compromise on them.²⁷ Chiozza and Goemans in 2003 also rejected the theory and argued instead that war initiation rather decreases with the risk of losing office and an increase in the risk of external conflict makes leaders prone to losing power.²⁸ This is because citizens generally do not like war as it is an event most likely to jeopardize welfare.

As a unit, Chinese public is one of the most internally cohesive nations which mean that, the condition of a minimal prior unity is less significant. Moreover, Chinese leaders, especially the less confident ones have over the years enjoyed significant support by fanning the fires of nationalism.²⁹ The regime is also insecure due to its political system and other domestic discontents, the basis some have predicted a coming upheaval.³⁰ These features make China a potential case of diversionary theory. However, as would be shown in this paper below, China’s trajectory is likely to elicit peace instead of war. The analysis I explored in this paper shows that shrewd foreign policy initiative that supports neoliberal’s economic interdependence can annul diversionary theory of war.

25 Patrick James, “Conflict and Cohesion: A Review of the Literature and Recommendations for Future Research,” *Cooperation and Conflict* 22, no.1 (1987): 22.

26 Jaroslav Tir, “Territorial Diversion: Diversionary Theory of War and Territorial Conflict,” *The Journal of Politics* 72, no. 2 (2010): 413.

27 M. Taylor Fravel, “Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China’s Compromises in Territorial Disputes,” *International Security* 30, no.2 (2005): 49.

28 Giacomo Chiozza and H.E. Goemans, “Peace through Insecurity: Tenure and International Conflict,” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47, no.4 (2003): 453-56.

29 Shirk, *China*, 77-98, 144-157 and 185-188.

30 Minxin Pei, “China’s Coming Upheaval: Competition, the Coronavirus, and the Weakness of Xi Jinping,” *Foreign Affairs* (2020), <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-04-03/chinas-coming-upheaval>.



3. Sources of Public Discontent

Dissent or rebellion emerges when some people or groups are unhappy with the general state of affairs as the debate between grievance and greed associated with civil conflict has shown.³¹ The problem for the Beijing regime is that, it presides over an extremely large territory and population where issues that can cause grievances and greed are highly common. A natural disaster can strike in the south while artificial ones such as building collapse can come from anywhere; infectious diseases could breakout; ethnic and religious protest could emerge from the west; farmers protest and agitation could emerge from the north; and students or graduate protest could come from the capitals. China's Communist Party is seen from outside as a strong party that has a firm grip on the state and the 1.4 billion citizens with a combination of economic development and force. However, situations in Beijing might not be exactly what is seen from outside because China's Communist leaders face some domestic problems that could at any time usher in conflict and derail the country's peaceful rise. According to Susan Shirk, China is stronger and more secure internationally now than it has ever been since the nineteenth century, but domestically, its leaders have a deep sense of insecurity.³²

3.1. Socio-economic Discontent

The Chinese economy has experienced magical rise and delivered many of its people out of poverty. Poverty line has reduced to 8% by 2001 from 53% in 1980 and it is estimated that by 2029, China will overtake the US in GDP, although it has already overtaken it in other respects. Despite these, there is a concentration of national wealth among relatively small group of economic elites – high-net-worth and ultra-high-net worth – who enjoy significant government protection, while majority of the people are still poor. Income inequality is a major source of discontent in the country. According to John Knight in 2014, this was consciously created by the Chinese regime to provide incentives essential for the transition from centrally planned to a private-sector-market economy.³³ However, Martin King Whyte argued that it is the legacy of China's system of centrally planned socialism before the economic reform because a series of institutions and policies that were put in place at the socialist era, later

31 Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, no. 4 (2004): 570.

32 Shirk, *China*, 6.

33 John Knight, "Inequality in China: An Overview," *The World Bank Research* 29, no. 1 (2014): 1.



obstructed linkages and spread of benefits across spectrums.³⁴ By 2007, China was joint highest inequality in Asia.³⁵ Income inequality has increased over the years especially during the reform periods. The increase could be attributed to the newly introduced rewards for productivity and efficiency which replaced the erstwhile 'danwei' (work units) system where a kind of welfare unit provided employment, healthcare, pension, housing, etc.³⁶

The *hukou* (residence registration) system is also a major source of discrimination, inequality, poverty and discontent. *Hukou* enjoins rural-urban migrants to retain their identity. Maintenance of *hukou* means that people who possess an urban one from birth or able to illegally purchase one are entitled to improved rights and privileges and public services including better schooling, employment, etc. while other citizens become second-class in various cities with its associated injustices. Without *hukou* and *danwei*, rural migrants to the city cannot obtain employment or establish a better life. However, the availability of many companies and work avenues today has theoretically reduced the significance of *danwei*, although it still exists in mind-sets and certain institutional practices. There also exist significant regional inequalities. Fiscal decentralization and trade liberalization contributed to regional inequalities. These dual policies enabled richer coastal provinces to increase their revenues and also enjoy preferential central government treatment that enhanced rapid growth and economic development at the expense of the hinterlands.³⁷ A particularly worrisome situation is the abject underdevelopment and inequalities of the Uighur Muslims dominated Xinjiang in Western China and dissatisfaction it engenders.³⁸ Regional inequalities have effect on household and individual inequalities.

Chinese income grew steadily between 1990 and 2010. However, life satisfaction was not higher in 2010 than it had been in the 1990s.³⁹ There is still high unemployment with correlated discontents and the effects of the global pandemic – COVID-19 – is sure to

34 Martin King Whyte, "Soaring Income Gaps: China in Comparative Perspective," *Daedalus* 143, no. 2 (2014): 45.

35 Knight, "Inequality in China," 1.

36 *Ibid.* 5.

37 Shenggen Fan, Ravi Kanbur and Xiaobo Zhang, "China's Regional Disparities: Experience and Policy," *Review of Development Finance* 1, no. 1 (2011): 48-54; Ravi Kanbur and Xiaobo Zhang, "Fifty Years of Regional Inequality in China: A Journey Through Central Planning, Reform and Openness," *Review of Development Economics* 9, no. 1 (2005): 90-93.

38 Flynt Leverett and Wu Bingbing, "The New Silk Road and China's Evolving Grand Strategy," *The China Journal* 77, no. 1 (2016): 118.

39 Richard Easterlin, et al, "China's Life Satisfaction, 1990-2010," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 109, no. 25 (2012): 9776.



exacerbate it with youth unemployment and redundancy. Youth employment is most often tied to '*guanxi*' (interpersonal relationship) whereby family ties, entrepreneurs, business ventures, social and political networks are intertwined, and that, kin or associates are tapped for favors with an understanding of future reciprocity. An individual's business or ability to get a job may rests with the personal networks around him starting with the family and then clans, cliques and the most important '*guanxi*' are government officials including even the police. This obviously breeds corruption and discrimination. Inequality has resulted from these increasing discrimination, favoritism and nepotism, segmentation and corruption.⁴⁰

Government inability to prevent growing unemployment, redundancy, and inequality is a potential source of social discontent and rebellion. Nothing scares the regime more than disgruntled unemployed college graduates possibly acting as dis-stability forces of society. Income inequality and poverty has a direct effect on other sectors of the state. Concerns over the environment cannot be dismissed. In a field research that Justin Zackey conducted in 2007, he found that relative deprivation among rural poor has encouraged poor environmental practices such as illegal tree cutting.⁴¹ The regime is under pressure to improve pollution and other environmental related problems which is also becoming a major source of civil unrest especially following air pollution in in Beijing and other major cities in 2013.⁴²

3.2. Political Discontent

Inasmuch as the mass media is an effective tool for national development, a loss of control over it can produce disastrous consequences especially for authoritarian regimes. Even a small sample of information about local or political problems could provide enough information to shape public perspective. Hence, the Chinese regime has tried its best over the years to stifle independent public criticism and analysis with many issues regarded as sensitive. The success of Beijing since Chairman Mao had depended on censorship, with varying strategies depending on the specific leader. Although an authoritarian regime, and knowing how

40 John Knight and Linda Yueh, "The Role of Social Capital in the Labour Market in China," *Economics of Transition* 16, no. 3 (2008): 389; John Knight and L. Song, "China's Emerging Wage Structure, 1995-2002," in *Inequality and Public Policy in China*, eds. Bjorn Gustafsson, Li Shi and Terry Sicular (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 225-30.

41 Justin Zackey, "Peasant Perspectives on Deforestation in Southwest China: Social Discontent and Environmental Mismanagement," *Mountain Research and Development* 27, no. 2 (2007): 156-58.

42 "Chinese Anger over Pollution Becomes Main Cause of Social Unrest," *Bloomberg* (2013), <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2013-03-06/pollution-passes-land-grievances-as-main-spark-of-china-protests>.



bad effect the internet could have on the regime, it actively promoted and expanded it but simultaneously developed effective mechanism to control online information. Currently, President Xi's regime seems to have mastered this trade with information censorship and surveillance aided by a highly wired society. When social tensions are high such as the initial stages of COVID-19 outbreak, more news are censored to keep the level of discontent low because a revolt or even a revolution could occur if media report and public knowledge indicate a widespread support for discontent.

Political control over opinions and speeches and all forms of information sharing and possible consequences in case of a breach including jail terms and even death, engender fear to an important extent. Public media serve as the mouthpiece of the party and criticism is hardly allowed. Political repression and control has had some disastrous results. For example, the Great Leap Forward program resulted in death of starvation of about 30 million people during Mao's era due to local officials fear to report actual levels of grain production to the center.⁴³ COVID-19 is also a crucial example of today. China's regime initial bungling of the outbreak characterized by information censorship and surveillance coupled with punishment of whistleblowers might have created the conditions for the virus's global spread.

Steve Hess explained in 2016 that, even affluent Chinese who have preferential treatment and given opportunities to influence policies to ensure the protection of their businesses against unfavorable policies such as redistribution of income demands from the rural working class and urban poor, sometimes choose to exit instead of voicing out due to the relative safety of their assets at home and threat on personal security due to the unpredictable nature of the authoritarian regime. The nature of the regime means that economic freedom including measures for private property rights, and legal protections are not strong, affecting the general view of the business climate.⁴⁴ The World Bank Ease of Doing Business (2020) ranked China as 31st indicating that business climate in China is still challenging and this could be attributed to the regime.⁴⁵ The opaque nature of society, government and political activities and its immunization from criticism help to grow political corruption to an important degree. Politicians, especially at the local levels abuse offices to accumulate wealth which they transfer

43 Henry Kissinger, *On China* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011), 137.

44 Steve Hess, "The Flight of the Affluent in Contemporary China," *Asian Survey* 56, no. 4 (2016): 642.

45 The World Bank, "The World Bank Ease of Doing Business Rankings, 2020," (2017), <https://www.doingbusiness.org/en/rankings> (12.06.2020).



to relatives abroad. Since mid-1990s, about 18,000 corrupt officials fled abroad to enjoy their illegally acquired wealth, taking with them about US\$123 billion.⁴⁶

Due to years of fanning nationalism through school textbooks and media to gain popular support, it is important to note that some key domestic grievances are sourced from some key foreign policies concerning Japan, Taiwan, the United States and many of its Asian regional allies and this is a source of domestic threat and international conflict. These grievances are foreign-turned-domestic challenges caused by strong nationalist emotions towards certain foreign policies of these countries. On Taiwan, the nationalism of the island for independence and the strong unification nationalism of the mainland have a tendency to threaten conflict between China and the United States and its allies and this is a major source of Beijing's insecurity. Chinese leaders can "contemplate risking war with the United States ... just to hold onto this small island... not because Taiwan is a threat to China's national security" but "the roots of the Chinese fixation on Taiwan are purely domestic, related to regime security, not national security."⁴⁷ With the United States, Chinese perception of American hegemonies and arrogance is the source of nationalist emotions against Americans. A Chinese nationalist sentiment against Japan that, Japan must apologize for its atrocities committed during its historical occupation in China is the most difficult for them to deal with.⁴⁸ These strong nationalist emotions were once stimulated by the leaders themselves to achieve public support but have now reached a point where it is difficult to control or back down; a tipping point where backing down means a popular protest could overthrow them.⁴⁹

4. Threat of International Conflict

The threat of major powers confrontation or conflict that could involve the United States or its allies on one hand and China on the other is a major concern to contemporary scholars.⁵⁰ A confrontation or conflict between the major players of the global political economy would greatly affect everybody thus a "cooperative US-China relationship [is] essential to global stability and peace."⁵¹ It is unlikely to find a direct issue that could send both the US and China

46 Hess, "The Flight," 644.

47 Shirk, China, 185.

48 Thomas J. Christensen, "Posing Problems without Catching up: China's Rise and Challenges for U.S. Security Policy," *International Security* 25, no. 4 (2001): 15.

49 Shirk, China, 7.

50 Graham Allison, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides' Trap?* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017), 158–184.

51 Kissinger, *On China*, 372.



to a confrontation with each other. However, various attachments of the United States through friendship or alliance commitments such as Taiwan, Japan, India, the Philippines, etc. provide various avenues for confrontation.

The Chinese regime identifies domestic peace, stability and the survival of the Communist party within the happiness of the country's population with economic development and social infrastructure. We tend to believe that, well-being and happiness increase with economic growth, and that, as China's economy grows steadily, Chinese well-being and happiness will correspondingly increase. However, China does not rank high in various rankings reported by the World Happiness Report: 27th, 28th and 30th percentiles respectively, for quality of life, life satisfaction and happiness.⁵² By analyzing the link between social environment including institutions, and human well-being, the World Happiness Report, 2020 shows there is a strong correlation between higher level of interpersonal and institutional trust and subjective well-being, and China ranked 94th out of 153 countries (2017–2019) on happiness.⁵³ This means that, although the economy is the highest in the world, domestic discontents discussed above impede public happiness.

It is natural for Chinese leaders to look outside for regular sources of resources needed for development and reducing inequalities, for example energy – oil and gas – because their lack thereof would spark the remote issues of public discontents to pave way for a mass protest movement to rise up and overthrow them. The sea lanes between the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf for example, are highly important. It is important for global leaders to wear the shoes of Chinese leaders to attempt to understand their fears and concerns because their priority will always be the preservation of Communist Party rule and not international considerations. However, global powers do not share this Chinese leaders concern but are concerned with the economic and relative gains of China. Heeding to the advice of Mearsheimer's offensive realism, global powers view Chinese actions as expansionist and aim to build coalitions to counterbalance China's foreign policy, thus engendering some form of security dilemma. Countries such as India, Japan, Australia and the United States are for example, forming various bilateral, regional, and multilateral security cooperation on global issues, including maritime security, "comprehensive economic engagement, stronger defense relations and greater

52 Knight, "Inequality in China," 10.

53 John F. Helliwell, et al., "Social Environment for World Happiness," in World Happiness Report 2020, eds. John F. Helliwell, et al. (New York: Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2020), 14, 20, <https://happiness-report.s3.amazonaws.com/2020/WHR20.pdf>.



technological cooperation” in order to counterbalance China’s interest.⁵⁴ India’s navy for example patrols the sea routes of the world’s energy superhighway that connects oil and gas of the Persian Gulf to the economies of East Asia to check Chinese interests.⁵⁵ The current border tensions between China and India leading to deaths at both sides could arouse nationalist emotions backed by domestic discontents that the Chinese regime cannot back down.

India is without doubt the most worried Asia Pacific state about China’s new found strength in economics and material capabilities. Having one hand on Sri Lanka through Hambantota port, India is very much concerned about encirclement through Chinese investments in places such as Pakistan – India rival – Bangladesh, Nepal, Burma, etc. China’s string of pearls policy of setting up military facilities in India’s neighborhood is undoubtedly engendering encirclement fears in India, thus, inching closer to Chinese rivals including Australia, Japan, and the United States in an emerging quadrilateral alliance.⁵⁶

China has issues of conflict especially on territory and behavior with many countries in Asia Pacific. It rivals with Japan over Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. Australia expresses concerns about China’s behavior especially the militarization of islands in the South China Sea. These have led to coalitions of Asia Pacific’s democratic countries. India and Japan relationship which started in the 2000s has grown from strategic and global partnership to declaration in security cooperation, and by 2012, both had begun engagements in joint naval exercises. Concerns over non-traditional security and China threats in Asia-Pacific brought Japan and Australia together in a bilateral security cooperation. According to Amy King Japan recognizes Australia as the most important security partner behind the US.⁵⁷ Australia-India security cooperation completes the linkage among the democratic powers within the Asia-Pacific region. For example, India plans to invite Australian Navy for the annual Malabar naval exercise in the Bay of Bengal that includes the US and Japan.⁵⁸ These countries are linked by the US in a defense

54 HDP Envall, “JAPAN’S INDIA ENGAGEMENT: From Different Worlds to Strategic Partners,” in *The Engagement of India: Strategies and Responses*, ed. Ian Hall (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014), 46.

55 Madhuchanda Ghosh, “India and Japan’s Growing Synergy: From a Political to a Strategic Focus,” *Asian Survey* 48, no. 2 (2008): 287.

56 Shaun Randol, “How to Approach the Elephant: Chinese Perceptions of India in the Twenty-First Century,” *Asian Affairs* 34, no. 4 (2008): 292.

57 Amy King, “Japan in Australia’s 2016 Defence White Paper,” *Security Challenges* 12, no. 1 (2016): 177-78.

58 Sudhi Ranjan Sen and Archana Chaudhary, “In Clear Message to China, India to Invite Australian Navy for Malabar Drill,” *The Economic Times* (2020), <https://m.economictimes.com/news/defence/in-clear-message-to-china-india-to-invite-australian-navy-for-malabar-drill/articleshow/76885282.cms>.



partnership – Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) – initiated in 2007, resurrected in 2015 and enhanced in 2017.

Alliance commitment means that, states are not only to support each other diplomatically but also military and security commitments where one country should be willing to commit its troops in aid of another in times of trouble. Entrapment would mean that in an unfortunate scenario of China's clash with any of the Pacific powers or even other minor countries, Asia Pacific states risk been entangled in their partner's conflict and China carries the burden of having to face not only one country.

5. International Remedy of Domestic Insecurity

China's domestic factors play important role in assessing global security in relation to China. According to Frances Stewart widening "horizontal inequalities" associated with differences in access to assets, income and employment, social services, political opportunities and power, recognition of religion, languages, norms, values and practices could lead to dissent, rebellion and perhaps conflicts.⁵⁹ It is important to note that, the threat to the regime might not only come from the ordinary poor and the social riffraff but also the growing middle class and intellectuals. However, the argument is that, the poor who has less incentive in the stability of the state are most dangerous, and that, as people become richer and inequality reduces, regime insecurity and conflict could correspondingly reduce. Discontents discussed in section three could potentially engender revolts which could be linked with the threat of international conflict discussed in section four above. However, Chinese leaders have two choices: either to fan nationalism that would provoke external conflict to maintain support or initiate policies to bring peace at home and abroad. Since nationalism has always worked and served as a roadmap, one would not be wrong to assume that they would go for the former because it is unnecessary to change a winning strategy.

Power transition, offensive realism, and diversionary theorists would respectively opt for territorial expansion due to perceived benefits of aggression, and fan nationalism that provokes external conflict to scapegoat and maintain public support. Thomas Ameyaw-Brobby wrote in 2020 that:

⁵⁹ Frances Stewart, *Horizontal Inequality and Conflict* (New York: Palgrave, 2008), 18-19.



When pushed into corner by assertive nationalism against Taiwan and Japan [coupled with the underlying socio-economic and political discontents], Chinese leaders are likely to choose conflict than refraining from it even if it involves the likelihood of US military intervention because it is more related to regime security than national security.⁶⁰

Like every regime, the Communist leadership is concerned first with its own survival, and that, refraining from conflict would be a more costly distraction because, it would be interpreted by Chinese public as a weak government that could not defend the nation against foreign aggression.⁶¹ Smart leadership and diplomacy is needed to solve these issues. Chinese leaders have chosen to avoid this scenario altogether with preemptive measures that seek to initiate peace at home and abroad through commercial activities embodied in the BRI.

5.1. Achieving Rejuvenation at Home

Chinese leadership hopes to achieve security at home through prosperity of its people in what it calls the “Chinese Dream” where better education, stable jobs with higher income, reliable social security and pension scheme, improved housing and medical care, etc. would be achieved.⁶² Beijing hopes that by 2021, the whole of the Chinese society will be a moderate prosperous one, and that, by 2049 China would be a “modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious.”⁶³ This suggests that, there are plans to reduce or eliminate inequalities. Achieving rejuvenation of the Chinese nation is linked with the prosperity of the state because people lives can only improve when the country is doing well. Achieving rejuvenation at home through social and economic empowerment and reduction of inequality is a way that Chinese Communist leaders have opted to control internal dissent because the old ways of doing things – fanning nationalism – is not a lasting solution especially with the growth of internet and increasing highly educated society. However, how can growth at home be sustained? How is Beijing controlling the international challenges that can prompt nationalist sentiments to spark domestic rebellion? The Chinese government has initiated a foreign policy – BRI – to serve this dual purpose.

60 Ameyaw-Brobbey, “Hegemonic Theory,” 20.

61 Shirk, China, 7.

62 Jinping Xi, The Governance of China (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press Co. Ltd., 2014), 37–38.

63 Ibid.



The BRI would finance the development of infrastructure that would serve as trade routes and connectivity facilitator to link China and the rest of the world by land with roads and railways – from China through Eurasia and Russia to Europe; from China to the Middle East through Central Asia, Iran and Turkey and finally link China with South and Southeast Asia; all through the Silk Road Economic Belt – and by the sea through the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road that would utilize the Pacific, Indian and Mediterranean Oceans to link Africa, Europe and the rest of Asia with China.⁶⁴ It operates six interrelated routes and corridors including the New Eurasia Land Bridge – connecting China to the Netherlands; China, Mongolia and Russia route; China-Central Asia-West Asia corridor; China and Indochina Peninsula route; China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar corridor.⁶⁵ The BRI has emerged as a signature foreign policy of President Xi Jinping which reflects the March Westward strategy of China's development.⁶⁶

However, one major global concern is the debt trap argument of the program resulting from its implementation strategy of lending to poor countries for infrastructure that could create debt pile up, repayment and sustainability problems.⁶⁷ The BRI is a Chinese grand strategy to solve the regime's insecurity discussed above. Grand strategy could be defined as the "culturally shaped intellectual architecture that structures a nation's foreign policy over time."⁶⁸ The aim of a grand strategy is to protect territory, political integrity and legitimacy. It is the state's means of causing the best security for itself and in China, the regimes is using the BRI to cause this security for itself. The objective of China's development and the whole idea of achieving rejuvenation and prosperity of the Chinese nation are to mitigate horizontal inequalities and tame nationalistic sentiments – considered as dangerous to the regime.

64 Xi, *The Governance II*, 543–65.

65 "The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)," Hong Kong Trade Development Council (HKTDC) Research (2018), <http://china-trade-research.hktdc.com/business-news/article/The-Belt-and-Road-Initiative/The-Belt-and-Road-Initiative/obor/en/1/1X3CGF6L/1X0A36B7.htm>.

66 Wang Jisi, "China in the Middle," *The American Interest* (2015), <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2015/02/02/china-in-the-middle/> (27.05.2019); Yun Sun, "March West: China's Response to the U.S. Rebalancing," *Up Front* (Brookings Institution) (2013), <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2013/01/31/march-west-chinas-response-to-the-u-s-rebalancing/> (27.05.2019).

67 Thomas Ameyaw-Brobbe, "The Belt and Road Initiative: Debt Trap and its Implication on International Security," *Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies* 1, no. 2 (2018): 75-77; John Hurley, Scott Morris and Gailyn Portelance, *Examining the debt implications of the Belt and Road Initiative from a policy perspective*, CGD Policy Paper (Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, 2018), 6-11, <https://www.cgdev.org/publication/examining-debt-implications-belt-and-roadinitiative-policy-perspective>.

68 Leverett and Bingbing, "The New Silk Road," 112.



However, this grand strategy would depend on sources of natural resources especially power and energy security – oil and gas.

Technology and manufacturing are major parts of China's development that hopes to bridge the societal gap. The growing population needs constant sources of energy to keep businesses running to sustain the growing economy. China's development and preservation of the Communist Party needs resources which entails securing cheap sources of energy and vast raw materials for industrial use through BRI. In essence, China is using the BRI to look for new exits for sustained economic growth in a new normal state because it is the most important factor for maintaining stability and garnering support from the people. BRI would enable China have easier access to the world's energy producing areas through the various economic corridors. For example, the China-Central Asia-West Asia corridor which embodies railways from Xinjiang in China through to Central and Western Asia to connect Arabian Peninsula and Mediterranean Sea would enable China to position itself to the rich energy resources of the Middle East and Central Asia. Similarly, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor that would connect Kashgar, China to the port of Gwadar in Pakistan would be a good transit point for energy resources and raw materials from Africa. China needs resources from Africa, Central Asia and the Middle East and as a result, the sea lanes between the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf become important which the BRI would ensure that China becomes active in these areas to exploit. This does not mean that the country will bully others and forcefully take their resources but is to say that iterated economic engagement made possible by BRI, would enhance greater accessibility.

BRI could be seen as a perfect extension of Jiang Zemin's 'go-out' policy where Chinese firms were encouraged to go abroad to invest, trade, acquire skills, technology, experience as well as establish international presence. Enterprises as well as science and technology research institutes were encouraged to expand their investments and operations abroad, achieve transnational outlook by forming large internationally competitive companies so that they could take advantage of domestic and foreign markets. This was to enable them "increase export of goods and labor services and bring about a number of strong multinational enterprises and brand names."⁶⁹ BRI gives the Chinese government, investors and companies' foreign markets in Asia, Middle East, Africa and Europe to invest Chinese capital in a similar

69 David Shambaugh, *China Goes Global: The Partial Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 138–39.



way that Britain pursued during the peak of its industrial revolution. Access to these resources will sustain China's economic growth needed to sustain Chinese businesses and prosperity and comfortable life.

These new markets would not only be places for investment but where Chinese companies would have significant presence to sell their products as Britain dealt with the market saturation problem that the industrial revolution brought.⁷⁰ In Africa for example, BRI gives support to the Trans African Highways which aims to ensure African connectivity.⁷¹ This would enable Chinese investments to have access to African markets to sell manufactured products and open up businesses. Other economic corridors such as the New Eurasia Land Bridge and China-Mongolia-Russia economic corridor for example, would help ease Chinese access to European markets. The result of these apart from improving the life of people at these centers is increasing the prosperity of the Chinese people, reducing inequality and ensuring stability.

It is not incorrect to assert that, tensions that come from Xinjiang province, for example, are partly related to its economic underdevelopment. Therefore, the March Westward strategy through BRI would be “an improved foreign geostrategy to support the overall western development strategy” which would help China to deal with the unrest from Xinjiang and its underdevelopment related problems.⁷² The Xinjiang Province specifically would benefit directly from BRI through the China-Central Asia-West Asia corridor and the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor that would connect Kashgar to the Gwadar port to help reduce income and regional inequality in the province.

5.2. Achieving Harmony Abroad

It should be reiterated that some Chinese foreign policies have turned domestic politics and shape public domestic reaction. The plan is to use BRI to cut off hostile international reactions from neighboring countries that could draw in more powerful countries such as the United States and its allies that could induce domestic counter nationalist reactions. Brantly Womack believes that the relationship between China and its neighbors, some of whom are either friends or formal allies with the United States is asymmetric – a situation caused by

70 Jefferson E. Murphy, *History of African Civilization* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1972), 296–301.

71 The African Development Bank Group, *Review of the Implementation Status of the Trans African Highways and the Missing Links* (Volume 1: Main Report, Final Report) (Stockholm: SWECO International AB and Sweden Nordic Consulting Group AB, Sweden, 2003), <https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Project-and-Operations/00473235-EN-TAH-FINAL-VOL1.PDF> (13.02.2018).

72 Leverett and Bingbing, “The New Silk Road,” 126.



differentiated developments. This asymmetric relationship could breed a vicious cycle of systemic misperception.⁷³ Many of China's neighbors are suspicious of Chinese foreign policies evidenced in recent increasing tensions over the South China Seas and other border related disputes. Misperception could be managed by "minimizing potentially hot issues...by using rhetoric that emphasizes common interests."⁷⁴ One way China is applying this strategy is by creating opportunities for its Asian neighbors through BRI to allay their fears that would prevent them from reacting in a way that would receive Chinese nationalist counter reactions at home.

According to Randol (2008), "Chinese perceptions of India and its influence on Chinese foreign policy has repercussions that extend beyond China – they also affect policies in Southeast and Southern Asia, the Sino-Indian-American relationship, and the international system as a whole."⁷⁵ Nationalist emotions of Chinese play up in matters relating to its neighbors. For example, "when [the] media report on U.S.-Indian close relations, they may play up that the relations are aimed at China."⁷⁶ Chinese approach is to use BRI to create opportunities through unimpeded trade for neighbors to minimize their mistrust towards Chinese foreign policy. This would prevent international reactions that could spark Chinese nationalist emotions, whom themselves are harboring various forms of latent discontents that Chinese government would not be able to afford to back down.

For example, the current global pandemic – COVID-19 – although is affecting all economies including the major ones, those who are been affected most or whose most difficult times might not even have come yet and such difficulties could run long into the future, is the developing countries. Thus, the gap between rich and poor countries and peoples, is likely to exacerbate which could in tend affect the security of the Communist leadership. Even before the pandemic, global economic trends had particularly remained sluggish and had not fully recovered from the 2008 global economic crisis, at least from the perspective of Beijing. In essence, BRI is to rebalance global economic needs, particularly in the developing world with

73 Brantly Womack, *China among Unequals: Asymmetric Foreign Relationships in Asia* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd, 2010), 423–57; Brantly Womack, "Asymmetry and Systemic Misperception: The Cases of China, Vietnam and Cambodia during the 1970s," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 26, no. 2 (2003): 93–97.

74 Brantly Womack, "Asymmetry Theory and China's Concept of Multipolarity," *Journal of Contemporary China* 13, no. 39 (2004): 362.

75 Randol, "How to Approach," 212.

76 Ibid. 217.



an effective demand and supply to ensure that “development needs [are] more inclusive and balanced, and the gap between the rich and poor needs to be narrowed.”⁷⁷

From China’s point of view, its interest lies in providing more public goods to its neighbors through commercial activities embodied in the BRI which would enable the gap between rich and poor countries and peoples to be narrowed. Mistrust of Chinese foreign policy and the negative reactions it induces in neighbors could be explained from the disparity in levels of development. The BRI thus offers the chance to poorer neighbors countries “to board China’s express train of development, and help them realize their own development objective” through a mutually assured dependent trade and friendly contacts.⁷⁸ The important role neighbors’ play in Chinese domestic politics vis-à-vis shaping public reaction entails it needs to first focus on Asian countries and bridge the economic gap between Chinese and neighboring publics. This will enable Beijing to bring benefits to its neighbors to in tend solicit their supports.

Implementation of projects in the neighborhood such as Laos, Pakistan, Indonesia, Mongolia, among others intended to improve the social and economic developments of these countries have either been accelerated or completed. For example, despite COVID-19 pandemic which had either delayed or disrupted global economic and infrastructural activities, China through the BRI delivered on its promise with a shipment of the last four class-S14 diesel-electric multiple unit (DEMU) rolling-stock trains (a total of 40 carriages) to Sri Lanka on 12 April 2020, to improve economic development and mitigate the worst effects of the pandemic.⁷⁹ It must be iterated that these efforts are attempts by China to improve the local economies of other states to reduce misperceptions and reactions that would induce counter domestic reactions especially when some of these states are either formal allies or friends to bigger powers.

Through the BRI, China is also contributing to the human resource development of other countries especially its Asian neighbors. The central government each year provides numerous government scholarships to participating countries of BRI while local governments have also instituted Silk Road scholarship schemes for participating countries. According to the Ministry of Education, China P.R. in 2018, the number of scholarship students stood at 58,600 as of

77 Xi, *The Governance II*, 556.

78 *Ibid.* 547.

79 Marilyn Balcita, “BRI Sri Lanka Rail Project Arrives Early amid Mass Coronavirus Delays,” HKTDC Research (2020), <https://research.hktdc.com/en/article/NDExNDA1MTM4>, (03.05.2020).



2017.⁸⁰ These scholarship schemes through BRI enable foreign graduate students to undertake various academic researches on BRI and its related issues whiles China uses it as an opportunity to exercise its public diplomacy through various methods that help to socialize the future leaders of the developing countries. Ham Myungsik and Elaine Tolentino in 2018 argued that by co-opting and embracing the future elites of developing countries as friends, “the CSC program works to enhance China’s image, playing a considerable role in the socialization of its soft power and eventually reducing the less developed countries’ fear of China.”⁸¹ Thus, by fostering contacts, it will not be incorrect to state that BRI enhances China’s prospect of effective future cooperation with neighbors that fosters greater peace, especially when it is unlikely to find a direct issue that could send both the US and China to a confrontation with each other, if not through friends and allies.

6. Conclusion

Whiles rejecting realist theories including diversionary war, this paper used Chinese solutions to give support to the neoliberal economic interdependence theory that wealth creates conditions for peace.⁸² The basic argument of the economic interdependence theory is that when countries’ economies are inextricably bound to each other, where war would seriously damage their economies, they would prefer peace to war.⁸³ Publics today demand their leaders to improve their wellbeing and prosperity through economic growth, or else, they lose power. As a result, economic interdependence would encourage international friendship and create conditions of mutual dependence, common interest, absolute gains and understanding between people.⁸⁴ Accepting as valid the correlation between iterated commercial activities and peace, this paper altered the logic underpinning and widened the scope of indicators used in assessing this relationship. The addition is that, when ordinary publics become the reason for extended trade instead of states as has usually been the discussion; similar result – peace – should be

80 Ministry of Education, People’s Republic of China, “Growing Number of Foreign Students Choosing to Study in China for a Degree across Multiple Disciplines,” Ministry of Education, China (2018), http://en.moe.gov.cn/News/Top_News/201804/t20180403_332258.html, (16.08.2019).

81 Ham Myungsik and Elaine Tolentino, “Socialization of China’s Soft Power: Building Friendship through Potential Leaders,” *China: An International Journal* 16, no. 4 (2018): 48.

82 Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), 28.

83 Dale Copeland, “Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations,” *International Security* 20, no. 2 (1996): 8–9; Dale Copeland, “Economic Interdependence and the Future of U.S.-Chinese Relations,” in *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, ed. John G. Ikenberry and M. Mastunduno (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 326–27.

84 Scott Burchill et al., *Theories of International Relations* (3rd ed.) (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 63.



expected because by achieving people's prosperity and happiness, regime security increases and diversionary tactics are avoided.

The analysis espoused in this paper holds that internal weaknesses modeled on discontents and nationalist emotions and Beijing's survival are potential sources of external conflict. However, smart leadership from Beijing would mitigate this possibility with extended commercial activities through the BRI. Thus, China's trajectory does not support realist theories such as power transition, offensive realism and diversionary war but reinforces the neoliberal argument of peace through economic interdependence. Before concluding, some caveats must be noted. This paper does not argue that diversionary war theory is false. However, it charges that the theory cannot be generalized because conditions such as environmental and political settings and periods are different among countries. The analysis here is limited to China, and that, does not generalize it to conditions and results elsewhere in relation to the theory. The analysis examined only one of several methods Beijing is using to address domestic insecurity and potential for external conflict, and that, does not also say that the BRI is the only viable method.

Other methods are been used to stem discontent. The regime's idea of harmonious society is based on implementing policies that support rural dwellers such as the abolition of agricultural taxes and fees in 2006. School fees in compulsory education level were also abolished in 2007. To improve regional equality, preferential treatments in the form of economic and infrastructure development are given to the poorer regions. However, social security and pension schemes remain limited and poor, and that, government would need to introduce packages to improve this sector in its attempt to bridge inequality. Inequality is a major source of discontent, thus, the regime would benefit from redistribution of income although this could step on the feet of the economic elites – high-net-worth and ultra-high-net worth groups. However, the point I present is that, these other measures are not limitations to the argument I have presented here, and that, the effectiveness of all these solutions would need a stronger and lasting financial base which the BRI offers.

Some countries with historical disputes with China are within the BRI targets, and that, BRI would become an effective arbiter. In essence, BRI has the capacity to expand the GDP of Southeast Asian countries such as Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia, etc. through expansion of infrastructural facilities and networks including ports and transportation that enhance trade.



Brunei – dispute with China – for example hopes to achieve diversification from oil dependence and BRI's assistance with agriculture including rice and fishery is important to ease disputes. Whiles Myanmar is important for China as alternative transportation corridor for natural energy; it stands to build a buoyant economy with the development of ports and railways.⁸⁵ The reopening of Sri Lanka rails in April 2019 is helping connect coastal and inland towns. Aside the general benefits states will derive, all these measures would improve the personal economic activities of ordinary people with a possibility of shaping positive image towards China. A large number of participating countries such as those in Africa are no threats and not sources of Chinese public nationalist reactions but BRI helps to strengthen trade and cooperation links necessary for China to get the needed resources for development, needed to ensure regime stability.

To what extent does public reaction affect the Beijing? Two recent examples in 2019 show the extent to which Beijing takes issues regarding Chinese nationalist emotions and domestic discontent into consideration. In December 2019, China Central Television refused to telecast an English Premiership game between Arsenal and Manchester City and subsequent Arsenal games when public anger expressed through the social media erupted over a player's opinion on Uighurs plight in China. China reacted in similar manner in October 2019 against America's National Basketball Association (NBA) when an individual associated with the association expressed his opinion on the ongoing Hong Kong protest.⁸⁶

Given that the current regime has invariably perfected state control, how insecure is Beijing today to warrant a solving? Under President Xi, Chinese domestic politics has experienced strongman control by the Communist Party and enhanced central government powers, evidenced in for example, the constitutional amendment that provides the president powers for an unlimited tenure of office. With his anti-corruption campaign and the amendments, President Xi is believed to control unprecedented power and personal elevation of fearsomeness that may serve as a limitation to this argument of regime insecurity. Apart from the enhanced control of the central government under President Xi, an argument could be made for the effect of technological advancement to control dissidents at hotspots like Tibet and

85 Chien-Peng Chung and Thomas Voon, "China's Maritime Silk Road Initiative," *Asian Survey* 57, no. 3 (2017): 423-29.

86 Laura Zhou, "Arsenal star Mesut Ozil faces backlash in China after attacking human rights abuses in Xinjiang," *South China Morning Post* (2019), <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3042111/arsenal-star-mesut-ozil-faces-backlash-china-after-attacking>.



Xinjiang, casting further doubts on how insecure the regime is today. The author is not oblivious to these factors. However, this paper asserted that Beijing is not oblivious to the fact that, these mechanisms of control are not enough and not permanent solutions to control eruption of public anger over prolonged horizontal inequalities and nationalist counter-reactions against the reactions of rival countries, and that, a permanent solution with the BRI is imperative.

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Prospects of CSTO and SCO in Regional Politics of Central Asia

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Abstract

This paper examines the coordination between the two organizations in Central Asia viz. the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). It identifies the priorities of the members of the CSTO and SCO and their likely actions towards each other. Both organizations are headed by non-Western powers and they claim to be security providers in Central Asian region. However, the security puzzle is still unresolved and this pertinent problem invokes scholars to research the issue. There is growing skepticism that Russia has leaned toward hedging of China in Central Asia and some scholars have projected a clash between great powers in Central Asia. In this background, this paper seeks to study the actions and policies of Russia and China concerning regional integration and security bequests. It offers the account of security threats in Central Asia and the functioning of SCO and CSTO to cope up challenges. The focus is on the efforts of SCO and CSTO to conjure up local leaders of CARs to take collective problem-solving actions and their responses. Overall, an analysis of the functioning of CSTO and SCO and member states' efforts over countering terrorism, coordination and intelligence sharing has been presented.

Keywords: CSTO, SCO, Regional Security, Security, Central Asia, Russia, China.

Orta Asya Bölgesel Politikasında CSTO ve SCO'nun Beklentileri

Özet

Bu makalede, Orta Asya'da yer alan Kolektif Güvenlik Anlaşması Örgütü (CSTO) ile Şangay İşbirliği Örgütü (SCO) arasındaki koordinasyon incelenmektedir. Ayrıca bu makalede her iki örgütün üyelerinin öncelikleri ve birbirlerine yönelik olası eylemleri tanımlanmaktadır. Her iki örgüt de Orta Asya bölgesinin güvenliklerini sağladıklarını ileri süren Batılı olmayan güçler tarafından idare edilmektedir. Bununla birlikte bölgenin güvenlik bulmacası hala çözülmüş değildir ve bu durum akademisyenleri bu konuyu inceleme konusunda teşvik etmektedir. Ayrıca Rusya'nın Orta Asya'da Çin'i engellemeye yönelik eğilimi olduğu yönünde şüpheler bulunmaktadır ve bu doğrultuda bazı araştırmacılar büyük güçler arasında bir çatışma beklentisi içindedirler.

Bu arka plan kapsamında, bu makalede Rusya ve Çin'in bölgesel güvenlik ve entegrasyonla ilgili eylem ve politikalarının kalıtları incelenmektedir. Orta Asya'da ki güvenlik tehditleri göz önüne alınarak CSTO ve SCO'nun bu tehditlere yönelik tepkileri incelenmektedir. Çalışmanın odak noktası ise CSTO ve SCO'nun ortak sorunları çözmek için yerel liderlere yaptığı çağrılar ve onların cevaplarıdır. Genel anlamda bu çalışmada CSTO, SCO ile üye devletlerin terörizm, koordinasyon ve istihbarat paylaşımı çabalarının bir analizi sunulmuştur.

Anahtar Kavramlar: Kolektif Güvenlik Anlaşması Örgütü, Şangay İşbirliği Örgütü, Bölgesel Güvenlik, Orta Asya, Rusya, Çin

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1. Introduction

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the post-Soviet states underwent a challenging transition in order to construct their new national governments and to provide security to their societies. The geographical setting and distribution of resources has made it difficult for Central Asian Republics (CARs) to acquire sustainable economy and security without engaging in regional cooperation.⁸⁷The ripple effects of Central Asia's vulnerabilities can easily be felt by neighboring powers and it is equally challenging their security too. Moreover, looming peril of terrorism could halt transport corridors and economic activities. Thus, Russia as well as China have sought to upturn their political, economic and military influence in Central Asia. The regional powers have started to secure their borders with newly independent states because they know that regional integration and security would not be possible without the security of CARs.

Given the instability of Central Asian region, the national interests of the neighboring countries have meddled and countries like Russia, China, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Turkey became part of the new great game of Central Asia. Three Central Asian states viz. Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan appeared more fragile due to the porous borders with Afghanistan and the state of insecurity there. In this milieu, the Kremlin promised to provide security to its post-Soviet States and provided a new podium i.e. Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to tie them together. Later, the new arrangements of collective security were in form of Collective Security Treaty (CST) which became Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). Just like Russian efforts, China also established good relations with neighboring Central Asian States and signed agreements to ensure collective security and sustainable development. Thus, Russia and China came forward to ensure regional security, settlement of border disputes and harness new regimes in Central Asia. It can be maintained that China's economic interests and Russia's security concerns tied them with weak but important bordering states of Central Asia.

Later China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) got recognition, Moscow and Beijing become more committed to jointly work in Central Asia. Currently, they are willing to co-own Central Asia, where China takes the lead in economic development and Russia leads when it

87 Mihail P~aduraru and Claudia-Iohana Voicu, "Security Risk Analysis Perspectives on Central Asia Dynamics," in Transformation and Development, ed. Anja Mihr (Bishkek: Springer, 2020), 57.



comes to regional military affairs.⁸⁸ China has been in quest of peaceful neighborhood and energy resources. Therefore, it wanted to increase its political, economic and military influence in the adjacent region of Central Asia. On account of this policy, Beijing successfully formed an organization which will not only boost its trade relations but will work for the security of its borders. The formation of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) was not only meant to engage Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan but to prepare all members to bring down any external aggression under the leading role of China.

In this regard, Russia also supports SCO's objectives and joins its plans in Central Asia. The most important document namely Russia's Foreign Policy Concept 2016 indicates Central Asia solidifying the SCO to promote partnerships in the region. It states "Russia stands for increasing the SCO's political and economic potential, and implementing practical measures within its framework to consolidate mutual trust and partnership in Central Asia, as well as promoting cooperation with the SCO member States, observes and dialogue partners."⁸⁹ However, the same document also maintains "Russia seeks to facilitate the development of the CSTO into a prominent multifunctional international organization."⁹⁰ It means SCO does not oppose Russia's security initiatives, undoubtedly it is CSTO, which operates in Central Asia as an instrument to sustain Moscow's enduring military presence in the region.

Official records of Russia and China show their intents to work together for regional integration and security, largely because of common interests. Both organizations are struggling to address the ways to get collective responses to certain regional issues such as terrorism, extremism, and transnational organized crimes. However, it is being realized by scholars that collective security initiatives are direly needed to counter local and regional security threats. In this context, CSTO and SCO are trying to develop a sustainable capacity to encounter additional security requirements. Hence, this paper seeks answers these questions; first, whither cooperation CSTO and SCO are making to preserve peace and security in Central Asia? Second, how will Central Asian Republics (CARs) achieve an efficient collective security system and regional stability without Western powers?

88 Arkady Dubnov, "Reflecting on a Quarter Century of Russia's Relations with Central Asia," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (2018), <https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/04/19/reflecting-on-quarter-century-of-russia-s-relations-with-central-asia-pub-76117>.

89 "Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation," Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (2016), https://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptfCk6BZ29/content/id/2542248.

90 Ibid.



This paper is structured into three sections; the first section highlights the distinctive features of CSTO and SCO. The second section addresses the subject of security collaboration between the member states of two organizations. The third section uses scenarios to discourse possible future trajectories of CSTO and SCO. The study also analyzes the arrangements of CARs to manage their responses to the two regional organizations namely SCO and CSTO. In this regard, evocative patterns are sought in the official statements, documents and scholarly texts.

2. Integration amid Regional Dynamics

While looking at Central Asian region, one cannot overlook the overall security situation. The region is fragile due to its geostrategic setting as a buffer between major powers.⁹¹ The geographical proximity of CARs with Russia and China makes them dependent on these two powers. Cultural and historical links of CARs with Russia and somehow with China have brought them close to two powers after their independence. Russia and CARs had been working under one political system so their cooperation appears natural; however, China's connection with the governments of CARs is a startling phenomenon. This cooperation would have never been possible without Russia's involvement in regional integration projects. Interestingly, China's soft power has been multiplying day by day in Central Asia, yet it cannot contest Russian media presence in the region because of its old attachment with CARs. Russian universities in Central Asia, mainly in Siberia, have more popularity than Chinese Universities.⁹² Nevertheless, Russia brought China's economic growth forth in Central Asia and provided ground on China's security involvement there.⁹³

Yet there is growing skepticism on Russia-China alliance and their mutual efforts to find solutions of regional snags. Contrary to the hegemonic competition thesis on Russia and China's race in Central Asia, both states smartly managed their priorities and combined struggles. After 9/11, many of the international security agreements have become inadequate and several states preferred regional security structures. To earn substantial collective response to the new threats, CARs have joined two regional organizations for security and regional

91 Mihail Paduraru and Claudia-Iohana Voicu, "Security Risk Analysis Perspectives on Central Asia Dynamics," 63, REF:1.

92 Paul Stronski and Nicole Ng, "Cooperation and Competition Russia and China in Central Asia, the Russian Far East, and the Arctic," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (Washington DC, 2018), 09.

93 Marcin Kaczmarek, "Russia-China Relations in Central Asia: Why is there a Surprising Absence of Rivalry?," The Asian Forum 8, no.2, (2019), <http://www.theasianforum.org/russia-china-relations-in-central-asia-why-is-there-a-surprising-absence-of-rivalry/>.



stability. CARs have been facing several security threats such as drug trafficking, terrorism, trans-border crimes and illegal migration. Considerably, terrorism has become a serious concern for all the members of SCO and CSTO. The transnational nature of terrorism has led member states to solve the issue through regional organizations rather than finding individual solutions.

Another serious security issue is emanating from the troubling situation across Afghanistan's border, which is a litmus test to regional security. These security challenges necessitate an effective collective security system and a common platform to address and solve issues with joint efforts. Going forward with this scenario, the need of collective security system becomes indispensable for the post-Soviet states.

To adopt efficient methods for coping with the security problems, an understanding of collective gain and loss was largely fostered by Russia and China in Central Asia. Notwithstanding readiness of CARs for regional cooperation, the problem of regional leadership, the unsettled border and territorial differences and interests of the heads of state have been barring states to act sincerely. It would be right to say that attainment of regional integration was not as smooth as it appears. Identifying the fact, Kremlin offered a platform by using political means to rectify oversights, proclaiming strengthening of security, stability, collective protection and sovereignty of the post-Soviet states. So, at a first stage, closer military and political integration of CARs had been assured in Collective Security Treaty (CST) led by Russia to improve and strengthen the military component of its member states. Moreover, to strengthen political-military cooperation, Russia has been striving to shore up a regional alliance.

Certainly, Russia's prime interest in Central Asia has been large to maintain its influence by ensuring the security of its nearby Central Asia. Russia thought that Central Asia's security is not possible without keeping out Western influence and securing region from the instability emanating from Afghanistan. While taking the military lead in Central Asia, Russia has to recognize the growing influence of China in the region as it could not confront two powers simultaneously.

On the other hand, Beijing also sensed the situation and managed to cope with the emerging situation. Presently, China neither makes demands for the political modifications from the governments of CARs, nor does it use political force to keep the region in its general



orientation.⁹⁴ China's political agenda is to ensure the stability of the region through economic development, making China popular in Central Asia particularly alluring to local governments. Thus, Russia has agreed to accept China in Central Asia and Russian authorities also welcomed the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) from the very start.⁹⁵ As BRI penetrates deeply, the Russia-China show commitment to work together for regional integration in Central Asia. "They have agreed on a de-facto duopoly: Russia takes the lead in regional military affairs and political stability, and China leads when it comes to economic development."⁹⁶

The present coexistence between Russia and China has become more visible when they announced that BRI would be linked with the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU).⁹⁷ Moreover, Russia and China take similar positions on international issues in International Organizations such as the United Nations (UN). Suffice to say that they are united in their opposition to the US, this factor makes them de-facto partners. Indeed, the economic asymmetry between the two is visible as China's economy is eight times the size of Russia's,⁹⁸ yet Russia is taking advantage of China's economic position. Similarly, China is taking advantage of strong historical ties of Russia with CARs and using Russia's influential position for the efficacy of the SCO. Therefore, cooperation between regional organizations headed by either side is likely.

The Russian and Chinese led organizations, CSTO and SCO were purposefully formed to get the support of participants to deal with common snags without the help of the West. The intended purpose of these multilateral institutions was to advance China and Russia's interests rather than broader organizational resolutions and priorities.

3. CSTO in Central Asia

94 David Ceasar Wani, "Russia-China Relations: Engagement abilities in Managing their Differences in Central Asia," *Modern Diplomacy*, (2020), <https://modern diplomacy.eu/2020/04/04/russia-china-relations-engagement-abilities-in-managing-their-differences-in-central-asia/>.

95 Vladislav Inozemtsev, "Integrating the Eurasian Union and China's Belt and Road: A Bridge Too Far?," *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 16, no. 91, (2019), <https://jamestown.org/program/integrating-the-eurasian-union-and-chinas-belt-and-road-a-bridge-too-far/>.

96 Arkady Dubnov, "Reflecting on a Quarter Century of Russia's Relations with Central Asia," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, (2018), <https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/04/19/reflecting-on-quarter-century-of-russia-s-relations-with-central-asia-pub-76117>.

97 Vladislav Inozemtsev, "Integrating the Eurasian Union and China's Belt and Road: A Bridge Too Far?" (Ref. 9).

98 Paul De Grauwe "Why Russia is economically weak and politically strong," *London School of Economics and Political Science*, (2018), <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2018/04/28/why-russia-is-economically-weak-and-politically-strong/>.



Russia has been trying to strengthen its economic and military position in Central Asia through multilateral initiatives including Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) and the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). In order to avoid external aggression against post-Soviet states, Russia formed CIS in 1992 and further offered CST to the members of CIS. The CST was largely regarded as a Russian security assignment, an apparatus to elevate its influence throughout the region. Russia has become the engine of the CSTO and supplies an array of resources in in the support of organisation.⁹⁹ Putting itself as an open grouping in 2002, the CSTO has started processes to take partners and observer to the group. Therefore, the CSTO became a strong defense structure of the former Soviet states. Notwithstanding contradictions among member states of CSTO over important regional conflicts, they are striving together to fight against terrorism.

The 9/11 incident had essentially changed the whole scenario in which the US earned the support of all states in its global war against terrorism. Threats emanating from Afghanistan in 2001, made the members of CST vigilant and the Collective Rapid Deployment Forces (CRDF) was formed to respond discernable security threats to CARs, forces included task force from Russia and three member states. Almost after eight years, another force namely the Collective Quick Response Forces (CQRF) contain contingents from all CSTO members was prepared as the CRDF was meant to provide security only in the Central Asian region.¹⁰⁰ Subsequently, Russian led CSTO has brought its member states to a new stage of cooperation leading to a collective security system. Overall, CSTO forces have been prepared with the intent to fight. “Two regional groups (Russia-Belarus and Russia-Armenia) able to react to external military aggression; one, 4,000-head CRDF for Central Asia; two, 20,000-head Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CRRF), both of which are designed to react to situations short of interstate conflicts. There is also a collective peacekeeping force, including around 3,500 soldiers and officers and more than 800 civilian police officers.”¹⁰¹

99 Elena Kropatcheva, “Russia and the Collective Security Treaty Organization: Multilateral Policy or Unilateral Ambitions?,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 68, no. 9 (2016): 1527.

100 Yulia Nikitina, *Security Cooperation in the Post-Soviet Area within the Collective Security Treaty Organization*, Istituto per GLI Di Politica Internazionale (ISPI), no. 152 (2013): 3, https://www.ispionline.it/it/documents/Analysis_152_2013.pdf.

101 Karena Avedissian, “What is the Collective Security Treaty Organization?,” *EVN Report*, (2019), <https://www.evnreport.com/understanding-the-region/fact-sheet-what-is-the-collective-security-treaty-organization>.



Parallel to its engagement with the US in multilateral security initiatives, Russia was cognizant with the vulnerabilities of its neighbouring CARs. Therefore, it had offered the US to join CSTO to fight against the common threat of terrorism which remain ineffectual. The primary objective of CSTO was to thwart external aggression against its affiliates; however, the CSTO has started to counter emerging transnational threats, such as illegal migration, terrorism, organized crime, drug trafficking, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and cyber-attacks.¹⁰²

Gradually, the CSTO has become the main peacekeeping force in Central Asia capable to conduct peacekeeping operations. The contribution of CSTO in countering terrorist threats has been acknowledged in the report of United Nations Security Council (UNSC)'s 8626th meeting, it maintains "Security issues in Central Asia are reflected in the updated plan of the collective activities of CSTO States aimed at implementing the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy for the 2019-2021 period."¹⁰³ President Putin in a meeting of the Collective Security Council in Bishkek in November 2019 vowed to continue its fight against terrorism, it states "the practice of joint operations to identify and eliminate international terrorist groups in the CSTO countries, including their bases and sources of funding will be continued."¹⁰⁴ It has also convened many joint training exercises in 2019. According to CSTO official website "creation and activity of the CSTO became the important political event for all Member States of the Treaty, strengthening their political authority and positions on the international stage, providing stability and security on the international and regional levels."¹⁰⁵

Notwithstanding strong support of CARs, CSTO has been facing some internal challenges related to the responses of member states impacted on its efficacy. For instance, Uzbekistan has been a reluctant party to the CSTO; it has left CST and CSTO two times¹⁰⁶ and is not its member currently. The pattern is precarious and likely to have geopolitical repercussions for regional security structure of Central Asia. Nevertheless, Russia prefers to

102 Richard Weitz, "Assessing the Collective Security Treaty Organization: Capabilities and Vulnerabilities," Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College (2018), 7.

103 "Cooperation Between the United Nations and Regional and Sub regional Organizations," United Nations' Security Council Seventy-fourth year 8626th Meeting, (2019): 6, https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_pv_8626.pdf.

104 "Russia to Help CSTO Countries Make More Friends: Putin," Xinhua Net, (2019), http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-11/28/c_138590694.htm.

105 Official website of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), http://www.odkb.gov.ru/start/index_aengl.htm.

106 Uzbekistan has joined the CSTO twice and left twice, 1994-1999 and 2006-2012.



develop bilateral security cooperation too particularly with Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Russia also takes the post-Soviet space an exclusive sphere of influence to guard it against external intrusions. Hence, bilateral concord is purposeful as Uzbekistan can purchase military equipment from Russia at rates close to Russian domestic prices. Besides, Tashkent has inked a strategic cooperation deal with Moscow in the defence sector.¹⁰⁷ Although Uzbekistan is no more member of CSTO but its bilateral relations with Russia effects on the organization's decisions and actions. Such a contention is elaborated by Farkhod Tolipov in these words that Uzbekistan's existing strategic relationships with Russia can disqualify any action of CSTO.¹⁰⁸

Another snag in the way of CSTO is to guard fragile borders. The CSTO members are also apprehensive over the vulnerable border of Tajikistan with Afghanistan. Due to the security situation in Afghanistan, the CSTO has formed CRRF to guard borders and ensure peace in Central Asia. It is claimed that Tajikistan's border to Afghanistan is greatly defended through the security assurances provided by Russian led CSTO.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, several operations have been conducted with good results such as operation Kanal designed to curb drug trafficking, operation Нелегал (nelegal) intended to stop illegal migration from non-CSTO States and Proxy operation was to boost cyber-security cooperation and to dismantle extremist websites.¹¹⁰ Additionally, the CSTO holds joint military exercises with its members from time to time. Certainly, Russia tends to prove to protect the costly infrastructure built by China under the BRI auspices.

In this regard, countries linked to BRI project such as Pakistan is nowadays being engaged by China and Russia because of their serious concerns over the situation of Afghanistan. CSTO is seeking stability in Afghanistan through some counteractive measures to bar the likely penetration of ISIS from Afghanistan to CSTO member states. "For this purpose,

107 Fabio Indeo, "Russia-China Military Cooperation in Central Asia: A Temporary Convergence of Strategic Interests," Italian Institute for International Political Studies, (2018), <https://www.ispionline.it/en/pubblicazione/russia-china-military-cooperation-central-asia-temporary-convergence-strategic-interests-21832>.

108 Farkhod Tolipov, "Uzbekistan without the CSTO," The Central Asia-Caucasus (CACI) Analyst, (2013), <https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/12652-uzbekistan-without-the-csto.html>.

109 Helena Rytövuori-Apunen and Furugzod Usmonov, "Tajikistan's Unsettled Security: Borderland Dynamics of the Outpost on Russia's Afghan Frontier," in *The Regional Security Puzzle around Afghanistan*, ed. Helena Rytövuori-Apunen (Toronto: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2016), 134.

110 Elia Bescotti, "The Collective Security Treaty Organization and its Limits on Integration," *Analytical Media: "Eurasian Studies,"* (2018), <http://greater-europe.org/archives/3965>.



Russia is interested to install CSTO military along Afghan borders, especially on Tajikistan”.¹¹¹ Since ISIS is active against the Taliban in Afghanistan to spread its sway in the region, adjacent states such as China, Pakistan, Iran and Russia are equally fearful and trying to weaken the sway. Therefore, Russia is ready to offer the CSTO platform, to thwart the new threat of militancy with the help of China’s SCO.

4. SCO in Central Asia

Central Asian region has huge resources, it serves as a transit area where the crucial highways and the infrastructure for the transfer of natural resources lies. Thus, the region not only allured powerful states to get resources but great powers’ competition has made this region ~~and~~ chessboard. Amid great power politics in Central Asia, SCO appears a platform bringing together two patrons and CARs for regional integration and security of member states. Therefore, CARs are taking SCO as a promising platform for their security and economic prosperity.

The SCO has been functioning as the main regional economic and security platform of cooperation since June 2001. The organization has successfully brought CARs with Russia and China and set precedent in mitigating interstate tension. To acquire regional security, the cooperation of states is necessary therefore, SCO membership has been extended in recent past. Its regular annual meetings have brought significant changes in the region, the regular participation of member states in yearly joint military exercises has become staggering. In this regard, the “Peace Mission 2018” has gained fame because it manoeuvred all members including arch-rivals such as India and Pakistan to send their forces for joint military exercise.¹¹²

Since SCO has taken new security initiatives with the help of its members and observers, the proposal of regional integration has become discernible. Conspicuously, SCO has become instrumental to persuade leaders of CARs to collaborate with China and Russia not only for regional integration but for better trade and increased cooperation in the energy sector. “The informal level of cooperation in the energy sector is performed through the activities organized by the two main institutions, the SCO Business Council and SCO Forum, non-governmental

111 Tayyab Baloch, “NATO Challenges SCO and CSTO in Afghanistan,” (2016), <https://www.geopolitica.ru/en/article/nato-challenges-sco-and-csto-afghanistan>.

112 Fabio Indeo, “Russia-China Military Cooperation in Central Asia: A Temporary Convergence of Strategic Interests”, REF: 21



actors who “accompany” the work of the official bodies. The SCO Energy Club will become a new institution for the organization of informal contacts between SCO member countries in the energy sector.”¹¹³

Since terrorism has increasingly become a concern for each individual member of SCO members, it was decided that this problem should be solved at the SCO level rather than individually. Going forward with this context, SCO has successfully managed to prevent terrorist attacks and it is claimed that “SCO has averted 650 crimes of terrorist and extremist nature, and neutralized 440 terrorist training camps and 1,700 members of international terrorist organizations.”¹¹⁴ The progress shows that SCO is becoming an Asian giant noticeably as its members are growing.

Currently, many states have shown their interests to become either members or observers, however, no new membership is given after 2017. Instead, it has offered a new category of association namely “dialogue partners” for the aspirant states.¹¹⁵ Some scholars have anticipated that with the entry of new states, SCO will not be able to focus on regional security rather new regional tension will take its attention. However, presently it appears that the big number of states as observers, members and dialogue partners have amplified the potential of SCO for useful cooperation in many areas.¹¹⁶ Yet there are challenges such as Pakistan-India hostility and instability in Afghanistan appear as serious challenges.

Just like CSTO, the members of SCO also believed that the security of Central Asia is directly linked to the peace process in Afghanistan. Therefore, members of the SCO openly supported the international coalition busy in the anti-terrorist operation in Afghanistan. It is not a secret that some members of SCO provided their lands to the coalition states for the establishing military bases in the interests of the anti-terrorist set-up.¹¹⁷ *In order to boost*

113 Maryna V. Shavialiova, “Energy: Cooperation and Competition within the SCO,” in *The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Central Asia’s Security Challenges*, ed. Anatoliy A. Rozanov (Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2013), 51.

114 Rashid Alimo, “The Role of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in Counteracting Threats to Peace and Security”, UN Chronicle, <https://www.un.org/en/chronicle/article/role-shanghai-cooperation-organization-counteracting-threats-peace-and-security>.

115 Richard Weitz, “Eurasian Security Institutions: The CSTO and SCO”, *World Politics Review*, (201), <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/5916/eurasian-security-institutions-the-csto-and-sco>.

116 Akbarsho Iskandarov, “Security and Integration in Central Asia: The CSTO and SCO, Central Asia and the Caucasus,” vol.14, no. 2 (2013): 24.

117 Anatoliy A. Rozanov, “The Issue of Security in the SCO,” in *The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Central Asia’s Security Challenges*, ed. Anatoliy A. Rozanov (Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2013), 39.



collective efforts for peace, the SCO-Afghanistan Contact Group was established in 2005 but it became dormant in 2009. Interestingly, while granting the membership of SCO to Pakistan and India, the SCO-Afghanistan Contact Group became operative in 2017 and after a seven-year break, the SCO restarted its Afghanistan Contact Group meetings. In 2017, Moscow and in 2018 Beijing hosted the meeting of SCO-Afghanistan Contact Group.¹¹⁸ The third meeting, held in Bishkek, in 2019 is reflecting the growing concerns of Russia and China in the regional security.

In this context, it seems that Moscow-Beijing partnership could not only turn CARs in their sphere but their attachment is contingent to make their organizations successful. Certainly, some scholars deemed that Russia is perhaps susceptible after accepting China as a partner in the region, however, CARs dependence on Russia is persuading China to accept security conditions set by Russia.

5. Discernable Cooperation between CSTO and SCO

Chinese led SCO and Russian led CSTO are working together for regional integration and to keep its common enemy at bay. CSTO and SCO vowed to ensure regional security and showed the willingness to counter-terrorism, defeat illicit arms trafficking and to fight against transnational crimes. To illustrate, both organizations assure that they will work together for a common cause. In this regard, Secretary-General of CSTO Yuri Khachaturov maintained “the CSTO takes a serious approach to the development of effective and mutually beneficial cooperation with the SCO.”¹¹⁹ Since snags attached to borders, neighbors and international competitors are common of Russia and China, their cooperation becomes indispensable.

The member states of the CSTO and SCO, face the menace of terrorism emanating from Afghanistan. The leaders of member states are preparing to root out the problem of terrorism, extremism and separatism from their respective states and want to break the association of active local radical groups from Taliban/ Al-Qaeda. Drug trafficking in the neighborhood is another problem worrying Moscow and Beijing; therefore, their combined efforts are central to gauge the peace process in Afghanistan. It can be anticipated that the withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan, would put CARs in a new dilemma as they will have to curb drug trafficking

118 “SCO-Afghanistan Contact Group held its Third Meeting with SCO Participation in Bishkek,” Official website of Shanghai Cooperation Organization, (2019), <http://eng.sectso.org/news/20190419/533099.html>.

119 “Interview: CSTO Head Eyes Closer Partnership with SCO,” (2018), http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-06/08/c_137239917.htm.



and stop nexus of terrorist organizations. Thus, as the leading members of the CSTO and SCO, Russia and China could promote a joint effort of two Eurasian organizations to cooperate with CARs and Afghanistan.

China just like Russia is worried over the growing influence of ISIS in Afghanistan, certainly a formidable threat to the project of regional connectivity. In order to ensure regional peace, CSTO has called the SCO to join efforts on post-conflict rehabilitation of Afghanistan.¹²⁰ Hence, a peaceful solution of Afghanistan's crisis has become a common agenda of the member states of SCO. The ISIS has become a new common enemy of the member states of SCO and CSTO. Consequently, China, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Tajikistan, linked directly or indirectly either with SCO or CSTO have formed Quadrilateral Cooperation and Coordination Mechanism (QCCM) to fight against terrorism the region.¹²¹ Three Central Asian states viz. Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan bordered with Afghanistan, perceived security threat, have been expressing their concerns internationally.¹²²

Member States of CSTO and SCO

Membership Status	SCO Member States	CSTO Member States	Common Members
Full Members	Russia, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, China, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, India.	Russia, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Armenia, Belarus.	Russia, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus (ob), Afghanistan (ob).
Observer States	Afghanistan, Belarus, Iran, and Mongolia.	Afghanistan, Serbia.	
Dialogue Partners	Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cambodia, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Turkey.		

Despite the fact that more than half members of CSTO are members of SCO (as indicated in the table), there are some problems making analysts dubious about the collaboration between states because of many reasons. The reluctant protocols of CSTO and SCO in the resolutions of interstate conflicts are big questions. For instance, in 2010, the government of Kyrgyzstan asked Russia for help but Moscow declined to take any military action. However,

120 Marcel de Haas, "Partners and competitors" NATO and the (Far) East," (2013): 9, [https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/Partners%20and%20Competitors%20%20NATO%20and%20the%20\(Far\)%20East.pdf](https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/Partners%20and%20Competitors%20%20NATO%20and%20the%20(Far)%20East.pdf).

121 "Afghan, China, Pakistan, Tajikistan form QCCM to Counter-Terrorism," Pakistan Today, (2016), <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2016/08/03/afghan-china-pakistan-tajikistan-form-qccm-to-counter-terrorism/>.

122 Vladyislav Makszimov, "Central Asia Leaders Meet Again in a Sign of Increased Regional Cooperation," Euractiv, (2019), <https://www.euractiv.com/section/central-asia/news/central-asia-leaders-meet-again-in-sign-of-increased-regional-cooperation/>.



verbal support and humanitarian assistance were granted by CSTO and SCO to its member state. Additionally, the functioning of these organizations seems different from that of their roles sometimes, there are several instances to quote. First, despite the peacekeeping forces of CSTO and security assurances given by SCO, critics say neither organization is using military and police power in regional conflicts. Second, cooperation between the two organizations remained futile as CSTO together with SCO could not break networking of terrorist organization. Their efforts are belittled by critics as SCO and CSTO could not disrupt the funding of terrorist organizations. However, local rulers had been oblivious to the linkages between transnational crimes and terrorism. Their full cooperation with CSTO and SCO can be productive to break the linkage. According to the CSTO's website organizations had signed a Memorandum of Understanding in 2007 which shows that both want to "establish equal and constructive cooperation between the secretariats of the SCO and the CSTO in ensuring regional and international security and stability; countering terrorism; fighting drug trafficking; disrupting arms trafficking; combating organized transnational crime, and other areas of mutual interest."¹²³ Moreover, collective security arrangement demands all member states to act together to repel the aggressor. With this some differences between states are discernable; for example, Belarus, Russian and Kazakhstan attitude towards the contemporary issues of Karabakh, Crimea, Donbass, Syria, Afghanistan are different from each other but the centripetal force of organizations is uniting them together for regional stability.

The above instances also suggest that cooperation between the two is not enough, leaders of CSTO and SCO need to manage relations in a competitive setting too to fulfil the commitments they show in their manifestos. The collaboration is good for extensive security assurances however, Russia and China need individual state cooperation for intensive security guarantees.

6. Russia-China Partnership: Reshaping the Regional Landscape

Russia and China tend to strengthen their alliance and fostering deeper cooperation. Nevertheless, Sino-Russian partnership is crucial because both states fit in each other's foreign policy framework with many aspects. First, being bordering states cooperation will enhance economic relations in Central Asia because proximity decreases risk by providing the relevant

123 The information available on Official website Collective Security Treaty Organization, https://en.odkb-csto.org/international_org/sco/



information. Second, there is a common tendency of investment in Central Asia and to increase trade between the countries. Third, both Russia and China focus on natural resource projects in Central Asia and also want to secure supplies of materials. Interestingly, Chinese investment into the Russian economy is not restricted to the energy sector or the border security but Chinese investors are taking interests in real estate, wood processing, agriculture, telecommunications equipment and microelectronics.¹²⁴ Fourth, Russia and China tend to root out terrorists' outfits from their borders for the internal security of their states.

Moreover, Russia needs China to counter American influence in Central Asia.¹²⁵ Russia has been featuring conspicuously in Chinese plans to build oil and gas pipelines from Central Asia such as Kazakhstan's oil pipeline and Turkmenistan's gas pipeline to China. Hence, energy can also be quoted as a force of convergence in Sino-Russian nearness. Besides, the military and political features of their ties make their regional alliance more secure and the chain of collective security binds them together. However, Sino-Russian military cooperation can be taken as a hesitant rapprochement because both states have struggled against historical obstructions while discerning prospects for a lucrative partnership. Indeed, China was a new market of arms sale for Russia soon after the Soviet Union and the development of a technical-military relationship with Beijing was natural. China and Russia recognized that their interests intersect on security matters in Central Asia, as they do in global politics. Hence, their partnership has become a serious threat to the West as both are trying to adjust the international system to their advantage.¹²⁶

Both Moscow and Beijing generally see a rationale behind regional integration which are co-founded in the last twenty years. Russia's emphasis on establishing institutions in Eurasia has been based on its regional and global schemes. Moscow had envisioned coming erosion in the post-Soviet space, evident in a worsening security situation surfacing in the adjacent states of Afghanistan. The wave of colored revolutions in the Post-Soviet States, civil war (Tajikistan) and the border clashes between CARs were putting Russia in a worrisome situation. In addition,

124 Richard Lotspeich, "Economic Integration of China and Russia in the Post-Soviet Era" in *The Future of China-Russia Relations*, ed. James Bellacqua (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2010), 122.

125 Hu Bin, "Oil and Gas Cooperation between China and Central Asia in an Environment of Political and Resource Competition," (2014): 599. <https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs12182-014-0377-7.pdf>

126 Paul Stronski and Nicole Ng, "Cooperation and Competition Russia and China in Central Asia, the Russian Far East, and the Arctic," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (Washington DC, 2018), 02. REF: 6.



the rise of the non-traditional threats such as terrorism, environmental issues and smuggling raised new concerns. Consequently, Russia felt a loss of its influence over the post-Soviet space. In order to resuscitate its influence in the region, a network of organizations including CIS, CSTO, EAEU and SCO (with China) was promoted in different periods. All these organizations have important functions in Russia's foreign policy and Moscow is using different international channels including Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the UN and the SCO to improve the status of the CSTO.¹²⁷

Unequivocally, some Sino-Russian disagreements transpired in the past which galvanized assessors. For instance, a group of scholars is taking SCO as a Chinese project to exert its influence over Central Asian states which was formed to just to enter into the zone of Russian influence with the cooperation of Russia. Moscow decided to join it to strengthen its declining position in Post-Soviet Central Asia, yet no clear support of China was observed in critical matters related to Russia. For example, the SCO summit of 2008 was mostly on Georgia-Russia clash but Russia's recognition of the independence of the regions Abkhazia and South Ossetia did not receive any support from the other SCO member states.¹²⁸ Chinese reluctance subsequently slowed down the process of open collaboration. Against this background, the Chinese military presence in Central Asia was portrayed as a threat to Russia's strategic interests.

Conversely, Russia line ups its relations with China and other powerful states to make blocs and alliances, and powerful international organizations which would manifest Russia's strong defense. China holds an extremely important position on Russia's agenda in Central Asia.¹²⁹ Russia's willingness to join hands with China over Central Asian march is also linked with the effects of the worldwide economic slowdown and economic sanctions. Russia is trying to improve its commercial relations with a powerful neighbor to overcome obstacles created by the West. Russia fears insecurity in its southern border that could undercut the efficacy of Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) in Central Asia, and the discernible inability of Tajikistan to inhibit threats originating from Afghanistan is also a pushing factor for Moscow to join hands

127 Elena Kropatcheva, "Russia and the Collective Security Treaty Organization: Multilateral Policy or Unilateral Ambitions?," 1527, REF: 13.

128 Marcel de Haas, "Partners and competitors," REF: 34.

129 Arkady Dubnov, "Reflecting on a Quarter Century of Russia's Relations with Central Asia," REF 2 & REF 10.



with Beijing. As far as China is concerned, it is worried about the ethnic affinity of the people of CARs with its Xinjiang province, the problem can be sorted out with the help of Russia.

On the part of China, it can also be assumed that instability in Central Asia would be dangerous for China's internal security and will have a potential impact on the Muslims residing in the Chinese region of Xinjiang. Uyghur ethnic identity was threatened when economic development brought a large influx of Han Chinese. Thus, Muslims of Xinjiang get connected with the local population of Central Asia which was no more under Soviet control. With the growing trend of separatism in Xinjiang since the mid-1990s, Russia along with China and CARs have been involved in military cooperation. More so, after the 9/11 attacks, China declared Uyghur activists as terrorists and reiterated that terrorism, extremism, and separatism are the three evils. In 2002, the US and the UN called, in the support of China that the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) as a terrorist organization and claimed that it had a close financial relationship with al-Qaeda.¹³⁰

Security is also the preoccupation of the leaders of CARs, the economic, political, and security developments are indefinite and hard to predict perfectly in Central Asian region.¹³¹ Mostly threats are inherited from Soviet past and became uncontrollable after the independence of CARs. In this regard, both Russia and China have understood this enigma and presented podiums to address the common problem of CARs. Moscow not only opted SCO but helped Beijing in persuading local governments of CARs to cooperate in regional integration. Now the SCO has become a good platform to mollify strains between arch-rivals of the cold war era by resolving border clashes. Due to CARs' inclination toward the SCO and CSTO, Central Asia has become a standpoint of great power posturing. In this situation, regime survival and its legitimacy are crucial, so Central Asian leaders are an integral part of the coordinated efforts of Russia and China.

Despite all the differences, both Russia and China want to join hands for the maximization of their security and to contain their common contender namely the US. The current developments in military cooperation between Russia, China and CARs such as

130 Charles E. Ziegler, "Russia and China in Central Asia" in the Future of China-Russia Relations, ed. James Bellacqua (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2010), 236.

131 Mihail Paduraru and Claudia-Iohana Voicu, 53, REF.1&5.



“Cooperation military exercises in 2006, 2015, 2016 and 2019”¹³² spot an improved security collaboration. It is also clear that Moscow-Beijing will work together to prevent drug trade and fight terrorism. Russia wants to curb mass insurgency whereas China wants to earn the cooperation of bordering states to extend its area of trade. Suffice to say that regional instability will have a negative impact not only on CARs but it would equally effect on the efficiency of economic projects such as EAEU and BRI.

Hence, there are several avenues of cooperation between Russia and China such as securing borders, curbing separatism, fighting terrorism, shunning influence of the US, working on regional integration and certify peace in Afghanistan. Instability in Afghanistan and the presence of terrorist groups have become the formidable threat disturbing the architecture of regional security.¹³³ In this regard, the CSTO would be focusing on the emanating security threats from Afghanistan, whilst the SCO can engage Afghanistan in economic activities which would ultimately be helpful to solve Afghanistan’s perennial issues.

7. Conclusion

The simple but clear lesson can be drawn from the above details that the formation of the CSTO and SCO is the part of the larger context of emerging regionalization in international relations.

Regional groupings such as the CSTO and SCO are meant to help developing Asian countries in global competition, as they make member states able to open up to the external world while shielding the interests of its allies. These two organizations are also becoming tools of “securitization” as well as regional integration in Central Asia. The security concerns are not limited to form a military alliance but social, economic, political, and environmental safety is needed for regional stability. Evidently, efficient regional security structure is needed by Russia, China and CARs amid traditional and nontraditional security threats. The CSTO is primarily a political and military organization serving Russian interests, whereas the SCO is claiming to be a political and economic organization assisting China in geographical

132 Lu Peng and Wu Shike, “China and Tajikistan Kick off Joint Counter-Terrorism Exercise”, China Military, (2019), http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-08/12/content_9587478.htm.

133 Fabio Indeo, “Russia-China Military Cooperation in Central Asia: A Temporary Convergence of Strategic Interests”, REF 21 & 26.



connectivity. Both organizations are visibly moving to develop their strategic influence in Central Asia. And neighboring Afghanistan.

There are several factors pushing CARs to join both organizations headed by Russia and China. However, the significant convergence points the perennial instability in Afghanistan and long stay of US forces have become explicit causes to seek cooperation of neighbouring powers for CARs. The military cooperation between Beijing and Moscow has been adjusted in this regional settings and new regional dynamics have also created a new alignment between states. Presently, the balance of power seems tilting towards China which is magnetizing Russia. Moreover, China's economic moves and aspirations attracts Russia's EAEU to join BRI in the region. These economic fancies will be augmenting Sino-Russian economic cooperation and their strategic partnership will grow. In this scenario, their border vulnerabilities can obstruct their economic capacity.

To sum up, it can be said that Russian led CSTO and Chinese led SCO have been cooperating with regional states through participation to manage interstate tension and troubled borders of CARs with Afghanistan. However, potential risks are attached to harmonious approach and it is difficult to get states' collaboration over the issues of terrorism, to end the border disagreements, mitigation of interests' priorities and to stop external power influences over Central Asian states. Conspicuously, China alone cannot manage security issues of CARs and Russia's position is not stout to compete Chinese commercial activities. In this situation, the local governments should not work in individual capacity as peace-building and regional security can only be attained through harmony of interests.

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Bangladesh-China Economic Relations: Wolf in the Sheep's Clothing

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ABSTRACT

In the 21st century, China has invested billions of dollars across the world. Bangladesh also took Chinese loans and aids to meet demand. Recently, this relation is declared as 'strategic partnership'. One may think seeing this shift in relation, both parties may gain equally. But looking at the cases and recent developments in Chinese projects, skepticism rises that China is engaged in and prefers unequal trade relations with the relatively weaker states. Chinese project in Bangladesh also shows faulty payment, poor labor facility, impracticality, and corruption. As a result, the suspicion arises that, China is seeking more surplus in the least cost from these projects. This is one of the core characteristics of mercantilism. Authoritarian 'Communist' China's promoting liberal economy also contradicts with the ideological position. And creates a question, whether China is an ideological state or a mercantile state void of any ideology? This paper will try to understand Bangladesh-China economic relations from the neo-mercantilist perspective by looking at the transformation of China, where the root of Chinese neo-mercantilism is lying. It will also try to understand how mercantilism, an old wolf is hiding under the clothing of a sheep named 'development' and doing what it did openly in its peak time.

Keywords: Mercantilism, Neo-Mercantilism, China, Debt-trap, Chinese-state

Bangladeş-Çin Ekonomik İlişkileri: Koyun Postunda Kurt

Özet

21. yüzyılda Çin, dünya çapında milyarlarca dolar yatırım yapmıştır. Bangladeş Çin'in bu yatırımlardan yararlanmak için ayrıca Çin'den kredi ve yardım aldı. Son zamanlarda bu ilişki 'stratejik ortaklık' olarak ilan edildi. İkili ilişkilerde yaşanan bu gelişmeler karşısında, her iki tarafın da eşit şekilde kazançlı olacağı düşünülebilir. Ancak Çin'in projelerinde yaşanan gelişmelere bakıldığında, Çin'in nispeten zayıf devletlerle eşitsiz ticari ilişkiler içine girdiği yönünde şüpheler oluşmaktadır. Ayrıca Bangladeş'teki Çin projelerine bakıldığında bu projelerin ödeme sorunları, zayıf iş gücü tesisi, pratik olmama ve yolsuzluk gibi sonuçları içerdiği de görülmektedir. Sonuçta Çin'in bu projelerden en az maliyetle daha fazla kar arayışı içinde olduğu şüphesi ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu durum, merkantilizmin temel özelliklerinden biridir. Ayrıca otoriter "Komünist" Çin'in liberal ekonomiyi desteklemesi de ideolojik konumuyla çelişmekte ve Çin'in ideolojik bir devlet mi yoksa herhangi bir ideolojiden yoksun bir ticaret devleti mi olduğu sorusunu akla getirmektedir. Bu kapsamda, bu makalede, altında Çin'in neo-merkantalist kökenini yattığı dönüşüme bakarak Çin-Bangladeş ilişkileri analiz edilmektedir. Ayrıca merkantilizmin "gelişme" adıyla "kuzu postunda yaşlı bir kurt" olarak "en güçlü zamanlarında yaptıklarını nasıl tekrarladığı anlaşılmaya çalışılmaktadır.

Anahtar kavramlar: Merkantilizm, Neo-Merkantilizm, Çin, Borç tuzağı,

1. Introduction

In April, 2019, Bangladesh and China signed a loan agreement of 2.67 billion USD for the construction of Padma rail link project. The Exim Bank of China and a delegation of

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officials, representing the Bangladesh government, signed the agreement.¹ China Major Engineering Company - the dominant business - mostly involved in the China-invested projects in Bangladesh, was awarded the contract for building the bridge. Later, China declared this project as part of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).² BRI of China is indeed a connectivity project actually facilitating its geopolitical goals for economic and political gains. The same Exim Bank is also financing a power plant and a sea port project in Payra that appears to be very lavish project for the country like Bangladesh in terms of cost and difficult location features.³ The under construction Payra Power Plant is located near the Payra port that has recently experienced protests by the Bangladeshi workers over the issues of labor rights and their safety. All these projects are probably the follow-ups of the agreements of USD 20 billion signed by both Bangladesh and China during the visit of Chinese Premier Xi Jinping in 2016. This visit of Chinese Premier marked a new era of development partnership between the two countries. The current commerce minister of Bangladesh has confirmed that, in the next 10 to 15 years, Chinese investment may reach 50 Billion USD in certain “thrust” sectors that include energy, transport, and communication.⁴ All these development may give an impression that China with surplus capital is meeting and contributing to the development need of Bangladesh and thus they are now the “development partners”. From a general perspective, it is also true that this partnership is as geo-strategically significant for a would-be hegemony China as important for Bangladesh in terms of foreign direct investment. But if one looks at the transformation of Chinese state that took place over the years and focuses on the idea of ‘Beijing Consensus’ to evaluate the nature of Chinese investments around the world, s/he would be gripped by some kind of skepticism. This skepticism must remind him or her, the famous biblical story of an old wolf hiding under the clothing of a sheep. It is in the context that under the changed circumstances and transformation China is no more an ideological state. There is no longer any ideological compulsion or stake due to the transformation of China into a “market-socialist”

1 The Dhaka Tribune. “Ome Bangladesh Development \$2.67Bn Loan Agreement for Padma Rail Link Project Signed” (2018). https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/development/2018/04/27/loan-agreement-padma-rail-link-project?fbclid=IwAR2J5ICEGe1TcECTLuj-TVvsJD6LTDXcC2TMvoD5CfOYU9C5JH9T28_nlEAo.

2 Prothom Alo, "Padma Bridge Project Included In China's BRI" (2019). https://en.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/news/194588/Padma-Bridge-project-included-in-China%E2%80%99s-BRI?fbclid=IwAR3uVzh4LGw8MIUdGSv_pB8d2CmgXxb882GmwUD6XwKG8kenkTsaJs-5v-k.

3 For instance, the construction of Payra Port will cost USD 2.6 and more importantly, due to geographical locational difficulty, the port requires high maintenance cost for the high prospect of sedimentation in the Rabnabad channel.

4 The Daily Star. "China May Invest \$50B in 15Yrs Commerce: Minister Tipu Munshi Says"(2019). <https://www.thedailystar.net/business/news/China-may-invest-50b-15yrs-1714723>.



state with a strong tendency towards maximizing profit by reducing cost, terminating competition and exploiting demand and supply gap in the relatively weaker states. The absence of ideological compulsion of China with an authoritarian regime in power and its strong profit motive encourages us to raise a very pertinent question and the question is: is China now a different state using “development” as cloth of a sheep to hide the nature of a wolf? Can these characteristics be termed as “neo-mercantilism” - “the wolf in sheep’s clothing” - in terms of its nature of partnership with the developing countries? This paper aims to look for the answers of these questions by evaluating the nature of the partnership of China with a developing country like Bangladesh. For doing so, this paper seeks to focus on whether there are neo-mercantilist characteristics in Chinese investments in Bangladesh or not. This paper does not deny that Bangladesh does not need infrastructural development in Bangladesh or Chinese investment is not important. However, this paper assesses the mercantilist motives and discriminatory features that exist involving Chinese investments in Bangladesh.

This paper starts with the skepticism that, there are neo-mercantilist elements in 21st century China and as a result, its investment are not only because of geo-politics or partnerships or encirclement policy but also of the mercantilist outlook it has in itself which the paper aims to establish. To verify the suspicion, this paper looks into the transformation of China that took place after the death of Chairman Mao through the creation of ‘Beijing Consensus’ and the change in Chinese society after the transformation; which will reveal the birth of this ‘wolf’. After that, this paper looks into the projects of China in various countries across the world to look for ground reality of theoretical suspicion, where the ‘wolf’ may be still active under the clothing of a sheep. After that, it will examine the Bangladesh-China economic relations in specific projects and come to a conclusion whether there are neo-mercantilist elements in Bangladesh China-relations underneath development or not.

2. Mercantilism and Neo-Mercantilism

2.1. Mercantilism

Mercantilism is a political philosophy based on economic policies of a state. It came as a school of thought in Europe after the renaissance period. Italian scholar, Antonio Serra was one of the first people to rationalize mercantilism in 1613. In his book, ‘Short Treaties on the poverty and wealth of the nation’, Serra argued that, “*Breve trattato delle cause, che possono*



far abbondare li regni d'oro, e argento, dove non sono miniere."⁵In English, "A short treatise on the causes that can make kingdoms abound in gold and silvers even in the absence of mine."⁶With the context of his time, Serra argued that, a state's economy and development is highly depended on gold and silver where the state should look for more in the outer region. For becoming Abundant in gold and silver, states should invest more in foreign lands to extract gold and silver from them. Thus, Serra modernized 'Bullionism' and gave mercantilism a philosophical and rational foundation. Where Bullionism emphasizes on hoarding the trade surplus in form of gold, silver or bullion, mercantilism emphasizes on circulating the surplus in form of investment as it will send back more surplus. Philosophy of state control over mercantilism was established largely by Von Hornick who embedded German 'Camerarism' with mercantilism. Cameralism is an early modern era German economic philosophy that believes in state control over trades and economic activities on state's benefit. Cameralism, according to Oxford dictionary, is "an economic theory prevalent in 18th-cent.Germany, which advocated a strong public administration managing a centralized economy primarily for the benefit of the state."⁷According to Ekerlund and Hebert, "Hornick in his book 'Austria over All, If She Only Will' in 1684, gave nine principles or advices that ultimately summed up the core principles of Mercantilism."⁸ Thus with the state practice, European nations took mercantilist economic policies and were engaged in colonialism in 16th and 17th century. Creation of British East India Company or French East India Company is the proof of it. By dint of East India Company and promoting mercantilism, British Empire had stored a huge amount of gold and silver though they had no mine in Mainland Empire. In Mercantilism, wealth is seen as finite and Trade as zero-sum game.⁹ According to Heckscher, mercantilism is always state centric as "it takes wealth as a basis of state power."¹⁰As it takes wealth as a basis of state power, mercantilism is highly protectionist system and it promotes export and

5 Antonio Serra. *A Short Treatise on the Wealth and Poverty of Nations* (1613) edited and introduced by Sophus A. Reinert and translated by Jonathan Hunt. London and New York: Anthem Press. 2011. Pp. viii + 260. ISBN 13:978 0 85728 973 5.

6 Michael McLure "Antonio Serra. *A Short Treatise on the Wealth and Poverty of Nations* (1613)," *History of Economics Review* 56, (2012). <https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1G1-313011504/antonio-serra-a-short-treatise-on-the-wealth-and>.

7 "Camerarism" Oxford (2019). <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/cameralism>.

8 Robert B. Ekelund and Robert F. Hébert, *A History of Economic Theory and Method* (4th ed.), Long Grove, (Illinois: Waveland Press, 1997), ISBN 978-1-57766-381-2 https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8469740?q&sort=holdings+desc&_id=1573458680397&versionId=16633105

9 "Mercantilism Definition & Examples", Encyclopedia Britannica Inc.(2019). <https://www.britannica.com/topic/mercantilism>.

10 Heckscher Eli F., *Mercantilism*, 2nd ed. London: Allen & Unwin (1935)



discourages import. Hecksher also identified mercantilism having an affinity towards liberalism and also works as an 'Agent of Unification'.¹¹ Mercantilism plays a protectionist role in between state and individual to maximize gain.¹² It has a very liking towards terms like free market or Laissez-faire.¹³ Hecksher also showed that, State is always at the center of mercantilism and encourages its citizen to maximize private gain that ultimately helps state as wealth is one of the bases of state power.¹⁴ As a result from the experiences of colonies, we have seen that, in the colonies, traders used the demand of cheap products and colonial people were 'involuntarily' had to sell raw materials to the traders who went there from Europe. This experience indicates us that, mercantilism has a close affinity towards exploitation and coercion. According to Ekerlund and Hebert, The domestic policies of mercantilism is all about how to create more and more export and has a very little concern over consumption. Free time or leisure time, Extra money, Education for working class is seen as harm towards economy.¹⁵

Mercantilism dominated the economic policies in Europe from 16th to 18th Century onward. Later, it had lost its appeal due to democratization, process of equality and also because of Marxist and socialist ideas spreading in Europe. Adam Smith in his book, *Wealth of Nations*, highly critiqued mercantilism and promoted trade as 'Positive-sum game.' For Adam Smith, Trade benefits both Parties and creates 'comparative advantage' for both countries.¹⁶ Thus gradually, mercantilism was eclipsed by other economic policies. But was seen acute again in 1930s, when Fascists and Totalitarians took mercantilism as their economic policy.¹⁷ It is also a time when due to 'Great Depression' took place in 1929, states took protectionist policies to save and protect their jobs.¹⁸ These states also reacted to 'Great Depression' with Tariffs.¹⁹

In the 16th and 17th Century, when European nations were practicing mercantilism in full swing, China did not adopt mercantilist policy at that time. According to Appel, 16th and 17th century Chinese ruler never believed in capital accumulation by high taxing. Rather they

11 ibid

12 ibid

13 ibid

14 ibid

15 Ekelund Robert B.; Hébert Robert F., *A History of Economic Theory and Method*, New York: McGraw-Hill (1975), ISBN 978-0-07-019143-3

https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8469740?q&sort=holdings+desc&_id=1573458680397&versionId=16633105

16 Smith Adam, *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Edited by S.M. Soares. Metalibri Digital Library, (29th May 2007). https://www.ibiblio.org/ml/libri/s/SmithA_WealthNations_p.pdf

17 Amadeo Kimberly, "Mercantilism And Its Modern Significance:Is Mercantilism Back In Vogue?". Blog, the Balance (2019). <https://www.thebalance.com/mercantilism-definition-examples-significance-today-4163347>.

18 ibid

19 ibid



discouraged merchant or finance capital.²⁰ The government did not uphold the merchant class because government was not relying on the merchant class due to a unique fiscal policy where taxation was relatively low.²¹ Government maintained relatively low military expenditure as it placed itself in such a context where it did not have concern over many enemies.²² Due to this peaceful existence, known as ‘*Pax Sinica*’ or ‘Chinese peace’, governance was very cheap in China.²³ As a result, virtuously, mercantilism had a trifling influence in early modern China.

In 1940s, with Allied power winning the Second World War and with the democratic values and liberalism spreading all over the world, we saw Mercantilism as ‘economic nationalism’ highly influencing modern state and their economic policies as most of states took the policy of strengthening nation by foreign reserve or simply by depending on export. Again it became a zero-sum game where newly formed states or de-colonial states depended upon them to meet their demand for cheap products. Multinational Companies (MNCs) and private enterprises flourished all over the world and became merchants for the respective states. State created tight economic policies that private and capital owners followed and these capitalists enjoyed state protection and security and brought surplus back home. States started using protectionism and currency controlling to ensure their strong economy which is very much like pre-state era mercantilism. According to Kreijger, “The methods [mercantilist] are subtler in the 21st century than 300 years ago, but the federal government's objectives are the same.”²⁴ These pursuits ended up creating a new economic rivalry where war became very unpopular among great powers rather they started to check and counter check based on economy and business. According to Krickovic, “*States adopt a range of neo-mercantilist strategies in order to ensure that they are the ones that benefit most from the open world economy. Economic concerns may be taking priority over security concerns, as the prospects of military confrontation between states may have greatly diminished because economic integration makes it prohibitively costly.*”²⁵ Here, Open world economy refers to neo-liberal economy based on

20 Appel Tiago N., "Why Was There No Capitalism in Early Modern China?" Brazilian Journal of Political Economy (2017) 37: 167-188. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/0101-31572016v37n01a09>.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Kreijger Gilbert, "Promoting Trade: Germany First: The Return of Mercantilism". Handelsblatt.Com (2017). <https://www.handelsblatt.com/today/finance/promoting-trade-germany-first-the-return-of-mercantilism/23570190.html?ticket=ST-9301475-AVqvSybGaZjbsfiqsGRN-ap1>

25 Krickovic Andrej, Power and Plenty in the 21st Century: Neo-Mercantilism in Russia and the Rising Powers (2016). <https://publications.hse.ru/en/chapters/139375196>



free market. Most states are now seen promoting free market as a part of their foreign policy that would help them to expand their market but are seen imposing strict import mechanism. Thus the rebirth of mercantilism took place as ‘Neo-mercantilism’ in a modern world.

2.2. Neo Mercantilism

Neo-mercantilism is the modern version of mercantilism. It is a 20th century economic philosophy that emphasizes heavily on increasing export, least import and centralizing currency decision. While Mercantilism put emphasized on trade surplus to be abounded with gold and silver, in modern days, neo mercantilism emphasizes on ‘foreign reserve’ and increasing foreign reserves to have better socio-political advantages. Neo-mercantilism was taken by USSR and China after the WWII, as they opposed globalizations. According to Amadeo, *“The Soviet Union and China continued to promote a form of mercantilism. The main difference was that most of their businesses were state-owned. Over time, they sold many state-owned companies to private owners. This shift made those countries even more mercantilist. Neo-mercantilism fit in well with their communist governments. They relied on a centrally-planned command economy. It allowed them to regulate foreign trade. They also controlled their balance of payments and foreign reserves.”*²⁶ Neo-colonialism has a very much liking towards neo-liberal institutionalism. Neo-mercantilism has a tendency to overlook political and ideological similarities or dissimilarities rather look for business partnership only that transforms into political gain ultimately. According to Farnsworth, With the context of China’s neo-mercantilist relation with Latin American states, who are mostly the ‘backyards of USA’, shows us that, in this region, *“China promises only commercial relationship without political or policy interference.”*²⁷ Farnsworth also elaborated that, China has a very little concern over issues like promoting quality of labor, equal rights, wages, and environmental safety. Rather they are concerned with natural resources and energy sector of this region.²⁸ With Farnsworth’s coining this case study as a neo-mercantilism, one can say that, Neo mercantilism has the same characteristics exploitation and coercion as mercantilism. Neo-mercantilism highly emphasizes on currency valuation to ensure stronger economy. The transformation of China as a state that will be examined in the next part of China will also show that, China internally is very authoritarian state where state amalgamated with a capitalist class which maintains strict control

26 Ibid.

27 Eric Farnsworth, “New Mercantilism: China’s Emerging Role in the Americas.” *Current History*, (2011): 56–61, <http://www.faculty.bemidjstate.edu/mlawrence/Farnsworth.pdf>.

28 Ibid.



over everything imposing strict import mechanism. At the same time, this same China externally promotes free market economy and calls for 'neo-liberal' economy that mainly helps to expand its market. Again, China is ruled by Chinese Communist Party (CCP) which calls this system 'Market Socialism'. These findings totally fit Krickovic's and Amadeo's arguments mentioned above and gave China 'neo-mercantilist' characteristics.

Neo-mercantilism can be seen as the modern version of mercantilism that best fits in present context. This paper is going to examine China and Bangladesh's economic relations using this mercantilist framework.

3. China as a State: Transition from Socialism to Mercantilism

This section of this paper is to understand China as a state and its shift in ideology. The history of China as a state dates back to thousands of years, which with the course of time generated philosophies such as 'Confucianism', 'Taoism' and legalism. But China as a modern state and the China 'we know' can be identified as 'Chairman Mao's China' and onward.

Mao Zedong and his 'comrades' established Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921. This party struggled for a long time and ultimately took over the China and transformed it into a communist state in 1949. In a communist state, 'Chairman Mao' was highly anti-capitalist under whose rule; capitalists didn't have that much political affiliation. Mao ran his revolution with the support from rural people and the working class. So, his revolution was mainly against the 'Nationalists' who believed and practiced capitalism. According to Yang, "When the civil war was approaching its end, some prominent figures of these capitalist parties had already become 'friends' of the Communists, while the vast majority of the capitalists had no clue of what was happening."²⁹ Thus in the new time, under Mao, capitalists were marginalized in mainstream politics and were seen as exploiters. But again, in the newly formed coalition government at that time under Mao was also consisted of many 'non communists' in high rankings. Mao also understood that, in his regime, relation between CCP and Capitalists will be a challenge for him. In a meeting in 1949, According to Yang, "Mao told his senior members of staff that the relationship between the CCP and the representative delegates of the capitalist class would be the most important political challenge."³⁰ For Mao, Managing Capitalism was a dilemma because, at the same time, CCP needed the factories and works to run perfectly and

29 Yang Keming, *Capitalists in Communist China*. 1st ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 29.

30 Ibid, 34.



maintaining their ideology. So, CCP allowed the ‘petty bourgeoisies’ to continue their activities at the same time, CCP also had concern for the workers. There were even tensions between the CCP leaders over this issue. This can be understood from the comment made by Liu Shaoqi in the context of a looting and taking away capitalists wealth in Tianjin. Liu Shaoqi said, “Today, the capitalist exploitation is not a crime; on the contrary, it deserves credits”.³¹ This created confusion and ideological debate among the leaders. Another big step Mao took was the ‘Five Antis’ campaign to eliminate capitalism gradually from China. Through this campaign, five things were marked as ‘Anti-state’ and ‘Tax evasion’, ‘Bribery’, ‘Cheating’, Theft of state property & stealing state economic intelligence were the five antis. So, if CCP wanted to eliminate capitalists, why did the dilemma took place that mentioned earlier? It is because at that time, in CCP’s early time, they needed the capitalists and their establishments to have a functioning economy. According to Richman, There are many reasons. CCP needed old capitalist’s experiences, knowledge of running business, skills, wealth.³² On the other hand, existing capitalists would also lead the people to continue their fight which would be very much helpful for the new regime.³³ Under Mao’s regime, it was also prohibited for CCP members to have affair with capitalists, or taking bribe or leading a luxurious life under ‘Three Antis’ campaign. This shows us that, Mao Zedong and CCP during his time was completely socialist and marginalized capitalism.

While Mao was in power, He created ‘State owned Farm’ to marginalize ‘private ownership’. In his time, state owned farms were dominant in the economy. But after the death of Mao in 1976, Deng Xiaoping came into power. After coming to power, China was in an economic stagnation and lacked money. Deng wanted to come over Mao’s domination and replace ‘class struggle’. So he started to sideline hardliners and loyalists of Mao. Deng’s activities can be best understood if we look closer to his ideology. According to Kim and kim, “Deng had no fixed ideology. Rather he believed in achieving goal. For him, the cat doesn’t matter as long as it catches mice.”³⁴ Deng also had the dream of ‘growth at all cost’.³⁵ Deng also had a different view on multi party election. So he banned it and placed CCP and handful

31 Ibid, 35.

32 Richman Barry M., *Industrial Society in Communist China*. (New York: Vintage Books 1969), 912. <https://www.questia.com/library/420191/industrial-society-in-communist-china>

33 Ibid.

34 Kim Yong-ok, and Jung-kyu Kim, *Great Equal Society, the: Confucianism, China and the 21St Century*. London: World Scientific (2013).

35 Ibid.



of its coalition to run the state which is very much different than western democracy. Till today, we see China is run by several politburos and a premier who heads them under the guidance of the 'Beijing Consensus'. The 'Beijing Consensus' is the political and economic policy introduced by Deng.³⁶ Through this consensus, Deng transformed China's economic and political policies. The transformation economic policy was mainly liberalist and it facilitated the capitalists who were marginalized before. Deng called for 'No Debate' on whether it was socialist consensus or liberal in nature. Rather it was seen as the 'Commitment' for economic recovery at that time. According to Yang, it was the revival of capitalist China once again.³⁷ Deng argued that this facilitating capitalism will not bring demise of CCP rather it will enhance their legitimacy as according to Deng, "Wealth will go first to the nation then to the people, so no new capitalist class will emerge".³⁸ However, according to Yang, Deng didn't explain how it will happen.³⁹ So it was mainly a rhetoric and coercion to suppress the anti-capitalists argument. However, Capitalists slowly grew in communist China under the reform, and due to lack of a long term tax policy not yet today, and corrupted enforcement of tax law changed egalitarian Chinese society to one of the most unequal society within 30 years.⁴⁰ Deng administration also removed the tag 'Capitalist' and 'Exploitation' from political vocabulary, rather emphasized that, they [Capitalists] live on their own work like others in China.⁴¹ Deng wanted to remove the antagonism toward capitalism as he wanted to uphold them for faster economy. According to Yang, it is an irony that, "exploitation becomes the very mechanism [in China] through which economic reconstruction is to be realized."⁴² Gradually, private enterprises started to grow alongside public enterprises owned by state. From 1980s to 2002, private enterprises flourished in China dominating both the national market and international market. In 1989, 90000 private enterprises were working in China employing 1.4 million workers.⁴³ In 2003, 12% of total workforce was working for the private enterprises and today, the number has reached around 70%.⁴⁴ This implies that, China had gone through a huge

36 Beijing Consensus is also known as 'The china model (of development)'. Though many scholars argue there are differences between Beijing Consensus and China Model, the author acknowledges their efforts but doesn't share the same belief. This Paper takes Beijing Consensus and China Model as the same concept.

37 Yang Keming, *Capitalists in Communist China*. 1st ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2013), 50.

38 Ibid, 51.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

42 Yang Keming, *Capitalists in Communist China*. 1st ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 54.

43 Ibid, 56.

44 Ibid.



privatization in the meantime. This wasn't possible without Deng's supervision on Capitalism. 'Tiananmen Tragedy' is another proof of this claim. In Tiananmen, Students protested over capital accumulation, high price of commodities and mass poverty. But Deng took the side of capitalist because at that time, according to Gilder, "China was in a stagnant and CCP needed to control the money supply."⁴⁵ So, Deng had to at the same time accommodate and amalgamate capitalist to the system to ensure CCP's superiority. Surely, this was never a Marxist or liberal ideology rather it was void of any ideology rather has a close tie to regime survival.

For the Capitalists, It was a must to have some sort of political power or influence as according to yang, "One simply cannot have access to valuable opportunities and resources desperately needed for developing a big business without establishing and maintaining close relations with government officials because all the essential resources – land, financial credit, administrative permission, and so on – are in their hands. For many large projects, although the entrepreneur may do the actual management, it is the politician who decides on what can be done and even how it should be done."⁴⁶ As Business owners dominated the market, the government-business owner relation became heavily biased towards the businessmen.⁴⁷

Amidst all these, Wealth was being 'concentrated' to handful of people. CCP for its politico-economic survival had to tilt toward these businesses which created 'symbiotic' relation conflicting to its ideology; where CCP facilitating trade and commerce in favor of capitalist. Interestingly, it was not kept a secret. It was happening openly. Zemin, Deng's successor even called them as 'Contributor to socialist mission' and welcomed them to join the CCP.⁴⁸ Thus with the joining of these capitalists in CCP, there created a nexus between CCP, wealth and privatization. Businessmen turned into politician and changed the culture of politics. According to Yang, Unlike USA where politicians are fulltime politician, in China being a CCP member was a part-time job.⁴⁹ As the state's main concern shifted from ideological position to a business mindset, CCP membership had become a symbol of recognition rather than any political power.⁵⁰ And as a result, according to some academics, Chinese politicians now join

45 George Gilder, *The 21st Century Case for Gold: A New Information Theory of Money*. American Principles Project (2015), 14.

46 Yang Keming, "Capitalists in Communist China." 69.

47 Ibid, 70.

48 Yang Keming, "Capitalists in Communist China." 56.

49 Ibid, 77.

50 Ibid, 78.



CCP only to promote and ensure better business where they should have higher aims.⁵¹ Even, in august 2003, CCP gave a memorandum inviting and urging all local party offices to set up party cell in private enterprise.⁵² Even after a conference in 2003, specifically aimed, they required that, at least 50 people working in a private enterprise must have CCP membership and for every 100 member, must form a committee.⁵³ Which means, to continue business or set up enterprise, one must be under the influence of CCP, otherwise it won't be easy to run business. According to Lin, "68 per cent of China's non-state enterprises had set up party cells by the end of 2016, and that 70 per cent of foreign-funded firms in China had also done so."⁵⁴ Lin Also showed that, "more than 94 per cent of private entrepreneurs believe it's useful to have connections to government but fewer than 4 percent care about the party's development."⁵⁵ This clearly shows that, CCP and the state only concerned over economic activities. CCP makes sure that, all economic activities are under its control and CCP is highly motivated in economy as it is influenced by Businessmen working as 'Part time' politicians.

As a result CCP, Capital and business nexus creates a regime that is only concerned about profit or surplus and void of any ideology. According to Kim and Kim, "Aside from the Leninist dictatorship, its socioeconomic system is now so far removed from communism that some people refer to it as "party-state capitalism."⁵⁶ According to McGregor, "In early 2000, CCP even considered to remove 'Communist' from their party name."⁵⁷ Again, this regime is not representing whole of China. According to Xia, "CCP is the largest political organization of the world with member of 68 million; but only accounts for 5% of total Population."⁵⁸

Thus this regime created an authoritarian 'classist state' which is run by private enterprises and their owners, who suppresses the society and creates a neo-mercantilist state which is only concerned about maximizing profit to become the leading economy in the world.

51 Ibid, 81.

52 Ibid, 86.

53 Ibid.

54 Zhang Lin, "Chinese Communist Party Needs To Curtail Its Presence in Private Businesses," South China Morning Post (2018). <https://www.scmp.com/economy/China-economy/article/2174811/chinese-communist-party-needs-curtail-its-presence-private>.

55 Ibid.

56 Young-Oak Kim and Jung-Kyu Kim, Great Equal Society, the: Confucianism, China and the 21St Century. (London: World Scientific, 2013), 72.

57 Richard McGregor, 2011. In, Yang Keming, Capitalists in Communist China. 1st ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK(2013)

58 Ming Xia, "The Communist Party of China And The "Party-State"," New York Times (2019). <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/ref/college/coll-China-politics-002.html>.



As a result, China's neo-mercantilist nature can be traced in both domestic policy and foreign policy. In the domestic economy, concern over product safety, quality of labor etc. shows the mercantilist nature of China in its domestic policy.

a. Product safety concern is very little in China. There are cases, where only a ninth grade educated merchant is running a chemical business or a tailor is running chemical factory. Reports claimed, due to lack of proper knowledge about when medicine are made, people died in finest hospitals of China. According to Kim and Kim, "Another incident took place in 2007. In panama, 145 people died from unknown poisoning. When Centre for Disease Control of USA investigated, they found glycerin made in China caused it. Manufacturer of China didn't even have a license for pharmaceuticals."⁵⁹ There are a lot of incidents and the end product China sells are not the best of quality rather they are very bad in product safety. These indicate that, there is a little concern for the owners and the state for product safety; rather they are busy in making profit.

b. Labor condition in China is very poor. Incidents show that, the standard cost of labor is very little. Enterprises don't have health concerns and labors are forced to leave in case of major diseases. Interestingly work environment and safeties are not ensured also. Workers who work in toxic chemical related factories are exposed to these toxins and after years of service, when they are sick, there is no space for them in it. According to Harney, around 200 million workers in China are exposed to unsafe work environment.⁶⁰ Harney also showed that, there is zero transparency and remains a 'gold-rush' environment when it comes to cheap products. This is a very common characteristic of mercantilism where the labor cost is kept as little as possible to gain more surpluses. According to Yang, the dispute between owners and workers has increased over the year in private enterprises. In the state owned Enterprises, the main reasons of disputes were "with changing or terminating employment contracts."⁶¹ According to Yang, "The Department of Labor of China's national government conducted a survey on 18,310 private enterprises in 2003 and found that 15 per cent (or 3,056 firms) did not pay their employees with the full amount or not on the scheduled dates; in one of the places, only half of the studied firms paid their employees monthly, the rest paid either

59 Young-Oak Kim and Jung-Kyu Kim, "Great Equal Society, The: Confucianism, China And The 21St Century" 62.

60 Alexandra Harney, The China Price. Penguin Press HC (2008). https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1815706.The_China_Price

61 Keming Yang, Capitalists in Communist China. 1st ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2013), 158.



quarterly, biannually, or even annually.” Factories also do not follow the legal work hour limit weekly or monthly. According to Yang, “Another problem is that many new capitalists paid their workers by the number of completed pieces rather than the number of working hours.” In one sentence, the labor condition in China is very poor and exploited by the enterprise owners that also reflect neo-mercantilist nature.

c. Environmental concern is another domestic aspect where China is very indifferent. Due to huge industrialization and no concern for proper waste management, China is experiencing air pollution, water pollution. Big cities are covered in smog and industrialists have no fund or concern for their role in this pollution. This is another aspect of neo-mercantilism that, though it is responsible for the problem, but will not have any concern over it.

Apart from these, there are also questions about the living condition, wage gap and employee’s welfare concern in China. These clearly indicate that, in the domestic policy China is heavily mercantilist to ensure their highest output with lowest input.

Foreign policy of China is highly mercantilist in many senses. China promotes free market economy and neo-liberal economy in its foreign policy despite being a very closed and state controlled society internally. Farnsworth in the Latin American context also gave a brilliant example of Chinese mercantilism.⁶² That region was mainly USA’s backyard in the sense that USA had political affinity in there. But when China came in that region, China didn’t have concern about their political identity. Rather according to Farnsworth, “China promises only commercial relationship without political or policy interference”.⁶³ Farnsworth also pointed out that, like all other region, China is also interested in natural resources and energy sector in this region.⁶⁴ Here, China has a very little concern for promoting quality of labor, environmental protection, equal wage and human rights. By pointing out these economic imbalances and no ideological relation, Farnsworth explains this relation as ‘New mercantilism of China’.⁶⁵

On the other hand, in the field of Aid politics, China uses ‘supplier’s credit’- an economic term to maximize its profit. According to China’s supplier’s credit, Countries must

62 Farnsworth, Eric, “New Mercantilism: China’s Emerging Role in the Americas.” 56–61.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.



rely on Chinese materials for development projects with the help of Chinese companies; which implies, materials must be brought from only China alone. The development projects must be done by Chinese companies. The payment method is also unique and heavily protectionist in nature.

China's current foreign policy, based on Beijing consensus, promotes export and discourages import. Though internally it is an authoritarian state, it promotes free market and liberal economic policy which is very much contradicting. And profit oriented. Again, recent debt traps took place around the world and China's took over of infrastructure affecting sovereignty directly is another example of Chinese neo-mercantilist foreign policy.

From the discussion above, this section of this paper concludes that, China after the economic transformation has gradually become a mercantilist state abandoning its ideology. Therefore, it's domestic and foreign policy reflects mercantilist characteristics.

4. The Mercantilist Nature of Chinese Foreign Trades and Investments

The mercantilist nature of Chinese foreign trades and investments can be understood through the Chinese investments in various regions. To understand the mercantilist nature of Chinese foreign trades and investments, we need to revisit issues and cases around the globe.

4.1. Regional Trade Agreements

From 2005 and onwards, China's regional trade agreements show some unique patterns. China prefers bi-lateral agreements as it is easy to dominate the weaker states to pursue in signing China's preferred model. Though in many regions, China signed agreements multilaterally. In many cases, China is accused of being 'currency manipulator'. In many cases, China is accused of keeping artificially low exchange rates to create more surplus.⁶⁶ According to Whalley and Li, China doesn't follow the basic form of trade agreements, 'One size fits all'.⁶⁷ Rather China depends on negotiation skills of its officials and the relative power gap between the parties to have upper hand in agreements. As a result, the terms and agreements vary from region to region. Whalley and Li also showed that, by using these trade agreements, the current tariff around the world for China is average 10% and it is also helping China to be in the upper

66 John Whalley and Chunding Li, "China's Regional and Bilateral Trade Agreements," VOX, CEPR Policy Portal," Voxeu.Org (2014). <https://voxeu.org/article/China-s-regional-and-bilateral-trade-agreements>

67 Ibid.



hand.⁶⁸ These also shows the mercantilist nature of Chinese economic policy where China never loses.

4.2. Belt and Road Initiative

Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is another important concern for Chinese foreign policy in 21st century. BRI aims to connect around 152 countries by roads and ports from Africa to Europe via Asia including pacific region. According to EBRD, BRI has five major Priorities.⁶⁹ They are: policy coordination, Infrastructural connectivity, undisrupted economic activities, financial integration and connecting people.⁷⁰ BRI now has 130 countries signature and around 70 countries are already in the process of building the facilities. BRI is worth 140 billion USD and the Chinese intention is to expand market and reduce transport cost at the same time. Interestingly, from democracy to authoritarian, from capitalist to socialist, China has included parties around the world even the war torn states in BRI. This shows no ideological ground in BRI rather reflects economic ground only, which is very much unlikely for a 'Communist' state like China.

4.3. Investment in Montenegro

The 'Bar-boljare' highway in Montenegro is very impractical in sense of its population and toll charge. According to Reuter's news, "Average 22000-25000 traffic is needed in this highway daily to meet the loan repayment where it hardly crosses 6000 traffic a day."⁷¹ As a result, Montenegro's debt-GDP ratio has declined to 59% in 2019.⁷² As a result, Montenegro is facing severe loan repayment crisis that may lead the country to the infamous 'Debt trap'.

4.4. Investment in Kenya

According to Chinese global investment tracker, China has invested around 16.43 Billion USD mostly in Energy and connectivity. One of the major project is the Mombasa-

68 Ibid.

69 "Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)," European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (2019). <https://www.ebrd.com/what-we-do/belt-and-road/overview.html>.

70 Ibid.

71 Noah Barkin and Aleksandar Vasovic, "Chinese 'Highway to Nowhere' Haunts Montenegro". Reuters (2018). <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-China-silkroad-europe-montenegro-insi/chinese-highway-to-nowhere-haunts-montenegro-idUSKBN1K60QX>.

72 Valerie Hopkins and James Kynge, "Montenegro Fears China-Backed Highway Will Put it on Road to Ruin", Financial Times (2019). <https://www.ft.com/content/d3d56d20-5a8d-11e9-9dde-7aedca0a081a>.



Nairobi rail project which will cost 4 billion USD loaned by China in 2017. According to Mungai, the project was passed without any Environmental Impact Assessment.⁷³ Environmental Impact Assessment is a legal binding in Kenya.⁷⁴ Again, this project, known as Standard Gauge Railroad (SGR) is also accused of being overpriced and highly corrupted.⁷⁵ This railroad will mostly benefit China as it connects port of Mombasa to capital, Nairobi. According to Mlambo, “Which [it] will be easy to move Chinese goods to Nairobi.”⁷⁶ Mlambo made such remark because, according to him, in 2016, China has taken over the domestic market of Kenya by 5 billion USD export compared to only 780 million USD US export. So, One can easily argue that, China is loaning Kenya to build a railroad that will mostly help China to cut its export cost to Kenya; and at the same time, using the influence of this railroad project to sideline other exporters by increasing China’s own export. It is a very win-win situation for China where Kenya is being dependant on China gradually.

Then again, according to Dhar, the heavy increase of debt also had ‘havoc on Kenyan society.’⁷⁷ Government had to freeze commercial banking and loan for general people became scarce to pay debt to China.⁷⁸ According to Dhar, There is growing inequality where a handful people are only profiting and poverty is rising among the mass people as Kenya is caught between debts.⁷⁹ China in the last few years also stopped its debt forgiveness as it doesn’t want to be in loss. Right now, Kenya is about to lose port of Mombasa and container depot at Nairobi.

4.5. Investment in Zambia

In Zambia, China has invested 17 billion USD. Zambia is rich with natural resources especially with copper. China has invested in natural resources of Zambia where according to Mlambo, miners are very much suffering due to inhuman treatments. As a result, price of metal is also rising in Zambia which has second largest reserve of metals in Africa. On the other hand, debt is rising on Zambia. Zambia has already lost airport to China. According to Van

73 Richard Mungai, "Is China Railroading Kenya Into Debt?" South China Morning Post (2016). <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/geopolitics/article/2026152/China-railroading-kenya-debt>.

74 "Kenya- ELAW" (2019). Elaw.Org. <https://www.elaw.org/eialaw/kenya>.

75 Richard, Mungai, “Is China Railroading Kenya Into Debt?.”

76 Victor, Mlambo, “Exploitation Dressed in a Suit, Shining Shoes, and Carrying a Suitcase Full of Dollars: What Does China Want in Africa?” Journal of Public Affairs (2019). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1002/pa.1892>.

77 Shushovon Dhar, "Kenya: Caught Between Debt And Political Indifference," Cadtm.Org (2019). <https://www.cadtm.org/Kenya-caught-between-debt-and-political-indifference>

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.



Webmaster, China also owns 60% of national television of Zambia which is why China can control what to show and what to not.⁸⁰

4.6. Investment in Djibouti

Chinese investment in Djibouti is around 1.62 billion USD till today all on connectivity. On the other hand, China's first foreign military base is situated in Djibouti. Djibouti is one of the poorest states of Africa that had to facilitate seven state's military bases in its soil including China. Chinese base is controlling the Doloreh port of Djibouti which is strategically very important for trade routes. Through this port, Chinese goods enter in this region. Question may arise in mind why do China needs its military base here if it doesn't have ambition over expansion or military confrontation as mentioned before. According to Opiyo, "China justifies its base as a mean to fight pirates and for humanitarian work and emergency evacuation."⁸¹ This implies that it is mainly for logistical purpose. On the other hand, according to Zheng, "This military base is partly founded and run by China Merchant Holding, a state owned company."⁸² This subordination of military base under a commercial company raises the question whether the base is not only controlling a strategic location, or it is also serving the protection and capturing market for the company. This relation can be understood as 'Economic Militarism' which implies the use of military power or expenditure to safeguard and capture market. On the other hand, this unique situation where military base is partly founded and run by a state owned company also shows the motive of China is also to ensure monopolistic ambition over Djibouti. According to Opiyo, the plans of economic zones of Djibouti are passed and they will also be run by China, which is expected to create around 50000 jobs by 2025.⁸³

80 Van Webmaster Berichten, "China to Take over Zambia's International Airport for Debt Repayment," Green World Warriors (2019). <https://greenworldwarriors.com/2019/03/14/China-to-take-over-zambias-international-airport-for-debt-repayment/>.

81 Opiyo Levin, "Djibouti, A Strategic Trade Hub Sinking in Chinese Debts," InsideOver (InsideOver, 2019), <https://www.insideover.com/economy/djibouti-a-strategic-trade-hub-sinking-in-chinese-debts.html>

82 Sarah Zheng, "China's Djibouti Military Base: 'Logistics Facility', or Platform for Geopolitical Ambitions Overseas?" South China Morning Post (2017). <https://www.scmp.com/news/China/diplomacydefence/article/2113300/Chinas-djibouti-military-base-logistics-facility-or>.

83 Opiyo Levin, "Djibouti, A Strategic Trade Hub Sinking in Chinese Debts,".



Apart from all these, according to Mlambo, there are also reports on illegal gold mining by the Chinese companies in West Africa and Ghana that are accused of destroying the environment and polluting the water sources.⁸⁴

4.7. Investment in Sri Lanka

China played a huge role in solving the civil war in Sri Lanka. After the war was over, China was given many construction related projects by the Government. Later China also financed Hambantota port which was built under Chinese Construction Company. From 2005 onward, China invested 13 billion USD in Sri Lanka. 5.88 Billion of this investment was spent on connectivity mostly on port of Hambantota and roads. But in 2017, Sri Lanka fell short and had to give the port as lease for 99 years to China. Hambantota case has similarity with Montenegrin road case as it was also an impractical project. According to Hillman, “only 175 cargo ships arrived in [Hambantota] 2017”⁸⁵. This is a very poor number to meet the loan payment. Hillman also shows that, interestingly, on the day of handover, Chinese officials took it triumphantly.⁸⁶ They also tweeted expressing it as “another milestone in the path of #BeltandRoad.”⁸⁷ According to Hillman, Hambantota project had interest rate of 6% which was very high, where from other sources; Sri Lanka could get on 2%-3%.

4.8. Prison Worker

China is also accused of using its prisoner as worker in foreign projects all over the world. Prison population became a huge problem in China. According to Chellaney, from port building in Hambantota to real estate in Maldives, all had prison workers working in these projects.⁸⁸ This helps companies to keep local workers ‘bare minimum’.⁸⁹ Prison worker in foreign projects not only solves huge prisoner problem but also is a cheap labor force. As they have a very little voice over rights, it is easy to cut cost by denying proper work condition.

84 Victor Mlambo, “Exploitation Dressed in a Suit, Shining Shoes, and Carrying a Suitcase Full of Dollars: What Does China Want in Africa?” *Journal of Public Affairs* (2019). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1002/pa.1892>.

85 Jonathan Hillman, “CSIS,” Center for Strategic and International Studies (2018). https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/180717_Hillman_GameofLoans.pdf.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

88 Brahma Chellaney, “China's Newest Export: Convicts.” *The Guardian* (July 29, 2010). <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/libertycentral/2010/jul/29/China-export-convict-labour>.

89 Ibid.



On the other hand, according to Leng, there are evidences of exporting prison goods even to stores such as Walmart.⁹⁰ According to Leng, there is a case where a Chinese merchant was fined as he used prison labor to build metal clips in 2001.⁹¹ On the other hand, according to Warren, illegal means and commercial use of prisoners are taking place in China where commodities produced by prisoners are also being exported.⁹² According to China's law, it is illegal to export prison goods or labors which shows how law enforcement is turning a blind eye for the sake of economic gain.

4.9. Environmental Issues in Investment

China invests big amounts in energy sector and connectivity throughout the Asian and African regions where it is most needed. Most of these power plants are coal-powered and fossil-fuelled and dangerous for environment.⁹³ According to Emin, "China has no policy about environmental management in its foreign investments."⁹⁴ But domestically, China has addressed carbon emission under its 12th five-year plan. China is trying to reduce carbon level and Greenhouse gas by 2020. According to Sussams, in the 13th five-year plan, the growth of carbon emission will be reduced to 1.24% per annum by 2020.⁹⁵ These data implies that, China has concern over carbon in 21st century domestically but has a very little concern over the foreign projects as monetary gain is prioritized.

From the cases above, the mercantilist nature of Chinese investment policy can be identified in empirical field. Nature that shows the mercantilists outlooks in the ground are:

- a. Overpriced projects and high interest rates
- b. Debt traps and no scope for debt forgiveness

90 Shujie Leng, "Made In China — But Was It Made In A Prison?" NPR (March 29, 2014). <https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2014/03/28/295715854/made-in-China-but-was-it-made-in-a-prison>

91 Ibid.

92 Rossalyn Warren, "You Buy a Purse at Walmart. There's a Note inside from a 'Chinese Prisoner.' Now what?" Vox. Vox Media (October 10, 2018). <https://www.vox.com/the-goods/2018/10/10/17953106/walmart-prison-note-China-factory>.

93 For instance, the Payra Power Plant in Patuakhali, Bangladesh. Most of the Chinese Power plant projects are coal-fired in Asia and Africa.

94 Guillaume Emin, "80% of Chinese Foreign Investment In The Energy Sector Is In Fossil Energies | Beyond Ratings," Beyond Ratings (2019). <https://beyond-ratings.com/publications/80-of-chinese-foreign-investment-in-the-energy-sector-is-in-fossil-energies/>.

95 Luke Sussams, "China's 13Th Five Year Plan Offers No Hope for Coal Markets, Further Suppressing CO2 Emissions," Carbon Tracker Initiative (2016). <https://www.carbontracker.org/China-five-year-plan-coal-co2-emissions-renewables/>.



- c. Taking over of infrastructures like 17th or 18th century mercantilists that attacks direct on sovereignty of respective state
- d. Economic colonization in weaker states
- e. Making states dependent on China
- f. Lack of transparency and exposed corruption in projects
- g. Lacks ideological groundings
- h. Having no concern over environment, work ethics, labor rights and ever essential natural supply such as water or air
- i. Manipulating states in lavish and impractical projects
- j. Illegal activities related to projects such as illegal mining and unequal payments
- k. Economic militarism and military-private commercial relations
- l. Use of Prison labor under state owned enterprises
- m. Exporting Prison made goods
- n. Having no concern over domestic setting of respective state and no concern over human rights violation or related concerns
- o. Using the loans and projects to influence increased export from China that ultimately captures and destroys local market and competitions.

All these findings show that, China prefers less competitive and unequal economic relations which contradicts with early capitalist thinking. China's market philosophy and outlook leads us to believe that China's foreign trades and investments are actually in nature 'illiberal' and mercantilists in disguise of neo liberal capitalism which is the 'neo-mercantilism' in the 21st century; as in cases above Chinese investments are seeking ways to reduce cost and create more surplus which is the core concern of a mercantilist state using 'subtle' instruments that helps it to produce more surplus.

5. Aspects of Chinese Investment in Bangladesh

China has invested around 26 billion USD in Bangladesh mostly in connectivity and energy. At present, the Chinese debt is less high in Bangladesh relatively. Bangladesh's total external debt is 14% of its GDP in 2017.⁹⁶ At present China is the largest arms supplier for

96 Connor Fairman, "Payra Seaport Won't Be another Chinese 'Pearl'," The Diplomat (2019). <https://thediplomat.com/2019/08/payra-seaport-wont-be-another-chinese-pearl/>.



Bangladesh.⁹⁷ According to Dhaka Tribune report, “from 2009 to 2013, 82% of Bangladeshi arms are supplied by China.”⁹⁸ Apart from Japan, China is one of the leading contractors working in projects in Bangladesh right now and the partnership is recently announced as ‘Strategic Partnership’. There are several Chinese financed and maintained projects are going on in Bangladesh. Among them, Padma bridge project, Payra deep seaport and Coal-electric project are of most important ones. These projects not only have bilateral impacts but also have impact on geopolitics of this region.

5.1. Payra Port Project

Payra port is a deep seaport project in Patuakhali that will cost around 2 to 5 billion USD.⁹⁹ It is Bangladesh’s third seaport after Mongla and Chittagong port. It is under the public-private partnership project under the advising of Public private Partnership Authority that works under the office of Prime minister of Bangladesh.¹⁰⁰ According to Fairman, the project is financed by Exim Bank of China and the construction will be done by China Harbor Engineering Company (CHEC) and China State Engineering and Construction Company (CSCEC).¹⁰¹ These two companies also worked in Hambantota project.¹⁰² According to Fairman, the project is in a very unfeasible area with very poor supporting infrastructure.¹⁰³ On the other hand, According to New Age report citing prominent German scientist, Kudrass, the project will be very much costly and will face sedimentation problem in Rabnabad channel.¹⁰⁴ According to Kudrass, Rabnabad channel needs constant dredging to 15 meter deep as it is naturally prone to sedimentation to create accessible passage for ships.¹⁰⁵ According to Kudrass, it is just the start of the problem, as sediments will continue to refill the dredged space specially when cyclone occurs and it will clog up spaces and trap ships.¹⁰⁶ Maintaining open Rabnabad channel will be a costly process which is also difficult for rich countries. In the same report,

97 Sheikh Zaman, "China Biggest Arms Supplier to Bangladesh," Dhaka Tribune (2014). <https://www.dhakatribune.com/uncategorized/2014/03/17/China-biggest-arms-supplier-to-bangladesh>.

98 Ibid.

99 "Project Profile (Updated: 5 December 2019): 3Rd Sea Port (Payra Port Coal Terminal)" (2019). Pppo.Gov.Bd. http://www.pppo.gov.bd/projects-3rd-sea-port_payra-port-coal-terminal.php.

100 "Infrastructure Investment Facilitation Company (IIFC)". 2019. Iifc.Gov.Bd. <http://www.iifc.gov.bd/>.

101 Connor Fairman, "Payra Seaport Won't Be another Chinese 'Pearl'," The Diplomat (2019). <https://thediplomat.com/2019/08/payra-seaport-wont-be-another-chinese-pearl/>.

102 ibid

103 ibid

104 Emran Hossain, "High Sedimentation Might Render Payra Sea Port Unusable," New Age (2019). <http://www.newagebd.net/article/62327/high-sedimentation-might-render-payra-sea-port-unusable>.

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid.



citing the Chairman of Pyra Port Authority M Jahangir Alam also shows that, Investors which means Exim Bank of China ran their own feasibility test and is already aware of this problem.¹⁰⁷ These opinions and evidences create argument that, the concern is about the infrastructure from the investor's side, not about how the infrastructure will perform. Also this port is a lavish project with high maintenance cost and impractical in the sense that apart from bringing coal for adjacent power plant project, how Bangladesh will pay the loan if Kudrass proves right. Though both the Authority and Dr. Ainun Nishat, an expert denied that none of this will happen, one must keep in mind that, Kudrass has expertise of two decades of work in Bay of Bengal.

Apart from this, according to Mannan, The Environmental Impact Assessment on Pyra shows that the report mostly emphasized on local people being happy about new economic opportunities, though there are environmental risks on wildlife specially the river life and on Sundarban that is also situated there.¹⁰⁸

5.2. Payra Power Plant

Payra power plant is a coal-fired power plant that is being built under the joint venture of Bangladesh and China. It is under the joint venture company known a Bangladesh China Power Company Limited (BCPCL). Payra coal energy plant is capable of producing 1300 Mega Watt electricity. BCPCL gave the \$1.56 billion USD construction for the power plant to Chinese consortium consists with China Energy Engineering Group Northeast No.1, Electric Power Construction (NEPC) and China National Energy Engineering and Construction (CECC).¹⁰⁹ When the construction work began, Total 8000 workers were hired to work of whom, were 2700 Chinese workers and rests were Bengali.¹¹⁰ In June 18, 2019, a riot and protest broke out based on the death of a Bengali worker who was alleged to be murdered by Chinese counterpart. The protest also turned into violent conflict that also took life of one Chinese worker. According to New Age report, Bengali workers protested not only because of the death of fellow worker, but also due to discriminatory working and living condition and due

107 Ibid.

108 Mohammad Mannan, Environmental Impact Assessment of Payra Port (2019).. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.33250.79043.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331653470_Environmental_Impact_Assessment_of_Payra_Port_6109_546129104_1

109 "Payra Power Plant Coal-Fired Bangladesh 1,320MW", Ns energy business.Com (2019). <https://www.nsenerybusiness.com/projects/payra-power-plant/>.

110 Serajul Quadir "Chinese-Funded Power Plant in Bangladesh Delayed After Workers Clash". Reuters (2019). <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-bangladesh-China-workers/chinese-funded-power-plant-in-bangladesh-delayed-after-workers-clash-idUSKCN1TO0GQ>.



to poor safety level that led to the death of their fellow worker.¹¹¹ The same report also showed that, the condition and facilities of Bengali workers are comparatively worse than the Chinese workers of same level.¹¹²

5.3. Banshkhali Power Plant

Banshkhali power plant is another coal powered plant which is a joint venture between S Alam group from Bangladesh and SEPCO-3 and HTG group of China.¹¹³ This is the biggest privatization of energy sector in Bangladesh. According to New Age news, in april 2016, during a protest against this power plant by the locals in Gundamara, police opened fire killing 4 people.¹¹⁴ According to EJAtlas report, the protest started when S. Alam group started illegal and forceful land grabbing for the project where it grabbed 1700 acres of government land (khas jamin).¹¹⁵ According to Daily star news, the protest also showed the serious environmental damage to the area where locals are aware of other Chinese coal-fired power plant around the world.¹¹⁶ The same news also showed that, S. Alam group bought 660 acres of land from the locals by telling them that, the land will be used to set up garments and other factories that would also create job opportunities for the locals.¹¹⁷ This is a clear deception and illegal at the same time.

5.4. Padma Bridge Project

Padma Bridge is the most famous and largest construction project of the country. The total cost of this project right now is 3.68 Billion USD.¹¹⁸ This cost is 91% more than the initial costing.¹¹⁹ The project is running delay due to World banks withdrawal from the project due to allegation of corruption. Later Bangladesh started on self-funding which met finance from

111 New Age, "Credible Inquiry into Payra Power Plant Clash a Must" (2019). <http://www.newagebd.net/article/76204/credible-inquiry-into-payra-power-plant-clash-a-must>.

112 Ibid.

113 "Banshkhali Coal Power Station, Chittagong, Bangladesh | Ejatlas", Environmental Justice Atlas (2017). <https://ejatlas.org/conflict/banshkhali-coal-power-station-chittagong-bangladesh>.

114 New Age, "Protest At Coal-Fired Power Plant In Banshkhali : 4 Villagers Killed In Firing", (2016). <http://www.newagebd.net/217900/protest-at-coal-fired-power-plant-in-banshkhali/>.

115 "Banshkhali Coal Power Station, Chittagong, Bangladesh | Ejatlas", Environmental Justice Atlas (2017). <https://ejatlas.org/conflict/banshkhali-coal-power-station-chittagong-bangladesh>.

116 Kallol Mustafa, "Banshkhali Coal Power Plant Propaganda and Reality," The Daily Star (2016). <https://www.thedailystar.net/op-ed/politics/banshkhali-coal-power-plant-propaganda-and-reality-1208137>.

117 Ibid.

118 "General Information", PADMA MULTIPURPOSE BRIDGE PROJECT (Accessed December 26, 2019). <http://www.padmabridge.gov.bd/general.php>.

119 Rahman Ashikur, and Bazlul Haque Khondoker, Economic Cost-Benefit Analysis: Padma Bridge Project, Copenhagen Consensus Center (2016). https://www.copenhagenconsensus.com/sites/default/files/khondker_padma_bridge.pdf.



China 2.76 billion USD for the railroad financed by Exim Bank of China.¹²⁰ Currently this project is enlisted under BRI.¹²¹ The construction of the bridge is awarded to China Major Engineering Limited. According to the Daily star report, the payment of this company follows a condition where Bangladesh needs to pay 74% of total payment in foreign currency (Dollar) and only 26% in local currency.¹²² This shows the interesting aspect that the Chinese desire for dollar only and that it financed in this project to go back to its own reserve to reduce actual transaction cost.

5.5. Supplier's Credit Agreement

Supplier's credit is a financial term under which importer uses foreign importer to finance his purchase.¹²³ Bangladesh has signed supplier's credit agreement with Exim Bank of China.¹²⁴ According to Sattar et al. Suppliers credit is harmful for the developing and least developed country as it hardens terms and brings risk of poor quality product or service.¹²⁵ On the other hand, according to Emran, 'buyer's Credit' facility is another term that works on behalf of the buyer or importer by easing the financial conditions.¹²⁶ It also reduces interest rates to half.¹²⁷ In the Bangladesh China economic relations, we see the domination of Supplier's credit and barely use of 'Buyers credit' which is being popular day by day. Supplier's credit creates advantage for exporter which raises the debt of importer.¹²⁸ In one sentence, the

120BD News 24, "Bangladesh Signs \$2.76 Billion Loan Deal With China's Exim Bank for Padma Bridge Rail Links" (2018). <https://bdnews24.com/economy/2018/04/27/bangladesh-signs-2.76-billion-loan-deal-with-Chinas-exim-bank-for-padma-bridge-rail-links>.

121 "Padma Bridge Project Included in China's BRI." Prothom Alo (2019). https://en.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/news/194588/Padma-Bridge-project-included-in-China's-BRI?fbclid=IwAR3uVzh4LGw8MIUdGSv_pB8d2CmgXxb882GmwUD6XwKG8kenkTsaJs-5v-k.

122 The Daily Star, "Chinese Firm To Build Padma Bridge" (2014). <https://www.thedailystar.net/chinese-firm-to-build-padma-bridge-25227>.

123 "Suppliers Credit Definition | Finance Dictionary | MBA Skool-Study.Learn.Share," MBA Skool-Study.Learn.Share (2019). <https://www.mbaskool.com/business-concepts/finance-accounting-economics-terms/8640-suppliers-credit.html>.

124 Shakhawat Hossain, "\$156M Chinese Suppliers' Credit Agreed," New Age (2017). <http://www.newagebd.net/article/20344/156m-chinese-suppliers-credit-agreed>.

125 Zaidi Sattar, "Bangladesh Suppliers' Credit as External Finance Challenges For Fiscal and External Debt Management," World Bank (2000). <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTBANGLADESH/Data%20and%20Reference/22676972/BangladeshSuppliersCreditAsExternalFinance.pdf>.

126 Mohammad Emran, "Buyer's Credit Facility". The Financial Express (2017). <https://thefinancialexpress.com.bd/views/buyers-credit-facility-1504971593>.

127 Ibid.

128 Zaidi Sattar, "Bangladesh Suppliers' Credit as External Finance Challenges For Fiscal and External Debt Management," World Bank (2000). <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTBANGLADESH/Data%20and%20Reference/22676972/BangladeshSuppliersCreditAsExternalFinance.pdf>.



use of Supplier's credit creates unequal relations between Bangladesh and China by putting China in an advantageous position.

6. Neo-Mercantilist Elements in Bangladesh-China Economic Relations

From the last section that discussed the natures and aspects of Bangladesh-China economic relation, we can find similarities that matches with the mercantilist elements of Chinese investments discussed before.

a. Impractical and lavish projects: Like Hambantota or Montenegrin road case, Payra sea port can be identified as impractical and lavish projects due to its sedimentation problem and huge maintenance cost. Like Hambantota or Montenegrin road case, China and its construction companies mostly have their own infrastructural profit mind. Payra port is still in building but Kudrass's evidence and port authority's acknowledging the problem clearly shows that China only cares about the profit and high interests it will get as this port is also in a very unfeasible location which is the core motivation for mercantilism.

b. Less environmentalism, More Profit Orientation: Like cases of Kenyan railroad or mining in Ghana, Chinese projects in Bangladesh also shows zero concern over environmental management in Chinese projects as it would increase cost of the projects, which is a barrier in creating 'more surplus'.

c. Privatization: Banshkhali Power plant project and joint venture among S. Alam group and SEPCO-3 and HTG shows the 'privatization of national sectors' which is another characteristics of 21st century neo-mercantilism

d. Deception, corruption and poor management cost: S.Alam Group's land grabbing, deceiving the locals and poor management in Payra power plant shows the tendency to keep the cost as minimum as possible to generate more surplus for both China and its other stakeholders in Bangladesh. Bangladesh even blacklisted Chinese companies for their attempted bribery also.¹²⁹ The bribery case also shows 'the state patronized use of corruption' as an instrument to enhance financial gain.

e. Using of Illegal means: S.Alam group's illegal land grabbing, manipulating police to suppress the protests, no actual inquiry about the 'accidental' death of Bengali worker in Payra etc. shows the tendency to keep the project going on which generates money. Apart from

129 "Bangladesh Blacklists China Harbour Engineering for 'Bid to Bribe Secretary'." BDNews24 (2018). <https://bdnews24.com/business/2018/01/16/bangladesh-blacklists-China-harbour-engineering-for-bid-to-bribe-secretary>.



money or surplus, parties in the projects barely have other concerns such as labor rights, human rights etc.

f. Keeping the labor cost as minimum as possible: Discriminatory work condition in Payra, indifference towards ensuring work safety and low facilitation of workers all have one common goal. It is to keep the cost as minimum as possible which is one of the core mercantilist motivation.

g. Supplier's credit and Currency manipulation: Use of supplier's credit and China's being accused of currency manipulation to increase profit shows the mercantilist outlook towards its projects. Where Buyer's credit and commercial loan are being popular day by day, China is still sticking to supplier's credit which also enables China to export less quality products, which is another mercantilist motivation.

Based on the findings and ground realities in Bangladesh China economic relations, it is clear that, there are mercantilist elements in this relation where China, like it does in every other region, is promoting and exploiting an unequal relation with Bangladesh. Empirical findings of these elements reflect that, these sets of instruments are ultimately serving one purpose which is 'maximizing profit and minimizing cost and risk by creating unequal business relations'. This is the core characteristics of mercantilism. The realities given above also reflect Krickovic's and Amadeo's statement about mercantilism mentioned before.¹³⁰ The use of mercantilism by exploiting the need of development of relatively weaker states is another aspect that supports Kreiger's statement. According to Kreiger, at present, the methods [Neo-mercantilist] are subtler than before but the goal is the same as before [mercantilist].¹³¹ Here, in 21st century the wolf is not hunting openly as it did in 16th and 17th century rather it is now hiding under the clothing of a sheep named 'development' and doing what it did in 16th and 17th century in more subtle way.

130 According to Krickovics, neo-mercantilist states adopt wide range of instruments that helps them to gain most in the open world economy.

According to Amadeo, it is easy for communist states to use neo-mercantilism as state owns and controls the business organizations.

131 Gilbert Kreijger, "Promoting Trade: Germany First: The Return of Mercantilism," Handelsblatt.Com (2017). <https://www.handelsblatt.com/today/finance/promoting-trade-germany-first-the-return-of-mercantilism/23570190.html?ticket=ST-9301475-AVqvSybGaZjbsfiqsGRN-ap1>



7. Conclusion

China's economic reform under Deng Xiaoping and formation of 'Beijing Consensus' created the path for 'public private partnership' by favoring the then-marginalized capitalist class. This partnership with the course of time gained politico-economic aspect which created a mercantilist state with no ideological position. As a result, China's behavior as a state also changed in a very mercantile way. It became an authoritarian state internally but started promoting free-market and neo-liberal economy in its foreign policy in searching and expanding its market. This mercantilist state ended up in trades enjoying unequal position with counterparts and started exploiting through its geopolitics and capital investments. For China, to become the new superpower in 2050, economic superiority is a must. This realization motivated China to adopt neo-mercantilist policies in its economic relations both domestic and foreign. Bangladesh is facing a domestic demand of infrastructural development and this demand tilted Bangladesh towards China for its investments and soft loans with least terms and conditions. As a result, being a relatively weaker state, it also became engaged in an unequal economic relation with China where this paper finds that, there are mercantilist elements. Incidents and evidences of Chinese projects such as Payra seaport and power plant, Banshkhali power plant and Padma bridge project show that, China and Chinese investments have only one concern, which is, 'creating surplus in form of currency' which will enrich China's foreign reserve. Therefore, there are neo-mercantilist elements in Bangladesh-China economic relations. One must keep in mind that, it is not only China that has neo-mercantilist outlook in the 21st century, rather this research provides a better understanding how neo-mercantilist outlooks are being facilitated underneath Development and Aid politics as an old wolf hiding under sheep's clothing.

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The Dynamics of Internationalization for the China in the Context of New Gramscianism

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Abstract

The former Soviet Union lost the tug-of-war against the capitalist western hegemon United States of America as it got dissolved in 1991. The international system shifted dramatically from bipolarity to unipolarity for the benefit of the Pax Americana, and history was assumed to be ended in favour of it as clearly as indicated by Fukuyama in brief account. In International Relations literature, it could be observed that there are many scholars like offensive neorealist John Mearsheimer who produced seminal studies drawing our attention on the pros and cons of rising power, China. Our main argument is to make elaborations on what Cox theoretically put forward, upon which our assumption is that China wants to achieve what the former Soviet Union failed by using different, but not surprising, methodology: Not the war of movement based on the complete material power by disregarding other configurations of power as the former Soviet Union insisted on during the Cold War between 1945 up until its break down, but the war of position to achieve counter hegemony against the West is the strategy of China. For penetrating the idea, read Communist ideology, into the Western sphere of influence in the Third World, and on the globe in general, China put in motion the strategy of passive revolution via eco-soft power that is to be defined as outward investment for attraction and persuasion through material capacity to obtain consent (legitimacy).

Keyword: China, New Gramscianizm, Internationalization, Investment

Yeni Gramscianizm Bağlamında Çin için Uluslararasılaşmanın Dinamikleri

Özet

Eski Sovyetler Birliği, kapitalist batılı hegemon Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ne karşı olan çekişmeyi 1991'de dağıldığında kaybetti. Uluslararası sistem, dramatik bir şekilde iki kutupluluktan tek kutupluluğa Pax Americana'nın yararına kaydı ve tarihin, Fukuyama'nın kısaca ifade ettiği gibi, onun lehine sona erdiği varsayıldı. Uluslararası İlişkiler literatüründe, yeni ufuklar açan saldırgan yeni-gerçekçi kuram, John Mearsheimer gibi birçok bilim insanı tarafından dikkatimizi yükselen güç Çin'in artıları ve eksileri üzerine çektiği gözlemlenebilir. Ana argümanımız, Cox'un teorik olarak ortaya koyduğu ve Çin'in eski Sovyetler Birliği'nin başaramadığını, farklı ama şaşırtıcı olmayan bir metodoloji kullanarak, başarmak istediğini varsaydığımız detaylandırmalar yaparak, Çin'in, 1945'le Soğuk Savaş arasındaki hegemonyaya karşı mevzi savaşını verdiğini gözlemlemek. Üçüncü Dünya'da ve genel olarak dünya genelinde fikrini Batı etki alanına nüfuz etmek için, Komünist ideolojiyi okuyun, Çin, rıza (meşruiyet) elde etmek için materyal yoluyla çekim ve ikna için dışarıya yatırım olarak tanımlanacak eko-yumuşak güç yoluyla pasif devrim stratejisini harekete geçirdi.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çin, Yeni Gramscianizm, Uluslararasılaşma, Yatırım

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1. Introduction

In the context of New Gramsci thought, China, without displacing the existing power configurations of Western world order, will be locked in an unproductive passive revolution which has no stimulating impact on the popular force in the long-term, and Western idea has been profoundly embedded in the international society.

China has been paving way for the stalemate which results from western intensive and complex transformism (read co-option of the developing states through either coercion or consent for the purpose of keeping consolidated its hegemony to cope with conflict of interest) likely to function at the expense of China. The U.S, though some exception justifies the opposite for some cases in the past, has proved it is expert in the containment policy with the reciprocal interaction of material power, idea and institutions. As underlined by Cox, for a new hegemony, social forces generated by changing production process are to be taken into account. Without understanding the hegemonic strategy in Western origin within the framework of historical structure composed of three main spheres of such activity as the social forces, forms of state and world orders, each of which ought “to be considered separately and represented in a preliminary approximation as particular power configurations of material capabilities, ideas and institutions as articulated by Robert Cox, no counter hegemony could conduct a rival historical structure either against the prevalent western hegemony or independent of transnational social forces.

“The purpose of the article is to focus on the dynamics of internationalization and outward investment strategy of China in the context of Neo-Gramscian approach in international political economy. The primary objective is to coming to a conclusive statement expected to be free from previous approaches that take the concept of hegemony from the standpoint of the nation-state and inter-state system”¹

In the context of new Gramscian, we can detect divergences between national social forces in China from both within and without China by focusing on FDI in China and abroad China, and transnational social forces which built the global hegemony historically originating

1 Maxim Boycko, Andrei Shleifer, and Robert W. Vishny, “A Theory of Privatization,” mimeo., Harvard University (Massachusetts: University Press, 1993), 99-101.



in the West. China particularly has been implementing continuously numerous strategies to increase the efficiency of the State-owned enterprises (SOEs) since 1978.

The reforms to enhance internal governance standards were in a simple framework to set up a balance between control and autonomy in the SOEs by focusing on the problem of economic inefficiency, management entrenchment, redundancy and mismanagement due to wrong allocation of factors of production by disregarding the effect of opportunity cost and so on²

Today, China still controlling intensively SOEs has been attempting to realize transformation of its economics, by means of “renewed mixed ownership” as of 2013, from an investment-driven export economy to an innovation-led economy³. While attracting the inflow of direct foreign investment (FDI)⁴ to mitigate the financial cost of unemployment, China, within its outward investment strategy, has been “investing the dollars generated by this inflow, by a growing trade surplus (Table X) and by speculation capital in fixed interest rate US treasury bonds to hold down its currency and protect its domestic economy⁵. Chinese multinationals set up joint ventures with western-driven multinationals within China before establishing outward investments.⁶ Moreover, China benefited from global equity joint-venture and M&As (Mergers and acquisitions) for the goal of obtaining crucial raw materials, natural resources. The establishment of SASAC (The state-owned Assets Supervision and Administrative

2 William Byrd, “Contractual Responsibility Systems in Chinese State-Owned Industry,” in *Advances in Chinese Industrial Studies* 2, (Greenwich: CT: JAI Press, 1991): 25.

3 Amir Guluzade, provides us an example for mixed ownership; “The government went as far as introducing mixed ownership in telecoms company China Unicom, by selling shares worth around \$11 billion to 14 private investors. This was done as a step towards making China Unicom more accountable and more focused on generating returns on equity, while retaining state control”, Explained, the role of China’s state-owned companies, World Economic Forum, available at <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/05/why-chinas-state-owned-companies-still-have-a-key-role-to-play/> (04.05. 2020).

4 See, “In July 2012, when China was seeing huge capital inflows and sitting on a massive foreign exchange reserve, the government issued a policy guideline encouraging private companies to pursue foreign expansion and urged state banks to support their efforts”, South China Morning Post, Nov. 2018, available at <https://www.scmp.com/economy/china-economy/article/2173469/china-pledges-more-support-private-firms-investing-abroad-12>. (05.05.2020).

5 Gary H. Jefferson and Wenyi Xu, “The Impact of Reform on Socialist Enterprises in Transition: Structure, Conduct, and Performance in Chinese Industry,” *Journal of Comparative Economics* 15, no.1 (London: 1991): 45-64.

6 Hong Sun. “Dynamics of Internationalization and Outward Investment: Chinese Corporations’ Strategies”. *The China Quarterly*, no. 187 (New York: Red Press, 2006): 610–634.



Commission) in March 2003 contributed to this kind of transformation process primarily through M&As⁷.

“China’s foreign direct investment abroad was in steady increase up until 2017 when it dropped by 19, 3 % if compared with the previous year. This is actually the biggest dip since 2003. Apart from some security reasons, for instance, 5G network ban was imposed on Huawei in United States and Austria, China has already reached to its full extent in its assembly role in some export markets and world supply chains. Furthermore, China’s comparative advantage of low-skilled manufacturing has been deteriorating due to upward adjustment of Renminbi periodically and rising cost of labour.⁸”

“The indefinite trade war, which broke out as United States imposed 25% tariffs on Chinese imports due to constantly increasing trade deficit of United States and its pressure on China to appreciate more the value of Yuan against dollar and in response retaliation by China on American imports, commenced on July 7, 2018 between Donald Trump as the President of the United States and Xi Jinping as the President of People’s Republic of China.⁹”

This war coincides with Chinese state objective of, “Made in China 2025” implying that for China “new engines of growth in higher value-added industries will be increasingly more technology- and knowledge-intensive, placing a high premium on effective innovation and investment in education and research and development. For recent developments about Chinese export volume, Financial Times publicized on January 2020 that “China’s export growth slowed to a three-year low last year as the effects of trade tensions with the US and a slowing global economy took their toll”¹⁰.

⁷See, Ligang Song indicates the important role of Chinese SOEs as the backbone of Chinese economy and its internationalization; “China’s SOEs continue to play a significant role in several strategic industries, including new sources of energy, telecommunications and information technology, automation, transport equipment (such as automobiles, aviation, shipbuilding and high-speed railways), new materials, space technologies, construction materials and infrastructure development. The government has also called on SOEs to play a critical role in achieving the goals of the ‘Made in China 2025’ policy, which aims to build high-end manufacturing industries across all key industrial sectors”, State-owned enterprise reform in China: Past, present and prospects, Ch. 19., pp. 345-374.

⁸Theodore Groves, Yongmiao Hong, John McMillan, and Barry Naughton, “Productivity Growth in Chinese State-Run Industry.” in *China’s State-Owned Enterprise Reforms*, ed. Dong Fureng, Cyril Lin, and Barry Naughton (London, UK: Macmillan, 1993), 134-136.

⁹Chen Kuan, et al., “Productivity Change in Chinese Industry: 1953-1985.” *Journal of Comparative Economics* 12, no.4 (1988): 570-591.

¹⁰“Chinese export growth slows to 3-year low”, Jan. 2020, available at <https://www.ft.com/content/39a57f14-367f-11ea-a6d3-9a26f8c3cba4>. (28.04.2020).



“No matter do the industrialized states, the United States in particular which has been steadily and constantly losing its economic sphere of influence in the international society, began to conduct protectionist strategy against China enjoying huge amount of foreign exchange reserves, and outbreak of unprecedented pandemic crisis COVID19 together with recession in world economy, China will not stop allocating funds to strategic assets and investments abroad via M&As”¹¹.

Free trade has nothing to do with zero-sum game. However, as indicated by Kenneth Waltz clearly, what to be taken into account in reality in global politics is the game of worst-case scenario-driven states, by which the gain by one is a loss for the other in this self-help system of anarchy. However, free trade, considering the comparative advantage and the effect of opportunity cost, is a positive-sum game in which no one wins at the expense of the other since some states produces relatively at lower cost than the other in this ever-complex interdependent global world.

“Upon all those economic developments mentioned above in brief, the article will try to present the readers that China is purely at the cross roads of becoming giant material power engaged by trade wars with the United States in contemporary period of time or being socially good, or both in its interaction with the international society as an active opportunist participant.”¹² “The article penned by Min-Hyung Kim makes a challenging claim that it is the American fear about its inevitable collapsing hegemony and rising power of China as a power challenging the US hegemony, which is to be assumed as the underlying cause of the US-launched trade war with China, and this trade war is to be regarded as in effect political (The US-Sino hegemonic rivalry), but not economic”¹³. Joseph Nye brought forward more flexible understanding about the declining of US hegemony: Not the absolute decline, but relative decline without doubt. In the context of smart power, the U.S has the capacity and capability to make a trade-off between hard power and soft power.

China wants to achieve what the former Soviet Union failed by using different, but not surprising, methodology: “Not the war of movement based on the complete material power by

11 In 2002, the China National Offshore Oil Corporation became the largest foreign oil producer in Indonesia after its takeover (for US\$585 million) of Repsol Indonesia. In 2016, China was the largest investor in Africa, making up 39 percent of global investment inflows.

12 Dollar David, “Economic Reform and Allocative Efficiency in China's State-Owned Industry.” *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 39, no.1 (1990): 89-105.

13 McAfee, R, Preston, and John McMillan, “Organizational Diseconomies of Scale,” mimeo, University of California, (San Diego: University Press, 1991), 21-23.



disregarding other configurations of power as the former Soviet Union insisted on during the Cold War between 1945 by getting entangled with nuclear proliferation up until its break down, but the war of position to achieve counter hegemony in the long run against the West is the international strategy of China.” For penetrating the idea, read Communist ideology, into the Western sphere of influence in the Third World, China put in motion the strategy of passive revolution via eco-soft power, outward investment for attraction and persuasion through exploiting its huge material capacity to obtain consent (legitimacy).

In the context of New Gramsci thought, China, without displacing the existing power configurations of Western world order, will be locked in an unproductive passive revolution which has both no stimulating impact on the popular force profoundly embedded in the international society especially as of the end of the Second World War considering the political and economic international institutions.

“China has been paving way for the stalemate which results from western intensive and complex transformism (read co-option of the developing states through either coercion or consent for the purpose of keeping consolidated its hegemony) likely to function at the expense of China. However, what makes the matter more complicated than ever is that there is a conflict of interest in the core state, the United States, since Trump began to implement protectionism, by the motto of “Make America Great Again” (MAGA) in the context of national economy (Neo-Mercantilism), which is what transnational social class do not like.”¹⁴

Cox, perfectly illustrates in his article that within the established hegemony, the alternative strategy must be set up as an alternative order to be built through war of position by which “alternative institutions and alternative intellectual resources within existing society would be created for building bridges between workers and other subordinate class”¹⁵

Actually, the abstractions of his article can be applied for the purpose of seeking the prospect of alternative hegemony independent of transnational social forces beyond the existing world order. More specifically, we are looking for the answer about how those social forces which turned out to be a transnational class who formed the state as a hegemon, read the United

14 Paul Milgrom and John Roberts, “Bargaining and Influence Costs and the Organization of Economic Activity.” in *Rational Perspectives on Political Economy*, ed. J. Alt and K. Shepsle, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press: 1990), 45-49.

15 Robert Cox, “Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 10, no.2 (1981): 126–155.



States, are different from national social forces in China with regards to their emergence and going beyond the political borders, and conducting eventually a world order at final stage through focusing at each level on material capacity, idea and institutions in the context of comparative hegemony.

Through analysing transnational social forces in detail, the primary objective is to coming to a conclusive statement expected to be free from previous approaches that take the concept of hegemony from the standpoint of the nation-state and inter-state system. Is China really free from the network of transnational forces if we look at the convergences and divergences in methodology between China and those who built the global order? The unit of analysis is state, like the convention that “the empire of the capital under the control of TNC (Transnational corporations) is headquartered in Washington”¹⁶

2. Historical structure of hegemony within the state

As underlined by Cox, for a new hegemony, social forces generated by changing production process are to be taken into account. Without a comprehensive understanding of the hegemonic strategy in Western origin within the framework of historical structure composed of three main spheres of such activity as the social forces, forms of state and world orders, each of which ought “to be assumed in separate and represented in a preliminary approximation as particular power configurations of material capabilities, ideas and institutions” as articulated by Robert Cox, no counter hegemony could conduct a rival historical structure from within or from without the historical bloc, or against either the prevalent western hegemony or independent of transnational social forces in international relation.

By the same token, some attempts for counter hegemony were locked in the dialectic between revolution-restoration, or progressive and reactionary, and transformismo under the roof of passive revolution sooner rather than later.¹⁷ The purpose of the article is to focus on the dynamics of internationalization and outward investment strategy of China in the context of Neo-Gramscian approach in international political economy under the title of comparative hegemony.

16 Robert C. Miljus and William M. Moore, “Economic Reform and Workplace Conflict Resolution in China.” *Columbia Journal of World Business* 25, no.4 (1990): 49-59.

17 Naughton, Barry, “Hierarchy and the Bargaining Economy: Government and Enterprise in the Reform Process,” in *Bureaucracy, Politics, and Decision-Making in Post-Mao China*, ed. Kenneth G. Lieberthal and David M. Lampton (Berkeley: University of California Press: 1991), 65-70.



Before paying attention on Chinese economic transformation in the context of Neo-Gramscian approach, for the objective of theoretical framework, the article will focus firstly on the international historical structure produced global hegemony in accordance with the well-known premise articulated by Robert Cox.

Robert Cox actually tried to apply Gramscian conceptualization of hegemony for the international relations. As he mentioned in his ground-breaking article, not all Western European societies were to be regarded as bourgeoisie hegemonies.¹⁸

United Kingdom in the 19th century and the United States of America in the 20th century deeply underwent an all-throughout social revolution by means of new, and changing as well, modes of production and intensive social relations through a successful dialogue between traditional intellectual class and organic intellectual class of workers and peasants, which is a prerequisite for passage from the structure to the very complex and complicated sphere of superstructure in order to realize movement towards hegemony. The other societies only imported new orders without displacing the old order. Therefore, they were all caught up in between the unproductive, due to not leading to rising of popular force, dialectic of revolution and restoration, and transformismo as well. Such an inevitable resulting stalemate of the new industrial bourgeoisie (read intermediary between the population and the state) with the (idea of) traditional dominant class (state) due to lack of intense dialogue, namely between superstructure and structure, will bring only about the conditions of passive revolution.

Cox particularly presents us details about transformismo to let us figure out passive revolution in such a way that it serves “as a strategy in a simple framework to assimilate, domesticate any idea or interest, and halt the formation of any class-based formation which is in opposition of established (traditional) social and political power”¹⁹

For giving formulation for the movement towards Gramscian hegemony which has nothing to do with passive revolution: by social revolution by means of new modes of production and intense & reciprocal social relations, class-based organizations/groups (workers & peasants) will get passage from structure towards the complicated superstructure. Thus, the interests of the leading class (superstructure) will eventually get into harmony with those of

18 Robert Cox, “Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations,” *Millennium Journal of International Studies* 12, no.2 (1983): 162-175.

19 Ibid.



subordinate classes. Thus, we observe incorporation of all the interests into a universal ideology.

Gramsci actually draw our attention to create consciousness that bourgeoisie intellectuals had already done for the whole society and created its own hegemony. The organic intellectuals of the subordinate class to create a new hegemonic block should perform similar role within the same society. Otherwise, transformismo will be experienced, in which any interest of class-based organizations will be co-opted, assimilated, domesticated. For Cox, superstructures of ideology and political organization shape the development in modes of production, and are shaped by it.

For Gramsci, fascist Italy failed in its attempt while introducing advanced industrial practice of American capitalism under the old order of Italy. Social forces are generated by changing modes of production. “Components of passive revolution is appropriate for industrializing Third World countries in which there is no dominant class could set up a hegemony in effect since old owner classes were sustained, for instance either by Napoleon Bonaparte as revolutionist/progressive, or Napoleon III as the reactionary), but yet unable to attract the support of subaltern groups.”²⁰

Subaltern groups were domesticated, co-opted, and assimilated. Undergoing an all-throughout social revolution by means of new, and changing as well, modes of production and intensive social relations through a successful dialogue among each strata of society reciprocally from bottom of structure to the top (complex superstructure). Not be disregarded that dominant coalition of new industrial bourgeoisie and traditional order class adjusted the subaltern groups to their policies by assimilating, and domesticating and co-opting. Gramsci primarily focused on the failure of the new bourgeoisie to achieve popular force among subaltern groups. The only solution for him, to accomplish “collective intellectual” to build a new bloc, is to set up organic intellectuals of the working class for an intellectual bond with the (new industrial) bourgeoisie intellectuals. Otherwise, as happened during fascist Italy, without both intense social relations and discarding the old order, there will be passive revolution, implying no hegemony that is not based on consent.

20 Andrew G. Walder, “Wage Reform and the Web of Factory Interests,” *The China Quarterly*, no. 109 (1987): 23-41.



3. Gramscian approach and international relations

Gramscian approach claims that “basic changes in international power relations or world order can be traced to fundamental changes in social relations”.²¹ Furthermore, “great powers have relative freedom to determine their foreign policies in response to domestic interests, since their working class managed to nationalize itself, while “economic life of subordinate nations is penetrated by powerful nations.

“Let us reiterate the core point that Powerful nations experienced an all-throughout social revolution by means of new, and changing as well, modes of production and intensive social relations through a successful dialogue between traditional, including new industrial, intellectual class and organic intellectual class of workers and peasants, which is a prerequisite for passage from the structure to the very complex and complicated sphere of superstructure in order to realize movement towards hegemony. Subordinate nations are to be assumed as simply “the reflection of international developments which transmit their ideological currents to the periphery”²²

“Previously, the details were presented about the national hegemony. In this section, it will be in brief account given the transformation of national hegemony into transnational hegemony in the context of New Gramscian approach. Hegemonies are founded by powerful states which had experienced all-throughout social and economic revolution in domestic realm. Revolution modifies the internal political and economic structures of the state, and the energy out of this revolution forming the state moves beyond the state boundaries in search of new markets. Thus, national hegemony, which is established by dominant class, within the state turns out to be, by outward expansion, world hegemony. Thus, institutions, the culture (idea)

21 Andreas Bieler and Adam David Morton, “A Critical Theory Route to Hegemony, World Order, and Historic Change: Neo-Gramscian Perspective in International Relations,” *Capital and Class* 28, no.1 (Spring 2004): 85–118. These three realms are not deterministic or linear. The base and superstructure tend to reinforce each other in hegemonic systems but they cannot be reduced to each other. Conditions of production set limits on ideological and juridical activity but do not determine them. It is important to keep in mind that the elements of the superstructure enjoy a level of relative autonomy and serve as a venue for the expression of a plurality of interests, not all of which move in lockstep with the interests of economic elites. For a fuller discussion of this point, see James Martin, “Hegemony and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Gramsci,” *History of the Human Sciences* 10, no.1 (1997): 37–56.

22 Robert Cox, “Gramsci, Hegemony, and International Relations: An Essay in Method,” in *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*, ed. Stephen Gill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 57–58.



and the technology to be associated with the national hegemony inevitably become a pattern for emulation abroad.”²³

“The negative impact of the expansion of world hegemony on the periphery is also the passive revolution which is due to failure of eliminating old order, achieving political and economic revolution to gather popular support from the bottom due to lack of social relations, as mentioned in detail previously.”²⁴ Without breaking down the old order, incorporating elements from the Western world hegemonic model will just lead to unproductive revolution called passive revolution.

“The hegemonic world order is not only about the regulation of inter-state conflict, but a globally conceived civil society, since the social force within the nation hegemony, after forming the state as hegemon, now manages to have strong voice in the world by penetrating into the Third World countries.”²⁵ They are now transnational social force within a global economy with a (dominant) mode of production under their control, and they do penetrate into and the peripheral countries by linking them into world capital system, to be sure at the expense of periphery. Thus, Cox does apply Gramscian concept of transformismo on international political economy. Transformismo absorbs any counter hegemonic ideas and makes them in consistent with hegemonic doctrines. For Cox, it is totally an illusion to suppose a war of movement in international relations with regards to seizing the control of the superstructure of international institutions.

According to new Gramscian approach, “the norms of world hegemony are expressed by international institutions. They do facilitate the expansion of hegemonic world order, and they also legitimate the norms of the world order apart from co-opting the elites of peripheral states. They do absorb any counter hegemonic ideas.”²⁶ The Bretton Woods institutions have been maintaining the principles of commitment to harmonize national policies in the interest of a liberal world economy. Like Marshall Aid, IMF is helping periphery states for economic recovery conditionally. What makes the case more complicated about whether international

23 Werner Baer, William R. Miles, and Allen B. Moran, “The End of the Asian Myth: Why Were the Experts Fooled?” *World Development* 27, no.10 (1999): 1735–1747.

24 Joseph Stiglitz, *Freefall: America, Free Markets, and the Sinking of the World Economy* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), 22-23.

25 Robert Cox, *Production, Power and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 29.

26 Catherine Kingfisher and Jeff Maskovsky, “Introduction: The Limits of Neoliberalism,” *Critique of Anthropology* 28, no. 2 (2008): 115–126.



institutions like IMF and World Bank have been paving way for autonomous organizations are the voting weight of the United States? Formal participation is weighted in favour of the dominant power the United States.

Considering the contemporary global political and economic relations, the US-driven world order has not been working properly, and we definitely observe more intensively, since Sept. 11 and significant financial crisis off 2008, concerted demands by the Third World states for the New International Economic Order through asserting on the counter hegemony. As can be witnessed at the United Nations the voting power of permanent members, the dominant state (the U.S.A.) secure the acquiescence of the other states in accordance with the hierarchy of powers within the inter-state structure of hegemony. Globally conceived civil society co-opts any outstanding individuals from the periphery into international institutions, or international system, in the manner of transformismo (passive revolution).

4. China beyond the Homeland: Chinese Foreign Direct Investment Abroad

“As explained in previous paragraphs, the SOEs are to be classified by two distinct segments: commercial and public service. Commercial SOEs are put into a further division into perfect competitive sectors and strategic sectors- i.e. key industries to be linked with national security and lifelines of Chinese national economic. The Commercial SOEs were allowed to compete freely with the private sector in China. SASAC did accomplish to facilitate the M&As by the merger of 20 central SOEs during the 2012–2018 period. China’s goals by the joint ventures and particularly M&As are to promote the competitive power of SOEs to fulfill, for instance, the “One Belt, One Road” project (initiative).”²⁷

“China has been constantly attracting direct foreign investment. In addition to the inflow of foreign direct investment, very dynamic export activities have been facilitated by the relatively less valuable Chinese currency Renminbi (RMB) in comparison to the US dollar. China put great emphasize on preserving current, stable exchange rate since its economic growth based on export-oriented economics, and any negative fluctuations, that is appreciation of RMB against US dollar, in the value of RMB would directly create negative impact on

²⁷ Furthermore see; undoubtedly, the most dramatic moment of realization about this point came from the high priest of neoliberalism in the United States, former Federal Reserve Chair Alan Greenspan. According to the October 24, 2008, New York Times, under questioning from Representative Henry A. Waxman Greenspan admitted that his anti-regulatory ideology and belief in rational markets was, at least in part, wrong. See:, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v¼PWen53eqmJo>.



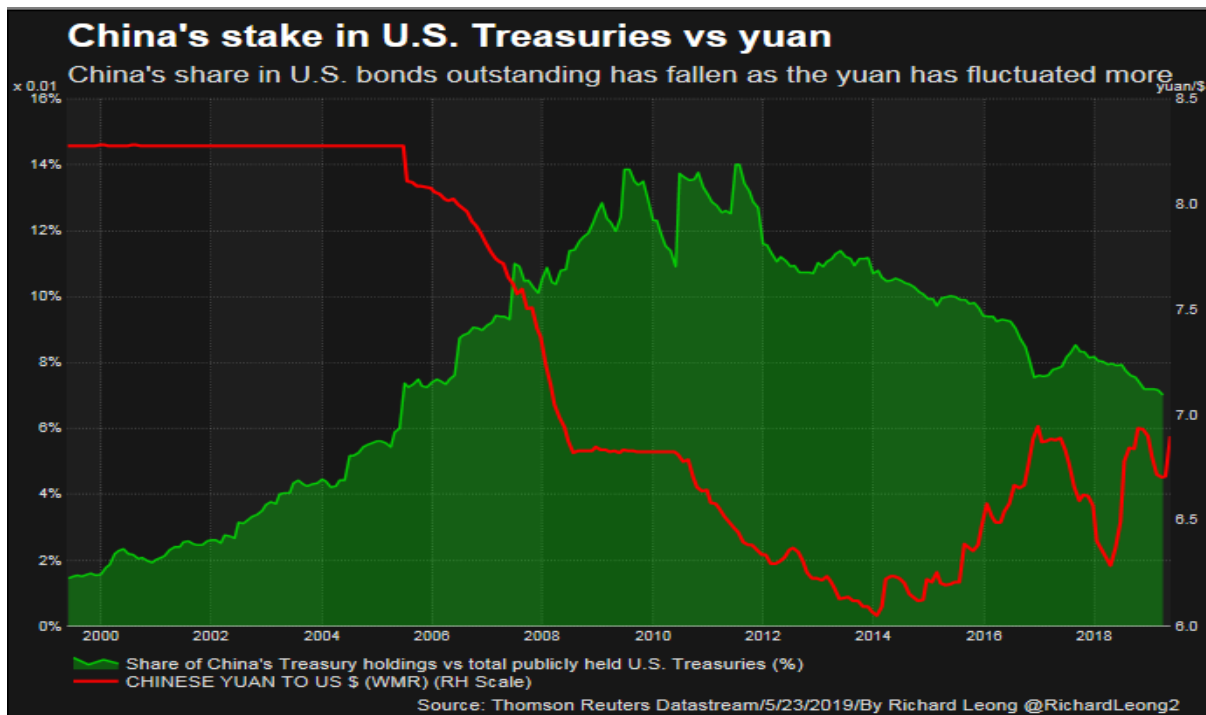
unemployment. China holds huge amount of foreign exchange reserves, more than \$ 3 trillion, if compared with particularly Core states like the US due to balance of payment surplus generated by increasing trade surplus and by the inflow of FDI into China.”²⁸

“For China, the U.S. Treasury market is a natural place and much more liquid pool of safe assets than other developed economies. The intensifying trade wars revealed the fact that there emerged more and more pressure on China because of holding more than 60 % of its huge foreign reserves in US dollar-denominated assets and particularly treasury bonds (\$ 1, 1 trillion dollars). Less valuable Chinese national currency (RMB) will make positive contribution into both Chinese foreign exchange reserves and macroeconomics, namely controlling unemployment, but more depreciated US dollar will diminish the value of the reserves since Chinese foreign-exchange reserves mostly composed of US dollar-denominated assets.”²⁹

China, since the financial crisis of 2008 (so called the Mortgage crisis), has been diversifying its assets in US treasury bills into other currencies for both decreasing its reliance on the US dollar and saving itself from the constraints of depreciated dollar. However, the cost of selling the US bills that is the primary means to hold down its currency since Chinese currency is not fully free floating is the fluctuation of the RMB, namely appreciation of Renminbi.

28 Catherine Kingfisher and Jeff Maskovsky, “Introduction: The Limits of Neoliberalism,” 115–126.

29 Stephen Gill and David Law, “Global Hegemony and the Structural Power of Capital,” in Gramsci, *Historical Materialism and International Relations*, ed. Stephen Gill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 93.



The US as debtor still disturbed for seeing China as becoming creditor to the US. Almost 60% foreign exchange reserves of China have been held in US dollar denominated assets, and over \$ 1, 1 trillion out of almost \$ 3 trillion of its foreign-exchange reserves is held in US treasury bills. Considering the total US debt, \$ 21,97 and in particular \$ 6,3 trillion of US debts in total held by foreigners, Chinese investment in US assets, mostly the US treasury bills and bonds, is covering around 17,3 % of US total debt hold by foreigners.

This comes to the Trump Administration very disturbing. That is why, Trump simply wants China to put its currency into full floating exchange regime. What comes disturbing to the United States creates pressure on China because of holding 60 % of its foreign exchange reserves in dollar-denominated assets. Already depreciated value of the dollar currency is for the benefit of the export-led Chinese economy. More depreciation may well not just devastate the foreign exchange reserves of China due to, again and again, holding its assets in reserve in US dollar assets, considering the fact that selling treasure bills will decrease the price value of bills and bonds, but decrease the yield certainly, cheapening Yuan may lead to the acceleration of foreign exchange flight.



U.S. Debt: The Big Picture

The United States federal debt currently sits at \$22 trillion, and it's held by a range of domestic and foreign investors.

Entity	Debt Holdings	Share of Total
U.S. Government and Federal Reserve	\$8.1 trillion	36.8%
Foreign and international	\$6.3 trillion	28.5%
Mutual funds	\$2.06 trillion	9.4%
Pension funds	\$0.92 trillion	4.2%
Banks	\$0.77 trillion	3.5%
State and local governments	\$0.69 trillion	3.1%
Other investors	\$3.18 trillion	14.5%
Total	\$21.97 trillion	100.0%

Low labour cost together with the scale of economics based on the model of producing more to decrease the cost of per unit of production let China enjoy strong competitive power in international market, trade surplus, and most significantly it is the low labour cost and less valuable RMB attracted the inflow of foreign direct investment. The puzzle for China is how to redress the trade balance without affecting too much the US currency.³⁰

More specifically, depreciated dollar is good for China, but too much decrease in the dollar value will hit the assets most of which invested in US dollar denominated assets like treasury bills.³¹ If USD gets appreciated against RMB, that means exchange rate of the US dollar increase against RMB, Chinese exports and inflow of foreign investment will increase. Again, the puzzle is to determine how much depreciated dollar is good for China. Under the trade war, the exchange rate became a great puzzle for China due to pressure by the Trump administration to reevaluate Yuan.³²

“The Trump administration has been complaining that trade with China has been functioning for a long time at the expense of American interest. That’s why, it imposed certain number of tariff rates on Chinese goods imported by the USA from China. American concern is whether China might opt to weaponize its US treasury bills (approximately \$ 1,1 trillion worth)- Table in direct retaliation against the tariffs by the US on Chinese goods since selling

30 Abigail McWilliams and Donald Siegel, “Corporate Social Responsibility: A Theory of Firm Perspective”, *Academy of Management Review* 26, no.1 (2001): 117-127.

31 Chong-En Bai et al., “Multitask Theory of State Enterprise Reform,” *Journal of Comparative Economics* 28, no. 4 (2000): 716-738.

32 Chong-En Bai, Jiangyong Lu and Zhigang Tao, How does privatization work in China? *Journal of Comparative Economics* 37, no.3 (2009): 453-470.



assets will likely to destabilize world financial market, but especially drive interest rates up on everything from corporate bonds to homeowners' mortgages. In addition to dramatic increase in the cost of borrowing for the US government, unemployment will increase under high interest rate pressure on either international or American domestic market.³³ "We may well observe erosion of global investor's confidence in the US dollar which is still the top reserve currency in global economic system as can be seen in table x that US is the strongest currency in the composition of FX reserves. Depreciation of the value of dollar against RMB may well lead to the situation in which China may well lose the financial power of its foreign exchange reserves, more than 60 % of which composed of US dollar-denominated assets and treasury bills."³⁴

By some investment channels, China wanted not only to manage its foreign exchange reserves efficiently through diversifying its US dollar-denominated assets, majority of which is US treasury bills, in its reserves, but also incorporate itself into global competition.³⁵ In a broad approach, for Chinese internationalisation strategy, it has great significance and essential to acquire more advanced foreign technologies, R&D foundations, managerial know-how, network of distribution, and brand new names in the industrialized, advanced core states.³⁶ For such a purpose, the United States has always become ever most attractive state for China. It had already entered into transnational (multinational) joint ventures and M&As and green-field investments with Western multinationals within China before commencing the overseas expansion.³⁷

"Serving the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and "going out" strategy of the SOEs was supposed to be achieved through mergers which were to provide financial resources for overseas M&As and R&D. The merger of China CSR Corp and China CNR in 2015 is one of the most significant examples for M&As. Before 2000, they belonged to one company that was China National Railway Locomotive and Rolling Stock industry Corporation."³⁸

33 Robert Cox, "Gramsci, Hegemony, and International Relations: An Essay in Method," 57–58.

34 Robert Cox, "The Way Ahead: Toward a New Ontology of World Order," in *Critical Theory and World Politics*, ed. Richard Wyn Jones (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001): 50.

35 Donghua Chen, Ming Jian and Ming Xu, "Dividends for tunneling in a regulated economy: The case of China", *Pacific-Basin Finance Journal* 17, no. 2 (2009): 209-223.

36 Alfredo Saad-Filho and Alison J. Ayers, "Production, Class, and Power in the Neoliberal Transition: A Critique of Coxian Eclecticism," in *Gramsci, Political Economy and International Relations Theory*, ed. Alison J. Ayers (2015), 121.

37 *Ibid.*, 125.

38 Jonathan Anderson, "Is China Export-Led?," USB Investment Research, USB Securities Asia, 2007, http://www.allroadsleadtochina.com/reports/prc_270907.pdf.



“In September 2000, the State Council decided to split this company. However, due to price wars between both CSR and CNR urged China to merge them into one company (CRM (China Railway Material) to increase competitiveness of Chinese highspeed trains in the international market, and to prevent loss of revenue due to the price wars as experienced in 2011 when a South Korean firm managed to grasp the Turkish contract for Istanbul Metro.”³⁹

Initial Public Offering (IPO) is another strategy for China in the United States. Some Chinese companies began to go public to raise capital in hard currency and recreate a positive international image. By the end of 2006⁴⁰, 43 Chinese companies (SOEs) have already been listed on NASDAQ and 26 of the Chinese giant companies on the NYSE, apart from the 426 of them were on the list in Hong Kong.⁴¹ Moreover, three Chinese companies which are Qiao Xing Mobile, Acorn International as producer of Television and LDK solar as a manufacturer of solar panel, in total raised \$ 1 billion in the United States by going public (IPO).⁴²

“In 2002, the China National Offshore Oil Corporation managed to become the biggest and the largest foreign oil producer in Indonesia after its takeover of Repsol Indonesia for about US\$585 million. In 2016, China achieved to become the major investor in Africa, which means to make up 39 percent of global investment inflows into Africa.”⁴³

“As of accession to the World Trade Organization in 2001, China eased restrictions on overseas expansion by the “going out” strategy particularly via the State Administration of Foreign Exchange (SAFE) as of April 2006.”⁴⁴ “SAFE expanded more the range of investment-abroad channels for both domestic institutions and Chinese citizens to let them purchase, acquire assets abroad without prior approval. The bureaucratic procedures to purchase foreign currency via domestic (state-owned) commercial banks and controlling outflow of capital have

39 James Crotty, “Structural Contradictions of the Global Neoliberal Regime,” paper presented at Union for Radical Political Economics at the Allied Social Science Association meetings, Boston, MA, (January 7–9, 2000), 2.

40 More see; by 2005, the distinction between FCs and NFCs, both in terms of strategies of accumulation and reliance on globalized chains of productions and finance had become indistinct at best. As Greta R. Krippner notes in her analysis of American corporations, the two kinds of corporations had effectively merged into a single form with a global reach. See Greta R. Krippner, “The Financialization of the American Economy,” *Socio-Economic Review* 3, no.2 (2005): 173–208.

41 Franklin Allena, Jun Qianb and Meijun Qian, “Law, Finance, and Economic Growth in China”, *Journal of Financial Economics* 77, no. 1 (2005): 57.

42 Pingyao Lai, “External Demand Decline-caused Industry Collapse in China,” *China and the World Economy* 18, no.1 (2010): 55.

43 Ibid.

44 Fulong Wu, “How Neoliberal is China’s Reform? The Origins of Change during Transition,” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 51, no. 5 (2010): 624.



been simplified.”⁴⁵ “Thus, under the control of the State Council, the SFEIC, which is established on the model of Singapore’s Government Investment Strategy (GIC) on 16 March 2007”, is expected to improve the yield of China’s very huge foreign exchange reserves. “Like GIC, the portfolio of Chinese SFEIC composed of variety of such sectors as transportation and logistics, media, resources, infrastructure, technology and engineering, healthcare and bioscience and so on.”⁴⁶

Simply, China transferred up to \$ 250 billion from the foreign exchange reserves into the SFEIC to promote outward, or international, investment. Practically, SFEIC issued USD and RMB bonds to buy foreign exchange funds from the central (and commercial) banks to be used for investment abroad. In China the state is to be regarded as the de facto guarantor for the bonds.

Another Chinese state-owned investment company to strengthen the investment channels was set up in 2003, which is the Central Hujin Investment. It is as the biggest shareholder of the four commercial banks has been acting as the investment arm of the Central bank, and injected in 2005 \$60 billion into these four leading Chinese commercial banks. Thus, while Central Hujin Investment began to improve balance sheet of commercial banks, the SFEIC has been acting as a company to create fund for outward investment for Chinese companies and individuals.

“All these international investment strategies via new investment vehicle like the SFEIC are to save China from the constraints of the puzzle of whether selling China’s US treasury bonds on the US free market, or transferring reserves by such investment vehicle as the SFEIC on strategic assets like natural resources, for instance.”⁴⁷ Everything is to increase the profitability of foreign exchange reserves of China through diversifying the assets of China’s foreign exchange reserves since any more depreciation of the US dollar will eventually damage the value of reserves beyond enjoying balance of payment surplus.⁴⁸

45 Wang Hui, “The Historical Origin of China’s Neo-liberalism,” in *The Chinese Model of Development*, ed. Tian Yu Cao (New York: Routledge, 2005), 74–75.

46 Alvin Y. So, “Beyond the Logic of Capital and the Polarization Model: The State, Market Reforms and the Plurality of Class Conflict in China,” *Critical Asian Studies* 37, no.3 (2005): 481–494.

47 David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 121–135.

48 Takeshi Jingu and Tetsuya Kamiyama, “China’s Private Equity Market,” *Nomura Capital Market Review* 11, no.3 (2008): 24–39.



Until 1990s, the availability of foreign capital in hard currency was a constraint upon the acquisition for China. As state-owned Chinese corporations began to go public in Hong Kong and New York, the amount of the hard currency began to increase dramatically, and such situation gave China opportunity to undertake acquisitions. For instance, Repsol Indonesia was purchased by \$ 585 million, which made China (the China National Offshore Oil Corporation) the largest and biggest foreign oil producer in Indonesia in 2002.

By “going global” strategy, China explored new investment opportunities in a range of industrial sectors all over the world, and manage to strengthen its economy by increasing its influence abroad.⁴⁹ Foreign direct investments mostly go to developed countries, and construction contracts like agriculture, real estate, logistics and transportation, energy, entertainment focused on underdeveloped and developing parts of the world in brief.⁵⁰ From 2005 to 2017, low and middle-income and developing economies received about 84 percent of the \$734 billion, which was expended by China on construction projects across the globe.⁵¹

“In contrast, high-income, advanced states – particularly those in North America and Europe – obtained about 65,6 percent of Chinese FDI from 2005 till 2017. The US is the most significant destination for Chinese FDI in the world, attracted \$14, 9 billion or 14 percent of all Chinese investment in 2018. In the same year, according to the statistics, roughly 23, 3 percent of Chinese FDI flowed into Asia and Oceania (Australia)52.54, 54 % of the Chinese ODI in 2018 was made in the US and the Europe in total in 2008.^{53”}

49 Michael Webber, “Re-emerging China and Consequences for Economic Geography,” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 51, no.5 (2010): 583–599.

50 Walder, Andrew, “Wage Reform and the Web of Factory Interests.” 23-41.

51 Furthermore, growing out of the Plan: *China's Economic Reform 1978-1992* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), forthcoming.

52 China’s 2019 foreign direct investment grew most in two years, but outbound investment fell 6 per cent foreign direct investment (FDI) in China in 2019 rose 5.8 per cent from a year earlier to 941.5 billion yuan (US\$137 billion). China’s outbound direct investment (ODI) declined 6 per cent to 807.95 billion yuan (US\$118 billion).

53 Naughton, Barry, “Hierarchy and the Bargaining Economy: Government and Enterprise in the Reform Process.” 56-75.

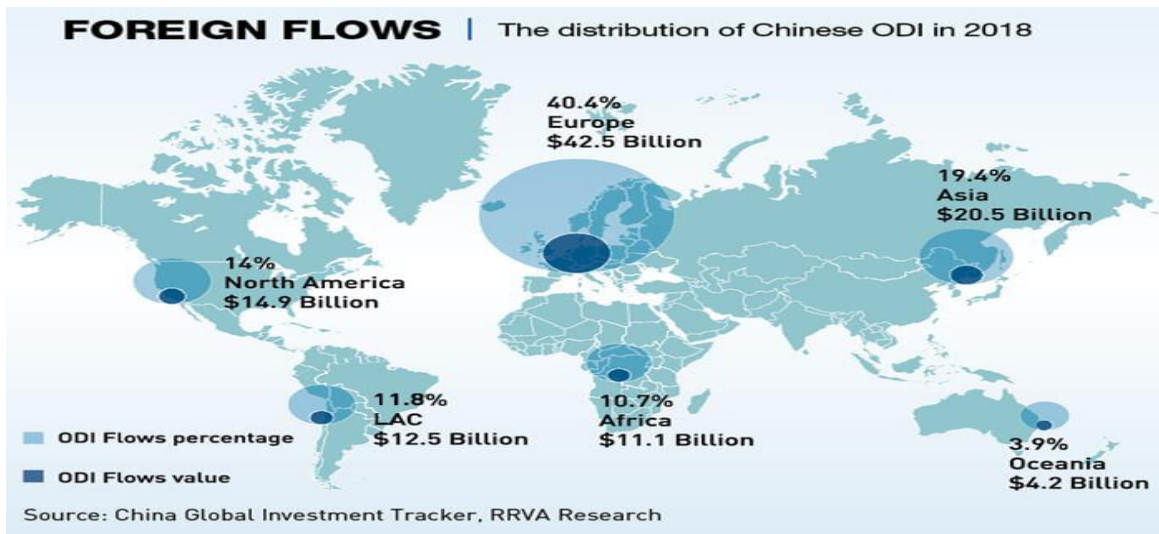
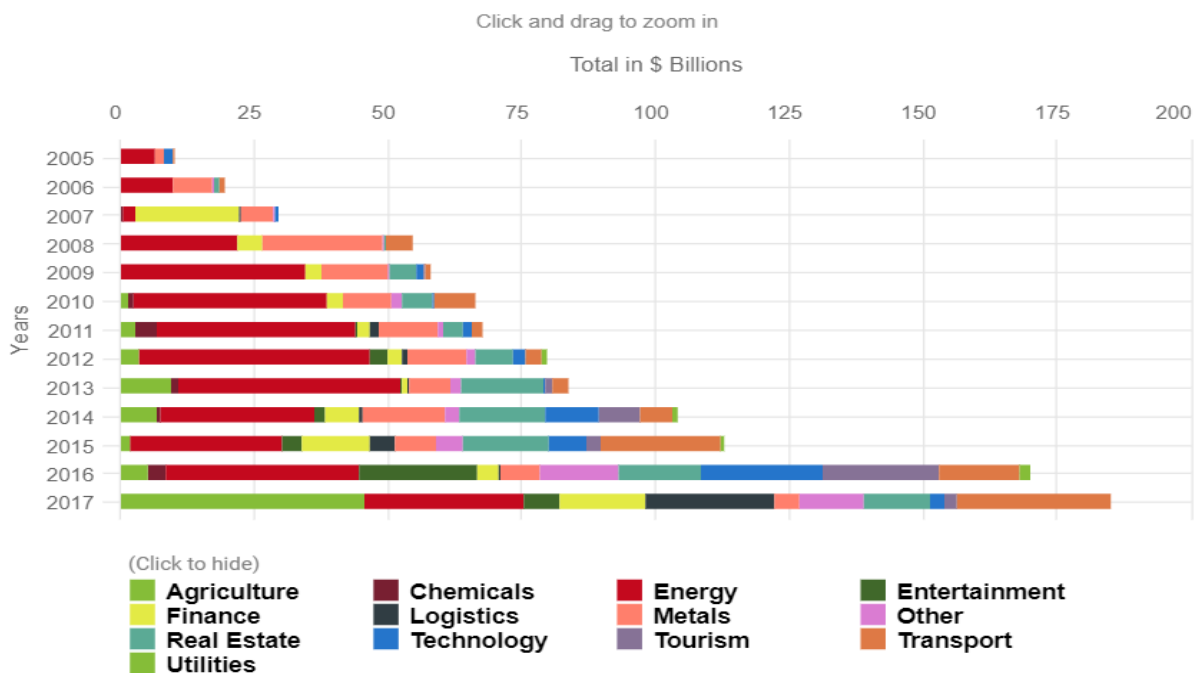


Table presents Chinese outward investments (ODI), or FDI abroad, breakdown by sector from 2005 till 2017.

Chinese Investment Breakdown by Sector: 2005-2017



Chinese enterprises have been in constant increase by their technological enterprise in Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), more specifically by its supplying local markets with cheap products compatible with local demand and their purchasing power. Apart from all those developments, in 2016, China was the largest investor



in Africa by \$ 11,1 billion, making up 39 percent of global investment inflows in total. China's loans to Africa have been in steady increase as indicated by the Table.

“All impressive developments about outward investment of China have happened to be in the context of an economic system to be named as centralised political control, or to be regarded as the domination of state ownership.”⁵⁴ It is observed that the West has always been reluctant to open up their markets to the Chinese state-owned SOEs due to lack of their transparency. Protectionist behaviour by the US and growing pressure on China to reevaluate the RMB during the intensifying trade war in the pretext of imposing tariff rates have been negatively affecting the global economy.

5. Incompatibility of Chinese Counter Hegemony with That of Western Global Hegemony

Marxist scholars were excluded from mainstream international relations theory. Before 1970, it actually made significant explorations against epistemological and ontological stance of the IR main theories which is named as problem-solving theories. With the rise of international political economy as of 1970s, Marxists approaches of critical theory managed to draw attentions, among which the neo-Gramscian school was able to receive relatively more attention with Cox's prominent writings in early 1980s. He attempted to apply Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony on international relations. This paper has the objective of focusing on the very dynamic nexus between world order and counter hegemon China within the framework of neo-Gramscian approach. Since mainstream theories do have explanations only for particular period of history, it is supposed by this paper that neo-Gramscian which focus on the historical dynamics in a broad perspective in the context of reciprocal, dynamic and dialectical relationship between three such elements as ideas, material capabilities and institutions as configuration of forces to figure out the segments – social forces, form of state, world order- in the historical structure which unfolds the movement toward hegemony.

In brief account, Cox's objective by the method of historical structure is to make elaborations about society, state and world order. Considering the global civil-society which had formed the state as a hegemon within national borders before moving beyond the political borders, international political economics also deals with the concept of transnational social forces, by critical stance, who built the international political economic order as of the end of

54 Robert C. Miljus and William M. Moore, “Economic Reform and Workplace Conflict Resolution in China,” 49-59.



the Second World War. Gramscian school became successful to merge analytical approach toward modes of production with complex social relations.

“Hegemonies are founded by powerful states which had experienced all-throughout social and economic revolution in domestic realm. Revolution modifies the internal political and economic structures of the state, and the energy out of this revolution forming the state moves beyond the state boundaries in search of new markets.”⁵⁵ Thus, national hegemony, which is established by dominant class, within the state turns out to be, by outward expansion, world hegemony. Thus, institutions, the culture (idea) and the technology to be associated with the national hegemony inevitably become a pattern for emulation abroad.

“The negative impact of the expansion of world hegemony on the periphery is also the passive revolution which is due to failure of eliminating old order, achieving political and economic revolution to gather popular support from the bottom due to lack of social relations, as mentioned in detail previously.”⁵⁶ Without breaking down the old order, incorporating elements from the Western world hegemonic model will just lead to unproductive revolution called passive revolution.⁵⁷ The hegemonic world order is not only about the regulation of inter-state conflict, but a globally conceived civil society, since the social force within the nation hegemony, after forming the state as hegemon, now manages to have strong voice in the world by penetrating into the Third World countries.⁵⁸ They are now transnational social force within a global economy with a (dominant) mode of production under their control, and they do penetrate into and the peripheral countries by linking them into world capital system, to be sure at the expense of periphery.

At the first segment, form of state, China by means of reforms, managed to become giant power, which evoked great concern in the west in the context of material capability. The idea out of the China’s centralized planning system is socialism which also created inevitable concern for democratic Western nations considering the authoritarian regime in domestic politics. “Its initiatives by BRICS founded in 2006 and BRI (the Belt and Road initiative), and also attempts to become game changer in the G20 also became a profoundly disturbing action

55 Paul Milgrom, and John Roberts, “Bargaining and Influence Costs and the Organization of Economic Activity.”

56 R. Preston McAfee and John McMillan, “Organizational Diseconomies of Scale.”

57 Chen Kuan et al., “Productivity Change in Chinese Industry: 1953-1985.”

58 William Byrd, “Contractual Responsibility Systems in Chinese State-Owned Industry.”



for the West.”⁵⁹ The second segment, social forces, is made up of those under state control like the SOEs even though some investment firms are established to promote privatization and expand channels to “go beyond” by using its material capability that is foreign exchange reserve surplus. Idea composed of two groups. The intersubjective meaning, which was actually perfectly conceptualized by Alexander Wendt, for Cox is simply sharing common values in social relations. Common values emerge out of intense social relations and made up by participants. The other is collective meaning which implies all kinds of views about the legitimacy of the power relations. Even though there are still unsettled disputes among scholars considering the 11 September and 2008 financial crisis apart from the ongoing disputes over the Cold War institutions during the so-called declining US global hegemony, the western hegemony, either from within or from without the national border, worked out the consequences of political and economic consequences of social revolution in the form of state and of social relations, China has lacked such a social revolution. The intersubjective meaning and collective image within China were settled de facto to be frankly.

China still controlling intensively SOEs has been attempting to realize transformation of its economics, by means of “renewed mixed ownership” as of 2013, from an investment-driven export economy to an innovation-led economy. “The trade war of 2018 coincides with Chinese state objective of “Made in China 2025” implying that for China “new engines of growth in higher value-added industries will be increasingly more technology- and knowledge-intensive, placing a high premium on effective innovation and investment in education and research and development.”⁶⁰ “This development is a challenge to the neo Gramscian approach in which Cox claims that (Western) national hegemony, which is established by dominant class, within the state turns out to be, by outward expansion, world hegemony.”⁶¹ “Thus, institutions, the culture (idea) and the technology (material capability) to be associated with the national hegemony inevitably become a pattern for “emulation” abroad. The negative impact of the expansion of world hegemony on the periphery is also the passive revolution which is due to failure of both eliminating old order and achieving to work out the consequences of political and economic revolution to gather popular support from the bottom due to lack of social

59 Jenny Chan, “Meaningful Progress or Illusory Reform? Analyzing China’s Labor Contract Law,” *New Labor Forum* 18, no.2 (2009): 43–51.

60 Statistical data available from the IMF World Economic Outlook database, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2010/02/weodata/index.aspx>.

61 Richard C. Bush, *Untying the Knot: Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait* (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2005), 161-162.



relations.⁶²” From the literature, we can read there are still tunnelling behaviour and managerial entrenchment in the executive board of the SOEs in China even though China put in motion some reforms to arrange “internal governance” to increase and promote efficiency of them. Passive revolution due to lack or nonexistence of organic intellectual bond to realize consent-driven hegemony fell short to set up a new historic bloc. Chinese counter hegemony, in accordance with the conceptualizations by Robert Cox, can only lead to the world order of non-hegemony as experienced, according to Cox, between 1875 and 1945 when the Great Britain was challenged by other states. “Moreover, the balance of power was broken into pieces, and free trade was replaced and supersede by protectionism as the gold standard was abolished and the world economy was drawn into economic blocks until the third period (1945-1965).”⁶³

In brief, by passive revolution, specific interests cannot be transformed into labour class consciousness under strict state control, which is a precondition to reach consent-oriented harmony between superstructure and structure. For Cox, hegemonic structure is to be for the incorporation of collective image-driven ideas into ideology which is expressed in universal terms. Thus, China actually failed, in neo-Gramscian approach, to set up a new hegemon bloc within its borders, and just attempting to move beyond its political border by centralized socialist planning system without achieving consent (legitimacy). More specifically, by transformismo, to protect socialist form of state, China, with stick and carrot methodology, has always been co-opting, assimilating and most importantly domesticating any potential conflictual ideas by adjusting to the interests (policies) of the elite (dominant, traditional) socialist ruling class to sustain old order.

Without breaking down the old order, incorporating elements from the Western world hegemonic model will just lead to unproductive revolution called passive revolution. The hegemonic world order is not only about the regulation of inter-state conflict,⁶⁴ but a globally conceived civil society, since the social force within the nation hegemony, after forming the state as hegemon, has managed to have strong voice in the world by penetrating into the Third World countries. They are now transnational social force within a global economy with a

62 International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook (October 2010), 72, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2010/02/pdf/text.pdf>.

63 Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 5-7

64 Liangwei Hu, “The Basic Features and Challenges of Cross-Strait Relations in the New Era”, American Foreign Policy Interests 32, no. 1 (2010): 7.



(dominant) mode of production under their control, and they do penetrate into the peripheral countries by linking them into world capital system, to be sure at the expense of periphery.

This paper has the objective of reading China's counter hegemonic challenge against the Western global hegemony from the perspective of neo-Gramsci. Thus, the article has the aim of presenting incompatibility between the West and China in the context of dynamic nexus between China and the world order through making an objective reading on neo-Gramscian approach. The analytical unit in this article is the state as a core actor of global governance. The critical theory stood against the epistemological and ontological convictions began to break the boundary of traditional international relations in terms of the analytical unit and analysing the global governance since the state is no longer a single actor. Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental institutions (NGOs), multinational corporations, and civil society began to play essential roles about influencing global matters.

By such new actors which came on stage in global issues with the involvement of new subjects transcending beyond the political borders like climate issues, terrorism, integrated economic independence-driven free market economy (traditional level of analysis, individual, state and international system), IR theory, free from the assumptions of problem solving theories, was supposed to be reconstructed by analytical analysis of the nexus among hegemony, global governance and world order in the context of international political economy.

The contemporary challenge against the western global hegemony has been stemming from the question of collective image, which is simply about the legitimacy. Robert Cox does not consider himself as Marxist, but dominant power of those who controls the modes of production and the superstructure which domesticate, co-opt and assimilate any conflictual ideas were merged for the purpose of efficient analysis of level to figure out the hegemony and world order. The West to full extent managed to cope with the consequences of political and economic consequences of revolution, but the situation functions in different way if the Third World matters: "Western national hegemony, which had been founded by dominant class, within the state turns out to be, by outward expansion, world hegemony. Thus, institutions, the culture (idea) and the technology to be associated with the national hegemony eventually become a pattern for emulation abroad. The negative impact of the expansion of world hegemony on the periphery is also the passive revolution which is due to failure of eliminating old order, inability to achieve political and economic revolution to gather popular support from



the bottom due to lack of social relations.”⁶⁵ After forty years of passing through reforms, China with the motto of “Made in China 2025” began to save itself from emulation, and move toward innovation-oriented economy.

6. Conclusion

Today, the global order has been under ever profound and certain absence of central authority, which simply means anarchic international system, due to relative collapse of the US hegemony. Considering the institutions of the Western hegemony, which are IGOs and NGOs; international rules and laws; international norms in the field of human rights and environmental protection; international regimes; ad hoc agreements such as G7/8 AND g20, world summits like Davos; private institutions like Moody as credit rating agencies, China has a long way to go to build a hegemony, leave aside absence of organic intellectual class for the sake of harmony between superstructure and structure within homeland.

Robert Cox perfectly illustrates international institutions which was considered to be the mechanisms of hegemony, as follows: they involve rules and norms to facilitate and promote the power of hegemonic world orders, and they are, as the natural product of hegemonic world order, ideologically legitimize the rules and norms of the contemporary world order apart from absorbing any challenging counter-hegemonic ideas or attempts. Under all those assumptions of neo-Gramsci, China has so far only justified and made contribution into a non-hegemon-oriented world order in this anarchic international system. The western hegemonic world order is not just an order in which powerful state does exploits the subordinate one, but an order in which peripheral states find compatible the ideas of the power state with their interests. Therefore, such a world order is hardly considered in terms of interstate meanings. Namely, Western global hegemony is not solely founded on regulating inter-state conflicts.

Cox achieves to take our attention on global civil society which transcends beyond national borders as transnational forces who established complex integrated international system. However, Gramscian concept of transformismo teaches us that global civil society can make concessions by negotiation with the rising power (read China) to keep its global power maintained and consolidated. It will not be a prejudgment and oversimplification if we take Coxian understanding about such concessions that China want to use its economic power

65 Stephen Gill, *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 47-55.



material capacity) as a political leverage, or as a bargaining power, to re-order the contemporary world order. The history of concession and negotiation dates back to the détente period which began during the Nixon Administration by the “Ping pong diplomacy” of 1971 to exploit the opportunity emerged out of Sino-USSR conflict in 1969. In 1970s, China began to pass from the war of movement, which based on Mao’s goal for the transformation of world order within fifty years or a century lasting period of time through hard power-oriented world revolution like its support of Vietnam, to the war of position, which based on the objective of integration with the western dominated global world order through consent-driven negotiations.

Domestically, China further promoted the integration by the reforms so called Deng Xiaoping’s “opening-up policy” of 1978 to reorganize mode of production, the ownership and the authority as an internal arrangement of the SOEs. Briefly, rapprochement and reconciliation period, for which the turning period was the admission of China into the United Nations as a member in November 1973, between China and the US began in 1972, which promoted the idea in China that USSR was constituting relatively more danger than the US. From 1978 till 2001 when China became the member of the World Trade Organization (WTO), China has paved the way to share convergence through international institutions within the complex and interdependent global economic system.

Last but not least, the world order with the rising power of China has been passing through a period between world re-order and new world order, politically since 11 September, and in economic terms since 2008 the Mortgage crisis. Having read in detail carefully what Cox has written in his two groundbreaking articles, we may conclude the paper that in terms of mode of production and social relations, it is not either a matter of inter-state related conflict of interest or hard talk between the US and China, but just a matter of political-driven economic struggle under the pretext of the hegemonic war (read intensifying trade wars since 2018) between China and the United States of America to change the address of the headquarter of hegemony. It is too early assumption by making such a claim that China has been moving away from passive revolution since it has been playing the rules, no matter it is now proceeding proactive foreign policy as a rule-maker or a game changer without disturbing international regime, within Western-oriented ideas (shared norms and rules justifying actually legitimacy) and western institutions. Since, we cannot ensure a tangible assurance for future behavior of any state as John Mearsheimer claimed, it is up to the political stance of the readers, who are interested in identifying the dynamic nexus between China and world order, to assume China as either a



“system vindicator” or “system revisionist” for the purpose of re-ordering the contemporary global governance in the long term through its material power, idea, and institutions. The final statement of the paper corresponds with the Coxian thought that, the first and foremost point is to pay attention on the point that the task for changing the world order starts by long term laborious struggle to establish a new historic block which is the precondition to realize hegemony within national borders. From this approach, we can observe incompatibility in the dynamic nexus between China and the western hegemony-driven world order, considering each segments of the historical structures- social forces, form of state, world order.

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Huawei, 5G Networks, and Digital Geopolitics

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Abstract

The new global competition between the United States of America (USA) and China is shaped by access to the flows of the networks. This competition intensified particularly on 5G networks. China has already surpassed the USA in the development of 5G technology with its trademark company Huawei and has stepped up its efforts to reach global market. In addition to building railroads and roads, China also engages in developing digital infrastructure for the countries, which lagged behind in terms of digital infrastructure. China's efforts of upgrading digital infrastructure include laying out fiber optic cable networks on which 5G networks are built. Huawei also expanded into European countries, which want to upgrade its domestic 5G networks. U.S. government perceives China's digital expansion as a security risk toward infrastructure networks. Hence, it intensified its efforts to restrict Huawei's access to global market. Thus, instead of striving to control of a particular territory, the USA and China seeks to gain influence over networks, hubs, and services. Although China and the USA are main actors, this confrontation includes regional bodies such as the European Union (EU) and multinational companies.

Keywords: China, Digital Geopolitics, Networks, Huawei, USA, 5G.

Huawei, 5G Ağları ve Dijital Jeopolitik

Özet

Amerika Birleşik Devletleri (ABD) ve Çin arasındaki yeni küresel rekabet, iletişim ağlarına erişim üzerinde şekillenmektedir. Bu rekabet özellikle 5G ağları üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktadır. Zaten Çin ABD'yi 5G teknolojisi geliştirme konusunda, marka şirketi Huawei ile geçti ve küresel pazara açılma çabalarını artırdı. Çin, demir yolu ve karayolu inşasının yanı sıra dijital altyapı açısından geride kalmış ülkeler için dijital bağlantıları geliştirmeyi de ön plana almıştır. Çin'in dijital altyapı geliştirme çalışmaları 5G ağlarının üzerine inşa edildiği fiber optik kablolarının yapımını da içermektedir. Huawei kendi 5G ağlarını geliştirmek isteyen Avrupa ülkelerine doğru da genişlemeye başlamıştır. ABD hükümeti Çin'in teknolojik genişlemesini altyapı ağlarına yönelik bir güvenlik tehdidi olarak algılamaktadır. Bundan dolayı, Huawei'nin küresel pazara girişini engelleme çabalarını yoğunlaştırmıştır. Böylece, herhangi bir toprak parçasını kontrol etmekten ziyade ABD ve Çin iletişim ağları, bağlantı merkezleri ve hizmet sağlayıcıları üzerinde etkili olmaya çabalamaktadır. Çin ve ABD ana aktörler olmakla birlikte, bu yüzleşme Avrupa Birliği (AB) ve çok uluslu şirketleri de içine almaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: ABD, Ağlar, Çin, Dijital Jeopolitik, Huawei, 5G.

1. Introduction

The traditional geopolitical competition over controlling fixed territories and natural resources is being replaced in a swiftly changing world. During the Cold War, the interconnection between the two blocks had been limited. After the end of the Cold War,

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however, a world, characterized by interconnection and interdependence has emerged. Trade, communication, and financial links among states proliferated. The development of technology strengthened the links between populations. For instance, in 2020 it is estimated that 80 percent of world population has smartphones.¹

Hence, under this newly structured environment, the significance of digital technologies has increased. China unveiled a gigantic project called the Belt and Road Initiative in 2013. This project aimed at providing infrastructural, financial, trade, people to people, and digital connectivity among the participant countries. The term of connectivity is, thus, placed at the center of this initiative. Providing digital infrastructure is also an important component of China's endeavors. Besides laying out cross-border cables for Central Asian countries, China aims to upgrade and expand information exchanges and cooperation.² In line with these expressed goals, Chinese company Huawei increased its presence in many countries in the development of 5G technology, which will revolutionize the network communication. Already suspecting of China's motives in China's export of infrastructure and digital technology, the USA has banned the use of Huawei in its domestic market and issued an ultimatum to the countries, which would integrate 5G technology into their infrastructure networks.

This confrontation between China and the USA is the manifestation of the new dimension of the geopolitical competition. The power struggle in the world politics remains, but it transforms. Instead of a territorial battleground, the countries, the multinational companies, and the regional organization collaborate, confront, and compete in the digital space. Access to digital networks, securing the digital data, and gaining influence over internet are the main elements of this competition.

This paper tries to analyze the struggle over networks between China and the USA. Firstly, literature review presents the concepts of networks and digital geopolitics. The literature review also addresses how novelties that 5G technology will bring are being conceived by policymakers or technology developers. Then, the paper discusses Huawei's emergence and its

1 Mark Leonard, "Introduction: Connectivity Wars," in *Connectivity Wars Why Migration, Finance and Trade Are The Geo-Economic Battlegrounds Of The Future*, ed. Mark Leonard (London: The European Council on Foreign Relations, 2016), 15.

2 "Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, (2015), https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1249618.shtml (17.05.2020).



rise in technology market. It analyzes Huawei's role in 5G networks and U.S. response to this challenge. While discussing the rivalry between China and the USA, the other actors' involvement is also investigated.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Networks and Digital Geopolitics

A network can be defined as a set of interconnected nodes. Although networks have always existed, the most important novelty in the transformation of the world is the pervasiveness of networks because of the technological advancements. Networks penetrated into economy, society, culture, and politics. The generality of networks assumes transition from hierarchically formed of activity to networking form of activity. Thus, they create a new form of organizational structure.³ A new technological paradigm emerged in the USA in 1970s, which engendered a new way of production, communication, and living, had affected the organization of society and business world. Although the initial background of this advancement was accomplished by U.S. government, the Silicon Valley took the leading role. The personalized technological devices have led to interactivity, networking, and more technological breakthroughs.⁴

The flow of information had already existed. The enormous change in the flow of information is digitalization which increased the speed of sharing information. Another improvement through digitalization is the increasing size of information that can be disseminated across the networks.⁵ Networks accelerate the flow of exchange, solidifying globalization. For example, financial networks such as SWIFT network speeds up money transactions. Logistics networks link local manufacturing sectors to global supply chains. The Internet allows the exchange of opinions almost simultaneously.⁶

The networks of interaction configure a space of flows in which social practices occur without territorial proximity. It is made up by hubs and nodes where the connections and activities are formed. For example, Wall Street is a hub for financial activities whereas the

3 Manuel Castells, "The Contours of the Network Society," *The Journal of Futures Studies, Strategic Thinking and Policy* 2, no.2 (2000): 152.

4 Manuel Castells, *The Rise of The Network Society: The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 5.

5 Joseph Verbovszky, "Networked Geopolitics," *The American Academy in Berlin*, <https://www.americanacademy.de/networked-geopolitics/> (10.05.2020).

6 Henry Farrell and Abraham Newman, "Weaponized Globalization: Huawei and the Emerging Battle over 5G Networks," *Global Asia*, (2019), https://www.globalasia.org/v14no3/cover/weaponized-globalization-huawei-and-the-emerging-battle-over-5g-networks_henry-farrellabraham-newman (20.05.2020).



Silicon Valley is hub for technology. The space of flows provides secured and secluded surroundings for actors for the operation of networks. These surrounding could be virtual such as websites or real such as VIP lounges.⁷ Though the nodes, the actors come together and interact. The relational aspect of networks improves the actors' ability of learning and transmitting knowledge. This interaction generates trust and cooperation by allowing exchange of information.⁸

Yet, it will be naive to represent the networks solely as places of cooperation. The networks can also be source of confrontation and competition. Castells argues that cooperation depends on communication between networks. Competition arises one actor outperforms by superior efficiency in cooperation capacity. It will take destructive form when communication abilities of other actors are compromised.⁹ Moreover, networks can be used to restrict the newcomers either intentionally or through setting up barriers. The first actors which establish the networks affects the rules of adopting the technology; thus, making it harder for other actors to participate.¹⁰ Networks are, therefore, both sources of connectivity and confrontation.

Since networks have huge effect in organizing economy, political, and social order, the power struggle over the networks shapes geopolitical confrontation. Technological changes, which fueled network society also affect the dimension of geopolitics. Social media applications such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram are the platforms where billions of people share experiences and opinions by interacting with each other. In the past three years, the effects of social media over the Russian meddling into U.S. elections, the polarization in U.S. domestic politics, and spreading hatred towards ethnic groups in Myanmar, India, and other countries have been widely discussed.¹¹ These examples were the selected cases, which show the influence of digital technology over geopolitical events. As digital technology becomes more entrenched in the lives of people, its effect will increase.

7 Manuel Castells, "Grassrooting the Space of Flows," *Urban Geography* 20, no. 4 (1999): 295.

8 W. Powell, "Neither Market nor Hierarchy: Network Forms of Organization," *Research in Organizational Behavior* 12 (1990): 304.

9 Manuel Castells, "Informationalism, Networks, and the Network Society: A Theoretical Blueprint," in *The Network Society*, ed. Manuel Castells (Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2004), 4.

10 Powell, "Neither Market nor Hierarchy: Network Forms of Organization," 304.

11 "The Geopolitical Repercussions of the Digital Age," Luminae Group, (2019), <https://www.luminaegroup.com/blog/geopolitics-digital-disruption> (10.05.2020).



In fact, geopolitics has been influenced by the technological changes throughout history. The advancements in steel and powder technology enabled the European countries to establish and expand its colonial empires. The nuclear bomb ended the Second World War and nuclear deterrence maintained the bipolar world order for decades. Currently, digital technologies created a platform arena in which the articulation of political voices, the collection of individual identities, and national security are carried out. These duties once belonged to the nation-states, are mostly shifted to digital arena, creating a hybrid of the Westphalian nation-state and cloud state.¹² In line with the hybrid character of the state, the geopolitical struggle carries same hybrid characterization. The term of geopolitics denotes the struggle among fixed territorial units, but the term digital includes multinational companies and transnational networks. A definition of digital geopolitics is provided by Annegret Bendiek, Nadine Godehardt, and David Schulze. According to their conceptualization, *digital* geopolitics “involves decentralised transnational networks that consist of the connectivity between non-state actors and multinational companies, platforms, hubs, content and infrastructures, extending beyond politically fixed territorial units.”¹³

Despite the involvement of other actors, the states remain the major players in digital geopolitics. Yet, their goals and methods change. The network flows, unlike fixed territorial units, cannot be contained and controlled, but influenced. States gain power in the networks by building and cultivating dependencies. Creating dependencies is related with generating the source of flow. This enables the generator of the network to leverage the flow to other participants of the networks.¹⁴ A first-mover advantage, gained through being the first to network, therefore, is vital for influencing the operationalization of networks. It is expected that states race to gain the advantage of being a first mover in the creation of the technological networks. The confrontation over development of 5G technology between China and the USA is the latest example of this competition. China and the USA strive to gain dominance in generating and operating 5G network. Before, analyzing this competition, it will be beneficial to offer insight about the novelties that 5G technology will bring.

12 Samir Saran, “Navigating the Digitisation of Geopolitics,” Observer Research Foundation, 2020 <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/navigating-the-digitisation-of-geopolitics-60612/> (10.05.2020).

13 Annegret Bendiek, Nadine Godehardt, and David Schulze, “The Age of Digital Geopolitics,” International Politics and Society, (2019), <https://www.ips-journal.eu/in-focus/chinas-new-power/article/show/the-age-of-digital-geopolitics-3593/> (10.05.2020).

14 Verbovszky, “Networked Geopolitics”.



2.2. 5G Networks: A Groundbreaking Technology

5G is the new fifth generation mobile network. It is different from its predecessors 2G, 3G, and 4G, which are voice centric, in that it is designed to handle large numbers of devices and high data-rates. 5G networks are comprised of three layers of networks. The first is enhanced mobile network, which makes the flow of communication faster. For example, 5G shortens the duration of movie downloads from 7 minutes to 6 seconds. The second is ultra-reliable low latency communication, which enables the connection with autonomous vehicles. The use of low latency makes connection 60 or 120 times faster than 4G. The third is machine-machine communication, which enables the communication among machines.¹⁵

The development of 5G has consequences for the economy and society. Steven Wu, the senior product manager of Huawei, comments on the revolutionary aspect of 5G technology: “4G changed lives, but 5G will change society – industry application will be a very important trend of 5G.”¹⁶ By integrating the digital, biological, and physical worlds 5G unleashes the fourth industrial revolution. Autonomous and smart systems incited by data and machine learning lead to an important improvement to industrial production. The enhanced level of communication is facilitated by 5G technology.¹⁷ 5G allows businesses to reach data faster and to make decision quicker. Thus, innovations in agriculture and industry will be cheap and easy, facilitating cost-savings for businesses and better experience for customers. Besides economy, 5G also has an impact on society. 5G enables the connection of electronic devices for smart cities, smart schools, smart homes, smart automobiles, and smart health centers, providing a more efficient and secure environment.¹⁸ 5G does not only provide linkages between people or between machines, but it unveils a system in which machines are integrated into critical infrastructures, which improve human life. It started to be used to perform remote medical operation. In January 2019, the world’s first long distance medical operation was performed in China on an animal. In August, a patient in the Chinese city Sanya was implanted with a stimulation device by a doctor in Beijing, who is almost 2000 miles away from Sanya. These

15 Morten Springbord, *The New Tech War and The Geopolitics of 5G*, (Copenhagen: Worldwide Asset Management, 2019), 2–3.

16 James Barton, “4G Changed Lives. 5G Will Change Society – Huawei’s Steven Wu,” *Developing Telecoms*, (2019), <https://www.developingtelecoms.com/telecom-business/q-and-a-interviews/8393-4g-changed-lives-5g-will-change-society-huawei-s-steven-wu.html> (16.05.2020).

17 Mark Newman, “5G & The Fourth Industrial Revolution,” *UK5G*, (2020), <https://uk5g.org/5g-updates/read-articles/5g-fourth-industrial-revolution/> (15.05.2020).

18 “5G Explained: How 5G Work,” *EMF Explained*, (2020), <http://www.emfexplained.info/?ID=25916> (14.05.2020).



operations were made possible through 5G technology, which reduces latency to 2 milliseconds between devices.¹⁹ The medical sector is just one of the sectors in which the effects of 5G technology started to be observed. 5G has a potential to change economic and social life in an unprecedented level.

The enormous effect of 5G on society and economy invites not only competition among companies but also geopolitical confrontation between states. 5G technology starts a new industrial revolution and changes society in a large scale through reaching the operation of infrastructure. A research report prepared for the Congress states that 5G could create 3 million jobs and add \$500 billion to the country's GDP.²⁰ The China Academy of Information and Communications Technology estimates that the contribution of 5G will boost the Chinese economy RMB2.9 trillion and add 8 million jobs.²¹ The enormous effect of 5G on society and economy invites not only competition among companies but also geopolitical confrontation between states. Setting up 5G networks has become increasingly politicized as influencing 5G networks of another country offers significant advantage to the countries, which would have first-mover advantage.

Currently, there are three companies, which provide 5G technology: Chinese Huawei, Finnish Nokia, and Swedish Ericsson. However, the share of R&D that Huawei allocated in 5G is bigger than Nokia and Ericsson. In 2017, Huawei's 5G R&D budget approximates \$15 billion, outpacing Nokia and Ericsson's total investments, \$6 billion and \$4.6 billion, respectively.²² Thus, Huawei assumes a leadership position in the development of 5G. As a result of this dominant position in R&D, Huawei managed to surpass its competitors. This centered position of Huawei in R&D of 5G networks places it to be the focal point of geopolitical struggle between China and the USA. Huawei's close ties with the Chinese government raises suspicions about its intentions in influencing 5G networks.

19 Caroline Frost, "5G Is Being Used to Perform Remote Surgery from Thousands of Miles Away, and It Could Transform the Healthcare Industry," *Business Insider*, (2019), <https://www.businessinsider.com/5g-surgery-could-transform-healthcare-industry-2019-8> (15.05.2020).

20 Fifth-Generation (5G) Telecommunications Technologies: Issues for Congress (Washington D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2019), 8.

21 China Is Poised to Win the 5G Race Key Steps Extending Global Leadership (Ernst & Young, 2018), 7.

22 Rick Nelson, "China's Huawei Seeks to Dominate 5G Standards Development," *Evaluation Engineering*, (2018), <https://www.evaluationengineering.com/industries/communications/wireless-5g-wlan-bluetooth-etc/article/13017349/chinas-huawei-seeks-to-dominate-5g-standards-development> (16.05.2020).



3. Huawei: China's Tool?

Huawei was found in 1987 by Ren Zhengfei, who was an erstwhile engineer in the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and member of the communist party.²³ The background of its founder as a former PLA member indicates the close relationship between Huawei and the Chinese government. The foundation of the company is also related with China's official state policies. In 1978 Deng Xiaoping, the Chinese leader who integrated China to the world in post-Mao era, published a guidance for China in which he set up four main goals for the state. Upgrading technology is one of these four main goals. Deng claims that the growth in agriculture and industry relies on technological developments in which changes are calculated in terms of days and hours instead of months and years. Hence, China should focus on using and making advanced technologies.²⁴ Almost a decade later after this proclamation, Huawei was founded. The foundation of Huawei can be considered as a step towards realization of this goal.

The global operations of Huawei have been conducted in line with China's official proclamations. In 2000 Huawei started its global operations in the areas neglected by the Western companies such as Africa, the Middle East, and the South Asia.²⁵ Huawei's global opening was made possible after the initiation of "Going Global" policy of the Chinese government. The first "Going Global" policy was formulated by the then-Premier Zhu Rongji in 2000. Through this policy the companies in China were encouraged to invest abroad. This policy was initiated to make Chinese companies more competitive in the global market and propel Chinese companies to reach to human capital resided in the world and technological investments from foreign companies. "Going Global" was accelerated via China's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO). It was also included in China's 10th Five Year Plan (2001-2006), identifying "Going Global" as a necessary strategy in the road of globalization.²⁶

Huawei successfully implemented "Going Global" strategy formulated by the central government. After spreading to the technologically backward regions of the world, Huawei

23 Guan Chong, *Huawei Chinese Telecommunications Giant Huawei: Strategies to Success*, (Singapore: Nanyang Technopreneurship Center, 2019), 3.

24 Deng Xiaoping, "Realize the Four Modernizations and Never Seek Hegemony," (1978), <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/dengxiaoping/103389.htm> (18.05.2020).

25 "The Early Years," Huawei, (2020), <https://huawei.eu/story/early-years> (17.05.2020).

26 Heino Klinck, *The Strategic Implications of Chinese Companies Going Global*, (Kansas, 2011), 5–6.



earned its first contract in Europe in 2004. It signed partnership agreements with major companies such as Vodafone and Symantec. As of 2007, it partnered with all the top carriers in Europe. Despite the initial setbacks in the North American market, Huawei managed to secure cooperation with US mobile carrier company Leap Wireless in 2007, using 3G network. The further expansion of Huawei into the USA was met with the resistance of the Committee on Foreign Investment (CFIS) in the USA, marking out the USA as the most difficult market for Huawei.²⁷

The further spread of 5G by Huawei in the global market is linked with China's "Going Global 2.0" strategy. "Global Going 2.0" is initiated to improve "Going Global" strategy promulgated two decades ago. "Going Global 2.0" reflects China's aspiration to become a norm setting power in the global arena. The most conspicuous element in "Going Global 2.0" is 5G mobile technology. By developing 5G technology China weighs in promoting international standards.²⁸ In line with "Going Global 2.0", Made in China 2025 strategy announced in 2015 strengthened China's claim of producing high-tech products. This strategy focuses on producing and exporting smart technology such as automotive, aviation, robotics, and high-tech infrastructure related products, and 5G.²⁹ The foremost goal is to transition China from low-end manufacture producer to high-end technology producer. This goal is made possible through the investments into R&D and innovations.³⁰ Developing 5G technology is one of the components of Made in China 2025 strategy. Made in China 2025 document described 5G as "core technology and architecture of the future network."³¹ Besides these laid out plans, the Belt and Road Initiative, announced in 2013, and helped China to export its technology, produced in China, to the participant countries of the Belt and Road Initiative, which constitute a large part of the world.

The Belt and Road Initiative consists of two main parts: The Silk Road Economic Belt which provides land connection between China and Russia, Central Asia, Europe, Southeast

27 Cui Fengru and Liu Guitang, *Global Value Chains and Production Networks Case Studies of Siemens and Huawei*, (London: Academic Press, 2019), 130–31.

28 China Going Global between Ambition and Capacity, (Beijing: China Policy, 2017), 5.

29 Jost Wübbeke et al., *MADE IN CHINA 2025 The Making of a High-Tech Superpower and Consequences for Industrial Countries*, (Berlin, 2016), 6.

30 Melissa Cyrill, "What Is Made in China 2025 and Why Has It Made the World So Nervous?," *China Briefing*, (2018), [https://www.china-briefing.com/news/made-in-china-2025-explained/#:~:text=Made in China 2025 seeks,value-added global sourcing segment \(17.05.2020\)](https://www.china-briefing.com/news/made-in-china-2025-explained/#:~:text=Made in China 2025 seeks,value-added global sourcing segment (17.05.2020).).

31 "Made in China 2025 《中国制造 2025》," (2015), [http://www.cittadellascienza.it/cina/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/IoT-ONE-Made-in-China-2025.pdf \(18.05.2020\)](http://www.cittadellascienza.it/cina/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/IoT-ONE-Made-in-China-2025.pdf (18.05.2020)).



Asia, and South Asia. The Maritime Silk Road connects China's ports with the other ports located in the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, the South China Sea, and the Pacific Ocean.³² The connectivity laid out in these projects is mainly related to physical infrastructure connectivity, involving constructing roads, railways, trade hubs, and ports.

The main focus of the Belt and Road Initiative in the literature has been diverted to railroads, roads, and ports. However, the Vision and Actions paper also mentions information connectivity planned to be upgraded through building cross-border optical cable networks.³³ Initially, three main companies, China Telecom, China Mobile, and China Unicom, participated in laying out cable projects in the South Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. China accounts for the construction of 7 percent of transnational cable networks between 2012 and 2015, and 20 percent between 2016 and 2019.³⁴ 5G network technology is being built on fiber-optic cable networks. Fiber-optic cables increase the flow of data traffic. Utilizing cable networks, the Chinese companies entered into the markets of telecommunication networks of the countries across Belt and Road route. The spread of 5G networks also accelerated due to these infrastructure plans. Huawei is expected to dominate 5G sector in the participant countries of the Belt and Road Initiative.³⁵

After the start of the Belt and Road Initiative, 5G networks penetrated into the participant countries. Myanmar, whose population did not even access to mobile technology in 2017, made a deal with Huawei to bring 5G technology by 2025.³⁶ In 2019 Huawei entered into Serbian, Russian, and Cambodian market to develop 5G by establishing partnerships with local mobile companies.³⁷ Except the countries, which have strong reservations concerning Huawei's participation in 5G networks, Australia, Japan, New Zealand, and the United States, other countries has not restricted Huawei's 5G development projects.³⁸

32 "Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road," 2015.

33 "Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road," 2015.

34 Hong Shen, "Building a Digital Silk Road? Situating the Internet in China's Belt and Road Initiative," *International Journal of Communication* 12 (2018): 2692.

35 Andrew Kitson and Kenny Liew, "China Doubles Down on Its Digital Silk Road," *Reconnecting Asia CSIS*, (2019), <https://reconnectingasia.csis.org/analysis/entries/china-doubles-down-its-digital-silk-road/> (20.05.2020).

36 Ajey Lele and Kritika Roy, *Analysing China's Digital and Space Belt and Road Initiative*, (New Delhi: Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, 2019), 42.

37 Kitson and Liew, "China Doubles Down on Its Digital Silk Road".

38 Emily Feng, "China's Tech Giant Huawei Spans Much Of The Globe Despite U.S. Efforts To Ban It," *NPR*, (2019), <https://www.npr.org/2019/10/24/759902041/chinas-tech-giant-huawei-spans-much-of-the-globe-despite-u-s-efforts-to-ban-it> (29.05.2020).



Huawei mostly benefited from globalization, which means transcending nation-state boundaries in conducting social, economic, and political activities. It set up bases and centers in various countries. In the annual report prepared by Huawei in 2019, Huawei is reported to operate in over 170 countries, building over 1500 networks.³⁹ 70 percent of Huawei's workers outside China are local workers. This indicates Huawei's globalized feature as a company.⁴⁰

Huawei's structure might be globalized, but Huawei's operations are also in conformity with the Chinese government's grand designs. Revisiting Castells' network metaphor, creating network is key to influence global social and economic activities. According to Castells, network economy consists of "segments of firms, segments of governments and segments of public sectors."⁴¹ Huawei benefits from endeavors of the Chinese government. In 2019, China Unicorn, one of the three telecom companies of China, expressed its commitment to build 5G infrastructure across Belt and Road route.⁴² China Unicorn's this involvement could not be made independent of the Chinese government. This will help Huawei to lower its costs in spreading 5G technology. Thus, for a particular aim of establishing 5G networks, Huawei, the Chinese government and other companies form units as networks with the participation other local companies.

Yet, Huawei is a private company. Despite Huawei's adherence to China's strategic plans and its founder's military background, there is no organic connection between Huawei and the Chinese government. In its official website, it is stated that Huawei is owned by approximately 100,000 employees. The founder Ren Zhengfei only owns 1 percent of the company.⁴³ Nolan claims that had Huawei been a state company, it would have entered into rent-seeking contracts relying on political relationships. The state ownership led many Chinese companies away from investment in their core businesses and competition with global giants. Ren Zhengfei comments that: "If the government had given Huawei the right to develop the Beijing-Guangzhou railway, Huawei would have left the telecoms equipment business."⁴⁴ Although Huawei acts in accordance with the Chinese state's grand designs, it is not a part of the state structure. Huawei received no diplomatic support until it became a significant brand

39 Huawei Investment & Holding Co., Ltd. 2019 Annual Report, (Huawei, 2020), 1.

40 Fengru and Guitang, Global Value Chains and Production Networks Case Studies of Siemens and Huawei, 132.

41 Castells, "The Contours of the Network Society," 154.

42 Jeff Pao, "China Unicom to Build 5G Networks on Belt and Road," Asia Times, (2019), <https://asiatimes.com/2019/06/china-unicom-to-build-5g-networks-on-belt-and-road/> (24.05.2020).

43 "The Early Years," Huawei.

44 Peter Nolan, "Globalisation and Industrial Policy: The Case of China," The World Economy (2014): 759.



of China's technological prowess in 2000s.⁴⁵ This indicates China eschewed acts to strengthen Huawei until Huawei gained a considerable degree of competitiveness in the global market. Thus, China acts more like a facilitator of Huawei's expansion into the global market instead of its director.

By inserting itself into networks through private companies, China gains influence and power. The official document, which lists the Communist Party's prerogative, states that adapting changes brought by globalization and coordinating the elements of globalization drive China at the center of global stage.⁴⁶ This statement is in congruence with Kratochwil's assessment. The penetration into global markets is possible through giving up the assertion of creating a world empire and embracing economic networks.⁴⁷ This assertion can be applied to the operationalization of 5G network. Instead of creating 5G networks itself, China allowed Huawei to invest into R&D and to penetrate into the global markets, ensuring its activities remain in conformity with its main goals, which aimed at elevating China's standing in the world. This challenge posed by China raises concerns of its main competitor, the USA regarding the role of Huawei.

4. US Restrictions on Huawei

Almost 80 percent of global 5G market is dominated by three big companies. The market share of Huawei is 30 percent, whereas the market share of Ericsson is 26 percent, and the market share of Nokia is 22 percent.⁴⁸ Huawei is also leading the development of 5G technology. 35 percent of the patents related with 5G is owned by Huawei. The USA owns less than 5 percent of the patents.⁴⁹ The domination of Huawei in 5G market is, therefore, considered as a threat by U.S. government. Security, economic, and systemic considerations constitute the main pillars of U.S. fear concerning Huawei. Huawei's reach to the security infrastructures is the source of security concerns. U.S. government fears that Huawei could be used for espionage purposes in the name of China. Economically, Huawei is alleged to benefit from unfair trade conditions and China's political leverage; thus, according to U.S. government officials U.S. companies should be shielded from Huawei's predatory market invasion. In terms of systemic

45 Nolan, "Globalisation and Industrial Policy: The Case of China," 759.

46 "Seeking Common Ground for the World-How Did China Approach the Center of the World Stage?," Xinhuanet, (2019), http://www.xinhuanet.com/silkroad/2019-08/13/c_1124867801.htm (02.06.2020).

47 Friedrich Kratochwil, "Of Systems, Boundaries, and Territoriality: An Inquiry into the Formation of the State System," *World Politics* 39, no.01 (1986): 42.

48 Xuewu Gu et al., *Geopolitics and Global Race for 5G*, (Bonn: The Center for Global Studies, 2019), 31.

49 Springbord, *The New Tech War and The Geopolitics of 5G*, 5.



concerns, the USA feels that liberal government systems must be defended against China's autocratic influence.⁵⁰ These fears are clearly expressed by FBI director Chris Wray. He said that U.S. government is "deeply concerned about the risks of allowing any company or entity that is beholden to foreign governments that don't share our values to gain positions of power inside our telecommunications networks."⁵¹

The presidential election of 2016 in the USA has been a turning point for U.S.-China relations. During his presidential campaign Donald Trump had complained about trade deficit and had signaled a rise of tariffs between the USA and China to remedy it. After Trump became the President of the USA, the world witnessed an increasing tariff war between the USA and China especially after 2018.⁵² Huawei was also targeted by the Trump administration in the framework of strained U.S.-China relations. In May 2019, Donald Trump blacklisted Huawei in US market. Other technological companies located in the USA backed the administration's decision. Google restricted Huawei made smart phones' reach to its applications such as Google maps or Gmail. Intel, Broadcom, and Qualcomm cut their ties with Huawei.⁵³

The USA might have successfully banned Huawei products in domestic market, but the real battleground is Europe. 25 percent of 105 billion income earned by Huawei in 2018 emanates from Europe and Middle East. Huawei ranks third in smartphone market in Europe by holding 18 percent of share.⁵⁴ Although Nokia and Ericsson, other companies which invest in the development of 5G, are European companies, their investments legged behind Huawei. In 5G their combined investments in R&D equal Huawei's investment in R&D. Furthermore, the lack of coordination among EU members prevents EU countries from developing a common 5G deployment, creating a suitable environment for Huawei to permeate into European market for 5G networks.⁵⁵ The discrepancy between numbers of contracts indicates Huawei's

50 Tim Rühlig, John Seaman, and Daniel Voelsen, *5G and the US-China Tech Rivalry-a Test for Europe's Future in the Digital Age*, (Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, 2019), 2.

51 James Vincent, "Don't Use Huawei Phones, Say Heads of FBI, CIA, and NSA," *The Verge*, (2018), <https://www.theverge.com/2018/2/14/17011246/huawei-phones-safe-us-intelligence-chief-fears> (02.06. 2020).

52 Marianne Schneider-Petsinger and others, *US-China Strategic Competition The Quest for Technological Leadership*, (London: Chatham House, 2019), 6.

53 Md Sajjad Hosain, "Huawei Ban in the US: Projected Consequences for International Trade," *International Journal of Commerce and Economics* 1, no.2 (2019):22.

54 Europe and 5G: The Huawei Case, (Paris: Institut Montaigne, 2019), 10.

55 Lorenzo Mariani and Micol Bertolini, *The US-China 5G Contest: Options for Europe*, (Rome: Istituto Affari Internazionali, 2019), 14.



increasing presence in the European market. 47 out of 91 total contracts of Huawei based in Europe. Ericsson, on the other hand, has only secured 50 contracts globally.⁵⁶

Hence, U.S. administration concentrated on driving Huawei out of European markets. After the announcement of the ban on Huawei products by the President Trump in the USA, the Department of Commerce placed Huawei on the entity list, which contained the names of companies with which U.S. companies are restricted to make commercial deals. Thus, this act presents foreign companies a dilemma in that they have to choose either doing business with Huawei or severing ties with U.S. companies.⁵⁷ The rhetoric of U.S. officials focuses on the security risks of integrating 5G technology into European infrastructure networks.⁵⁸ However, instead of security aspect, U.S. attacks on Huawei have been considered as a part of trade war between China-the USA. The heads of the governments of Germany, France, and Netherlands stated that their countries would not bar Huawei from developing 5G networks, pointing out that it would not appropriate to reflect trade war into technology.⁵⁹

Despite this green light to Huawei's activities, the European Commission (EC) published a security guidance for 5G networks. While recognizing that 5G networks in Europe could be threatened by various groups such as individual hackers, state backed actors, or insiders, which provide service 5G networks, but Huawei's name is not mentioned.⁶⁰ To address these security risk, the EC calls its members to assess risks and develop appropriate response.⁶¹ The EC recognized the security risks concerning 5G networks but it eschews from identifying specifically Huawei as a security threat. While leaving decision to allow or ban Huawei in EU members, the EC attempts to pursue a balancing policy between the USA and China. This avoidance of taking responsibility as the highest executive branch of the EU led to fragmentation of response regarding the operations of Huawei in the EU.

Being rebuffed by the Western flank of the EU, the USA concentrated on bringing Central and Eastern European countries into its anti-Huawei alliance, trying to create a division

56 Daphne Leprince-Ringuet, "5G: Huawei Unveils New Infrastructure Products Aimed at Europe," ZD Net, (2019), <https://www.zdnet.com/article/5g-huawei-unveils-new-infrastructure-products-aimed-at-europe/> (08.06.2020).

57 Europe and 5G: The Huawei Case, 18.

58 Cain Burdeau, "Europe Becomes a Battleground Over Huawei and 5G," Courthouse News Services, (2020), <https://www.courthousenews.com/europe-becomes-a-battleground-over-huawei-and-5g/> (04.06.2020).

59 "EU Leaders: We Won't Follow Trump's Huawei Ban," DW, (2019), <https://www.dw.com/en/eu-leaders-we-wont-follow-trumps-huawei-ban/a-48768000> (04.06.2020).

60 EU Coordinated Risk Assessment of the Cybersecurity of 5G Networks, (Brussels: NIS Cooperation Group, 2019), 13.

61 Commission Recommendation, (Brussels: The European Commission, 2019), 4.



in the EU. While France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Austria, Portugal, and Spain allowed Huawei to develop 5G in their countries, Poland, Czechia, and Romania lean towards U.S. position regarding Huawei. Romania objects Huawei's participation as China does not share transatlantic values such as respecting human rights or implementing democracy.⁶² In Czechia, Huawei's presence has also been threatened as a result of U.S. pressure. In December 2019, the directive prepared by Czechia's cybersecurity agency warned that Huawei's participation in 5G networks presents security threat.⁶³ In May 2020, the USA and Czechia signed an agreement in which they agreed to set the security standards for suppliers of 5G.⁶⁴ Besides Romania and Czechia, the USA managed to convince Poland regarding Huawei's role in 5G networks. In January 2019, a Chinese employee of Huawei residing in Poland was arrested for espionage charges.⁶⁵ October 2019, the USA and Poland signed an agreement, which requires the suppliers of 5G technology to be given a rigorous security examination such as whether they are being controlled by the foreign government.⁶⁶ Although Huawei is not named directly, this article clearly targeted it. This deal could be interpreted as a strong step towards Huawei's exclusion from Poland.

To respond U.S. attacks, Huawei published a document, which answers the allegations raised by U.S. State Department. It denies U.S. claims such as Huawei is subsidized by the Chinese government and it engages in intellectual theft. The most striking part of the document, however, Huawei's response to U.S. claim that Huawei does not share Western values. The document states that Huawei respects security and protection of privacy as much as American citizens do and perhaps more than U.S. government does, reminding Edward Snowden's revelations concerning monitoring of European leaders' phone calls by the National Security Agency (NSA) of the USA.⁶⁷ It also warns countries about the rising costs and delays in 5G development, should Huawei is banned. The document uses Oxford Economics prediction that

62 "Out of Step Romania's Foreign Policy and the Huawei 5G Case," Visegrad Insight, (2020), <https://visegradinsight.eu/romania-out-of-stop-5g-china/> (12.06..2020).

63 Marc Santora and Hana de Goeij, "Huawei Was a Czech Favorite. Now? It's a National Security Threat," The New York Times, (2020), <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/12/world/europe/czech-republic-huawei.html> (11.06.2020).

64 Kelsey Warner, "US Signs Deal with Czech Republic to Safeguard Future of 5G Networks," (2020), <https://www.thenational.ae/world/the-americas/us-signs-deal-with-czech-republic-to-safeguard-future-of-5g-networks-1.1016365> (11.06.2020).

65 "How Poland Became a Front in the Cold War between the U.S. and China," Reuters, (2019), <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/huawei-poland-spying/> (10.06.2020).

66 Justin Sink and Alyza Sebenius, "U.S. and Poland Ink 5G Security Agreement Amid Anti-Huawei Campaign," Bloomberg, (2019), <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-09-02/u-s-poland-ink-5g-security-agreement-amid-anti-huawei-campaign> (10.06.2020).

67 5G Security Huawei: Facts, Not Myths, (Huawei, 2020), 3.



the exclusion of Huawei could increase the country's costs 8 percent to 30 percent in a decade.⁶⁸ This implicit threat has worked in Poland. Despite the security arrangements with the USA, a minister in Polish government pointed out the impossibility of excluding Huawei completely. In May 2020, the mobile operator Plus with the partnership with Huawei launched Poland's first 5G network.⁶⁹ Huawei also resorts to using China's economic leverages when it faces problems. After being directly identified as a security threat in Czechia, Huawei threatened to sue the relevant government department and to retaliate economically, which alarmed businessmen and government officials.⁷⁰ These cases demonstrate Huawei's resources in dealing with restrictions by the USA. Even though the countries are being pressured by the USA to ban Huawei in their domestic markets, even the closest allies are hesitant to ban Huawei completely either because of the rising costs in developing 5G technology or the unwillingness to jeopardize their economic ties with China. The lack of alternatives in supplying 5G technology strengthens Huawei's hand in quelling suspicions regarding its operations.

While struggling to gather its European partners against Huawei, the USA stepped up its pressure. In May 2020, US Department of Commerce published that the USA would not only bar Huawei from reaching U.S. market but also its foreign suppliers.⁷¹ In the endeavors of restricting Huawei the USA found an unlikely support. In June 2020 the United Kingdom (UK), previously allowed Huawei's 5G operations, announced that it plans to set up a 5G alliance, which will consist of the UK, France, Canada, Italy, Germany, Japan, the USA, South Korea, Australia, and India to create alternative to Huawei in 5G development.⁷²

The UK's endeavor is daring as except Australia, the USA, and Japan none of these countries listed to participate in the UK's organization, banned Huawei's 5G operations. Although they expressed concerns about the security of 5G networks, the leading position of Huawei in 5G technology and Huawei's low-cost supply of this technology enabled Huawei to sideline its competitors in providing 5G networks in these countries.⁷³ Despite the concerns of

68 5G Security Huawei: Facts, Not Myths, 6.

69 "First Commercial 5G Network Launched in Poland," (2020), <https://notesfrompoland.com/2020/05/12/first-commercial-5g-network-launched-in-poland/> (11.06.2020).

70 Santora and Goeij, "Huawei Was a Czech Favorite. Now? It's a National Security Threat".

71 "Commerce Addresses Huawei's Efforts to Undermine Entity List, Restricts Products Designed and Produced with U.S. Technologies," U.S. Department of Commerce, (2020), <https://www.commerce.gov/news/press-releases/2020/05/commerce-addresses-huaweis-efforts-undermine-entity-list-restricts> (10.06.2020).

72 Justin Sherman, "The UK Is Forging a 5G Club of Democracies to Avoid Reliance on Huawei," Atlantic Council, (2020), <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/the-uk-is-forging-a-5g-club-of-democracies-to-avoid-reliance-on-huawei/> (10.06.2020).

73 Sherman, "The UK Is Forging a 5G Club of Democracies to Avoid Reliance on Huawei".



Huawei's involvement in 5G networks, the benefits of 5G technology cannot be overlooked by these countries. Without offering a viable alternative to Huawei in developing 5G networks, it will be difficult for the USA to convince other countries to join into anti-Huawei alliance.

Besides these elements, China uses economic leverage to support Huawei against countries. In August 2019, China told India that if the activities of Huawei are obstructed, China will sanction the activities of India's companies operating in China.⁷⁴ In addition to India, if Huawei encounters restrictions in Germany, China reminded Germany that a quarter of 28 million German cars sold in China, implying it could ban import of German cars.⁷⁵ Considering that China threatens to exercise retaliation against Germany and India, which are among the biggest economies, the other countries, which have smaller economies are less resistant to the economic threats of the Chinese government.

The Huawei case, thus, constitutes a new kind of geopolitical confrontation between the USA and China. The access of 5G technology into infrastructure networks will enable Huawei to oversight these networks. U.S. government officials express fears that through Huawei China gain influence in these networks. Fearing the rising Chinese influence, the USA banned Huawei and restricted the access of supplier companies in its domestic market. However, it fails short in offering alternatives to Huawei, which is the leading investor in R&D in 5G and low-cost supplier of 5G. The European countries shy away restricting Huawei completely. Moreover, the threat of economic retaliation of the Chinese government prevents even the countries, which are sympathetic to U.S. allegations, from taking decisive steps against Huawei.

5. Conclusion

The geopolitical struggle among states has undergone changes as a result of technological developments. Networks, which consists of several interconnected nodes, have become centers where social and economic life occur. Gaining first access to networks and outperforming other players offer enormous advantage for influencing the operationalization of the networks. Thus, the new geopolitical competition takes places on transnational networks

74 Sanjeev Miglani and Neha Dasgupta, "Exclusive: China Warns India of "reverse Sanctions" If Huawei Is Blocked - Sources," Reuters, (2019), <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-huawei-india-exclusive/exclusive-china-warns-india-of-reverse-sanctions-if-huawei-is-blocked-sources-idUSKCN1UW1FF> (11.06.2020).

75 "China Threatens Germany with Retaliation If Huawei 5G Is Banned," The Strait Times, (2019), <https://www.straitstimes.com/world/europe/china-threatens-germany-with-retaliation-if-huawei-5g-is-banned> (12.06.2020).



instead of fixed territorial units. Power struggle among great powers remain but it metamorphoses.

Today's geopolitical struggle over the networks mainly concentrated on the development of 5G technology. 5G technology introduces leaping changes in economic and social life by providing faster connections in an unprecedented scale in machine-to-machine connectivity and machine-to-human connectivity. From health sector to industrial production almost every sector will be upgraded through 5G networks. It is predicted that 5G networks will unleash fourth industrial revolution. In such an important area, there are three main companies operating: Finland-based Nokia, Sweden-based Ericsson, and China-based Huawei. However, the total investment of Nokia and Ericsson in R&D in 5G hardly correspond Huawei's investment in R&D. These two companies' total contracts in the global markets hardly reach to Huawei's total contracts. This outperformance makes Huawei leading company in 5G development.

Huawei was founded in by a former PLA affiliate Ren Zhengfei. Since its establishment, it expanded into the global market. Although Huawei is a private company with the workers from all around the world, its operations are in conformity with China's grand strategic plans. The recent expansion Huawei was made possible by the Chinese government's two grand initiatives: Made in China 2025 and the Belt and Road Initiative. Made in China 2025 plan prompts the Chinese companies to produce high-value technological products. 5G technology constitutes an important target within this strategic planning. The Belt and Road Initiative, on the other hand, is a project, which aimed at connecting China with the rest of the regions by emphasizing financial, infrastructure, policy, and people-to-people connectivity. Digital connectivity is one of the components of the project. By laying out fiber optic cable networks the digital infrastructure of the participant countries is being strengthened. Utilizing these fiber optic cable networks Huawei is able to penetrate 5G networks of Belt and Road's participant countries.

Being sidelined in the development of 5G network, the USA sought to restrict Huawei's access to the global market. In May 2019, the President Trump banned Huawei in U.S. domestic markets. Then, the Trump administration focused on pressuring the European countries to expel Huawei. Despite security warnings and explicit threats to ban the companies, which establish partnership with Huawei from U.S. markets, the European countries continued to allow Huawei



in developing 5G technology in their countries except few exceptions such as Romania and Poland. Even these countries are hesitant to block Huawei completely due to the fear of the reprisals of the Chinese government. Globally, the USA only fully convinced Australia and Japan not to include Huawei in their 5G development plans.

So far, the USA could not prevent Huawei's participation into 5G networks. Being surpassed in 5G development, the USA does not offer a cheap and feasible alternative to China-based Huawei. Hence, despite security concerns due to Huawei's affiliation with the Chinese government, the countries continue to grant contracts to Huawei in upgrading 5G technology. U.S. policymakers should, therefore, focus on creating viable 5G alternative by investing other companies' 5G development efforts to counter Huawei's dominance in the market. Instead of stressing threats that Huawei has posed in 5G development more emphasis on U.S. contribution on the development of 5G networks will be more helpful in enabling the USA to change the positions of its allies in Europe regarding 5G technology. The EU, on the other hand, could not develop a coherent EU policy regarding 5G; thus, Europe remains a battleground for China and the USA for the development of 5G networks instead of an important player. The European Commission, as an executive organ of the EU, should take more bold steps in developing and enforcing a common European response would strengthen EU's position *vis-à-vis* China and the USA.

As stated above, 5G technology has broad consequences for people's lives and policymakers. When today's predictions turn into reality in future, the wider implications of 5G will be appreciated adequately. As the development of 5G brings about cooperation and competition of nation-states, multinational companies, regional bodies, it leads to the establishment of networks comprised of all these actors. Articulation of new geopolitical maps, which show these networks depending on the preference of 5G networks, will be just one of the consequences of 5G technology in social sciences. Thus, it invites further research for social researchers on the level of the interaction of multinational companies and nation-states.



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Opportunities and Challenges in Turkish and Chinese Bilateral Relationship

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Abstract

This article focuses on Turkey and China's bilateral relationship. In this context, the opportunities and challenges have been analyzed between the two countries. According to the findings, some economic opportunities such as the 'Belt and Road project and problematic areas such as Uyghurs' problems and Syria issue are hot spots for this relationship. Besides, Turkey's membership in NATO also has been regarded to determine the axis of this relationship. The recent developments in the domestic and international areas in both countries forced to us reconsider this relationship in the context of a "new era" by multidimensional approaches.

Another aim to reach in this paper is to analyze potential uncertainties to determine the strategic depth of this relationship. In this frame, primary sources and descriptive analysis method has been used for this research.

Keywords: Turkey, China, Global Economy, Foreign Policy, Xinjiang, Uyghur

Türkiye-Çin İkili İlişkilerinde Fırsatlar ve Zorluklar

Özet

Bu makale Türkiye ve Çin'in ikili ilişkilerine odaklanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, iki ülke arasındaki fırsatlar ve zorluklar analiz edilmiştir. Araştırma sonucunda ulaşılan bulgulara göre 'Kuşak ve Yol Projesi gibi bazı ekonomik fırsatlar ve Uygurların sorunları ile Suriye meselesi gibi alanlar her iki ülke arasındaki ikili ilişkilerin sıcak noktalarını oluşturmaktadır. Ayrıca, Türkiye'nin NATO üyeliği de iki ülke arasındaki ilişkilerin analizinde belirleyici bir eksen olarak düşünülmüştür. Her iki ülkenin yurt içi ve uluslararası alanda yaşadıkları gelişmeler bu ikili ilişkiyi "yeni bir dönem" şeklinde adlandırarak ve çok boyutlu ele almayı zorunlu kılmaktadır. Bu çalışmada ulaşılmak istenen diğer bir amaç da bu ilişkinin stratejik derinliğini anlamak için olası belirsizlikleri analiz etmektir. Bu çerçevede araştırma için birincil kaynaklardan yararlanılmış ve betimsel analiz yöntemi kullanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kavramlar: Türkiye, Çin, Küresel Ekonomi, Dış Politika, Sincan, Uygurlar

1. Introduction

Turkey-China Relations has been getting closer since 1999.¹ In the last two decades, two countries build cooperation in a more institutionalized way. The 'new era' concept in this research refers to these last two decades. Although the development of relations is not stable, it always reached a better level than before. Two countries show the motivation to solve mutual trust and the rest of the problems. Based on last three decades, studies show that due to internal and external factors that it would longer time. Those motivations read as 'axis shift' by some

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1Emre Kartal, "TBMM Çalışmalarında Türkiye – Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti İlişkileri: 1999 – 2019," 30.



academics and experts for Turkish foreign policy. But as explained above, it's more like expanding cooperation without cutting ties with 'old allies'.

With the 2013 Chinese President Xi Jinping mentioned "Belt and Road" initiative (BRI), the two countries' relations have made very significant progress. Although there is a lot of uncertainty about BRI, two countries have big expectations from BRI. In recent years, two countries expected to promote economic and political development between the two countries.

Due to crises around the world and inefficient system of UN Security Council, Turkish President Erdoğan highlighted that the 'World is Bigger than Five' in the 73rd meeting of United Nations General Assembly in U.N. headquarters at 2016.² According to Erdoğan's speech, "A U.N. Security Council that does not represent the whole world cannot facilitate justice."³ That shows Turkey's dissatisfaction with the world system. Chinese leader Xi Jinping has a similar kind of discourse, which named 'Community of Common Destiny'. It's hard to expect that China would give up its UN Security Council position to support Turkey's thesis.

Turkey's Eurasian identity, NATO identity, Turkey's great influence and historical relations on its surrounding geography may bring more opportunities for China's political and economic cooperation in Central Asia, the Middle East, the Balkans, the eastern Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Aegean Sea, the Caucasus, and the Islamic world.⁴

China is an important country for Turkey. China is Turkey's biggest import resources. Not only China's membership of the UN Security Council but also its new technological developments, rising soft and hard power makes China a more and more important country to build ties with. China's big market, a massive number of Chinese tourists around the world also another motivation for Turkey.

As there are some opportunities, there are some problems between the two countries as well. The priorities, distrust and occurred problems make relations unstable. Due to two countries' 'conservative / orthodox governance', those problems being covered or not mention as open as many countries.

According to Dr. Altay Alti, governments have been conducting many meetings to solve this problem. But the biggest problem is not only between two governments but also between

2Beril Dedeoğlu, "The World is Bigger than 5," Daily Sabah (2016), <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/beril-dedeoglu/2016/09/28/the-world-is-bigger-than-5>, accessed on April 28, 2020.

3Fahrettin Altun, "What is happening to the United Nations Order?" SETA (2016), <https://www.setav.org/en/what-is-happening-to-the-united-nations-order>, accessed on April 30, 2020.

4 Fraihat and A Leber, "China and the Middle East After the Arab Spring: From Status-Quo Observing To Proactive Engagement," Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies 13, no. 1 (2019): 3-17.



the two nations. There is a lot of ‘disinformation’ going on among the two nations. Therefore, building close ties having a difficult time.⁵

“Although both countries pay more attention to each other, there is a certain difference and dislocation between the two. China pays more attention to the strategic value of Turkey in security, while Turkey pays more attention to the economic role of China, and it is also true that they still cannot trust each other.”⁶ In other words, once former Prime Minister Davutoğlu was Foreign Minister, he mentioned Turkey needs to develop a democracy with EU standards, and produce in Chinese standards.⁷ According to Dr. Altay Atli, Turkey’s improving relations with China do not result from an ideological preference.⁸

However, stable relations need stable political relations. Therefore, the two countries recently conduct many joints projects. BRI became a basement for many cooperation. Due to the current level of cooperation is in the ‘honeymoon’ period, by time Turkish-Chinese Relations will be tested.

2. Opportunities and Challenges between Two Countries

Turkey - China Relations contains positive and negative factors. Two countries focus on cooperation, at the same challenge with some difficulties. In general, Turkey’s perspective, opportunities are China’s important role in the UN Security Council, Economic and Cultural Relations under BRI as well as Tourism ties with China and opportunities in the Chinese market. On the other hand, two countries face difficulties such as different opinions on Xinjiang Security Policies, China’s concerns about Uyghur diaspora in Turkey, Turkey’s NATO role as well as different political opinion on some international issues like Syria crisis.

China’s rapid economic development after joining WTO increased the number of economic cooperation between two sides. Stronger economies and numerous cooperation brought political dialogues and strategies. This part analyzes opportunities and challenges in political, economic, diplomatic, strategic, and security aspects.

Turkey and China have a promising cooperation space. Since ending the cold war, two countries have been trying to improve relations. In the last 20 years, the two countries rapidly

5Altay Atli, Interview (Turkish Scholar), interview by Ahmet Faruk ISIK, via Zoom, April 28, 2020.

6Ahmet Faruk Isik and Zhiqiang Zou, “China-Turkey Security Cooperation under the Background of the ‘Belt and Road’ and the ‘Middle Corridor’ Initiatives,” *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies* (2019): 10.

7Tugrul Keskin and Michael McCall, “The Long-Standing Struggle of Janus-Faced Relations: China and Turkey in the 21st Century, Moving Forward?,” *ChinaMed* (2019): 41.

8Emre Erşen and Seçkin Köstem, “Turkey's Pivot to Eurasia: Geopolitics and Foreign Policy in A Changing World Order”, 90.



improved ties in different fields like economy, military, security and people to people ties. The Belt and Road Initiative contains opportunities but at the same time, some people have negative concerns about the initiative. Two countries support each other thesis on different issues from time to time. China's veto power in the UN Security Council is the major difference area. Although Turkey is not a member of the UN Security Council but most of the time two countries stand at different points. However, BRI plays a 'bridge' role between the two countries. Win-win economic interest leads two countries to cooperate and conduct more sociocultural ties. Another common area is Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region(XUAR); Xinjiang with its cultural ethnic ties with Turkey is a 'bridge' between two countries. Although China is not willing any foreign power to interfering with Xinjiang, Turkey keeps focuses on the developments in there. Moreover, Uyghur people also have the motivation to have close ties with Turkey and Turkish culture. Due to high-security measures, many Uyghurs choose to leave China and move to Turkey. Because of high-security measures, some of the immigrants choose the illegal way to leave China. Moreover, some of those immigrants joined some radical organizations outside of China. Those developments are a conflict area between the two countries. The Chinese government suspect some links between those people and Turkey. Lastly, Turkey as a long term NATO ally has a big impact on its policies. Therefore, it's hard to expect to build closer ties with China on security and have alignment. Especially in the time that NATO's 'spiritual leader' US is having 'trade war' and strategic rivalry with China.

The Turkish government plans to achieve the goal of becoming one of the world's top ten economies by 2023. Turkey needs to spend great effort to make its 'dream' real. Therefore, Turkey tends to build a multi-directional foreign policy, which leads Turkey to improve its cooperation with other countries. Like all states, Turkey and China want to gain political benefits from their mutual ties. It sometimes occurs as 'win-win' sometimes as 'one-sided' benefit.

3. Politic Opportunities and Challenges

From Turkey's point of view, Turkey wants to see China as a political supporter in its 'precious loneliness' against its western allies. Since China is one of the most influential members of the UN Security Council, Ankara wishes to strengthen its political ties with Beijing.⁹

⁹Emre Kartal, "TBMM Çalışmalarında Türkiye – Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti İlişkileri: 1999 – 2019," 44.



When President Erdoğan was Prime Minister, he mentioned that he supports the development of Turkish Chinese relations under mutual respect and win-win relations in 2013¹⁰ Next year, President Ahmet Necdet Sezer mentioned that Turkey needs to diversify its relations in different fields with China in 2004.¹¹

In 2007, Prime Minister Erdoğan mentioned about Turkey-China Relations under the structure of the relations with 'West'. Erdoğan underlined that rising powers like Russia and China are not an alternative to Turkey's institutionalized ties with the European Union and the United States.¹²

As Turkey's current ambassador to Beijing, Abdülkadir Emin Önen, stated Turkey does not consider China as an alternative to the United States or the EU. Turkey's goal is to develop win-win relations with China.¹³ According to a high-ranked Turkish government official, Turkey cannot ignore its ties with its western allies, all the Turkey's national problems solution not in the east but west.¹⁴

The two countries consider the other side in a different way. In addition, "although both countries pay more attention to each other, there is a certain difference and dislocation between the two. China pays more attention to the strategic value of Turkey in security, while Turkey pays more attention to the economic role of China, and it is also true that they still cannot trust each other."¹⁵ That causes mutual distrust for each other. Moreover, According to one speech analysis of Turkish parliament members in the last 20 years (1999-2019) on China, parliament members talked two major areas; Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) and Turkey's Foreign Trade with China.¹⁶ Those researches give us ideas about how the two countries see each other. As a result of mentioned Turkey's military actions in northern Syria, the relationship between Turkey and its Western ally has become increasingly unstable and strained.¹⁷ In this sense, China's support is crucial for Turkey.

10Hasan Bilgin, "Stratejik Açıdan Çin," USAK (2010): 157.

11Ibid. 35.

12Emre Kartal, "TBMM Çalışmalarında Türkiye – Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti İlişkileri: 1999 – 2019," 39.

13Emre Erşen and Seçkin Köstem, "Turkey's Pivot to Eurasia: Geopolitics and Foreign Policy in A Changing World Order," 90.

14B. Interview (High-ranked Turkish Government Official), interview by Ahmet Faruk ISIK, via phonecall, April 30, 2020.

15Z. Zou, "New Opportunities and Challenges: Cultural Exchanges between China and Turkey under the Background of 'the Belt and Road,'" Chinese Social Sciences Today.

16Emre Kartal, "TBMM Çalışmalarında Türkiye – Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti İlişkileri: 1999 – 2019," 55.

17Ahmet F. Isik and Zhiqiang Zou, "China-Turkey Security Cooperation under the Background of the 'Belt and Road' and the 'Middle Corridor' Initiatives," Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, (2019): 6.



For example, when Turkey conducted 'Peace Spring Operation' against PKK/YPG, China Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Geng Shuang calls Turkey to stop military action. He also highlighted that Turkey's military action may cause ISIS to rise in the region again.¹⁸ China Daily editorial reported as "The situation in Syria risks being plunged into a new round of chaos and conflict that may cause a humanitarian crisis after Turkey launched a broad assault against Kurdish fighters in the north of the country on Wednesday."¹⁹ Whereas, President Erdoğan and President Xi have talked about cooperation on terrorism in July 2019.²⁰

On the other hand, Turkey is missing the point that China strictly following its 'The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence' policy. That contains; Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity(互相尊重主權和領土完整), Mutual non-aggression(互不侵犯), Non-interference in each other's internal affairs(互不干涉內政), Equality and mutual benefit(平等互利), Peaceful coexistence(和平共處).²¹ China, based on those principles adopts the stance of 'non-interference' other countries' internal affairs.

Although Turkey is welcome different political ideology and parties, there are some radical left political movements which conduct violent actions. One of them is the Maoist Communist Party of Turkey (MKP). Though it is not linked with China, I believe that is cause antipathy toward China and it's one the reason why Turkey does not approach China in the political aspect.²² Although China already stops 'exporting revolution' but local sympathizers are taking self-action under those ideologies.²³ Especially in the last 4 years, Turkish Security Forces conduct many operations against MKP.²⁴ For example, Interior Minister Süleyman

18“外交部：中方呼吁土耳其停止对叙利亚军事行动,” (2019), http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2019-10/15/content_5440199.htm, accessed on May 19, 2020.

19“Peace Spring' Puts Further Stress on Syria”, China Daily (2019), <https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201910/10/WS5d9f2ac2a310cf3e3556fc2d.html>, accessed on May 20, 2020.

20“China Says Turkey President Offered Support over Restive Xinjiang”, Reuters (2019), <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-turkey/china-says-turkey-president-offered-support-over-restive-xinjiang-idUSKCN1TX1L7>, accessed on May 21, 2020.

21“The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence,” Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the People's Republic of China (2014), https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zwjg_665342/zwbd_665378/t1179045.shtml, accessed on May 21, 2020.

22Çağdaş Ungor, “Türkiye Solunda Çin Etkisi: Proleter Devrimci Aydınlik Hareketi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme (1969-1977),” in Türkiye’de Çin’i Düşünmek, ed. Selçuk Esenbel, at all. Istanbul, (2013), 197.

23Kutay Karaca and Wang Li, “Sino-Turkey Relations: Concept, Policies and Prospects,” 137; “Xi Jinping's Journey from China Party Elite to Party Leader,” Reuters (2012), <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-congress-xi-idUSBRE8AE0BZ20121115>, accessed on May 21, 2020.

24“Teröristlere Cenaze Töreni Düzenleyen 9 MKP'liden 8'i Tutuklandı,” Milliyet (2019), <https://www.milliyet.com.tr/gundem/teroristlere-cenaze-toreni-duzenleyen-9-mkpliden-8i-tutuklandi-2830817>, accessed on May 28, 2020.



Soylu said that “MKP was completely removed from the countryside in Counter-Terrorism Workshop in 2018.”²⁵

Moreover, Turkey’s Uyghur policy may push China to counter back with some other minorities like Kurds. People's Democratic Party (HDP) which also knows as it supports to Kurdish separation movement invited to visit China by the Chinese Communist Party in 2015.²⁶ Although China follows non-intervention foreign policy and follows ‘The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence’ policy, China does not recognize PKK (Kurdish Worker Party) as a terrorist organization. However, China has expressed respect for Turkey’s territorial integrity and shown its strong support to Turkey’s fight against the PKK in recent state visits.²⁷ But China’s invitation to HDP has shown that China may use the ‘Kurdish card’ as a pressure tool against Turkey. On the other hand, HDP has closer ties with western countries. It’s known that one of the HDP Parliament members criticized China on the human rights of Uyghurs.²⁸

What is more, Turkish government had more sensitive attitude on Uyghurs after the Nationalist Movement Party (NMP) and JDP build cooperation after the 2018 elections. NMP’s support for JDP is essential. NMP’s pro-nationalist Uyghur attitude would give JDP pressure to have more balance relations with China. However, the ruling party JDP and its partner NMP have a more balanced attitude toward China. In July 2019, the main opposition party RPP and Good Party proposed to have research about Uyghurs but the resolution. Due to the lack of support of the ruling party JDP and its partner NMP, it didn’t pass. That shows how the ruling party tries to hold a more balanced policy toward China.²⁹

In the following pages, the paper mentioned about some diplomatic protests against China made by the Turkish Foreign Ministry. Those kinds of the decision have the influence of cooperation between NMP and JDP. It’s known that NMP follows nationalist policies toward

25“İçişleri Bakanı Soylu: Bu Yıl 347 Terör Eylemi Engellendi,” Anadolu Agency (2018), <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/icisleri-bakani-soylu-bu-yil-347-teror-eylemi-engellendi/1342858>, accessed on May 30, 2020.

26“HDP’liler Çin Komünist Partisi'nin Daveti Üzerine Çin'e Gidecek,” Cumhuriyet (2015), <http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/hdpliler-cin-komunist-partisinin-daveti-uzerine-cine-gidecek-309225>, accessed on May 30, 2020.

27“Çin’den PKK Açıklaması,” CNN Turk (2015), <https://www.cnnturk.com/haber/dunya/cinden-pkk-aciklamasi>, accessed on May 30, 2020.

28Emre Kartal, “TBMM Çalışmalarında Türkiye – Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti İlişkileri: 1999 – 2019,” 52.

29 “Çin’in Doğu Türkistan Politikalarının Araştırılması Önergesinin AK Parti Oylarıyla Reddedildiği İddiası,” Teyit (2019), <https://teyit.org/cinin-dogu-turkistan-politikalarinin-arastirilmasi-onergesinin-ak-parti-oylariyla-reddedildigi-iddiasi/>, accessed on June 2, 2020.



Uyghurs and Xinjiang. Before JDP and NMP cooperation started, a group of NMP members attacked Korean tourist by mistaken as Chinese.³⁰

Furthermore, JDP is losing the public support year by year. Especially the last two elections show that the rate of the support decreased.³¹ It shows that the JDP government without the support of the NMP cannot stay in power. The rest of the effective opposition parties, like the Republican People's Party (RPP) or Good Party all, have western-oriented policies and they have a clear stance against China. Those parties are criticizing JDP's close ties with China.³² Under this circumstance, it's possible to say that in the case that the new government comes to power, Turkish-Chinese Relations would not be close as now. But it's important to remember that economy is an important motive that shapes policies. China as the second-largest economy in the world cannot ignore by any country.

In the following years, Turkey was about to purchase Chinese long-range missile defense system HQ-9 which worth \$3.44 billion.³³ However, this project canceled due to various reasons. After Turkey's cancelation decision, many experts commented as NATO's pressure. Because The US and NATO reacted to the negotiations with China.³⁴ That's one of the biggest concerns for China about Turkey's sincerity on Turkish-Chinese Relations.

In 2010, despite the opposition of most NATO countries, Turkey invited the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Air Force, to participate in the 'Anatolian Eagle' military exercise in Turkey. It was the first time that the PLA conducted a military exercise with a NATO state.³⁵ This indicates that military relations between China and Turkey have promoted political relations. The same year, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited Turkey and bilateral relations elevated to the level of 'strategic cooperation'.³⁶

Two countries give importance to public diplomacy. Although two sides stand on different sides on Libya intervention in 2011, Turkey helped Chinese citizens who live in Libya;

30"Çinli Sanip Korelilere Saldirdilar," Hurriyet (2015), <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/cinli-sanip-korelilere-saldirdilar-29460272>, accessed on June 2, 2020.

31"İn Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Power Begins to crumble," DW (2019), <https://www.dw.com/en/in-turkey-recep-tayyip-erdogans-power-begins-to-crumble/a-49380884>, accessed on June 2, 2020.

32"Çin Karşıtı Yürüyüşe CHP-İyi Parti-Saadet Desteği," Ulusal (2019), <https://www.ulusal.com.tr/gundem/cin-karsiti-yuruyuse-chp-iyi-parti-saadet-destegi-h221843.html>, accessed on June 5, 2020.

33Zachary Keck, "Why Turkey's Buying Chinese Missile Systems," The Diplomat (2013), <https://thediplomat.com/2013/09/why-turkeys-buying-chinese-missile-systems>, accessed on June 5, 2020.

34"Turkiye Çin'den Füze Almaktan Vazgeçti," BBC (2015), https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/11/151115_turkiye_cin_iptal, accessed on June 5, 2020.

35"Turkiye-Çin Müşterek Hava Kuvvetleri Tatbikatı," Turksam (2010), <http://turksam.org/turkiye-cin-musterek-hava-kuvvetleri-tatbikati>, accessed on June 5, 2020.

36"Relations between Turkey and China," Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-china.en.mfa>, accessed on June 5, 2020.



which had a positive impact on bilateral relations.³⁷ That shows that two sides always open the dialogue doors and spend effort on it.

Cooperation on technology also improved in the last decade, Turkey's first earth high-resolution observation satellite Gokturk-2 launched from China on December 18, 2012. In the same year, Turkey became a “dialogue partner” of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).³⁸ Turkey's partnership with SCO understood as ‘axis shift’ by some experts. But as mentioned above, SCO is no alternative to the EU.³⁹

The Coup Attempt on July 15, 2016, played a ‘litmus paper’ role in bilateral relations. Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister Zhang Ming has visited Turkey to show their support after the coup attempt. It brought a positive impact on relations between the two countries.⁴⁰ Same year Foreign Minister Wang Yi visited Turkey. That even created sympathy for China among Turkish nationalists and conservative people.

Under Turkey-China Foreign Ministers Dialogue Mechanism framework, Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu to China and two sides talked about establishing a Turkish-Chinese University.⁴¹ Although especially 2016 seems a very fruitful year for both sides, the Chinese government still being suspicious of many things like Turkey's policies in Syria, Uyghurs, etc. For example, 15 Turkish tourists who traveled to China detained at the Urumqi airport by the Chinese police and they were not allowed to enter the country.⁴²

In 2018, The Minister of Culture and Tourism, Numan Kurtulmus, visited Chengdu to attend the 22nd General Meeting of the United Nations World Tourism Organization. During his visit, two sides signed to establish the Yunus Emre Institute in China.⁴³ Yunus Emre Institute is a foundation that promotes Turkey, the Turkish language, its history and culture, and art; it improves the friendship between Turkey and other countries.⁴⁴ Currently, Turkey host 4 Confucius Institute in Turkish universities, unlikely Turkey does not have a single institute in China. The main reason is China's strict regulations on those kinds of institutes.

37Burhanettin Duran, Kemal Inat and Ali Resul Usul, “Turk Dis Politikasi Yilligi 2011,” SETA (2012), 609.

38Burhanettin Duran, Kemal Inat and Ali Resul Usul, “Turk Dis Politikasi Yilligi 2011,” SETA (2013), 435.

39Cagdaş Ungor, “Turkey and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Few Shared Values and No Common Destiny,” Middle East Institute (2013), <https://www.mei.edu/publications/turkey-and-shanghai-cooperation-organization-few-shared-values-and-no-common-destiny>, accessed on June 6, 2020.

40Burhanettin Duran, Kemal Inat and Mustafa Caner, “Turk Dis Politikasi Yilligi 2016,” SETA (2017), 497.

41Ibid. 506.

42Ibid. 506.

43Burhanettin Duran, Kemal Inat and Mustafa Caner, “Turk Dis Politikasi Yilligi 2016,” SETA (2018), 450.

44Yunus Emre Institute, <https://www.yee.org.tr/en/corporate/yunus-emre-institute>, accessed on June 7, 2020.



The same year, the Turkish Presidency's Directorate of Communications organized panel under the name of "Turkey and China: Prospects for Long-Term Cooperation" in Beijing and Shanghai.⁴⁵ Moreover, in 2018, Turkey started 'Chinese Education Programs' in Public Security University in China.⁴⁶

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee member and the Sha'anxi Province Party Secretary Hu Heping visited Turkey under invitation of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) in November 2019. During Hu's visit, he met with Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) deputy president Sadi Bilgiç and Justice and Development Party Deputy Chairman Cevdet Yılmaz.⁴⁷ Two sides held "The ruling party dialogue and cooperation" conference. Hu joint opening ceremony of Xi'an-Ankara-Prague Trans-Caspian Train and mentioned about the importance of two-sided cooperation.⁴⁸

During the COVID-19 outbreak, the two countries started to do public diplomacy. The first step came from Turkey. About the donation Head of the Press Office of the Chinese Embassy, Xie Xinxing said that "The Turkish side took a humanitarian stance". In total, Turkey sends it a thousand biological hazard suits, 93,500 filter masks, 500 medical protective glasses, 10 thousand medical equipment.⁴⁹ Moreover, Istanbul Grand Airport Company (IGA) donated \$120,000 worth/ 3 tonnes aid to Beijing, Daxing, Chengdu and Shanghai airports.⁵⁰

As a return, China responded via ICBC Bank. ICBC Bank announced that it's going to donate medical equipment worth 100 thousand dollars. The donation includes 1,200 protective

45Directorate of Communications, "Today's Turkey in China," (2018), <https://www.iletisim.gov.tr/turkce/duyurular/detay/directorate-of-communications-explains-todays-turkey-in-china>, accessed on June 7, 2020.

46"Hakim ve Savcılar Çin'de Eğitim Alacak," Turkish Ministry of Justice (2019), <http://www.basin.adalet.gov.tr/Etkinlik/hakim-ve-savcilar-cinde-dil-egitimi-alacak>, accessed on June 7, 2020.

47"Çin heyeti Türkiye'de," CRI Turk (2019), <https://www.criturk.com/haber/haber-lokasyon/cin-heyeti-turkiyede-119088>, accessed on June 10, 2020.

48"Çin heyeti Türkiye'de," Haberler (2019), <https://www.haberler.com/cin-heyeti-turkiye-de-12599220-haberi>, accessed on June 10, 2020.

49"Çin Büyükelçiliği: Türk Tarafı İnsani Bir Tavır Takındı," Sozcu (2020), <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2020/gundem/cin-buyukelciligi-turk-tarafi-insani-bir-tavir-takindi-5599962>, accessed on June 10, 2020.

50"Coronavirus: Quarantine Begins in Turkey for Wuhan Evacuees," Daily Sabah (2020), <https://www.dailysabah.com/turkey/2020/02/01/cargo-plane-carrying-turkish-citizens-from-chinas-wuhan-headed-to-turkey>, accessed on June 13, 2020.



clothing, 100 pairs of protective glasses and 3,000 masks.⁵¹ On April 4, 2020, Shanghai Municipal People's Government donated a test kit to Istanbul.⁵²

President Erdoğan had a phone call with Chinese President Xi on April 8, 2020. Two sides talked about cooperation on COVID-19 and bilateral relations. Two leaders expressed their support and goodwill to each other.⁵³ Following this phone call, two ministers of foreign affairs had a phone call on COVID-19 after 2 weeks. Minister Wang Yi, emphasized that under the leadership of Xi Jinping and Erdoğan, two countries overcome the pandemic. He mentioned that next year is going to be the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Turkey and China and two countries work together on mutual trust and mutual support in the following years.⁵⁴

Lastly, China's aid packages to Armenia became an issue between the two countries. The phrase used on outside of the packages was "May Our Friendship Higher than Mountain Ararat and Longer than Yangtze River". Ararat Mountain is located in Turkey and Ararat Mountain is an icon by the so-called "Armenian irredentism" movement. Turkish Foreign Ministry demanded the Chinese Ambassador for clarification about the message on aid packages sent to Armenia. China's Ambassador to Ankara Deng Li said their aid packages to Armenia were prepared by a local authority. Although China is always careful with its diplomatic actions. It would not expect such a diplomatic mistake from China.⁵⁵

4. BRI and Economy

According to World Bank, BRI may reduce travel times along economic corridors, increase global trade, increase income around the world and may lift 7.6 million people from extreme poverty. Since currently BRI is mostly about infrastructure projects, therefore BRI

51"Çin'li ICBC'den Türkiye'ye 100 Bin Dolarlık Destek," Haber 7 (2020), <http://ekonomi.haber7.com/ekonomi/haber/2957744-cinli-icbcden-turkiyeye-100-bin-dolarlik-destek>, accessed on June 13, 2020.

52Çin Başkonsolosluğu Sözcüsü/中国驻伊斯坦布尔总领馆发言人, Twitter, <https://twitter.com/chinaconsulist/status/1246801272268783616/photo/1>, accessed on June 13, 2020.

53Sefa Mutlu, "Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan ile Çin Devlet Başkanı Şi Telefonda Görüştü," Anadolu Agency (2020), <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/politika/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-ile-cin-devlet-baskani-si-telefonda-gorustu/1797384>, accessed on June 15, 2020.

54"王毅同土耳其外长查武什奥卢通电话," Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2020), <http://new.fmprc.gov.cn/web/wjzbzd/t1772085.shtml>, accessed on June 19, 2020.

55Aksoy, Hami. "Statement of the Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hami Aksoy, in Response to a Question Regarding the Reference to Mount Ararat on the Aid Packages Sent to Armenia by China within the Context of the Fight against COVID-19 Pandemic," Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2020), http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sc_-21_-chc-nin-covid-19-baglaminda-ermenistana-gonderdigi-yardim-hk-sc.en.mfa, accessed on June 19, 2020.



contains risks like debt risks, governance risks (corruption and procurement), stranded infrastructure, environmental risks and social risks.⁵⁶

Turkey as one of the key countries along with the BRI countries; may benefit and face risks of BRI. Chinese investment gradually increasing in Turkey. According to the Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey (DEİK), Turkey-China Business Council President T. Murat Kolbasi China aims to double its investment in Turkey by 2021.⁵⁷

About those developments, China Consul General Cui Wei said that “China and Turkey are together on BRI for 5 years. In these 5 years, total trade volume has reached \$ 100 billion. Chinese investments in Turkey had increased 120 percent, today, more than 1,000 of our Chinese company operating in Turkey. Currently, Bank of China and ICBC Bank operates in Turkey. I believe those developments will continue” in Turkey-China Trade and Investment Seminar in March 2019.⁵⁸

According to World Bank Economist Michele Ruta, there are three opportunities and three risks of the Belt and Road Initiative. Opportunities are tremendous size and scope (1), large unexploited potential (2) and improving connectivity (3). Risk is Policy barriers create thick borders (1), Risks involved with major infrastructure projects (2) and Macro risks (3).⁵⁹

From China’s perspective, China wants to receive Turkey’s support on its BRI initiative. Turkey’s geostrategic position in the center of Eurasia and the Middle East is one of the key places along with the BRI initiative. Moreover, Turkey is the most stable and strong country in its geography. Turkey’s support on BRI makes other developing countries more interested in BRI, therefore China gives big importance to Turkey’s support on BRI.

“Turkey as a member of the OECD and the G20, and a dialogue partner of the SCO. Besides, Turkey is a member of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence- Building Measures in Asia (CICA) and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). In this sense, Turkey’s position is of utmost importance for China to implement the ‘Belt and Road

56“Belt and Road Initiative,” World Bank, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/regional-integration/brief/belt-and-road-initiative#02>, accessed on June 19, 2020.

57“Çin 2021’e Kadar Türkiye’deki Yatırımlarını İkiye Katlamayı Hedefliyor,” DEİK (2019), <https://www.deik.org.tr/basin-aciklamalari-cin-2021-e-kadar-turkiye-deki-yatirimlarini-ikiye-katlamayi-hedefliyor>, accessed on June 19, 2020.

58 Ibid.

59Michele Ruta, “Three Opportunities and Three Risks of the Belt and Road Initiative”, World Bank, <https://blogs.worldbank.org/trade/three-opportunities-and-three-risks-belt-and-road-initiative>, accessed on June 20, 2020.



Initiative'.⁶⁰ China is the second-largest economy in the world since 2010.⁶¹ Turkey wants to establish good relations with China for many reasons. In terms of economy, Turkey has the largest foreign trade deficit with China. Turkey imports a large number of products from China, but when Turkish products enter the Chinese market, they face many formalities problems. Therefore, Turkey has a low export volume of export to China.

Figure 1. Turkey's Export-Import Rate with China⁶²

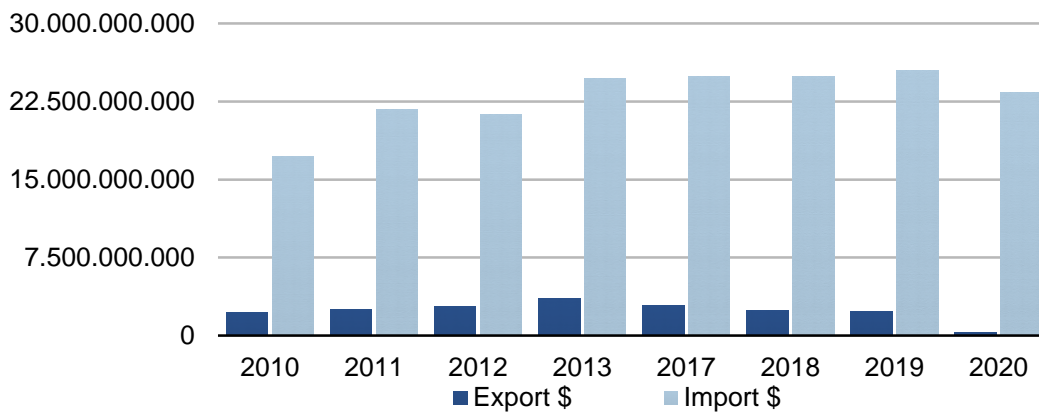


Table 1. Turkey's Export-Import Rate with China in Numbers⁶³

	Export in \$	Import in \$
2010	2,269,175,473	17,180,806,446
2011	2,466,316,473	21,693,336,473
2012	2,833,255,270	21,295,241,830
2013	3,600,865,335	24,685,885,338
2014	2,861,052,429	24,918,223,694
2015	2,414,790,409	24,873,456,845
2016	2,328,044,002	25,441,432,799
2017	2,936,261,788	23,370,619,564
2018	2,912,538,278	20,719,046,410
2019	2,587,017,875	18,496,454,403
2020	349,687,268	3,433,089,205

60Ahmet Faruk Isik and Zhiqiang Zou, "China-Turkey Security Cooperation under the Background of the 'Belt and Road' and the 'Middle Corridor' Initiatives" Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies,(2019): 8.

61"China Overtakes Japan as World's Second-Biggest Economy," BBC (2011), <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-12427321>, accessed on June 21, 2020.

62"Dış Ticaret İstatistikleri," Turkish Statistical Institute, <https://biruni.tuik.gov.tr/disticaretapp/disticaret.zul?param1=4¶m2=0&sitcrev=0&isicrev=0&sayac=5808>, accessed on June 22, 2020.

63"Dış Ticaret İstatistikleri," Turkish Statistical Institute, <https://biruni.tuik.gov.tr/disticaretapp/disticaret.zul?param1=4¶m2=0&sitcrev=0&isicrev=0&sayac=5808>, accessed on June 22, 2020.



Turkey had \$ 2,2 million exports and \$17,1 million imports in its trade with China in 2010. After 5 years, in 2015, Turkey had \$ 2,4 million exports and \$24,8 million imports in its trade with China. Last year, Turkey had \$ 2,5 million exports and \$18,4 million imports in its trade with China. Those numbers show that there are massive trade deficits between two countries and those deficits are getting wider by years. The reason why it decreases in 2018 and 2019 is that Turkey's weakening economy. 2020's data only contain the data until April, therefore the number is still far away to show the current situation, but it expected to be lower. There are two reasons behind prediction; the first one is Turkey's weakening economy and the second one is the COVID-19 pandemic and its effect on the global economy.

Currently, China has become Turkey's largest trading partner after Germany and Russia.⁶⁴ Although China is the third biggest trading partner of Turkey due to the huge deficit the Turkish government is trying to balance the import-export rate. Turkey's top 10 export markets are as follows; Germany, UK, Italy, Iraq, US, Spain, France, Netherlands, Belgium and Israel in the last 4 years. China ranked as 16th country. Turkey's top 10 import markets are as follows; Russia, China, Germany, US, Italy, India, UK, France, Iran, and South Korea.⁶⁵ As seen in this ranking, there is a huge gap between Turkey's import and export.

On the one hand, The EU, in general, holds 50 percent of Turkey's exports with \$ 84 billion in 2018. In other words, the EU ranks top in Turkey's total exports.⁶⁶ In 2019, the share of the EU was 48.8 percent despite the Brexit.⁶⁷ In 2020, this ratio reaches 50 percent again.⁶⁸ It's shows that EU is still the most important trading partner. On the other hand, China was listed as the second-biggest import market but China does not list in the 10 top export market in 2019.⁶⁹

64Meriç Ürer, "Çin, Almanya ve Rusya'dan Sonra En Büyük Ticaret Ortağımız Haline Geldi," Anadolu Agency (2019), <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/ekonomi/cin-almanya-ve-rusyadan-sonra-en-buyuk-ticaret-ortagimiz-haline-geldi/1574633>, accessed on June 22, 2020.

65Ayşe Özden and Ömer Ersan, "Türkiye'nin Dis Ticaret Performansı," A&T Bank, https://www.atbank.com.tr/documents/TURKIYE%20DIS%20TICARETI_MAYIS%20%202019.PDF, accessed on June 23, 2020.

66"Yanı Başımızdaki Dev Pazar Avrupa Birliği," Turkish Ministry of Trade, <https://www.ticaret.gov.tr/dis-iliskiler/avrupa-birligi/yani-basimizdaki-dev-pazar-avrupa-birligi>, accessed on June 23, 2020.

67"2019 Dış Ticaret Rakamları Açıklandı," Haberturk (2019), <https://www.haberturk.com/2019-ihracat-rakamlari-aciklandi-2555282-ekonomi>, accessed on June 23, 2020.

68"Türkiye'nin İhracatında AB'nin Payı Artıyor," DW (2020), <https://www.dw.com/tr/turkiyenin-ihracatinda-abnin-payi-artiyor/a-52243850>, accessed on June 23, 2020.

69"Türkiye'nin En Fazla İhracat Yaptığı Ülkeler," İstanbul Hazirgijim ve Konfeksiyon İhracatçıları Birliği (2019), <https://www.ihkib.org.tr/fp-icerik/ia/d/2019/08/29/2019-alti-aylik-turkiye-ihracat-yapilan-ulkeler-ihkib-kapakli-201908291549430090-5D542.pdf>, accessed on June 25, 2020.



Having said that, some economy experts warn about BRI. Due to the negative results of BRI, some countries like Sri Lanka and Cambodia faced the ‘debt trap’.⁷⁰ Many analysts are warning that a certain number of developing countries under the risk of ‘debt trap’. Therefore, this situation may lead some groups in Turkey to be more suspenseful about BRI.

Then again, after recent economic turbulence in Turkey, unlikely western investment, most Chinese investments choose not to leave the Turkish market. Although, EU holds the major chart of Turkish export; China with huge deficits has big potential. Therefore, the Turkish government is trying to attract more Chinese investment. A Turkish diplomat who had working experience in China says “Most efficient quick way is not entering the Chinese market, China already production most of the good that they need, therefore we need to attract more investment from China.”⁷¹ In this way, Turkey may close the deficit with China at the same time hold the national economy alive. But the mentioned risk remains for the future.

In this sense, Turkey already receives many Chinese investments. It’s very like that those investments will rise and will be extended into various areas in the future. For example, at September 2019, two Chinese companies announced their Thermal Power Plant investment to the southern part of Turkey. The project, with a total investment of 1.7 billion U.S. dollars is the biggest Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) to Turkey.⁷² By the end of the year, a Chinese consortium announced that purchase of 51% percent of the third and biggest bridge of Istanbul, which located between Asia and Europe.⁷³ As the last example, Turkish Presidency, Communications Director Fahrettin Altun released a promotional video of the ‘Canal Istanbul’ project in Chinese in January 2020.⁷⁴ ‘Canal Istanbul’ is the current government’s one of the projects which planned to have a canal between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara. Those kinds of attempts show Turkish governments’ motivation toward Chinese Investments. For instance, after the Syrian War, good relations with the Syrian government will help Chinese companies to have more advantages than other countries. At this point, China may invest in

70John Hurley, Scott Morris and Gailyn Portelance, “Examining the Debt Implications of the Belt and Road Initiative from a Policy Perspective,” Center for Global Development, <https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/examining-debt-implications-belt-and-road-initiative-policy-perspective.pdf>, accessed on June 26, 2020.

71A2, Interview (Turkish Diplomat), interview by Ahmet Faruk ISIK, via phonecall, (April 28, 2020).

72“China’s Power Plant Project with Direct Investment in Turkey Starts Construction,” Xinhua (2019), http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-09/23/c_138413218.htm, accessed on June 26, 2020.

73“Yavuz Sultan Selim’e Çinli Devler Ortak Oluyor,” Sabah (2019), <https://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2019/12/24/yavuz-sultan-selime-cinli-devler-ortak-oluyor>, accessed on June 26, 2020.

74Fahrettin Altun, <https://twitter.com/fahrettinaltun/status/1213558175242297346>, accessed on June 26, 2020.



sectors like the cement sector and other infrastructure-related sectors. Turkey's border cities may attract Chinese investments.

Especially due to unstable relations with EU countries, Turkey economically had closer ties with China. Especially, after at 2018 Turkish currency and debt crisis; Minister of Energy Berat Albayrak announced a \$ 6 billion loan from China. In the same year, Turkey announced that Turkey will receive \$ 89 million of loans from China for gas projects.⁷⁵ On March 26, 2020, The Turkey Wealth Fund (TWF) and China Export and Credit Insurance Corporation have inked a memorandum of understanding. The Chinese side agreed to provide \$5 billion support.⁷⁶

Turkey and China also cooperate with technology transferring like nuclear energy plants. So far, Turkey only has 2 nuclear plants; those are building by Russia and Japan. The third one is still on the table, most probably that China is going to be the third country to build the third nuclear plant.⁷⁷ In the past, there is some example of similar cooperation between the two countries. One of the most symbolic ones is the Edirne-Kars High-Speed Railway project.⁷⁸

Moreover, Turkey declared its 'Asia Anew Initiative' in August 2019 by Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu. He pointed Turkey's historical ties with the region and current cooperation as well as future possibilities between Turkey and Asian countries. He said that "We see that the power of economy is heading from the West to the East and Asia has started to emerge as the center of power".⁷⁹ To overcome, suspicious comments of allies, he underlined that "foreign policy, Çavuşoğlu said: "We are a member of NATO and the European Council. We are part of the European law and security system." He pointed out that it's not an "axis shift."⁸⁰

Turkey and China held "Turkey - China Business Forum" on November 5, 2019, in Turkey. TÜSİAD Secretary General and Board Member Bahadır Kaleağası said: "In the era of

75Burhanettin Duran, Kemal Inat and Mustafa Caner, "Turk Dis Politikasi Yilligi 2018," SETA (2019), 267.

76"Turkey Wealth Fund inks \$5B MoU with China's Sinosure," Daily Sabah (2020), <https://www.dailysabah.com/business/economy/turkey-wealth-fund-inks-5b-mou-with-chinas-sinosure>, accessed on June 29, 2020.

77Valeria Talbot, "Turkey and China: Towards a Stronger Partnership?," 100.

78"Turkey Builds Massive High-Speed Railway to Mark Centennial Anniversary," Xinhua (2017), http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-05/14/c_136282781.htm, accessed on June 29, 2020.

79"Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu officially announced 'Asia Anew' Initiative," Yeniasafak (2019), <https://www.yeniasafak.com/dunya/yeniden-asya-acilimi-3501093>, accessed on June 26, 2020.

80"Turkey Launches 'Asia Anew' initiative in Diplomacy," Daily Sabah (2019), <https://www.dailysabah.com/diplomacy/2019/08/06/turkey-launches-asia-anew-initiative-in-diplomacy>, accessed on June 30, 2020.



enormous technological revolution, we are rapidly entering a new era in the global economy. It's possible to establish more partnerships in areas like digital technology, energy, transport infrastructure, and tourism.” After the Business Forum, two sides held panel discussion named “China Economic Relations in Light of Turkey Belt and Road Initiative”⁸¹.

For example, in the tourism sector, China has the biggest potential. Turkey as one of the biggest tourist destinations in the world may enjoy the benefit of Chinese tourists. Currently, Chinese tourists ranking first as most spender among other countries.⁸² For example, Chinese tourists spend \$130 billion overseas in 2018.⁸³ According to the United Nations World Tourism Organization, China is the world's fastest-growing tourism market.⁸⁴

By the increasing number of tourists, Turkish Airlines expanded its flights. Currently, Turkish Airlines launches flights to 6 cities in Mainland China.⁸⁵ Besides the big number of tourists, many Chinese go to invest in real estate in Turkey. Foreigners who invest \$500,000 in Turkey, deposit \$500,000 in Turkish banks or buy real estate worth \$250,000 acquire the right to lifetime citizenship.⁸⁶ That started to attract many Chinese investors. Those investments expected to help the Turkish economy.

China International Publishing Group (CIPG) and Turkey's Turquoise Media Group conducted a meeting about the 7th year of their cooperation. The main theme was “Focus on the Eurasian Continent”. Culture and Tourism Minister Nuri Mehmet Ersoy, Turkey Exporters Assembly President Ismail Gulle, CIPG President Zhanyuan, Turkuvaz Media Executive Committee Member, and Turquoise Media Magazines General Manager Jasmine Gebeş, China Today Journal's President Baomin Hu and China Consul General Cui Wei attended the opening

81“Turk ve Cin Is Dnyasi Temsilcileri Tusiad, Turkiye – Cin Is Forumu”, Tusiad (2019), <https://tusiad.org/tr/basin-bultenleri/item/10451-tusi-ad-ve-dostluk-grubu-isbirligi-ile-turkiye-cin-i-s-forumu-toplantisi-bugun-gerceklesti>, accessed on July 4, 2020.

82“Outbound Chinese Tourism and Consumption Trends 2017,” Nielsen, 5, <https://www.nielsen.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2019/05/outbound-chinese-tourism-and-consumption-trends.pdf>, accessed on July 4, 2020.

83“Chinese Tourists Spend 130 bln USD Overseas in 2018,” Xinhua (2019), http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-08/04/c_138282811_2.htm, accessed on July 5, 2020.

84“Chinese Tourists Spend \$128 b overseas,” China Daily (2019), <https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201910/06/WS5d99285ea310cf3e3556ede8.html>, accessed on July 5, 2020.

85“THY'nin Beklenen Xi'an Seferleri Başladı,” Cin Haber (2019), <https://cinhaber.net/guncel/thynin-beklenen-xian-seferleri-basladi-h4622.html>, accessed on July 5, 2020.

86“Çinliler, İstanbul'dan 500 Milyon Liralık Gayrimenkul Alacak,” Aksam (2019), <https://www.aksam.com.tr/ekonomi/cinliler-istanbuldan-c2500-milyon-liralik-gayrimenkul-alacak-c2/haber-1005385>, accessed on July 5, 2020.



of the meeting. Two-sided talk about cooperation in many different fields such as media, culture, tourism, and economy.⁸⁷

Turkey Exporters Assembly (TIM) President Ismail Gulle said that “If we want to shape today and our future, Eurasia should be more focused on mutual cooperation. Under the win-win principle framework, we need to focus on many projects.”⁸⁸

On November 9, 2019, the first train that departed from China arrived in Istanbul. The train passed the Marmara tunnel which connected Asia and Europe below the Bosphorus. It was a very important step for Turkey and BRI Relations. Turkey’s geographic position is providing the shortest rail link between Europe and Asia. Therefore, Turkey has massive potential under BRI.⁸⁹ The same month, Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu highlighted that importance of the EU or Europe has started to decrease, “Europe is on the decline and Asia is on the rise.”⁹⁰

Last summer, China’s Central Bank made a \$1 billion cash infusion into the Turkish economy in June 2019.⁹¹ This amount helps the Turkish economy to ease economic pressure. Another similar development happened in 2018, Treasury and Finance Minister Berat Albayrak announced that the Chinese Bank, ICBC provided a \$3.6-billion loan package for the Turkish energy and transportation sector.⁹²

In September 2019, Turkish held 88th İzmir International Fair. China invited as an honored country. Trade Minister Ruhsar Pekcan remarked that “The two most important countries of the G20 platform, Turkey and China, are far below their potential. The cooperation

87“Turkuvaz Medya Grubu ve CIPG İstanbul'da Bir Araya Geldi,” CRI Turk (2019), <https://www.criturk.com/haber/ozel-haber/turkuvaz-medya-grubu-ve-cipg-istanbulda-bir-araya-geldi-116233>, accessed on July 7, 2020.

88“Avrasya'da Karşılıklı İş Birliğine Daha Fazla Yoğunlaşmalıyız,” Bloomberght (2019), <https://www.bloomberght.com/timgulle-avrasya-da-karsilikli-is-birligine-daha-fazla-yogunlasimaliyiz-2235893>, accessed on July 7, 2020.

89“First Train from China to Europe Makes 'Silk Railway' Dream Come True in Turkey,” Daily Sabah (2019), <https://www.dailysabah.com/business/2019/11/06/first-train-from-china-to-europe-makes-silk-railway-dream-come-true-in-turkey>, accessed on July 7, 2020.

90Sinan Özmüş, “Bakan Çavuşoğlu: Avrupa Düşüşte, Asya ise Yükselişte,” Anadolu Agency (2019), <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/politika/bakan-cavusoglu-avrupa-dususte-asya-ise-yukseliste/1640326>, accessed on July 13, 2020.

91Ilan Berman, “Erdogan’s Chinese Gamble,” The Diplomat (2019), <https://thediplomat.com/2019/10/erdogans-chinese-gamble/>, accessed on July 7, 2020.

92“China's ICBC to Loan \$3.6 Billion for Turkey's Energy and Transport, Albayrak Says,” Daily Sabah (2018), <https://www.dailysabah.com/economy/2018/07/26/chinas-icbc-to-loan-36-billion-for-turkeys-energy-and-transport-albayrak-says>, accessed on July 7, 2020.



between Turkey, the most dynamic economy of Europe, and China, the global power, will contribute to the economies of the Middle East, Balkans, and Europe.”⁹³

Lastly, the ‘trade war’ between China and the United States, effected global production networks around the world. From the Turkish-Chinese Relations point of view, this situation both contains risks and opportunities. By the trade war, international and Chinese companies may flood to the Turkish market. It’s definitely a chance for Turkey. On the other hand, Chinese investment in Turkey would create closer economic ties between the two countries. But leaving foreign investment from China would have negative effects on the Chinese economy. Especially, due to COVID-19 in China, Turkey is becoming an alternative supplier in many different sectors such as Chemistry, Leather, Textile, Textile machine, Furniture, Tourism, and Shipbuilding.⁹⁴

5. Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR)

Turkey and China introduce Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) as a friendship bridge between the two countries. Since 2000, when two sides talk about Xinjiang, they always mentioned about ‘bridge’ role of Xinjiang.⁹⁵ However, two governments introduce Uyghurs as one of the most important communication bridges between China and Turkey, but in reality, it's being a ‘sensitive’ issue rather than a communication channel.

China is also a victim of separation movement and suffers from violent incidents for a long time. What’s more, radical organizations like The Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM) which also recognize by Turkey as a terrorist organization, possibly have ties in Turkey.⁹⁶ At this point, China wants to cooperate with Turkey to fight against separatist movements.

Due to Turkey’s ethnic and religious connection with the Uyghur people, Turkey time to time holds a more sensitive attitude toward the movements and human rights issues. According to a Turkish Diplomat, like many countries, public opinion is one of the key factors

93“Ankara, Beijing Seek More Balanced Trade Ties, Raising Turkish Exports,” Daily Economy (2019), <https://www.dailysabah.com/economy/2019/09/07/ankara-beijing-seek-more-balanced-trade-ties-raising-turkish-exports>, accessed on July 9, 2020.

94Osman Kılıç, “Çin’den Kopan Sipariş Türkiye’ye Yöneliyor!,” Dünya (2019), <https://www.dunya.com/ekonomi/cinden-kopan-siparis-turkiyeye-yoneliyor-haberi-462820>, accessed on July 9, 2020.

95H. Bilgin, “Stratejik Acıdan Çin’in Dunu ve Bugunu,” Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi (2000), 87.

96“Turkey Lists “E. Turkestan Islamic Movement” as Terrorists,” People (2017), <http://en.people.cn/n3/2017/0803/c90883-9250745.html>, accessed on July 9, 2020.



that drive foreign policy in Turkey. “Sometimes it’s the same for Turkey towards Uyghurs,” he said.⁹⁷

“Some Turkish scholars use the term ‘East Turkestan’ as a regional name, some have even identified it as a ‘state’, which has caused discomfort and even anger in China. Therefore China has to be suspicious about Turkey’s sincerity.”⁹⁸

On the other hand, the Uyghur diaspora in Turkey quite influences on Turkish society and politics. Especially, conservative parties have open support to Uyghur separation movements.

The Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey, Bülent Ecevit confirmed about minority issue and said that the Turkish government attach great importance to China's territorial integrity after returned from his China visit in 1998.⁹⁹

When Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu visited to China in 2017, he highlighted that ‘We will never allow any activities against China in Turkey. ‘We will take measures to eliminate any media coverage against China.’¹⁰⁰ That shows that the Turkish government willing to remove misunderstanding and show its support to China’s unity. A similar kind of comment came from President Erdoğan in 2019; ‘We will never allow the disintegration and fragmentation of China’.¹⁰¹

Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu clearly declared his statement on the human right issue in Xinjiang and Turkey’s position on the issue in November 2019. He mentioned that some countries use this issue as a way of giving China pressure. He said that “we are not going to be like them, but we cannot ignore the facts.”¹⁰²

Turkey and China have signed mutual extradition of criminals’ agreement in 2017.¹⁰³ The detail of the agreement has not released to the public. According to Washington D.C. based

97A, Interview (Turkish Diplomat), interview by Ahmet Faruk ISIK, via phonecall, (April 27, 2020).

98Ahmet Faruk Isik and Zhiqiang Zou, “China-Turkey Security Cooperation under the Background of the ‘Belt and Road’ and the ‘Middle Corridor’ Initiatives,” Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, (2019): 10.

99“Türkiye’ye Türkistan Uyarısı,” Radikal Gazetesi (1998).

100“Turkey Promises to Eliminate Anti-China Media Reports,” Reuters (2017), <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-turkey/turkey-promises-to-eliminate-anti-china-media-reports-idUSKBN1AJ1BV>, accessed on July 9, 2020.

101“Erdoğan Says Turkey-China Relations to Develop Following Top-Level Meetings,” Xinhua (2019), http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-06/20/c_138159564.htm, accessed on July 10, 2020.

102Nazlı Yüzbaşıoğlu and Zuhâl Demirci, “Dışişleri Bakanı Çavuşoğlu: ABD ve Rusya Mutabakatın Gereğini Yapmadı,” Anadolu Agency (2019), <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/politika/disisleri-bakani-cavusoglu-abd-ve-rusya-mutabakat-in-geregini-yapmadi/1649010>, accessed on July 10, 2020.

103“Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan, Çin’de,” Sabah (2017), <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2017/05/13/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-cinde>, accessed on July 10, 2020.



journalist Bethany Allen-Ebrahimian, this agreement target Uyghurs in Turkey.¹⁰⁴ But Turkey's Ambassador to Washington Serdar Kılıç has declined this claim.¹⁰⁵

Due to the 'unpleasant' attitude of Turkey toward China's 'Uyghur issue' under President Erdoğan's leadership (2003-Present). In 1995, when he was Istanbul Mayor, he named a park 'İsa Yusuf Alptekin Park'. İsa Yusuf Alptekin (1901-1995) is the leader of the Uyghur independence movement. After Erdoğan's decision about the name, China gave pressure to Turkey on the name. Erdoğan's response was "Had not only the Chinese, but the entire world attempted to pressure us we would not change the name of the park. We, the mayors of Istanbul, believe that to change the name of the park would insult not only Turkey but all Turkic people of the world."¹⁰⁶ Moreover, When Erdoğan was Prime Minister in 2014, he announced that Turkey saved 200 Uyghurs from execution in China.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, this situation became the reason that Chinese government distrust about Erdoğan's credibility on Xinjiang. As mentioned above, once, when The Former Turkish Prime Minister and current President Erdoğan describe government measures after 'Urumqi 7/5 Incident' as 'massacre' against Uyghurs. President Erdoğan's party JDP PM, Ahmet Yıldız criticized China about internment camps in Xinjiang. He mentioned that the government conducts 'persecution' on Uyghurs under "fight against terrorism".¹⁰⁸

Moreover, some Chinese scholars suspect about link between 'separation' movement and Turkish government effort. In this context, some Chinese scholars claimed Turkey as a center of separative movements in China. Turkish government gives big number of scholarship to Uyghurs and give Pan-Turkism lectures to those students from Xinjiang.¹⁰⁹

However, Turkey and China hold a distinct opinion on Uyghurs. Especially, Uyghur diaspora around the world. The Chinese government has long been dissatisfied with the anti-

104"Documents Show China's Secret Extradition Request for Uighur in Turkey," Axios (2020), https://www.axios.com/documents-chinas-secret-extradition-request-uighur-turkey-6d5ba886-c22c-47e8-b970-804fae274e2d.html?utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=newsletter_axioschina&stream=china, accessed on July 10, 2020.

105"Turkey Envoy Slams US Senators for Uyghurs Comments," Anadolu Agency (2020), <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/americas/turkey-envoy-slams-us-senators-for-uyghurs-comments/1851129>, accessed on July 10, 2020.

106Eastern Turkestan Union in Europe, "China Pressures Turkey on İsa Yusuf Alptekin Park," East Turkestan Information Bulletin (1995), https://caccp.freedomsherald.org/et/etib/etib6_1.html#2, accessed on July 14, 2020.

107"Erdoğan Açıkladı: 200 Kişiyi İdamdan Kurtardık," Türkiye Gazetesi (2014), <https://www.turkiyegazetesi.com.tr/gundem/150151.aspx>, accessed on July 14, 2020.

108Emre Kartal, "TBMM Çalışmalarında Türkiye – Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti İlişkileri: 1999 – 2019," 53, accessed on July 14, 2020.

109任晓宇, 谢立忱, "东突势力在叙利亚的扩张、发展趋势及应对", 江南社会学院学报, 2019年6月, 第21卷第2期, 33.



China activities of the Uyghur diaspora and nationalist circles in Turkey.¹¹⁰ When Turkey is approaching the mentioned issue from humanitarian and freedom of speech angle, China sees as a threat against national security tread to its territorial integrity.

6. Uyghurs in Syria

Chinese government worries about the Syrian war from its domestic security aspect. In this context, it is known that some Uyghurs also exist in radical organizations in Syria. One of these organizations is the Turkistan Islamic Party (TIP) linked to Al-Qaeda. TIP's activities are located in Syria as well as Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Uzbekistan. TIP is also known as the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM). TIP is recognized as a terrorist organization by the US and Turkey.¹¹¹

TIP conducted several attacks around the world, some of the recent attacks are mainly; attack a Chinese store in a shopping center in Dubai (2010), Kunming Train Station attack in China (2014), Chinese Bishkek Embassy to China attack (2016).¹¹²

It's claimed that a lot of people who joined this organization after leaving China, arrive in Turkey via Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and South Asian countries like Cambodia. From cells in Turkey, they transfer to Syria.¹¹³ In this context, The Times of Israel points, the East Turkestan Islamic Movement in Turkey and East Turkistan Education and Solidarity Union (ETESA). It is also claimed that some of the allegations received assistance from Turkish representatives in the countries mentioned above.¹¹⁴

According to a report published by the Chinese Official News agency, a Uyghur named 'Ekber' in 2013 declared that he was caught by authorities after training in Syria and received

110Z. Zou, "New Opportunities and Challenges: Cultural Exchanges between China and Turkey under the Background of 'the Belt and Road'," Chinese Social Sciences Today.

111"Turkey Lists "E. Turkestan Islamic Movement" as Terrorists," People (2017), <http://en.people.cn/n3/2017/0803/c90883-9250745.html>, accessed on July 9, 2020.

112"Two Chinese Uyghurs Jailed for UAE Bomb Plot-Paper," Reuters (2010), <https://www.reuters.com/article/idINIndia-49801720100701>, accessed on July 14, 2020.; "China Releases English Documentary on ETIM Terror Group's Dark Hand in Xinjiang," Global Times (2019), <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1172579.shtml>, accessed on July 14, 2020.; "Kyrgyzstan Says Uighur Militant Groups Behind Attack on China's Embassy," Reuters (2016), <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-kyrgyzstan-blast-china-idUSKCN11C1DK>, accessed on July 14, 2020.

113Jacob Zenn, "China's Counter-Terrorism Calculus," Jamestown (2016), <https://jamestown.org/program/chinas-counter-terrorism-calculus/#.VsT4bdD6eUg>, accessed on July 11, 2020.

114"Beijing Report Says Chinese Muslim Separatists Have Joined Syria Rebels," Times of Israel (2012), <https://www.timesofisrael.com/beijing-report-says-chinese-muslims-separatists-have-joined-syria-rebels>, accessed on July 12, 2020.



explosive training. Base on the same report, in 2011, he went to Syria through TIP and their total number is between 4000 and 5000.¹¹⁵

According to official data published by Turkish authorities, 400 Uyghurs were arrested for the reason of attempt to pass the Turkey-Syria border.¹¹⁶ According to some claims, there is a link between Uyghurs in Syria and the Turkish Intelligence Service.¹¹⁷ In this context, Turkey expert in the Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security in Turkey, Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak claimed that Uyghurs in Syria and Iraq having training by Turkish Intelligence.¹¹⁸ On the other hand, Sabah Newspaper writer Merve Şebnem Oruç stated that the Uyghurs who went to Syria were sent by Chinese intelligence services; China even provided passports and visas.¹¹⁹

The Turkish side denied radical movements in China many times; the main reason is that Turkey's religious and ethnic ties with Uyghur people and the non-transparent structure of the Chinese government. Once, when the Former Turkish Prime Minister and current President Erdoğan described government measures after 'Urumqi 7/5 Incident' as 'massacre' against Uyghurs.

Zhu Weilie, an expert at the Middle East Studies Institute of Shanghai International Studies University, believes that Turkey has double standards in counter-terrorism. "Turkey is against the 'Islamic State' but at the same time, it is critical of China's counter-terrorism policy over Xinjiang. It (Ankara) also shows sympathies with the 'Uyghur terrorists,' 'strengthening counter-terrorism agreement should be the most important part of the Sino-Turkish Relations."¹²⁰ For example, at a press joint conference in 2000, Chinese premier Zhu Rongji

115 "The Black Hand — ETIM and Terrorism in Xinjiang," CGTN (2019), <https://news.cgtn.com/news/2019-12-07/The-black-hand-ETIM-and-terrorism-in-Xinjiang-MepKpOPAKA/index.html?from=singlemessage&isappinstalled=0>, accessed on July 14, 2020.

116 "Uygurlara Yeni Vatan Vaadiyle İşid Tuzağı," Milliyet (2015), <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/gundem/uygurlara-yeni-vatan-vaadiyle-isis-tuzagi-2067917>, accessed on July 13, 2020.

117 "Turkey, Terrorism, and the Global Proxy War," New Eastern Outlook (2015), <https://journal-neo.org/2015/02/02/turkey-terrorism-and-the-global-proxy-war/>, accessed on July 8, 2020.

118 Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak, "Turkey and China: Merging Realpolitik with Idealism," John Hopkins University, Turkey Analyst 8, no.15 (2015): 3.

119 Merve Şebnem Oruç, Twitter (2019), <https://twitter.com/mervesebnem/status/1094311910852476928>, accessed on July 3, 2020.

120 J. Shan, "Turkey's Failed Coup Might Affect Xinjiang," Global Times (2016), <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/994845.shtml>, accessed on July 8, 2020; Ahmet Faruk Isik and Zhiqiang Zou, "China-Turkey Security Cooperation under the Background of the 'Belt and Road' and the 'Middle Corridor' Initiatives," Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, (2019), 12.



highlighted that ‘some extremists from Xinjiang are receiving military training in Afghanistan and some other countries including Turkey, to commit crimes.’¹²¹

In July 2013, the Chinese Ministry of Counter-Terrorism published a news report that some Chinese citizens have illegally traveled to join extremist groups in Syria via Turkey.¹²² In this context, in November 2014, 10 Turkish citizens and group of Uyghurs were arrested in Shanghai Pudong Airport for the reason that Turkish citizens provide fake passports to Uyghurs.¹²³ This situation reminded Erdoğan’s “Turkey saved 200 Uyghurs from execution in China” words that he said 6 months earlier. Tong Bishan, head of the China Department of Public Security Criminal Studies claimed that Turkish diplomats provided immigration documents to Uyghurs and some Uyghurs were sold to some radical groups as warriors.¹²⁴

It is reported that the vast majority of Uyghurs in Syria are mainly in the Zankab and Jisr ash-Shugur regions of Idlib.¹²⁵ According to Syrian Deputy Fares Shehabi, there are 30-40,000 Uyghurs, Tajik, Uzbek, and Turks other 103 other nations live in Idlib. He stated that most of the warriors came with their families. Shehabi stated that the total number of fighters is about 100,000.¹²⁶ American General Joseph Dunford confirmed the situation in Idlib and said that “There are about 20,000 warriors out of civilians,” in Idlib.¹²⁷ Additionally, it mentioned that Uyghur kids are receiving ideological education and military training in their communities.¹²⁸

As mentioned, when Turkey conduct ‘Peace Spring Operation’ in northern Syria, China Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Geng Shuang highlighted that Turkey’s military action may

121H. Bilgin, “Stratejik Acıdan Cin’in Dunu ve Bugunu,” Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, (2000), 87.

122Lin Meilian, “Xinjiang Terrorists Finding Training, Support in Syria, Turkey,” Global Times (2013), <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/792959.shtml>, accessed on July 7, 2020.

123刘畅, “10 名土耳其人组织新疆涉恐人员偷渡出境被批捕,” Global Times (2015), <http://world.huanqiu.com/exclusive/2015-01/5402248.html>, accessed on July 11, 2020.

124Güljanat Kurmangaliyeva Ercilasun and Konuralp Ercilasun, “The Uyghur Community Diaspora, Identity and Geopolitics,” (2018), 161.

125Christina Lin, “Chinese Uyghur Colonies in Syria a Challenge for Beijing,” Times of Israel (2017), <https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/chinese-uyghur-colonies-in-syria-a-challenge-for-beijing>, accessed on July 11, 2020.

126“Syria: Who's in Control of Idlib?,” BBC (2020), <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-45401474>, accessed on July 12, 2020.

127“Top U.S. General Warns against Major Assault on Syria's Idlib,” Reuters (2018), <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-mideast-crisis-syria-dunford/top-u-s-general-warns-against-major-assault-on-syrias-idlib-idUKKCN1LK1JY>, accessed on July 7, 2020.

128“Uighur Jihadist Group in Syria Advertises ‘Little Jihadists’,” Long War Journal (2015), <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/09/uighur-jihadist-group-in-syria-advertises-little-jihadists.php>, accessed on July 11, 2020.; “Saudi al Qaeda cleric showcases training camp for children in Syria,” Long War Journal (2015), <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/09/saudi-al-qaeda-cleric-showcases-training-camp-for-children-in-syria.php>, accessed on July 12, 2020.



cause ISIS to rise again.¹²⁹ The Chinese side, the main concern is the rise of radical organization which has Uyghur members in it.

In spite of these unpleasant events, Turkey is trying to solve the problem with China, and Beijing is also eager to cooperate with Ankara. In 2016, at Ataturk International Airport, 98 Chinese citizens were arrested by Turkish police for holding counterfeit Kyrgyzstan passports and repatriated to China after handling formalities in the entry and exit administration of Turkey.¹³⁰ So, that shows that the Turkish government provides support on this issue. But at the same time, those claims also raise questions about links between those groups and Turkey.

7. NATO, Impact on Turkish and Chinese Relations

NATO established against the Soviet Union in 1949. After the end of the cold war, it reestablished itself against terrorism. NATO changed its duty and geography. As well know, the main purpose of NATO was to protect Europe. Later, NATO extended its mission area to reach central Asia, Afghanistan, and Africa.

In the last NATO summit at London in December 2019, China mentioned for the first time. The importance of this summit is this year is the 70th anniversary of NATO. NATO announced the declaration in its official website, China mentioned as “We recognize that China’s growing influence and international policies present both opportunities and challenges that we need to address together as an Alliance” in London Declaration¹³¹

US influence on this statement is very clear. The summit held under the atmosphere of ‘Trade War’ between the US and China. US as the biggest influencer and ‘spiritual leader’ of NATO, wants to raise concerns about China’s rise.

China is becoming more and more influential in the fields like economy, space, intelligence, military power and military technology, AI technology and socio-cultural power. Those developments are happening in the developing world and in Europe. That cause potential risk to US cultural and political hegemony around the world.

129“外交部：中方呼吁土耳其停止对叙利亚军事行动,” The China State Council (2019), http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2019-10/15/content_5440199.htm, accessed on July 3, 2020.

130“Sahte Pasaportla Umreye Gitmek Isteyen 98 Uygur Yakalandı,” TRT (2016), <http://www.trthaber.com/haber/turkiye/sahte-pasaportla-umreye-gitmek-isteyen-98-Uygur-yakalandi-251147.html>, accessed on July 2, 2020; Ahmet Faruk Isik and Zhiqiang Zou, “China-Turkey Security Cooperation under the Background of the ‘Belt and Road’ and the ‘Middle Corridor’ Initiatives,” *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies* (2019): 12.

131“London Declaration,” NATO (2019), https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_171584.htm, accessed on July 4, 2020.



This new development also analyzed as ‘Cold War 2.0’ by some analysts. According to James Palmer, “There’s been a long-standing debate in the China watcher community over whether the brewing US.-China competition can be called a cold war. But neither the United States nor the Soviet Union ever accused the other side of causing a pandemic, either deliberately or through neglect. Relations are at their worst point in modern memory and likely only to get worse.”¹³²

Many EU countries raise concerns about China’s rise in Continental Europe. Even before the NATO summit, German chancellor Merkel mentioned about the ‘risk’. She offers to have a common policy against China, Russia, and the US. French President Macron offers to have an EU army for the protection of Europe against mentioned forces.¹³³

From Turkey's point of view, Turkey already had mentioned issues with China. In the case that NATO forces Turkey to stand against China, most probably Turkey will struggle on those issues. One of the first issues may be the ‘Uyghur Issue’ between the two countries.

US Representative Jim McGovern and US. Senator Marco Rubio, the Chair and Cochair respectively of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China (CECC), issued action statement for Uyghurs in Xinjiang at April 2019.¹³⁴ Later, the US declared that US Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin is said to that US will impose sanctions on Chinese officials who involved in internment camps in Xinjiang in June 2019.¹³⁵ So it shows that Xinjiang has the potential to be next ‘war front’ between the US and China.

For example, the Spokesperson of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hami Aksoy made a statement on Uyghurs’ Human Rights issue and internment camps in Xinjiang in February 2019. That was the first time Turkey declared its stance on internment camps. He mentioned that “It is no longer a secret that more than one million Uyghur Turks incurring arbitrary arrests are subjected to torture and political brainwashing in internment camps and

132James Pamer, “The Coronavirus Has Put the U.S.-China Relationship on Life Support,” *Foreign Policy* (2020), <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/03/18/the-coronavirus-has-put-the-u-s-china-relationship-on-life-support>, accessed on July 14, 2020.

133“Merkel: Europe Must Unite to Stand Up to China, Russia and US,” *The Guardian* (2019), <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/15/angela-merkel-interview-europe-eu-unite-challenge-us-russia-china>, accessed on June 2, 2020.

134“Xinjiang: Chairs Seek Urgent Action from Administration to Address Probable Crimes against Humanity,” Congress of the United States (2019), <https://www.cecc.gov/sites/chinacommission.house.gov/files/Congressional%20letter-to-administration-re-uyghur-muslims-in-xuar.pdf>, accessed on June 2, 2020.

135Nectar Gan and Owen Churchill, “US Sanctions over Xinjiang’s Uyghur Internment Camps are ‘Ready to Go’ Except for Treasury Hold-Up Due to Trade War, Sources Say,” *South China Morning Post* (2019), <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3015441/us-sanctions-over-xinjiang-internment-camps-are-ready-go>, accessed on June 3, 2020.



prisons. Uyghurs who are not detained in these camps are under heavy pressure.” He called the whole situation in Xinjiang is “great shame for humanity.”¹³⁶

After two months, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi mentioned that “It is hoped that the Turkish side can also earnestly respect the Chinese side’s core interests in safeguarding national sovereignty, security, and unity, and support the Chinese side in cracking down on the East Turkestan terrorist forces with actions to well safeguard the overall situation of bilateral strategic cooperative relations.”¹³⁷

Turkey showed its stance on the issue at Erdoğan’s visit to China in July again. Erdoğan expressed that he wishes people in China would “live happily in peace and prosperity” but Chinese state media mistranslated President Erdoğan’s words as “People in Xinjiang live happily.”¹³⁸

Another development is that Turkey also declared its stance on the internment camps in the international platform in October 2019. Turkey's Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN, Varlı said that he already contacted Chinese authorities. He mentioned Turkey’s expectations regarding the guarantee of peace, prosperity, and equality of Uyghurs in China.¹³⁹

Another issue is the ‘Liaoning Crisis’. Liaoning (Varyag) is a Soviet-made aircraft carrier. It purchased under a private Chinese company to convert into a floating hotel and casino in 1997.¹⁴⁰ After the purchase of the aircraft, the company wants to sail it through Bosphorus strait, which is the only exit of the Black sea. Turkish authorities denied this request for the security of the narrow Bosphorus strait as well as the pressure from its western allies. Although it bought for the purpose of tourism it was still an aircraft carrier. After waited 16 months in the

136 Aksoy, Hami. “Statement of the Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hami Aksoy, in Response to a Question Regarding Serious Human Rights Violations Perpetrated Against Uighur Turks and the Passing Away of Folk Poet Abdurrahim Heyit,” Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2019), http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sc_-06_-uygur-turklerine-yonelik-agir-insan-haklari-ihlalleri-ve-abdurrahim-heyit-in-vefati-hk.en.mfa, accessed on June 4, 2020.

137 “Wang Yi Meets with First Deputy Foreign Minister Sedat Onal of Turkey,” Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2019), https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zzjg_663340/xybfs_663590/xwlb_663592/t1664747.shtml, accessed on June 4, 2020.

138 “Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan’s ‘Happy Xinjiang’ Comments ‘Mistranslated’ in China,” South China Morning Post (2019), <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3019630/turkish-president-recep-tayyip-erdogans-happy-xinjiang>, accessed on June 4, 2020.

139 “Türkiye’den Uygur Türkleri Açıklaması,” Anadolu Agency (2019), <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/turkiyeden-uygur-turkleri-aciklamasi/1631076>, accessed on June 4, 2020.

140 “Unlucky Guy’ Tasked with Buying China’s Aircraft Carrier: Xu Zengping,” South China Morning Post (2015), <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/1779703/unlucky-guy-tasked-buying-chinas-aircraft-carrier-xu>, accessed on June 4, 2020.



Black Sea, Turkish authorities let it pass the Bosphorus strait in the return of 1 million Chinese tourist visits to Turkey in 2001. This delay became a problem between the two countries.¹⁴¹

Turkey's those kinds of statements have domestic and international motivations. Besides domestic motivations, Turkey's international motivations are being a responsible country on human rights and being the voice of 'subdued Muslim' around the world. Moreover, as mentioned Turkish foreign policy always has the tendency to follow its policies that popular among its western allies.

In another word, it may easily have the influence of NATO or the US in the case that Turkey fell to pressure from them. It's important to remember that those statements express under the atmosphere of the 'Trade War'. Moreover, Turkey already felt pressure on 'Priest Brunson and Lira Currency Crisis', Russian Air Defense System S-400, recognition of so-called "Armenian Genocide", removal from F-35 aircraft project, US pressure on Eastern Mediterranean Sea, YPG problem in Syria and now Turkey is still feeling pressure on 'Halkbank Case'. So, those factors may be one reason that Turkey follows US oriented policy on China. It's important to remember that US Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo is the same person that had a speech on Uyghurs; declared a new 'war front' on Uyghurs in China and warned Turkey on mentioned issues between Turkey and US.¹⁴² Pompeo said that "China is home to one of the worst human rights crises of our time; it is truly the stain of the century," about the camps in Xinjiang.¹⁴³

According to two important Turkey experts in China, Dr. Sun Degang and Dr. Zou Zhiqiang, NATO has a huge impact on Turkish foreign policy as well as Turkey-China Relations. As stated by Dr.Sun, "NATO-Turkey relations will always affect Turkey-China relations. For example, China once planned to export the Chinese HQ-9 Air Defense, NATO opposed it and deal ultimately failed."¹⁴⁴ According to Dr. Zou Zhiqiang, I think NATO has influence on Turkey. NATO is an important bridge between Turkey and the western world.

141 Mehmet Ogutcu, "Türk-Çin İlişkileri, Nasıl Dengeye Oturtulabilir?," *Gozlem* (2019), <https://www.gozlemgazetesi.com/HaberDetay/251/1119704/turk-cin-iliskileri-nasil-dengeye-oturtulabilir.html>, accessed on June 5, 2020.

142 "U.S. Warns Turkey over Offshore Drilling near Cyprus," *Reuters* (2019), <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-greece-pompeo-mitsotakis/u-s-warns-turkey-over-offshore-drilling-near-cyprus-idUSKCN1WK04I>, accessed on June 7, 2020.

143 "Pompeo Calls China's Treatment of Uighurs the 'Stain of the Century'," *Time* (2019), <https://time.com/5630180/china-uyghurs-mike-pompeo-stain-of-century/>, accessed on June 7, 2020.

144 Sun Degang, Interview (Chinese Scholar), interview by Ahmet Faruk ISIK, via Phone Conversation, April 08, 2020.



NATO has huge impact on Turkey's foreign policy that restricting Turkey's diplomatic choices. It has to affect China-Turkey relations as well.¹⁴⁵

At this point, Turkish scholar Altay Atli says, "We are not in the Cold War anymore, we are living in a global economy right now. Turkey is not the only one who has ties with China, the US has closer economic and cultural ties than Turkey."¹⁴⁶ A Turkish diplomat who had working experience in China says "NATO does not have any influence on Turkish-Chinese Relations."¹⁴⁷ Turkish-Chinese relations not only based on Turkish foreign policy, Turkey as long-term NATO members may face rejection of the Chinese side. Those interviews also show that Chinese and Turkish sides have different point on NATO influence.

On the other hand, some groups like the Patriotic Party which know with its close ties with Russia and China claimed that Turkey is not with old allies anymore. China representative of the Patriotic Party and Turkish-Chinese Business Association President, Adnan Akfirat mentioned that "Turkey left Atlantic block" at 2019 4th Maritime Silk Road International Think-Tank Forum in China. He mentioned that "as a result of 70 (67*) years of NATO membership Turkey's territorial integrity and economy endanger now. Turkey's military actions blow US forces in Syria. Turkey's future with Asian countries."¹⁴⁸ However, Chinese scholars still believe that NATO has a huge influence on Turkey. According to People's Liberation Army (PLA), Foreign Language Institute Researcher, Li Yunpeng, in the case that China and the US have conflict, Turkey does not really have free space to extend its cooperation with China.¹⁴⁹

Turkish Chinese Relations are fragile, pragmatic win-win and transactional, relations. Mutual ties have no intuitional strategic dimension. Therefore, it's hard to maintain as stable as other countries. Two countries need to work hard to build new joint platforms to improve relations and solve the mentioned problems.

145Zou Zhiqiang, Interview (Chinese Scholar), interview by Ahmet Faruk ISIK, via Phone Conversation, April 08, 2020.

146Altay Atli, Interview (Turkish Scholar), interview by Ahmet Faruk ISIK, via Zoom, April 28, 2020.

147A, Interview (Turkish Diplomat), interview by Ahmet Faruk ISIK, via phonecall, April 27, 2020.

148"Vatan Partisi Çin'de Dünyaya Müjdeledi: Türkiye Atlantik Bloğundan Koptu," (2019), <https://www.aydinlik.com.tr/vatan-partisi-cin-de-dunyaya-mujdeledi-turkiye-atlantik-blogundan-koptu-dunya-kasim-2019>, accessed on June 7, 2020.

149李云鹏, "土耳其外交策略新特点及对我“一带一路”倡议的影响", 和平与发展, (2017), 89.



8. Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to assess the validity of the future of Turkey-China Relations. Turkish Foreign Policy became the question of “Old Wine in New bottle”? But current development shows that Turkish foreign policy having a multidimensional foreign policy. That pushes Turkey to improve its cooperation with other countries. Moreover, Turkey shows its reaction when its national interest faces risk. It sometimes appears as ‘bluff’ or as a shape of ‘hard power’ as explained in the paper with example. By analyzing Turkey’s foreign policy, the paper focused on plenty of variables. The paper uses the Historical Approach, Field Research, and Case study methods to prove its arguments. As an example, after Prime Minister Ecevit’s China visit in 1998, he interviewed by a journalist with the question of “Has Turkey turned its direction to the east”. Ecevit's answer was “World is not confined to Europe for Turkey. People of Turkey and Turkey is in the process of rediscovering its own roots.”¹⁵⁰ It shows that from the 1990s to now, it’s a question mark, but eventually, nothing really changed.

In short, the current Turkish foreign policy follows a pragmatic form of cooperation with China while playing its traditional geostrategic role. It is no coincidence in this regard that Turkey set its foreign policy in this way. Currently, the ultimate goal of Turkish Foreign Policy has become balancing power in the multi-polar world system. Therefore, Turkey is looking for maximum benefit in its limited diplomacy area. Turkey is cherry-picked from the options so that’s one of the reasons why Turkey is approaching China. Although the literature on Turkey-China Relations is enormous, much of it does not address the questions identified here. It hopes that this research will help to fill the research gap.

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150Hasan Bilgin, “Stratejik Açından Çin,” USAK (2010), 141.



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Bir Kuşak, Bir Yol Projesi Çerçevesinde Çin'in Afrika Politikası ve Çatışma Çözümü Yaklaşımı

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Özet

Uluslararası İlişkiler disiplininde yeni bir çalışma alanı olan Çatışma Çözümü, özellikle üçüncü tarafların arabuluculuk yöntemini kullanarak soruna müdahil olması ve çatışmaların barışçıl yollarla çözülmesi açısından önem taşımaktadır. Geçmişten günümüze pek çok çatışma ve şiddete sahne olan Afrika kıtası, çatışma çözümü çabalarına ve üçüncü taraf rollerine önemli ölçüde ihtiyaç duyulan bölgelerden biridir. Ayrıca Afrika, 21. yüzyılda büyük güçler için yeniden bir mücadele alanına dönüşmektedir. Bir Kuşak Bir Yol projesi, Çin'in bölgeye ilgisini, etkisini ve yatırımlarını güçlendirmektedir. Güçlü bir rakip olarak Çin'in Afrika'daki varlığı, "sorumluluk" ve "sorumlu güç" tartışmasını beraberinde getirmektedir. Ancak sorumluluk, üçüncü taraf olarak büyük güçlerin kıtadaki çatışma çözümü veya barış girişimlerine katkı vermesi veya öncülük etmesini açıklamaya tek başına yetmemektedir. Bu noktada, üçüncü tarafların rasyonel motivasyon ve çıkarları devreye girmektedir. Bu çalışma, Çin'in Afrika'ya yönelik politikalarını ve çatışma çözümü yaklaşımını, Bir Kuşak Bir Yol projesi çerçevesinde ve üçüncü tarafların sorumluluk, rasyonel çıkar ve motivasyonları kapsamında ele almaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afrika, Arabuluculuk, Bir Kuşak Bir Yol Projesi. Çatışma Çözümü, Çin

China's Africa Policy and Conflict Resolution Approach within the Framework of One Belt, One Road Project

Abstract

Conflict Resolution, as a relatively new field of study in International Relations discipline, poses significant importance in terms of the peaceful resolution of conflicts and third parties' intervention to these conflicts via their own mediation methods. The African continent, which has experienced many conflicts and violence from past to present, is one of the regions crucially in need of conflict resolution efforts and third party roles. In addition, Africa has turned into a struggle field for great powers once again in the 21st century. One Belt One Road project strengthens China's interest, influence and investments towards the region. As a strong rival, China's presence in Africa brings the discussion on responsibility and responsible power with it. However, the responsibility on its own is not sufficient to explain whether great powers as third parties contribute or lead the conflict resolution and peace initiatives on the continent. At this point, the rational motivations and interests of third parties come into play. This study deals with China's policies towards Africa and conflict resolution approach within the framework of One Belt One Road project and third parties' responsibilities, rational interest and motivations.

Key Words: Africa, China, Conflict Resolution, Mediation, One Belt One Road Project.

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1. Giriş

Çatışma çözümü, Uluslararası İlişkiler disiplinde nispeten yeni bir çalışma alanı olmakla birlikte, çatışmaların alternatif siyasi ve barışçıl yollarla çözümünde taraflar için etkili ve kazançlı bir yöntem olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Yalnızca çatışan taraflar değil, çatışmaların çözümü için girişimlerde bulunan üçüncü taraflar da çözümle birlikte çeşitli kazanımlar elde etmektedir. Kazanımlar, çatışmaların çözümünde salt barışçıl veya insani nedenlerin etkili olmayabileceğini akla getirmektedir. Zira çatışmaların varlığı, uzun vadede ilgili tüm iç ve dış aktörler açısından olumsuz etkiler doğurmakta; çatışmaların çözüme kavuşturulması ve barışın sağlanması ise tarafların rasyonel çıkar ve motivasyonları ölçüsünde kararlı adımlar atmalarında rol oynamaktadır. Üçüncü taraflar için arabuluculuk bağlamında daha çok gözlemlenen bu adımlar, bir yandan taraflar arası çatışmaların sonlandırılması ve barışın sağlanmasını hedeflerken, diğer yandan etki ve kâr-zarar hesapları doğrultusunda sürece müdahil olunmasını beraberinde getirmektedir.

Çatışmaların nicelik ve içerik olarak oldukça yoğun seyrettiği; çatışmaların çözümünde üçüncü taraf rollerine ve arabuluculuk mekanizmasına sıklıkla başvurulduğu; çok çeşitli iç ve dış aktörün birbiriyle iç içe geçmiş roller üstlendiği ve çatışmaların olağanlaştırıldığı bölgeler arasında Afrika kıtası dikkat çekmektedir. Nitekim köle ticareti, sömürgecilik, bağımsızlık mücadeleleri ve Soğuk Savaş yıllarında olduğu gibi Soğuk Savaş sonrası ve günümüzde de Afrika, sürekli bir mücadele, güç yarışı ve çatışma ortamına ev sahipliği yapmayı sürdürmektedir. Afrika'da gittikçe güçlenen ekonomik ve siyasi bağlarıyla Çin, 21. yy. ile birlikte kıtanın yeni ama başlıca dış aktörlerinden biri haline dönüşmektedir.

Çin'in Afrika'daki rekabetin önemli bir parçası olması, Deng Xiaoping tarafından 1978 yılında “reform ve dışa açılma” şeklinde ortaya koyulan ancak “düşük bir profil izleme (*tao guang yang hui*)” ve “kendi gelişimine odaklanma” anlayışının 2000'li yıllarda terk edilmesiyle yakından alakalı görünmektedir. Zira 2001 yılında Çin'in Dünya Ticaret Örgütü'ne girmesiyle ekonomik büyümesinin hızlanması ve günümüzde Amerika Birleşik Devletleri (ABD)'nin ardından dünyanın ikinci büyük ekonomisine kavuşması; ham madde, enerji ve pazar ihtiyacını arttırarak aralarında Afrika'nın da bulunduğu dünyanın pek çok bölgesinde Çin'in rekabet gücünü ön plana çıkarmaktadır. Ancak elde edilen güç, uluslararası arenada Çin'e birtakım sorumluluklar da yüklemekte ve kıtadaki diğer güçlerle Çin arasında bazı alanlarda işbirliğini gerekli kılmaktadır. Çatışma çözümü ve barış, bu alanlar arasında önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Özellikle Bir Kuşak Bir Yol (*One Belt, One Road – OBOR*) projesi hem sorumluluk ve işbirliği



hem de rasyonel çıkarlar bağlamında Çin'in de kıtadaki çatışmaların çözümü ve barış çabalarına katılması anlayışını gündeme taşımaktadır.

2013 yılında Çin Devlet Başkanı Xi Jinping tarafından ortaya atılan ve eski İpek-Baharat Yolu'nun canlandırılması amacı güden OBOR girişimiyle Çin'in Afrika'daki politikaları, sorumlulukları ve çıkarları giderek daha yakından izlenmektedir. Geniş kapsamlı bu projesini hayata geçirirken Çin'in çıkarlarını koruması, yatırımlarını geliştirmesi ve bölgedeki hakimiyetini güçlendirmesi; kıtanın sorunlarına kayıtsız kalmamasını, bölgedeki barış ve istikrarın sağlanmasına yardım ve katkıda bulunmasını, hatta bu noktada çatışmaların çözümü ve barışın sağlanması için inisiyatif alarak öncü bir rol üstlenmesini kaçınılmaz hale getirmektedir. Bu çalışma, çatışma çözümü arka planıyla OBOR çerçevesinde Çin'in Afrika politikasını ele almakta; kıtadaki -özellikle Sahra-altı Afrika- çatışmaların çözümünde üçüncü taraf rolleri üzerinden Çin'in rasyonel çıkarları, motivasyonları ve sorumlulukları ekseninde değerlendirmelerde bulunmaktadır.

2. Çatışma ve Şiddeti Sonlandırma Arayışı: Çatışma Çözümü

Çatışma çözümü, çatışan tarafların birbirinin varlığını kabul ederek aralarındaki temel anlaşmazlıkları çözen gönüllü bir anlaşmaya ulaştığı ve tarafların birbirlerine yönelik tüm şiddet içeren eylemlerine karşılıklı son verdiği durumdur.¹ Çatışma çözümünde tarafların davranışlarının şiddet içermemesi, tutumlarının düşmanlıktan uzak olması ve çatışmanın yapısının değişmesi beklenmekte;² çatışma sonrası uzlaşma, adaleti geliştirme ve diğer pek çok konu da barış inşasının koşullarını hazırlayacak şekilde gündeme alınmaktadır.³ Böylece hem çatışmaların sonlandığı bir sürece hem de kazanımların daha fazla olduğu bir sonuca işaret eden çatışma çözümü,⁴ bütün taraflar için tatmin edici çözümler bulunmasını amaçlamaktadır. Çatışma çözümü, özellikle Soğuk Savaş'ın ardından çatışmaların ve uluslararası sistemin değişen karakteriyle birlikte, Afrika'dan Asya'ya, Amerika'dan Avrupa'ya dek dünyanın pek çok bölgesinde yaşanan çatışmaları ve şiddeti sonlandırmaya yönelik bir arayış olmaktadır.

¹ Peter Wallensteen, *Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System*, (London: Sage, 2002), 8-9.

² Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011), 31; Johan Galtung, "tutum (*Attitude*)", "davranış (*Behavior*)" ve "karşıtlık (*Contradiction*)" öğelerinin etkileşim içinde yer aldığı bir ABC üçgeni ile çatışmayı açıklamaktadır. Bkz: Johan Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*, (Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, 1996), 72-73.

³ Louis Kriesberg, "The Evolution of Conflict Resolution", *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, ed. Jacob Bercovitch vd., (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2009), 16-17.

⁴ Edward Azar and John W. Burton, *International Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner and Wheatsheaf, 1986), 1.



Bir çatışma ortaya çıktığında, çatışmayla baş etmek veya onu çözmek için tarafların birkaç seçeneği bulunmaktadır. Bu seçenekler tek taraflı veya çift taraflı olabileceği gibi değişik formlarda “üçüncü taraf (*third party*)” girişimlerini de kapsayabilmektedir.⁵ Çift taraflı girişimler şeklinde yürütülen müzakereler, uluslararası ve toplumsal her düzeydeki çatışmanın çözümü için etkili yollardan biri olmaktadır. Tarafların birbiriyle diyalog kurabileceği, tartışabileceği ve görüşmeler yapabileceği bir ortam sunan müzakereler, çatışan taraflar arasında güven unsurunun oluşmasını ve karşı tarafın ihtiyaçlarına yönelik empati geliştirilmesini sağlayacağından, müzakereleri bir tür güven inşa edici aktivite olarak değerlendirmek mümkündür.⁶ Günümüz çatışmalarının pek çoğunda ise çatışmaları kontrol altına alabilmek amacıyla müzakerelerle birlikte bir dış desteğe (üçüncü taraf) ihtiyaç duyulduğu ve bu doğrultuda çatışma çözümünün siyasi-hukuki yöntemlerinin yanı sıra güç kullanımını da içeren uygulamalarından yararlandığı dikkat çekmektedir.⁷

Çatışma çözümü uygulamaları arasında üçüncü taraflara en sık başvuru rolü, arabuluculuk olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.⁸ Arabuluculuk uygulamalarının tümünün altında yatan mantık; çatışan taraflar arasında iletişimin sağlanması, çatışma ya da şiddetin azaltılması ve taraflar arasında anlaşmaya varılması için çeşitli taktikler kullanılması olmaktadır.⁹ Müzakere sürecinde arabulucu, çatışmaya özgü koşulları ve çatışan tarafların durumunu göz önünde bulundurarak anlaşma sağlanmasını amaçlamaktadır. Arabuluculuk mekanizması, çatışan taraflar arasında iletişim ve diyalog yollarını açmak; taraflar arasında daha saygın ve verimli iş ilişkileri kurmak; karşı tarafın ihtiyaç, çıkar ve endişelerini daha iyi tanımlamak; daha etkili problem çözme ve müzakere prosedürleri ortaya koymak; tarafların kabul edebileceği bir anlaşma hazırlamak gibi roller üstlenebilmektedir.¹⁰ Ayrıca arabulucular, çatışan taraflar arasındaki ortak değerleri vurgulamak; çıkar ve öncelikleri doğru belirlemek; problemin çözümüne yeni yaklaşımlar geliştirmek; taraflar arası diyalogla çözümü kolaylaştırmak; çatışan

⁵ Jacob Bercovitch and Allison Houston, “The Study of International Mediation: Theoretical Issues and Empirical Evidence”, *Resolving International Conflicts: The Theory and Practice of Mediation*, ed. Jacob Bercovitch, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1996), 11.

⁶ Charles Webel and Johan Galtung, *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 40.

⁷ Asaf Siniver, “Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflict”, *The Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict*, ed. Karl Cordell and Stefan Wolff, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 181.

⁸ Dean G. Pruitt, *Negotiation Behavior*, New York: Academic Press, 1981), 201.

⁹ Jacob Bercovitch, “Third Parties in Conflict Management: The Structure and Conditions of Effective Mediation in International Relations”, *International Journal* 40, no. 4 (1985): 744.

¹⁰ Christopher W. Moore, *The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2014), 8.



silahlı grupların müzakere yeteneklerini geliştirmek gibi zorlayıcı olmayan ancak tarafları teşvik eden metotlarla sürece katılmaktadır.¹¹ Böylelikle üçüncü taraflar, çatışmaların ve şiddetin sona erdirilerek “barışın barışçıl yollarla sağlanmasına”¹² aracı ve yardımcı olmaktadır.

Taraf ve üçüncü taraf rollerini açıklarken politik gerçeklikler ve devletlerin dış politika davranışlarının ardındaki rasyonel motivasyonların da çatışma ve çözüm sürecinde etkili bir rol oynadığı görülmektedir. Çatışma veya çözüm yanlısı taraf davranışlarına açıklamalar getiren rasyonel yaklaşımların disiplinde Realist teoriyi takip ettiği söylenebilmektedir. Bu yaklaşım, sadece savaş ve çatışmaların değil, barış ve işbirliğinin de rasyonel bir tercih olarak aktörler tarafından tercih edilebileceği anlayışına dayanmaktadır. Kendi rasyonalitesi içinde aktörler, kendi yargılarını şekillendirerek, kararlarını tartarak ve kendi stratejilerini izleyerek savaşa giden olaylar zincirini başlatabileceği gibi, bunun tersi biçimde savaşları sonlandırabilmekte veya anlaşmaya varabilmektedir.¹³ Çatışmaları kâr-zarar ve çıkar hesapları üzerinden açıklayan rasyonel yaklaşımda, fiilin maliyeti ve elde edilecek kazançlar üzerinden durumun çıkarlara ters ya da uygun oluşu değerlendirilmektedir.¹⁴ Tarafların işbirliğine yönelmesinde önemli rol oynayan üçüncü taraflar ise çatışmaların çözümü ve barışın sağlanması açısından çatışmanın ana taraflarına işbirliğinin nasıl rasyonel bir tercih olacağını kabul ettirebilmekte; kâr-zarar hesaplarını etkileyen ödül veya cezalarla çatışma taraflarının tercihlerini değiştirebilmektedir.¹⁵ Üçüncü tarafların çözüm girişimlerine katılma motivasyonları, çatışmaların bir dış aktör olarak üçüncü taraflara maliyetleri ve etkileri üzerinden tartışılabilir.

Bir ülkede yaşanan çatışmaların etkileri başta komşu ülkeler olmak üzere bölgeye yayılabilmekte; hatta uluslararası güçlerin siyasi, ekonomik ve stratejik çıkarları bu çatışmalardan etkilenebilmektedir. Zira çatışmaların yüksek maliyet ve sonuçları sadece o ülkelerin ya da yakın çevresinin kalkınmalarına zarar vermekle kalmayıp, bölgesel ve uluslararası güçler açısından da birtakım maliyetler ve olumsuz etkiler doğurabilmektedir. Bu olumsuz etkiler ve maliyetler ise farklı kategorilerde incelenebilmektedir. Mültecilerin maliyetleri (ekonomik yük, siyasi, toplumsal ve askeri zorluklar); askeri maliyetler (sınır ihlalleri, askeri çatışmalar, yüksek savunma bütçesi); doğrudan ekonomik maliyetler ve

¹¹ Vicenc Fisas Armengol, *The Principles of Mediation and the Role of Third Parties in Peace Processes*, (Norwegian Peacebuilding Research Center-NOREF, September 2013).

¹² Galtung, 1996, a.g.e.

¹³ Wallensteen, a.g.e., 44.

¹⁴ Havva Kök Arslan ve Fırat Çapan, “Çatışma Çözümüne Temel Yaklaşımlar”, *Barışı Konuşmak: Teori ve Pratikte Çatışma Yönetimi*, ed. Nezir Akyeşilmen, (Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2014), 54.

¹⁵ Kök Arslan ve Çapan, a.g.e., 54-55.



ekonomik fırsatlar maliyeti (kayıp yatırımlar, kayıp ithalat, kayıp ihracat piyasası, işgücü arzının azalması, bölgesel sorumluluk); istikrarsızlık maliyeti (etnik radikalleşme, uyuşturucu ticareti, milliyetçi ve ayrılıkçı kampanyalar, fırsatçı müdahaleler ve işgaller); ve barış operasyonları (insani yardım çabaları, çok fonksiyonlu çatışma çözümü girişimleri) söz konusu kategoriler arasında sayılabilmektedir.¹⁶ Üçüncü taraflar için bu maliyetlerin her biri, çatışma ülkeleri ile olan ikili ilişkilere, bölgesel barış ve istikrar ile uluslararası güvenliğe potansiyel bir tehdit oluşturabilmekte; üçüncü tarafların ülkesel, bölgesel ve uluslararası stratejik çıkarları doğrultusunda rasyonel dış politika davranışlarını şekillendirebilmektedir.

3. Çatışma Çözümünde Üçüncü Taraflar ve Çin

Üçüncü tarafların çatışmaların çözümündeki rolü kapsamında en önemli hususlardan biri de aktörlerinin kimler olduğudur. Bu aktörler arasında devletler, bölgesel ve uluslararası örgütler, sivil toplum kuruluşları ve bireyler ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bölgesel hegemonlar, sömürgeci güçler ve komşu ülkeler ise devletler bağlamında dikkat çeken aktörlerdir.¹⁷ Soğuk Savaş'ın ardından hükümet dışı ve uluslararası örgütler gibi aktörlerin arabuluculuk rolleri artmakla birlikte ülkeler/devletler -özellikle de güçlü devletler- çatışma çözme ve barış süreçlerindeki önemini korumaktadır.¹⁸ Küçük, orta ve büyük güç sınıflandırmaları, bu devletlerin çatışma çözme motivasyonlarına ve kapasitelerine yansımaktadır. Ayrıca, arabuluculuğu bir dış politika aracı olarak kullanan devletler, kendi çıkarlarını rasyonel bir biçimde çatışmaların insani boyutunun önünde tutabilmektedir.¹⁹ Bu çerçevede, devletler, ulusal ve uluslararası çıkarlarını hesaba katarak üçüncü taraf misyonu yüklenmektedir.

Çok sayıda küçük devletten oluşan Sahra-altı Afrika, “Afrika'nın sorunlarına Afrikalı çözümler” mottosuyla bölgedeki ülkelerin ulusal, bölgesel ve bölge-altı girişimlerine sahne olmaktadır. Bölgesel güçlerin çatışmalar bağlamında gelişmiş ve karmaşık rolleri gözlemlenirken; eski sömürgeci büyük güçler tarafından çoğunlukla ekonomik, siyasi, sosyal bağ ve nüfuzlar kullanılarak çatışma ve çözüm girişimlerini yönlendirici hamleler yapılmaktadır.²⁰ Kaynakları sınırlı ve dış aktörlerin etkilerine açık bölge içi aktörlerin arabuluculuk ve kolaylaştırıcılık gibi üçüncü taraf rolleri önem taşımakla birlikte yeterli etki

¹⁶ Bkz: Luc Reyckers and Arnim Langer, *Researching Peace Building Architecture*, (Leuven: Centre for Peace Research and Strategic Studies, 2006), 11-12.

¹⁷ Alparslan Özerdem, *Barış İnşası Kuram ve Uygulaması*, (Ankara: Nobel Akademik, 2013), 106.

¹⁸ Sinisa Vukovic, “International Mediation as a Distinct Form of Conflict Management”, *International Journal of Conflict Management* 25, no. 1, (2014): 72.

¹⁹ Michael J. Butler, *International Conflict Management*, (New York: Routledge, 2009), 131.

²⁰ Özerdem, a.g.e., 107.



yaratamamaktadır. Bu durum, Afrika'da büyük güçlerin bir dış aktör ve üçüncü taraf olarak çatışma çözümünde daha fazla öne çıkmasına yol açmaktadır.²¹ Büyük güçler ise iç baskılar ve ulusal çıkarlar gözetilerek çatışmalara müdahalede bulunmakta ya da çatışmaların çözümünde yük ve maliyetleri diğer uluslararası aktörlerle giderek daha fazla paylaşma istekliliği göstermektedir.²² Yeni büyük güç olarak Çin, günümüzde Afrika'daki çatışma çözümü ve barış girişimlerinin önemli bir parçası olarak görülmekte; ancak aynı zamanda üçüncü tarafların bu girişimlerdeki rasyonel motivasyon ve çıkarları ekseninde tartışmalara da konu olmaktadır.

Büyük güçlerin kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda ortaya koydukları üçüncü taraf rolleri açısından çeşitli motivasyon unsurları dikkat çekmektedir. Örneğin, defansif motivasyonlar, savunma refleksiyle hareket edilerek ve kar-zarar hesapları yapılarak üçüncü tarafların ulusal ve uluslararası çıkarlarının korunması anlamına gelmektedir. Zira aktörler arasındaki çatışmaların devamı, arabulucunun kendi çıkarlarını doğrudan etkileyebilmekte; taraflarla ikili ilişkilerini olumsuz etkileyen bu çatışmaların çözümü ise arabulucu için önemli hale gelmektedir. Bir arabulucunun müttefikleri veya dostları çatışma halinde ise bu ittifaklar zayıflayabilmekte ya da ikili ilişkiler zarar görebilmektedir. Benzer şekilde, iki ülke arasındaki çeşitli çatışmalar, bölgesel dengelere bir tehdit oluşturabilmekte; ya da rakip bir gücün bölgede nüfuzunun artmasına ortam hazırlayabilmektedir.²³ Ofansif olarak adlandırılacak motivasyonlar ise bir devletin mevcut gücünü ve nüfuzunu genişletip arttırma arzusu doğrultusunda attığı adımları ifade etmektedir.²⁴ Böylelikle defansif ya da ofansif motivasyonlarla ülkelerin üçüncü taraf rolleri geliştirerek çatışma bölgelerinde ekonomik, siyasi ve stratejik çıkarlarını korumayı veya büyütme hedefledikleri anlaşılmaktadır.

Arabuluculuğun diğer bir önemli özelliği ise zorunluluk içermemesi şeklinde karşımıza çıkmaktadır.²⁵ Burada hem çatışan taraflar hem üçüncü taraflar için bir mecburiyetten söz edilemez. Yani, taraflar arabuluculuk mekanizmasına zorlanamayacağı gibi üçüncü tarafların ve bu kapsamda büyük güçlerin de ara bulmak gibi bir zorunluluğu yoktur. Zira üçüncü tarafların rasyonel çıkarları ya da iç ve dış baskı gibi faktörler aktörleri çatışmaları çözmeye

²¹ Emma van der Meulen and Frans-Paul van der Putten, *Great Powers and International Conflict Management: European and Chinese Involvement in the Darfur and Iran Crises*, (Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, January 2009), 6.

²² Sinisa Vukovic, "International Mediation as a Distinct Form of Conflict Management", *International Journal of Conflict Management* 25, no. 1, (2014): 72-73.

²³ I. William Zartman and Saadia Touval, "International Mediation: Conflict Resolution and Power Politics", *Journal of Social Issues* 41, no. 2, (1985): 32.

²⁴ Zartman and Touval, a.g.e., 32.

²⁵ Arabuluculuğun karakteristik özellikleri için bkz: Jacob Bercovitch and Richard Jackson, *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-first Century*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 34-35.



yöneltilse dahi aslında hiçbir dış aktör barış girişimlerinde bulunmak veya bu girişimlere mecburi olarak katılmak durumunda değildir. Ancak, özellikle büyük güçlerin üçüncü taraf rolleri bu noktada farklı bir kavram üzerinden tartışmaya açık hale gelmektedir. Bu kavram ise “sorumluluk” olarak nitelendirilmektedir.

Çin, “sorumlu güç” olgusu temelindeki sorumluluk tartışmalarının odağında bulunmaktadır. Sorumlu güç (*responsible power*), yalnızca kendi çıkarlarına göre değil; bölgesel barış, dünya barışı, istikrarı ve refahına fayda sağlamak için uluslararası toplumda rol oynayan; uluslararası yükümlülüklerini ciddiyetle yerine getiren ve uluslararası kuralların oluşturulmasına katkı sağlayan güç olarak tanımlanabilmektedir.²⁶ 1990’larda özellikle ABD tarafından, büyük güç olmanın büyük sorumlulukları da beraberinde getirdiği ve Çin’in uluslararası sistemin sorumlu bir paydaşı olması gerektiği sık sık ifade edilmiştir.²⁷ Çin ise bu yıllarda, Batı’nın Çin’i ideolojik, ekonomik ve stratejik bir tehdit (Çin tehdidi) olarak gören yaklaşımları karşısında,²⁸ uluslararası arenada sorumlu güç imajıyla kendisini ön plana çıkarma gayretinde olmuştur.²⁹ Sorumlu büyük güç rolü ve beklentisi, Çin’in çatışma çözümü, arabuluculuk ve barış inşası çabalarına daha aktif katılımını açıklayabilecek unsurların daha çok normatif boyutunu oluşturmuştur.³⁰

Çin dış politikasında üçüncü taraf girişimlerinin bir de rasyonel çıkarlar doğrultusunda materyalist boyutu bulunmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, çatışma bölgelerindeki yatırımların ve Çinli çalışanların korunması ve savunulması anlayışı dikkat çekmektedir. Ayrıca, büyüyen ekonomisiyle Çin’in, enerji ve doğal kaynak projelerinin yanı sıra liman, karayolu, demiryolu ve boru hatları gibi yeni altyapı çalışmaları ile fabrika ve ticaret rotalarını da gözeten hem defansif hem ofansif nitelikli bir ekonomik çıkar arayışında olduğu söylenebilir.³¹ 1970’lerden itibaren siyaset ve iş ilişkilerini ayrı kefelere koyan Çin’in günümüzde büyük güç statüsüne kavuşmasıyla Afrika gibi ticaret ve enerji ilişkilerinin geliştiği bölgelerdeki sorunları görmezden gelme lüksü ise kalmamıştır. Nitekim ticari, diplomatik ve stratejik çıkarlarının ön

²⁶ Xia Liping, “China: A Responsible Great Power”, *Journal of Contemporary China* 10, no. 26, (2001), 17.

²⁷ Hoo Tiang Boon, *China’s Global Identity: Considering the Responsibilities of Great Power*, (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2018), xiii; Robert B. Zoellick, *Whither China: From Membership to Responsibility*, (New York: September 2005), <https://www.kas.de> (Erişim: 05.05.2020).

²⁸ Emma V. Broomfield, “Perceptions of Danger: The China Threat Theory”, *Journal of Contemporary China* 12, no. 35, (2003): 266.

²⁹ Yong Deng, “China: The Post-Responsible Power”, *The Washington Quarterly*, (2015): 120.

³⁰ Miwa Hirono, Yang Jiang and Marc Lanteigne, “China’s New Roles and Behavior in Conflict-Affected Regions: Reconsidering Non-Interference and Non-Intervention”, *The China Quarterly* 239, (2019): 16.

³¹ A.g.e., 15-16.



plana çıktığı Afrika'da Çin,³² çatışma çözümü, barış ve kalkınma girişimlerinde giderek daha fazla rol alarak etki alanını genişletme ve doğal kaynak ihtiyacının önemli bir kısmını karşılama amacı içerisindedir.³³ Hatta bazı uzmanlar, arabuluculuk diplomasisinin Çin'in en temel dış politika hedeflerinden biri haline geldiğini iddia etmektedir. Örneğin, Chaziza'ya göre Çin, arabuluculuk diplomasisi ile ulusal ve uluslararası profilini daha görünür kılmakta; stratejik rakiplerinin bulunduğu bölgelerde kendi ekonomik ve siyasi etkisini arttırmaya çalışmaktadır.³⁴

Çin, kendi ekonomik, siyasi ve stratejik etki kapasitesini gösterirken bir yandan da barış gücü operasyonları, arabuluculuk ve barış müzakereleri adımlarında birtakım avantajlardan yararlanma potansiyeline sahiptir. Finansal araçlarının ve ekonomik gücünün yanı sıra Çin, büyük güç pozisyonu ve uluslararası statüsünü de çatışan tarafları çözüme ikna etmede kullanabilmektedir.³⁵ Çin'in avantajlarını kullanarak Afrika'daki çatışmaların çözümünde etkin olduğu yerlerin başında Sudan gelmektedir. Sudan'ın özellikle petrol konusunda önemli bir ticaret ortağı olan Çin, 2005'te Güney Sudan'daki krizde hem uluslararası toplumdan gelen baskılar hem Sudan'daki varlıklarını korumak hem de sorumlu büyük güç olmanın gereğini yerine getirebilmek adına taraflar arasında arabuluculuk rolü üstlenmiştir. BM Güvenlik Konseyi'nin Sudan kararlarına destek veren Çin, aynı zamanda BM'ye baskı yaparak BM-Afrika Birliği Misyon Güçleri'nin Sudan'da konuşlanmasını sağlamıştır.³⁶ Çin'in arabuluculuk faaliyetleri kapsamında öne çıkan bir diğer örnek, 2017'de Taliban ve Afganistan hükümeti arasındaki arabuluculuk rolü olmuştur. ABD'nin Afganistan'ı işgali sonrasında Afganistan-Pakistan sınırına kaçan Taliban ve diğer liderler, NATO'nun güvenlik misyonuna karşı savaşmaya başlamışlardır. NATO askerlerinin bölgeden çekilmesiyle Çin, 2014 yılından itibaren Afganistan hükümeti ve Taliban arasında üçüncü taraf rolüyle uzlaşma sağlama girişimlerinde bulunmuş; bu kapsamda Afganistan hükümeti, Taliban ve Pakistan ile 2017'de üçlü bir görüşme gerçekleştirmiştir.³⁷

³² A.g.e., 11-12.

³³ Degang Sun and Yahia Zoubir, "China's Participation in Conflict Resolution in the Middle East and North Africa: A Case of Quasi-Mediation Diplomacy", *Journal of Contemporary China* 27, no. 110, (2018): 229.

³⁴ Mordechai Chaziza, "China's Approach to Mediation in the Middle East: Between Conflict Resolution and Conflict Management", May 8, *Middle East Institute*, (2018), <https://www.mei.edu> (Erişim: 20.05.2020).

³⁵ Hirono, Jiang and Lanteigne, a.g.e., 15-16; Hend ElMahly Mahhoud Sultan and Degang Sun, "China's Participation in the Conflict Resolution in Sudan and South Sudan: A Case of "Creative Mediation", *BRIQ* 1, no. 2, (2020): 8.

³⁶ Mahhoud Sultan and Sun, a.g.e., 8.

³⁷ Miwa Hirono, "China's Conflict Mediation and the Durability of the Principle of Non-Interference: The Case of Post-2014 Afghanistan", *The China Quarterly* 239, (2019): 8-9.



Sudan ve Afganistan denemelerine rağmen Çin'in çatışma bölgelerine yönelik ara bulma ve barış çabalarında bahsedilmesi gereken en önemli meselelerden biri "iç işlerine karışmama (*non-interference*)" prensibidir. Ülkelerin iç işlerine ve siyasetine karışmama, Zhou Enlai tarafından ortaya koyulan ve 1954'ten bu yana Çin dış politikasını şekillendiren beş ana ilkedен biridir.³⁸ Bu prensip, Çin'in özellikle doğal kaynak zengini ülkelerle alakalı çatışma çözme, barış gücü operasyonları ve arabuluculuk adımlarıyla çelişkili bir imaj vermektedir.³⁹ Özellikle iç çatışmaları bu ilke üzerinden değerlendirerek ikili ilişkilerini sürdüren Çin'in politikalarındaki çelişki imajı, çatışma çözümü ve arabuluculuk girişimlerinde üçüncü taraf rolü üstlenerek ülkelerin iç meselelerine dâhil olmaya başlamasından kaynaklı görünmektedir. Ancak bu noktada, kendi ilkeleriyle zıt düşmeyecek biçimde Çin'in arabuluculuk pratiklerinde birtakım özgün yönler gözlemlenmektedir.

Batılı ülkelerle arabuluculuk yöntemleri konusunda farklılaşan Çin, sosyal uyum, ılımlılık, egemenliğe saygı ve alçak gönüllülük vurgusu yapmakta; iyi komşuluk, samimiyet, iyilikseverlik ve evrensel düzen gibi kavramlara sıklıkla referans vermektedir.⁴⁰ Sun ve Zoubir, Çin'in Afrika'daki çatışmaların çözümüne müdahil olurken "yarı-arabuluculuk diplomasisi (*quasi-mediation diplomacy*)" olarak nitelenebilecek kendine özgü politikalar geliştirdiğini ileri sürmektedir. Bu metot, üçüncü tarafların çatışma çözümünde asli ve sonuç alıcı bir yaklaşımdan ziyade, çözüme yönelik ihtiyatlı bir tutum sergileme anlayışına dayanmaktadır. Siyasi, ticari ve diplomatik çıkarlarını stratejik ve güvenlik çıkarlarının önünde tutma; arabuluculuk sürecini domine etmeden sürece katkı sağlama; gündem oluşturmaktan çok, gündem değiştirme; çatışmaları çözmekten ziyade ise yatıştırma gibi somut adımlara başvurma politikaları benimsenmektedir.⁴¹ Çin'in Afganistan hükümeti ve Taliban arasındaki arabuluculuk rolünü ise Hirono, "teşvik edici arabuluculuk" kapsamında değerlendirmektedir. Hirono'nun "müdahil olma" düzeylerine göre kolaylaştırıcı (*facilitative*), teşvik edici (*incentivizing*), formüle edici (*formulative*) ve yönlendirici (*manipulative*) şeklinde dört başlıkta ele aldığı arabuluculuk türleri içerisinde teşvik edici arabuluculuk, ikinci en alt düzey müdahale biçimi olarak yorumlanmaktadır. Bu müdahale biçimi, tarafları müzakere masasına gelmeleri için teşvik

³⁸ Barış İçinde Bir Arada Yaşamın Beş İlkesi: 1) toprak bütünlüğü ve egemenliğe karşılıklı saygı 2) karşılıklı saldırmazlık 3) iç işlerine karışmama 4) eşitlik ve karşılıklı fayda 5) barış içinde bir arada yaşama. Bkz: Hirono, Jiang and Lanteigne, a.g.e., 5-6.

³⁹ Earl Conteh-Morgan, China's Non-Interference Dilemma, 2 Ağustos 2018, <https://www.policyforum.net> (Erişim: 07.05.2020).

⁴⁰ Li Zhaoxing, "Peace, Development and Cooperation: Banner for China's Diplomacy in the New Era", *Chinese Journal of International Law* 4, no. 2, (2005): 678-679.

⁴¹ Sun and Zoubir, a.g.e., 240.



etmekte ve taraflar arası iletişimi kolaylaştırmakta; barışın potansiyel faydalarını, yatırım ve kalkınma olanaklarını öne çıkarmakta; ancak masaya herhangi bir çözüm ya da formül koymamakta ve tarafları yönlendirici bir etkide bulunmamaktadır.⁴² Böylelikle Çin, bir yandan arabuluculuk girişimlerini arttırırken diğer yandan ana ilkelerini ihlal etmemeye çalışmaktadır.

Çin'in teşvik edici veya yarı-arabuluculuk gibi politikalarını, büyük güç statüsünde bir Çin için devam eden bir öğrenme, alıştırma ve hazırlık süreci ya da kademeli olarak gerçekleşecek bir dönüşümün ısınma turları olarak düşünmek mümkündür.⁴³ Önümüzdeki dönemlerde, özellikle 21. yüzyılın çok ses getiren OBOR gibi geniş kapsamlı projelerinin Çin'in üçüncü taraf rollerinde birtakım değişiklikleri ve farklı müdahale düzeylerini beraberinde getirebileceği öngörülmektedir. Zira Afrika gibi şiddet içeren çatışma bölgelerine uzanan proje ve yatırımların varlığı göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, Çin'in Afrika'da da barış girişimlerine daha fazla önem göstermesi gerekebileceği; sorumlu güç olmanın yük ve maliyetlerini paylaşarak bölgedeki rasyonel çıkarlarını riske atmayacağı söylenebilmektedir.

4. Bir Kuşak Bir Yol Projesi Çerçevesinde Çin'in Afrika Politikası

Çin-Afrika ilişkilerinin kökleri oldukça eskilere dayanmaktadır. Bu konuda bilinen ilk kayıtlar, 10. yy'da İskenderiye ve Çin arasında yapılan ikili anlaşmalardır.⁴⁴ Ancak Afrika'da birçok bölgeyle Avrupalılardan çok daha önce ilişki kuran Çin için Afrika, 1955 Bandung Konferansı'na kadar önem kazanmamıştır. Çin-Afrika ilişkilerini belirleyen asıl dinamiklerin temelinde ise Hindistan ve Çin arasındaki ticaret anlaşmasının ilkeleri bulunmaktadır. 1954'te imzalanan Hindistan ve Çin arasındaki ticaret anlaşmasında "barış içinde birlikte yaşamının beş ilkesi" kabul edilmiştir.⁴⁵ Çin'in Afrika ile ilişkileri, halen bu beş temel ilke çerçevesinde sürmektedir. Bandung Konferansı'nda Afrika ülkelerinin büyük kısmının da bu ilkeleri benimsediği görülmektedir. Ayrıca, Çin ve Batı'nın Afrika politikaları arasındaki temel yaklaşım farklılığı buradan kaynaklanmaktadır. Çin, Afrika'daki ülkelerin iç işlerine ilkesel olarak karışmazken, Avrupa ve ABD'nin bu ülkeler üzerinde müdahaleci bir politika izlemesi ve demokratik yönetim gibi koşullar öne sürmesi, Çin'in Afrika'da Batılı ülkeler karşısında konumunu güçlendirmektedir.⁴⁶

⁴² Hirono, a.g.e., 6-7.

⁴³ Sun and Zoubir, a.g.e., 242.

⁴⁴ Christopher M. Dent, *China and Africa Development Relations*, (London: Routledge, 2010): 5.

⁴⁵ David H. Shinn, "Africa: the US and China Court the Continent", *Journal of International Affairs* 62, no. 2, (2009): 41.

⁴⁶ Mürsel Bayram, *Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin Afrika Politikası*, (The USA: Create Space Independent Publishing, 2018): 245-246.



Çin'in Afrika'ya yönelik politikasında benimsediği iç işlerine karışmama ve eşitlik ilkeleri Afrika'daki ülkelerin de Çin'e saygı duymasını ve güvenmesini beraberinde getirmektedir. Bu konuda Çin-Afrika ilişkilerinin tarihindeki en önemli gelişmelerden biri, Çin'in 1971 yılında BM'de yerini almasında 26 Afrika ülkesinin desteğini ve oylarını alması olmuştur.⁴⁷ Çin'in Kurucu Devlet Başkanı Mao Zedong, "Birleşmiş Milletler'e siyah Afrikalı arkadaşlarımız sayesinde geri döndük"⁴⁸ diyerek Çin'in BM gibi uluslararası bir kuruluşteki konumunda Afrika ülkelerinin diplomatik desteğine işaret etmiştir. Çin-Afrika arasındaki ilişkiler Mao döneminde (1949-76) Çin'in dış dünyaya kapalı olmasından dolayı kısıtlı ölçüde sürdürülse de 1980'lerle birlikte Çin'in ekonomik olarak dış dünyaya açılmasıyla ilişkiler yeniden yükselişe geçmiştir.

1960'larda ve 70'lerde Çin, gelişmemiş ülkelerle ideolojik bir işbirliği temelinde Çin tarzı komünizmi geliştirip yayarak Batı emperyalizmini geri püskürtmeyi amaçlamıştı.⁴⁹ Ancak daha sonra ilişkiler, ideolojik temelden ziyade ekonomik bir temele doğru evrilmiştir. Afrika ile çoğunlukla enerji ve kaynak alımı üzerine ilişki kuran Çin, benimsediği iç işlerine karışmama ilkesi ile Afrikalı devletlerin giderek daha fazla desteğini kazanmaya başlamıştır. Ekim 2000'de ise Çin ve Afrika ülkelerinin ortak önerisiyle Çin-Afrika İşbirliği Forumu (*Forum on China-Africa Cooperation- FOCAC*) kurulmuştur. FOCAC'ın kurulma amacı, Çin ve Afrika ülkeleri arasında ortak danışma mekanizması oluşturulması, karşılıklı anlayışın iyileştirilmesi, uzlaşımın artırılması, dostluğun güçlendirilmesi ve işbirliğinin desteklenmesi şeklinde ifade edilmiştir.⁵⁰

2005 yılına gelindiğinde, Çin ve Afrika arasında 1995'teki 4 milyar dolarlık ticaret hacmi 40 milyar dolara çıkmış; Çin'in Afrika'ya doğrudan yabancı yatırım miktarı 1,18 milyar dolar olmuştur.⁵¹ Çin ve Afrika arasındaki diplomatik ilişkilerin başlangıcının 50. yıl dönümü münasebetiyle Pekin, 2006 yılında önemli bir işbirliği zirvesine ev sahipliği yapmıştır. 48 Afrika ülkesinin katıldığı FOCAC, "dostluk, barış, işbirliği, kalkınma" temalarıyla açılmıştır. Çin, kıtanın gelişiminde bölgesel barışı koruma, bölgesel işbirliğini artırma ve ekonomik ve sosyal kalkınmayı hızlandırmanın önemini ısrarla vurgulamıştır. Afrika'daki ülkesel, bölge-altı

⁴⁷ 1971'e kadar Tayvan'da kurulan Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti, Birleşmiş Milletler'de tüm Çin'i temsil etmekteydi. 1971 yılında Çin Cumhuriyeti BM'den çıkarılarak Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti tüm Çin'i temsil eden BM'ye alınmıştır.

⁴⁸ Anshan Li, "China and Africa: Policy and Challenges", *China Security* 3, no. 3, (2007): 78.

⁴⁹ Peter Brooks, Ji Hye Shin, "*China's Influence in Africa: Implications for the United States*", The Heritage Foundation, (2006): 1, <https://www.heritage.org> (Erişim: 12.05.2020).

⁵⁰ Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, FOCAC, https://www.focac.org/eng/ltjj_3/ltjz/ (Erişim: 10.05.2020).

⁵¹ Garth Shelton, Farhana Paruk, *The Forum on China Africa Cooperation: A Strategic Opportunity*, Institute for Security Studies, (2008): 52, <https://www.files.ethz.ch> (Erişim: 08.05.2020).



ve bölgesel çabalara dikkat çeken Çin, uluslararası toplumu Afrika'nın barış, kalkınma, çatışma çözme ve çatışma sonrası yeniden inşa çabalarını teşvik etmeye ve desteklemeye davet etmektedir.⁵² Somut ve kısa vadeli adımlar bağlamında ise Çin, Afrika'ya yapılacak yardımların 2009'a kadar iki katına çıkacağı; 15 bin Afrikalı uzmanın eğitileceği; 100 kırsal okul, 10 hastane yanı sıra sıtmayla mücadele için 30 klinik yapılacağı ve daha fazla Afrikalı öğrenciye burs verileceği taahhüdünde bulunmuştur.⁵³ Ayrıca Çin, kıtada 11 tane *Ticaret Geliştirme Merkezi* kurmuş; Afrika'yı bir ticaret ve yatırım merkezi olarak görmeleri için Çin firmaları teşvik edilmiştir.⁵⁴ Petrol, maden işletmeciliği ve demiryolu hatları gibi projeler, Çin'in Afrika'ya yatırım projelerinin temelini oluşturmuştur. Çin'in devlet kontrolündeki bankaları da Afrika'da giderek daha önemli bir rol üstlenmeye başlamıştır.⁵⁵ Böylelikle Çin, Afrika'ya yaptığı yardım ve yatırımlarla bölgedeki hâkimiyetini güçlendirme ve kıta ile ilişkilerini geliştirme gayreti içerisinde olmuştur.

Yardım ve yatırımlarla Afrika'da bir yandan enerji ihtiyacını karşılayan Çin, diğer yandan kıta ülkelerini yanına çekerek BM'de Amerika'ya karşı dengeleyici bir güç olmayı hedeflemiştir. Örneğin, Angola petrolünde ABD'nin en büyük rakibi olan Çin; Sudan petrolünün de büyük çoğunluğunu kontrol etmektedir. Çin ayrıca, Gabon, Kongo, Gine, Kamerun ve Liberya'dan kereste; Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali, Fildişi Sahilleri ve Kamerun'dan pamuk; Zimbabve'den ferrokrom (demir-krom alaşımı) ve platinyum; Güney Afrika'dan elmas; Kongo'dan teneke ve doğada nadir bulunan elementlerden tantal almaktadır. Kendisi ise bu ülkelere elektronik ürünler, makine, tekstil ürünleri, ayakkabı gibi tüketici ürünleri tedarik etmektedir.⁵⁶ Çin ve Afrika arasındaki bu ticaret hacminin, kıtaya yönelik yardım ve yatırımlarla birlikte giderek arttığını söylemek mümkündür. Bu noktada, özellikle birçok kıtayı ve ülkeyi birbirine bağlamak ve ülkeler arası serbest ticaret bölgeleri oluşturarak işbirliğini artırmak amacı taşıyan OBOR'un, Çin-Afrika ilişkilerini daha da derinleştireceği öngörülmektedir.

2013 yılında ilan edilen OBOR, Asya, Avrupa ve Afrika kıtalarını çeşitli koridorlarla birbirine bağlayan; ülkeler arasında kazan-kazan ilkesine dayalı olarak işbirliği ve ticareti

⁵² Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, a.g.e.

⁵³ Zhiqun Zhu, *China's New Diplomacy: Rationale, Strategies and Significance*, (UK, Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010): 30.

⁵⁴ Chris Alden, *China in Africa*, (London: Zed Books, 2007): 14.

⁵⁵ Peter Brooks, Ji Hye Shin, a.g.e., 43.

⁵⁶ Chuka Euka, "The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC): A Framework for China's Re Engagement with Africa in the 21st Century", *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* 30, no. 2, (2010): 210.



artırmayı hedefleyen eski İpek ve Baharat yolunun yeniden canlandırılması projesidir. “İpek Yolu Ekonomik Kuşağı” ve “21. Yüzyıl Deniz İpek Yolu” olmak üzere iki güzergâhtan oluşan OBOR kapsamında 2020 Mart ayı itibarıyla 138 ülke ve 29 uluslararası kuruluş bulunmaktadır. Bu ülkelerin 38 tanesi Sahra-altı Afrika ülkesidir.⁵⁷ OBOR ile Çin, bir yandan Afrika’yı dünyaya bağlarken diğer yandan kıtadaki ülkeleri birbirine bağlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Örneğin, 2014 yılında Çin Başbakanı Li Keqiang, Afrika’daki 54 ülkeyi hızlı tren hatlarıyla birbirine bağlama hayalinden bahsetmektedir.⁵⁸ 2015 yılında proje kapsamındaki ülkelere altyapı yatırımları için kredi sağlayacak bir de Asya Altyapı Yatırım Bankası (*Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank*) kurulduğu görülmektedir.⁵⁹ 2013-2019 yılları arasında Çin’in OBOR ülkelerine enerji ve ulaşım sektörleri başta olmak üzere ve %22 civarı Sahra-altı Afrika’ya olmak üzere toplam 730 milyar dolar yatırım yaptığı gözlemlenmektedir.⁶⁰

Çin’in OBOR çerçevesindeki yatırımlarında Afrika’da özellikle Kenya ve Etiyopya ön plana çıkmaktadır. OBOR bağlamında Çin ile ilk anlaşmaları yapan bu iki ülke, stratejik konumları itibarıyla Çin için önem taşımaktadır. Bu bağlamda Kenya’da, Nairobi’den bir liman şehri olan Mombasa’ya kadar uzanan 290 mil uzunluğunda bir demiryolu hattının yanı sıra Etiyopya’da başkenti Addis Ababa’dan Cibuti’deki liman şehrine kadar uzanan 470 mil uzunluğunda elektrikli bir demiryolu yapılmıştır. Cibuti, Mısır, Tanzanya, Zambiya ve Angola, Kenya ve Etiyopya dışında öne çıkan diğer ülkeler olmuştur. Örneğin, Tanzanya’daki Bagamoyo’nun Afrika’daki en büyük limana dönüştürülmesi projesi bulunmaktadır.⁶¹ Mısır, ise Süveyş Kanalı’nın önemli bir geçiş noktası olması dolayısıyla öne çıkmakta; Çin ile Mısır arasında 2016 yılında bir mutabakat anlaşması imzalandığı görülmektedir.⁶² Afrika Boynuzu’nda küçük bir ülke olmasına rağmen hem stratejik konumu hem de kıtadaki büyük güçlerin askeri üslerine yaptığı ev sahipliği ile Cibuti de OBOR’un yatırım bölgelerinden biri olarak dikkat çekmektedir. Etiyopya-Cibuti demiryolu hattı gibi Etiyopya’dan içme suyu getiren 300 milyon dolarlık su boru hattı inşa edilmesi gibi projeler de bu yatırımlara örnek oluşturmaktadır.⁶³

⁵⁷ Green Belt and Road Initiative Center, <https://green-bri.org> (Erişim: 04.05.2020).

⁵⁸ Julia Breuer, 2017, “Two Belts, One Road? The role of Africa in China’s Belt & Road initiative”, *Blickwechsel*, Stiftung Asienhaus, <https://www.asienhaus.de> (04.05.2020): 2.

⁵⁹ Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), <https://www.aiib.org/en/index.html> (Erişim: 04.05.2020).

⁶⁰ Green Belt and Road Initiative Center, a.g.e.

⁶¹ Nick Van Mead, “China in Africa: win-win development, or a new colonialism?”, *The Guardian*, 31 July 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com> (Erişim: 12.05.2020).

⁶² Raphael ZiroMwatela, Zhao Changfeng, “Africa in China’s ‘One Belt, One Road’ Initiative: A Critical Analysis”, *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* 21, no. 12, (2016): 13.

⁶³ Nancy Muthoni Githaiga, Alfred Burimaso, Wang Bing and Salum Mohammed Ahmed, “The Belt and Road



Çin'in OBOR kapsamındaki yardım ve yatırımları, Afrika'da "borç tuzağı diplomasisi (*debt trap diplomacy*)" kavramını gündeme getirmektedir. Bu kavram, Çin'in altyapı yatırımları için Afrika ülkelerine borç para vererek stratejik avantaj sağlamak amacıyla kasıtlı olarak ilgili ülkeleri borç tuzağına sürüklemesine işaret etmek için kullanılmaktadır. 2017'de Kuzey Hindistan'daki bir düşünce kuruluşunda ortaya atılan kavramın, *The Guardian* ve *New York Times* gibi gazetelerde hızla kullanılmaya başlandığı dikkat çekmektedir.⁶⁴ Ayrıca, borç tuzağıyla birlikte bazı kesimlerce Çin'in Afrika'daki yatırımları "yeni-sömürgecilik" olarak tanımlanmakta,⁶⁵ bazı kesimler ise bu görüşe karşı çıkarak Çin'in hamlelerinin sömürgecilik faaliyeti değil, kalkınmanın bir parçası olduğunu ileri sürmektedir.⁶⁶ Çin'e yönelik borç tuzağı diplomasisi iddiaları, Çin tehdidi algısının bir parçası olarak da değerlendirilmektedir. Nitekim Çin Devlet Başkanı Xi Jinping, OBOR'un ne bir borç tuzağı ne de ABD ticaretine meydan okuyan jeopolitik bir araç olduğunu vurgulamakta; aksine, OBOR'un tüm katılımcılara fayda sağlayan kazan-kazan hedefli bir girişim olduğunu ifade etmektedir.⁶⁷ 2000-2019 yılları arasında Afrika ülkelerinin 3,4 milyar dolar değerindeki borcunun silinmesi gibi örnekler, borçların küçük bir miktarını oluşturmasına rağmen, Çin'in borç tuzağını kabul etmeyen söylemlerini destekler görünmektedir.⁶⁸

OBOR, "Çin rüyası" için ayrılmaz bir parça olarak da değerlendirilmektedir. Proje, geliştirilen ilişkilerle, yapılan yatırımlarla ve geniş işbirliği olanaklarıyla Çin'in hem bölgesel hem küresel bir güç olmasının yolunu açmaktadır. Çin'in önlenemeyen yükselişi ve ABD ile girilen ticaret savaşları ise "Çin tehdidi" olgusunu yeniden canlandırmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, OBOR'un Çin'in dünya düzenini kendine özgü kurallarıyla yeniden yaratma çabası şeklinde görüşlerin de hedefinde yer aldığı görülmektedir. Örneğin Brautigam, Bir Kuşak Bir Yol projesinin ABD tarafından, dünyadaki ticaret kurallarını yeniden yazmak, ancak ticaretten de ziyade stratejik bir hâkimiyet kurmak için Çin tarafından hayata geçirilen bir girişim olarak

Initiative: Opportunities and Risks for Africa's Connectivity", *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, 5, no. 1, (2019): 121.

⁶⁴ Deborah Brautigam, "A Critical Look at Chinese 'Debt-trap Diplomacy': The Rise of a Meme", *Area Development and Policy*, 5, no. 1, (2019): 2.

⁶⁵ Anthony Kleven, "Belt and Road: Colonialism with Chinese Characteristics", *The Interpreter*, (2019), <https://www.lowyinstitute.org> (Erişim: 03.05.2020).

⁶⁶ Noah Smith, "Africa Isn't Being Recolonized", *Bloomberg*, (2019), <https://www.bloomberg.com> (Erişim: 12.05.2020).

⁶⁷ Shi Jiangtao, et al., "Chinese President Xi Jinping tries to stem rising chorus of doubts over Belt and Road Initiative", *South China Morning Post*, (2019), <https://www.scmp.com> (Erişim: 05.07.2020).

⁶⁸ Laura He, "China is promising to write off some loans to Africa. It may just be a drop in the ocean", *CNN Business*, (2020), <https://edition.cnn.com> (Erişim: 05.07.2020).



yorumlandığını ifade etmektedir.⁶⁹ Politika ve projelerine yöneltilen eleştirilere rağmen Çin'in kararlılıkla adımlarını attığı; ekonomik büyümesini sürdürdüğü ve etki alanını genişlettiği dikkat çekmektedir. Çatışma geçmişi kabarık bir Afrika'da Çin'in adım atmasını gerektiren ve kendine alan açmasını sağlayan en önemli alanlardan biri ise çatışma çözümü olmaktadır.

5. Bir Kuşak Bir Yol Ekseninde Afrika'daki Çatışmalar ve Çatışma Çözümü

54 ülkesiyle dünyanın ikinci büyük kıtası olan Afrika, büyük güçler arasında geçmişten günümüze bir mücadele alanı olagelmıştır. Büyük güçler daha fazla kazanmak için birbiriyle yarışırken, Afrika'nın kaderine her daim kaybetmek düşmüştür. 16. yüzyıldan 19. yüzyıla kadar önce köle ticaretiyle insanları sömürülen kıta,⁷⁰ 1884-1885 Berlin Konferansı sonrası yaşanan "Afrika Kapaşması/Talanı (*Scramble for Africa*)" ile Avrupalı güçler arasında paylaştırılmıştır.⁷¹ Afrika ülkelerinin bağımsızlıklarını kazanması ise ancak 1950'lerin sonundan itibaren gündeme gelebilmiştir. Bu kez bağımsızlık mücadelelerine sahne olan kıta, Soğuk Savaş koşullarında ABD ve Sovyetler Birliği'nin rekabet ortamına dönüşmüştür. Ve nihayet, 2000'lerle birlikte bir yandan geleneksel güçler Afrika'da varlıklarını sürdürürken diğer yandan yeni güçler devreye girmiş; rasyonel çıkarları doğrultusunda kendilerine alan açmaya ve stratejik pozisyonlarını güçlendirmeye çalışan aktörlerin çeşitlendiği görülmüştür.

2000 yılında *The Economist* dergisi tarafından yayınlanan özel sayıda Afrika'dan "Umutsuz Kıta (*The Hopeless Continent*)" olarak bahsedilmiştir.⁷² Kıtaya atfedilen umutsuzluk, Afrika'nın karakteri haline gelen çatışma, siyasi istikrarsızlık ve şiddet sarmalının ifadesi olmuştur. Kuşkusuz, bu karakterin ortaya çıkışında, ekonomik, stratejik ve siyasi çıkarlarını korumak amacıyla Avrupalıların Afrika'da çizdiği yapay sınırların etkisi büyüktür.⁷³ Etnik, dilsel, kabilesel ve ideolojik farklılıklar; önemli doğal kaynakların paylaşımı, ekonomik mücadeleler, siyasi değişim ve dönüşümler, irredantist iddialar, dış müdahaleler, dini gruplar arasındaki mücadeleler ve farklı dinlere dayandırılan aşırı dinci ve şiddet yanlısı hareketler de çatışmaların başlıca nedenleri arasında yerlerini almıştır.⁷⁴ Ayrıca, yoksulluk, demokratikleşme sorunları, tekrarlayan şiddet olayları, zayıf yönetim ve kötü komşuluk ilişkileri, çatışmalarda

⁶⁹ Brautigam, a.g.e., 5.

⁷⁰ Bkz: Babacar M'Baye, "The Economic, Political and Social Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa", *The European Legacy* 11, no. 6, (2006): 607-622.

⁷¹ Ieuan Ll. Griffiths, *The African Inheritance*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1995): 29.

⁷² "The Hopeless Continent", *The Economist*, <https://www.economist.com> (Erişim: 10.03.2020).

⁷³ Francis Nguendi Ikome, *Africa's International Borders as Potential Sources of Conflict and Future Threats to Peace and Security*, (Institute for Security Studies, 2012): 12.

⁷⁴ Bkz: Michael Fonkem Achankeng, "Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Africa: Engaging the Colonial Factor", *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 13, no. 2, (2013): 11-38.



önemli rol oynamıştır.⁷⁵ Bununla birlikte, 2000'lerin başında Afrika'daki çatışmaların sayısı ve yoğunluğunda bir azalma gözlemlenmiş; ancak 2010'dan itibaren çatışma eğilim yeniden artış göstermiştir.⁷⁶ Güney Afrika, Zimbabve, Kenya ve Burkina Faso gibi ülkelerde toplumsal karışıklıklar yaşanmıştır.⁷⁷ Sudan, Güney Sudan, Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti ve Burundi gibi ülkelerde çatışmalar şiddetini sürdürürken; Somali ve Demokratik Kongo Cumhuriyeti gibi ülkelerdeki çatışmalar halen çözülememiştir. Sudan, Nijerya, Demokratik Kongo Cumhuriyeti, Somali, Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti ve Güney Sudan, 2001-2017 yılları arasında Sahra-altı Afrika'daki çatışma kaynaklı ölümlerin en çok yaşandığı ülkelerin başlarında sıralanmıştır.⁷⁸

Afrika'daki çatışmaların olumsuz etkileri, ülkelerle sınırlı kalmamıştır. Bir yandan çatışmaların ülkeleri aşarak bölgeye yayılan etkileri kıtadaki barış, istikrar ve kalkınma çabalarına zarar verirken, diğer yandan büyük güçlerin politikalarının, faaliyetlerinin ve projelerinin önünde çatışmalar nedeniyle birtakım zorluklarla karşılaşmıştır. Bu kapsamda, Çin'in Afrika politikasının ve OBOR'un bölgedeki çatışmalardan etkilenmemesi düşünülemez. Nitekim çok eski zamanlardan itibaren kıtanın önünde ağır bir yük olarak duran çatışma ve savaşların, OBOR'un Afrika'da karşılaşacağı en büyük engeller olacağı öngörülmektedir.⁷⁹ Çin'in bu engelleri aşarak kıtadaki hedeflerini gerçekleştirmesi ve Afrika ile ilişkilerini geliştirmesi ise kıtadaki çatışmaların çözümü, barış, istikrar ve güvenliğin sağlanması ile yakından ilgili görünmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Çin'in çatışma çözümüne bakışının OBOR ile bir dönüm noktasına kavuştuğu da söylenebilir. Zira Çin üzerine çalışan dünyanın en büyük araştırma enstitülerinden biri olan MERICS (*Mercator Institute for China Studies*) araştırmasına göre, OBOR ile birlikte Çin'in arabuluculuk faaliyetlerinde genel bir artış eğilimi gözlemlenmektedir. Afganistan-Pakistan, Güney Sudan, Suriye-Irak, Myanmar, Myanmar-Bangladeş ve Katar gibi ülkelerdeki çatışmalarda Çin'in üçüncü taraf rolleri üstlendiği, ancak tek başına hareket etmekten ziyade çok taraflı girişimlere katıldığı dikkat çekmektedir.⁸⁰ Çin'in Afrika politikası, OBOR ile gelişen çatışma çözme anlayışının ayrılmaz bir parçası olmaktadır.

⁷⁵ Jakkie Cilliers, *Violence in Africa: Trends, Drivers and Prospects to 2023*, (Institute for Security Studies, 2018): 11.

⁷⁶ Paul D. Williams, "Continuity and Change in War and Conflict in Africa", *Prism* 6, no. 4, (2017): 33, <https://cco.ndu.edu> (Erişim: 21.04.2020).

⁷⁷ Vasu Gounden, *Conflict Trends 2018/3*, The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes, <https://www.accord.org.za> (Erişim: 14.03.2020).

⁷⁸ Cilliers, a.g.e., 6.

⁷⁹ ZiroMwatela and Changfeng, a.g.e., 18.

⁸⁰ Helena Legarda, "China as a conflict mediator", MERICS (2018), <https://merics.org/en/graphic/china-conflict-mediator> (Erişim: 05.07.2020).



Afrika'daki OBOR deniz güzergâhında önemli bir yere sahip olan Kenya, Güney Sudan gibi çatışma bölgelerinden Çin'e gerçekleşen petrol ihracatında alternatif bir rota niteliği taşımaktadır. Benzer şekilde, denize kıyısı olmayan Uganda petroleri de Kenya üzerinden Çin'e ihraç edilmektedir.⁸¹ Ancak, Kenya'da doğal kaynakların keşfedilmesi ve işletilmesi sürecinde farklı grupların dışlanmasıyla doğal kaynak temelli çatışma ihtimali bulunmaktadır.⁸² Arazi, su, maden ve diğer doğal kaynaklar üzerinde yaşanan rekabetin yanı sıra siyasi seçimler ve seçim süreçleri; toplumsal kimlikler ve kültürel eşitsizlikler; ülkedeki hafif silahlara erişim; El-Kaide ve El-Şebab gibi terör örgütlerinin hem iç hem bölgesel güvenliğe olumsuz etkileri ve korsanlık gibi deniz suçları, Kenya'daki çatışmaların başlıca nedenlerini oluşturmaktadır.⁸³ İç çatışma riskleriyle birlikte Kenya, komşularında yaşanan çatışmaların göç ve bölgesel istikrarsızlık gibi yük ve maliyetlerine de katlanmak durumunda kalmaktadır. Somali, Uganda, Sudan ve Güney Sudan'da yaşanan çatışmaların olumsuz etkileri, Kenya'ya ve bölgeye sirayet etmektedir. Böyle bir ortamda ise çatışma bölgelerinde Çin'in salt kendi ekonomik ve stratejik çıkarlarını gözeterik ve çatışmaları görmezden gelerek OBOR gibi büyük çaplı projelerini sorunsuz hayata geçirmesi olası görünmemekte; Çin'in rasyonel çıkarları, özellikle proje güzergâhlarının anahtar ülkelerinde barış ve güvenlik ortamını gerekli kılmaktadır.

OBOR'un Afrika'da karşılaşılabileceği önemli diğer bir problem, Etiyopya'daki çatışmalardır. Afrika Boynuzu'nda stratejik bir konumda yer alan ve kıtadaki bölgesel güçlerden biri olan Etiyopya'daki etnik çatışmalar, 2000-2018 arası Etiyopya ve Eritre arasında yaşanan savaş ve Somali'yle yaşanan problemler, OBOR için kritik önemdeki Etiyopya'yı istikrarsızlığa sürüklemektedir. Başkent Addis Ababa'dan Cibuti'deki liman şehrine uzanan 470 millik elektrikli bir demiryolu projesinin yanı sıra Çin, ülkede farklı alanlarda birçok yatırımda bulunmuş ve Etiyopya'ya büyük miktarlarda borç vermiştir. 2000 yılından bu yana Etiyopya'nın Çin'den aldığı borç miktarının 12,1 milyar dolardan fazla olduğu ifade edilmektedir.⁸⁴ Dolayısıyla, Etiyopya gibi bölgesel bir gücün yaşadığı iç çatışmalar ve bunların komşu bölgelere yayılma ihtimali, Çin'in bölgedeki politikalarını ve çıkarlarını olumsuz etkileme potansiyeline sahiptir. Nitekim askeri maliyetler, istikrarsızlık maliyetleri ya da doğrudan ekonomik maliyetler gibi Etiyopya'daki çatışmaların yaratabileceği maliyetlerin,

⁸¹ World Politics Review, "In Kenya, 'One Belt, One Road' is Changing Local Views of Chinese Investment", 6 June 2017, <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com> (Erişim: 15.05.2020).

⁸² A. g. e.

⁸³ Kisuke Ndiku, Conflict in Kenya, *Transconflict*, <http://www.transconflict.com> (Erişim: 18.05.2020).

⁸⁴ Tridivesh Singh Maini, Mahitha Lingala, "BRI and the China-Ethiopia Relationship", *The Geopolitics*, 10 December 2019, <https://thegeopolitics.com> (Erişim: 22.05.2020).



Çin'in bölgedeki politikalarının da şekillenmesinde rol oynayabileceğini ve bölgeye daha fazla müdahale etmesine sebep olabileceğini söylemek mümkündür.

Bir diğer Afrika Boynuzu ülkesi olan Cibuti'deki barış ve güvenlik ortamı da Çin için önem taşımaktadır. Çin'in bölgeye verdiği önem, yurt dışındaki ilk askeri üssünü Cibuti'de kurmasından anlaşılmaktadır.⁸⁵ Ayrıca, Çin'in 2017 yılında Eritre ve Cibuti arasındaki sınır sorununda arabuluculuk teklif ettiği bilinmektedir.⁸⁶ Eritre ve Cibuti arasındaki sorun, her iki ülkenin Dumeira dağı ve adaları üzerinde hak iddia etmesinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Salt bir sınır anlaşmazlığı olarak görünmesine rağmen, Eritre'nin bağımsızlığının ardından Etiyopya'nın denize çıkış kapısı olarak Cibuti'nin öne çıkmaya başlaması ve Somali iç savaşında iki devletin farklı fraksiyonları desteklemesi gibi çatışmaların arkasında rol oynayan birtakım bölgesel dinamiklerin varlığı da dikkat çekmektedir.⁸⁷ Özellikle 11 Eylül sonrası Cibuti'nin teröre karşı operasyonlar için önemli bir merkeze dönüşmesi ve stratejik önemi ise bölgenin çatışmalardan uzak tutulması anlayışını beraberinde getirmektedir. Ancak Katar'ın 2017 yılında bölgeden barış gücü misyonunu çekmesiyle birlikte, çatışmaların çözümü için arabuluculuk yapacak bir devletin kalmadığı görülmektedir.⁸⁸ İşte Çin'in arabuluculuk teklifi bu noktada devreye girmiştir. Eritre Büyükelçiliği görevinde bulunan Shu Zhan, teklifin "ülkelerin iç işlerine karışmama" prensibini bozmadığını ifade etmek için Çin'in doğrudan bir askeri müdahalede asla bulunmayacağını, ancak BM'nin onaylaması, Afrika Birliği'nin talebi ve her iki tarafın anlaşması üzerine bölgeye bir barışı koruma misyonu gönderebileceğinin altını çizmiştir.⁸⁹ Bu ifadeler, Çin'in üçüncü taraf rollerinde tek başına bir sorumluluktan ziyade, uluslararası güçlerle birlikte hareket etmeyi seçtiğini ve rasyonel tercihleriyle kıtadaki çıkarlarını gözetirken rekabetten çok işbirliği anlayışını benimsediğini göstermesi açısından önemlidir.

BM ve barış güçleri bağlamında da Çin'in Afrika'daki çatışmalara yaklaşımına değinmek gerekir. Çin, diplomatik ve stratejik çıkarlarının yanı sıra sorumlu, pro-aktif ve küresel bir aktör olarak Afrika'daki barış misyonlarında görev almaktadır.⁹⁰ Çin'in barışı

⁸⁵ Abdur Rahman Alfa Shaban, "Eritrea-Djibouti border dispute: China opts to intervene", *Africa News*, 23 July 2017, <https://www.africanews.com> (Erişim: 22.05.2020).

⁸⁶ Liu Zhen, "China offers to mediate Djibouti-Eritrea border row as it expands military presence in Africa", *South China Morning Post*, 25 July 2017, <https://www.scmp.com> (Erişim: 22.05.2020).

⁸⁷ Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Djibouti-Eritrea, <https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/435> (Erişim: 05.07.2020).

⁸⁸ Shaban, a.g.e.

⁸⁹ Zhen, a.g.e.

⁹⁰ Wang Li and Paul Dottin, "Behind China's Peacekeeping Missions in Africa: Interpreting Beijing's Strategic Considerations" 7, no. 14, (2011): 5-8.



koruma, barış yapma ve barış inşası modelinde toplumsal istikrar ve ekonomik kalkınmaya öncelik verilmekte; pragmatik politikalar, toplumsal uyum öncelikli Konfüçyüsçülük felsefesi ve altyapıya dayalı yaklaşımlardan faydalanılmaktadır.⁹¹ 1989 yılında Afrika'da katıldığı ilk misyondan günümüze, Çin'in BM barışı koruma operasyonlarında hem finansman hem personel desteği ciddi bir büyüme göstermektedir. Yaklaşık 2.500 asker ve polis personeliyle Çin, 2019 yılında BM barışı koruma faaliyetlerine küresel barışı koruma bütçesinin %15,22'sini oluşturan 7 milyar dolarlık bir katkıda bulunmuş ve ABD'den sonraki ikinci büyük finans sağlayıcısı konumuna erişmiştir.⁹² 2000'li yıllarla birlikte Çin, Afrika'da Fildişi Sahili, Kongo Demokratik Cumhuriyeti, Liberya, Sierra Leone, Mali gibi ülkelerde barış operasyonlarına katılmış ve BM girişimlerine BM Güvenlik Konseyi'nin diğer dört daimi üyesinden daha fazla askeri birlik katkısı vermeye başlamıştır.⁹³ 2013 yılı itibarıyla barış gücü operasyonlarıyla Çin'in askeri ve siyasi liderliğinin daha esnek bir dış politika yaklaşımını beraberinde getirdiği tartışılırken,⁹⁴ barış ve güvenlik konularıyla OBOR ve Çin-Afrika ilişkileri arasındaki bağlantı daha da pekişmektedir.

OBOR, Afrika'daki coğrafi sınırlar ile ilgili potansiyel çatışma riskleri de barındırmaktadır. Zira ülkelerin çeşitli ağ ve yollarla birbirine bağlanması, etnik grupların Avrupalı ülkeler tarafından oluşturulan ulusal sınırları tanımama riski taşımakta; böylece Çin'in istikrarlı bir Afrika pazarı hayali, gelişmelerden olumsuz etkilenme olasılığıyla karşı karşıya kalmaktadır.⁹⁵ Dolayısıyla, Çin'in kıtadaki mevcut çatışmalarla alakalı çözüm ve barış girişimlerine katılması kadar, potansiyel çatışma risklerine de hazırlıklı olması beklenmektedir. Bu riskler Afrika'da, sınır sorunlarından etnik-dini çatışmalara, terörden korsanlığa kadar çok çeşitlidir. Böyle bir ortamda ise çatışmalara ve kıtanın sorunlarına dokunmadan Afrika ülkelerinin ve Afrikalıların Çin'e olan güvenini uzun vadede koruması zor görünmektedir. Büyüyen pazar olanakları ve doğal kaynakları açısından Çin için önemli bir ortağa dönüşen Afrika'da Çin'in yatırımlarıyla kalkınma hamlelerine vereceği destek gibi barış ve güvenlik çabalarına sağlayacağı katkı da bu güvenin inşasına; Çin'in kıtadaki politikalarına yönelik tereddütlerin ortadan kalkmasına ve Çin'in sorumluluklarını yerine getirmesine yardımcı

⁹¹ "China's Approach to Peace in Africa is Different. How and Why?", *The Conversation*, 27 Ocak 2020, <https://theconversation.com> (Erişim: 30.05.2020).

⁹² A.g.e.

⁹³ Theo Neethling, "China's International peacekeeping Contributions and the Evolution of Contemporary Chinese Strategic Considerations", *Strategic Review for Southern Africa* 37, no. 2, (2015): 12-14.

⁹⁴ Bkz: A.g.e., 20.

⁹⁵ World Politics Review, a.g.e.



olacaktır. İlişkilerde öne çıkarılan kazan-kazan politikasının da çatışma ortamında değil, ancak çatışmaların çözümü ve barışın sağlanması ile mümkün hale gelebileceği öngörülmektedir.

6. Sonuç

Ekonomik büyümesine devam eden Çin'in büyük güç olmanın getirdiği bazı sorumluluklarla da yüzleşmesi gerekmektedir. Yardım ve yatırımların yanı sıra hem sorumlu güç hem büyük güç olarak dünyanın değişik bölgelerindeki çatışma çözümü uygulamalarında Çin'in yer alması, uluslararası barış ve güvenliğin sağlanması ve Çin'in stratejik çıkarlarının korunması açısından önemlidir. Dış politikasında temel aldığı ülkelerin iç işlerine karışmama ilkesi, Çin'in diğer ülkelerde meydana gelen çatışma ve şiddet ortamına müdahale etmekten kaçınmasını beraberinde getirir dahi, özellikle OBOR ile birlikte Çin dış politikasında ve ilkelerinde birtakım esneklikler söz konusu olabilecektir. Bu bağlamda Çin, çok taraflı barış operasyonlarına verdiği katkı kadar çatışmaların çözümü için arabuluculuk başta olmak üzere çeşitli üçüncü taraf rollerine de gelecek dönemlerde daha fazla başvurabilecektir.

Dünü ve bugünü çatışmalarla dolu Afrika'daki çatışmaların çözümü için uluslararası, bölgesel ve ülkesel anlamda pek çok çaba göze çarpmaktadır. Bu çabalar, devletlerin rasyonel çıkarlarıyla ve üçüncü taraf rollerindeki defansif ya da ofansif motivasyonlarıyla ilişkilendirilmektedir. Zira kıtadaki çatışmaların etki ve maliyetleri ülke sınırlarını aşarak yalnızca bölgesel ve uluslararası arenadaki barış ve güvenliği değil; 21. yy. ile birlikte Afrika'da ortaya çıkan rekabette büyük güçlerin çıkarlarını da olumsuz etkilemektedir. Maliyetlerin ve olumsuz etkilerin önüne geçerek potansiyel riskleri ortadan kaldırmak, çıkarlarını korumak ve etki alanını genişletmek çabaları ise büyük güçlerin politikalarındaki başlıca motivasyonları açıklamaktadır. Ham madde, enerji kaynakları, ticaret yolları ve pazar olanaklarıyla OBOR'un önemli bir ayağını oluşturan Afrika'da, bir yandan Sudan ya da Cibuti gibi petrol kaynakları ve ticari yatırımlar açısından kritik öneme sahip ülkelerdeki çatışmaların çözümü girişimlerine katılan Çin'in, diğer yandan Afrika'nın doğusundaki Kenya ve Etiyopya gibi Deniz İpek Yolu güzergâhı açısından önemli ülkelerde barış, güvenlik ve istikrarın korunması için çaba göstermesi gerekmektedir.

BM barış gücü misyonlarına personel ve bütçe desteğini giderek arttırmasına rağmen Çin, çatışma çözümü ve arabuluculuk girişimlerinde halen çekinceli davranmaktadır. Nitekim bu anlamdaki sınırlı adımlarıyla Çin, OBOR'un ardından Afrika'da yalnızca Güney Sudan'daki çatışmaların çözümü için birtakım girişimlerde bulunmuş ve Cibuti ile Eritre arasındaki sorunun çözümünde bir arabuluculuk rolü üstlenmeyi teklif etmiştir. Ancak, Kenya ve Etiyopya



gibi çatışma ve potansiyel çatışma risklerinin devam ettiği ve ileride Çin'in yatırım ve çıkarlarına zarar gelebilecek bölgelerde çatışmaların çözümü ya da önlenmesi için etkili adımlar atılamamıştır. Zira Çin, dış politikasında ülkelerin iç işlerine karışmama ilkesini ihlal etmemek adına çatışma çözümüne daha temkinli yaklaşmakta olup, uluslararası barış çabalarındaki gibi çatışma çözümünde de kendine özgü ve sosyal kalkınmaya dayalı alternatif bir barış ve arabuluculuk modeli oluşturma gayretindedir. Bölgedeki çatışmaların devam etmesi durumunda Çin'in katlanmak zorunda kalacağı maliyetler çok daha ağır olacağından, Afrika'nın sorunlarında Çin'in üçüncü taraf olarak daha fazla inisiyatif alması beklenmektedir. OBOR'un sağlıklı şekilde sürdürülebilmesi için bölgede güven ve istikrarın sağlanması gerekirken, geniş yatırımların muhakkak daha geniş bir barış ve güvenlik ihtiyacı ortaya çıkaracağı ve çatışma çözümü girişimlerinin bu ihtiyacın karşılanmasına barışçıl bir katkı sağlayacağı söylenebilmektedir.

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Yeni Çevrelemenin İlk Sahnesi: Güney Çin Denizi'nde ABD-Çin Rekabeti

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Özet

Dünya, giderek 21. yüzyılın en büyük iki büyük gücü olan ABD ve Çin arasında süren kafa karıştırıcı hegemonya mücadelesine sahne olmaktadır. ABD uzun süredir sahip olduğu ayrıcalıkları korumaya çalışırken, diğeri kendine özgü kıldığı tarihsel gelişimi kapsamında kaynakların bölgeselleşmesinden kendine bazı ayrıcalıklar sağlama peşinde. ABD ve Çin arasındaki çatışmanın politik, ekonomik ve askeri yönleri olmakla birlikte Kuşak ve Yol Projesi gibi büyük projeler kapsamında Çin'in denizleri kendi kontrolünde tutmak istemesi gibi mücadelenin daha somut yanları da var. Bu kapsamda Güney Çin Denizi "Çevreleme 2.0"ın ilk sahnesi olarak belirginleşmiş ve bilhassa askeri rekabetin jeo-ekonomik faktörleri etkilemesi açısından öne çıkmıştır. Söz konusu denizde ABD seyrüsefer serbestliğini, Çin ise tarihsel egemenlik haklarını başat unsurlar olarak ileri sürerek ve en çok da deniz kuvvetlerini kullanarak büyük güçler rekabetinin gereklerini yerine getirmektedir. Zorlayıcı tedbirlerin istenmeyen en sonuncusu olarak da olsa sıcak çatışma olasılığı, birçok kesimin göz ardı edemeyeceği kadar muhtemel ve de tehlikeli görünmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: ABD, Çin, Güney Çin Denizi, Çevreleme, Büyük Güç Rekabeti.

Abstract

The world gradually appears as the confusing stage for competitive two great powers over the global hegemony of the 21st century, namely the United States and China. One of them has been struggling to be keeping whatever she is in possession of her privileges for long-term and the second one has been seeking to further some privileges from the regionalization of the resources in terms of personalizing her historical development. Although there have been political, economic and military aspects of the conflict between them, there is also a concrete side such as keeping the seas under their possession in the context of mega projections that are successfully embodied by China's Belt-Road Initiative, while her rival has failed to exploit such projects. In that case, the South China Sea can be thought to be evident as the first scene of "The Containment 2.0" and has come to the front from the aspect of military competition that has affected the future of the geo-economics relations. In that sea, the United States and China have been acting as great powers, where the US highlights the freedom of navigation and China appears to claim historical sovereignty rights over using naval forces in the disputed region. The possibility of war seems to be highly likely and dangerous that that cannot be ignored, albeit as the last one of the compelling measures.

Keywords: US, China, South China Sea, Containment, Great Power Competition.

1. Giriş

Çin'in uzun zamandır neredeyse tamamı üzerinde egemenlik iddia ettiği Güney Çin Denizi, bu ülke ve Asya-Pasifik'teki her biri kendinden çok daha küçük komşuları arasında,

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deniz anlaşmazlıklarının ve çakışan hak iddialarının odak noktası olmuştur. Ancak Çin ve ABD arasındaki gerginlikler, Çin gemilerinin batık resifleri hava sahalarını destekleyebilen küçük adalara dönüştürmek için büyük bir ıslah projesinde faaliyet gösterdiğinin uydu görüntüleriyle ortaya çıktığı Şubat 2015'ten itibaren sürekli artmaktadır. Genel olarak Çin Denizleri (Güney Çin, Doğu Çin ve Sarı Deniz) uğruna mücadele edilen denizlerdir. Çin de kıyılarından uzak olsa bile bu denizler üzerinde en fazla hak iddia eden ve uzlaşmaya yanaşmayan ülkedir. Bu denizlerden Güney Çin Denizi (GÇD)'nin daha fazla petrol ve doğalgaza sahip olduğu düşünülmektedir ve Doğu Asya'nın tamamına giden en büyük seyir hattı da buradadır. GÇD Çin'in doğusundan ve Tayvan'dan Filipinler'in batısına, Malezya'nın bir bölümünün kuzeyine ve Vietnam'ın doğusuna kadar uzanır. Birçok gemi, Singapur'dan geçip Malakka Boğazı'ndan veya kuzeyden Tayvan Boğazı'ndan geçerek buraya girer. Pekin GÇD'yi "ilgi odağı" olarak adlandırır. GÇD'de iki küçük ıssız ada -Paracel ve Spratly Adaları- özellikle tartışmalı adalardır (çoğu denizin kabarmasıyla su altında kalmıştır). Adalara sahip olanlar 200 millik münhasır ekonomik bölgeye ve denizaltı sondaj hakkına sahip olduğundan burada da hak iddiaları çoktur. Vietnam'dan ve Çin'in Haynan Adası'ndan eşit uzaklıkta olan Paracel Adalarında her iki ülke de hak iddia etmektedir. 1974'te Güney Vietnam ve Çin bu adalar için kısa bir çatışma yaşamıştır. Birleşen Vietnam, Paracel Adaları'nın sondaj hakkını kiraya vermek istemiş, fakat Çin vermemeleri konusunda onları uyarmıştır. Daha güneyde Spratly Adaları da Çin, Filipinler, Endonezya ve Malezya arasında tartışma konusu olmaktadır. Çin asırlardır bu takımadaların sahibi olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Diğerleri ise adalarda günümüze kadar kimse yaşamadığı için bu iddiayı kabul etmemektedir.¹

Kuramsal açıdan, rekabetlerde güç dengesi faaliyet halindedir. Güç dengesi herhangi bir ulusun diğeri üzerinde egemenlik kurma mücadelesiyle ortaya çıkar. Güç rekabetinde olan unsurlar kendi yayılmacı politik stratejilerini değiştirenceye ya da rakibine karşı yeterince avantaj elde ettiğine inanıp güç ilişkisine son verinceye kadar, muhalif gruplar birbirlerini dengelemeye devam ederler; ama rekabet halindeki taraflar, karşılıklı olarak diğerlerinin gücündeki artışa denk gelecek yeni güç yayılması teşebbüsünde bulunma ve rakibini alt etme girişimlerini sürdüreceklerdir. Böyle şiddetli rekabet şartlarında ya zayıf düşen ulus güçlü olana boyun eğecek ya da patlak verecek savaşın sonucuna göre aralarındaki ilişkiler yeniden belirlenecektir. Rekabet şartlarında güç dengesi var olduğu sürece iki işlevi yerine getiri:

¹ Sami Yıldırım, *Uluslararası İlişkilerde Asya: 'Kuşak-Yol'un Jeo-ekonomisi ve Güvenliği*, (Ankara: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 2018), 123-125.



Birincisi, her zaman istikrarsızlaştırılma tehlikesinin yaşandığı koşullarsa, ülkeler arasındaki ilişkilerde yeniden dengeye ulaştırılma ihtiyacına sahip aşırı kırılgan ve hassas bir istikrar üretir. İkincisi de özgür bir ulusun bir başka ulusun hâkimiyeti altına girmesini engelleyebilecek güvenceyi vermesidir. Güç ilişkilerinin takip ettiği yol ve usuller göz önüne alındığında, söz konusu ulusların bağımsızlığı, her bir ulusun başka bir ulus ya da uluslara ait hâkimiyete dönük çabalarını engelleyebilecek güce sahip olmasına bağlıdır.²

Covid-19 pandemisiyle her zamankinden büyük sarsıntılar geçiren ABD-Çin ilişkileri Asya-Pasifik bölgesinde de askeri faaliyetlerin giderek yoğunlaşmasıyla jeopolitik bir rekabete dönüşmektedir. ABD’de salgınla mücadele eden ve Kasım 2020’deki kritik seçime hazırlanan D.J. Trump yönetimi Çin’i bölgesel olarak çevrelemeye gayretindeyken, Çin de retorik ve uygulamada ABD’ye karşılık vermeye çalışmaktadır. İki ülkenin Asya-Pasifik’teki mücadelesi jeo-politik, sert güç, diplomasi ve ekonomi alanlarında kendini göstermektedir. ABD’nin B.H. Obama’nın görevde olduğu dönemden itibaren sürdürdüğü temkinli “yeniden dengeleme” stratejisinin, Trump yönetimiyle birlikte tüm bu alanlarda açık bir çevreleme stratejisine dönüştüğü görülmektedir. Buna ilave olarak Trump’ın iş adamı geçmişinden kaynaklanan kibirli karakterinin de iki ülke arasındaki diplomatik ilişkilerin istikrarsızlaşmasına sebep olduğunu düşünenler bulunmaktadır. GÇD ve civarında artan Çin faaliyetleri bu ülkenin, Covid-19 kriziyle mücadele halindeki bölge ülkeleriyle ilişkilerini kötüleştirirken ABD ise özellikle GÇD’de seyrüsefer serbestliğine dayalı devriyeler konusunda ısrarcı olmaya devam etmektedir.³

Asya-Pasifik bölgesindeki güvenlik endişelerinin temelinde Çin’in deniz sorunlarının diplomatik yollarla çözümünün çok zor, bunların zincirleme bir savaşı tetikleme olasılığının ise yüksek olması yatmaktadır. Yılmaz’a göre Üçüncü Dünya Savaşı’nın bu bölgede çıkması olasılığı fazladır. Denizlerin yanı sıra karada da komşularıyla ciddi sorunlar yaşayan Çin’in uluslararası sorunları için tek taraflı hareket etme eğilimi, komşu ülkelerle kısa sürede savaşa dönüşebilecek bir çatışma potansiyeli taşımaktadır. Tüm bu sorunlar içinde Çin’in sert güç kullanma olasılığının en yüksek olduğu senaryo ise Tayvan’ın işgaliyle ilgilidir. Çin’in ülkesine dâhil etmek istediği Tayvan kendisini egemen bir devlet olarak görmekte, bunu sürdürmek adına da ABD’ye güvenmektedir. Çin GÇD’de ki Paracel Adaları konusunda Vietnam’la,

² Adil Calap, *Uluslararası İlişkilerde Güç Dengesi*, (Trabzon: Celepler Matbaacılık, 2019), 10-12.

³ Hüseyin Korkmaz, “Asya-Pasifik’te Jeopolitik Rekabet Derinleşiyor,” *Anadolu Ajansı Analiz* (2020), https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/analiz/asya-pasifik-te-jeopolitik-rekabet-derinlesiyor/1840579_



Spratly Adaları konusunda ise Brunei, Malezya, Filipinler, Tayvan ve Vietnam'la karşı karşıyadır. Güney ve Doğu Çin Denizlerini kendi egemenlik alanı olarak görmekte olan Çin, örneğin Japonya ile de Doğu Çin Denizi'nde Senkaku/Diaoyu Adaları sorununu yaşamaktadır.⁴

Çin için 19. yüzyıl bir utanç yüzyılıydı ve ülke dış politikası her ne kadar uluslararası ve katılımcı olsa da geri planda Batı'ya karşı kin ve tarihi eğilimler saklıdır. ABD-Çin yakınlaşmasının ya da rekabetinin sonucu bu eğilimler etrafında şekillenecek, 'sonuç' ise muhtemelen dostluk olmayacaktır. ABD, SSCB'nin yıkılmasıyla neticelenen Soğuk Savaş'ın ardından, adını dünyadaki tek hegemonik güç olarak duyurmuştur. Ancak, Çin'in son yıllarda yaptığı büyük sıçramalar ve Asya-Pasifik genelinde büyük bir güç oluşturması, ABD'yi tedirgin etmeye başlamıştır. Çin'in GÇD'de uyguladığı, ABD çıkarlarını tehdit eden her uygulama, ABD'nin Çin'e daha fazla cephe almasına neden olmuştur. ABD tarafından rahatlıkla görülen bir gerçek şudur ki, Çin'in GÇD'de ki hâkimiyetini sarsmak bu ülkenin her açıdan zararına olacaktır. Ekonomik sıkıntıların yanında ülkenin imajı sarsılacak ve neredeyse bütün dünyayı Çin'in karşısında bırakacaktır. Bu bağlamda ABD, aslında Çin'in bu bölgedeki hâkimiyetini değil, Çin'in daha da yükselebilmesinin önünü kapatmaya çalışmakta ve bu sayede Soğuk Savaş'ın ardından olduğu gibi tek güç olarak dünyada var olabilmeyi istemektedir.⁵

Çin Savunma Bakanlığı'nın tüm yukarıdakilere bir bakıma yanıt olarak 2015 yılında yayımladığı Beyaz Kitap'ın ana vurgusu ise, "Pekin'in güvenlik alanında daha yakın işbirliği söylemi altında dünyanın her yerinde üçüncü taraflar olmadan diğer ülkelerle ikili askeri bağları güçlendirerek, zorlayıcı diplomasi faaliyetlerine devam edeceği"dir. GÇD'de hava savunma kontrol bölgesi kurmak isteyen ve çevresindeki bütün ülkelerle egemenlik sorunları bulunan Çin, güvenlik alanında işbirliği yapacağı ortaklar bulma ve ülke dışında üsler kurma arayışı içindedir. ABD, Çin'in Kasım 2013'te Doğu Çin Denizi'nde Hava Savunma Kontrol Bölgesi ilan etmesini ilk protesto eden devlet olmuş ve bölgeye iki adet B-52 bombardıman uçağı göndermiştir. Diğer ülkeler de ABD'yle işbirliği içinde olduklarını göstermek için bu hava sahasını kullanmaya devam etmişlerdir. Çin'e göre bu kontrol bölgesinin amacı, ticari olmayan uçaklara karşı savunma amaçlı bir tedbirdir. Çin Savunma Bakanlığı sözcüsü Geng Yansheng, "Çin'in ilgili hava sahasını etkin bir şekilde yönetecek ve kontrol edecek kabiliyete sahip

⁴ Clarence J. Bouchat, *Dangerous Ground: the Spratly Islands and U.S. Interests and Approaches*, SSI (Strategic Studies Institute of U.S. Army War College Press, 2013), 3-7.

⁵ Sait Yılmaz, *Uluslararası Güvenlik: Teori, Pratik ve Gelecek* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2017), 800.



olduğunu” açıklamıştır. Çin Asya-Pasifik’teki rolünü ABD aleyhine devamlı olarak geliştirmekte ve geri adım atmamaktadır.⁶

Bu bağlamda çalışmada, sırasıyla Çin’in tarihsel hak iddiaları ve Çin-merkezciliği ABD tarafından Çin’in çevrelenmesinin askeri yönü ve de Güney Çin Denizi’nde askeri karşılaşmalar nedeniyle silahlı çatışma olasılığı konuları incelenecektir.

2. Çin’in Tarihsel İddiaları ve Çin-Merkezciliği

Tarihsel açıdan Çin’in bir uygarlık devleti olarak varlık ve kimliğinin uluslararası plandaki doğal sonuçlarından birisi haraççı sistemdir. Tıpkı uygarlık devletinin ülke içindeki etkisinin derin ve köklü olmaya devam etmesi gibi, haraççı devlet anlayışının uluslararası ilişkiler alanındaki kalıcılığı da açıktır. Aslında bazı bakımlardan Çinlilerin egemenlik ve devletlerarası ilişkiler kavramları konusundaki tutumları, en azından çağdaş Westfalya sistemi kadar haraççı mirasa da (çok şey) borçlu olmaya devam etmektedir. Buna klasik bir örnek, genelde Çin’in Batı esintili uluslararası hukuktan farklı olan denizler üzerindeki egemenliğe ilişkin tutumu, özelde ASEAN’la yapılan anlaşmadan sonra kısmen rafa kaldırılmış olsa da uzun dönemde çözümsüz olarak kalan Spratly ve Paracel Adaları konusundaki anlaşmazlıktır. Söz konusu iki adalar grubu aslında ada değil, çoğu genellikle su altında, kimsenin yaşamadığı bir dizi kaya topluluklarıdır. Güney Çin Denizindeki (GÇD) adalardan Spratly Doğu Malezya’nın kuzeyine ve Filipinler’in batısına; Paracel de Vietnam’ın doğusuna düşmektedir. Denizler üzerindeki egemenlik kavramı görece yeni bir icattır; ABD’nin karasuları üzerinde egemenlik sahibi olmak istediğini açıkladığı 1945’e kadar geri gider. Spratly ve Paracel Adaları üzerindeki değişik Güneydoğu Asya ülkelerinin iddialarının temelini asıl olarak bu yasalar toplamı oluşturur.⁷

Bunun aksine Çin kendi hak taleplerini ‘tarihsel iddialar’ üzerine oturtur; bir başka deyişle bu adalar bin yıllardır tıpkı Pekin’in kuzeyindeki kara sınırlarının olduğu gibi, Orta Krallık’ın güney sınırlarının ayrılmaz bir parçasını oluşturduğunu savunur. Adalardaki kazılarda Tang ve Song hanedanları dönemine ait vazo ve bakır paralar bulunmuş ve bunlar ‘tarihsel iddiaları’ desteklemek ve adaların uzun zamandır Çin’in parçası olduğunu göstermek için kullanılmıştır. Söz konusu adalar Çin’in birçok resmi haritasında ‘tarihsel iddia hatları’ içinde ve dolayısıyla Çin’in parçası olarak gösterilmektedir. (Bu bağlamda Spratly ve Paracel

⁶ Sait Yılmaz, *Uluslararası Güvenlik: Teori, Pratik ve Gelecek*, 801.

⁷ Martin Jaques, *Çin Hükmettiğinde Dünyayı Neler Bekliyor?* (Ankara: Akılçelen Kitaplar, 2016), 382-384.



Adaları üzerinde hak iddia eden Tayvan'ın da Çin'e karşı aynı temelde mukabil iddialarda bulunduğunu anmak gerekir.)

Çin'in güney kıyısı açıklarındaki Hainan Adası Çin'in en küçük yüz ölçümlü eyaleti olmakla birlikte, GÇD'nin çok içlerine uzanan kara suları nedeniyle, aynı zamanda Çin'in en büyük 'okyanus eyaleti' olarak kabul edilmektedir. Pekin yönetimi, 2007 yılında Hainan eyaletinde Sansha belediyesini kurmuştur ve belediye Spratly ve Paracel Adaları içindeki üç adacık üzerinde de yetkiye sahiptir. Bu karar Hanoi/Vietnam'daki Çin büyükelçiliği önünde protesto gösterileri düzenlenmesine yol açmıştır.⁸

Tarihsel iddialar fikri, Çin'in, geçmişteki doğrular ve yanlışlarla ilgili zamanlar arası hukukunu kullanmasında da ifadesini bulmuştur: "Herhangi bir hukuki gerçek, bir anlaşmazlık ortaya çıktığında yürürlükte olan yasalardan çok, o gerçeğe çağdaş olan yasaların ışığı altında değerlendirilmelidir." şeklindeki savunma, bu andan çok tarihe, mevcut uluslararası hukuk sisteminden çok haraççı sistem döneminde egemen olan yasalara güç ve meşruiyet atfetmektedir.

1984 yılında, dönemin Çin Devlet Başkanı Deng Xiaoping, 'belirli toprak anlaşmazlıklarının, egemenlik sorununu çözmeden önce, anlaşmazlığa taraf olan ülkelerin ilgili anlaşmazlık alanlarını birlikte geliştirmesi ile çözümlenmesi olasılığını' gündeme getirmiştir. Bir başka ifadeyle, egemenlik sorunu diğer konularda ilerleme kaydedilmesini engellememeliydi. Deng'in bu sözleri GÇD'deki adalarla ilgili olarak Çin kaynakları tarafından sıklıkla kullanılmaktadır. Buradaki anlaşmazlıklarda ve Japonya ile ilgili Doğu Çin Denizi'ndeki Diaoyu/Senkaku Adaları konusunda uygulamada Deng'in yaklaşımı takip edilmiştir. Tayvan ile ilgili konuda da bu yaklaşımın izlenmesi önerilmiştir. Çin, Tayvan üzerindeki nihai egemenlik hakkında ısrar ederken, Tayvan'ın bağımsızlık ilan etmeye kalkışmaması şartı ile aslında sorunu az ya da çok sonsuza kadar rafa kaldırmayı önermiştir. Bu durum Çin'in konuya yaklaşımında esneklik göstermeye hazır olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Buna alternatif olarak, Çin'in ada üzerindeki egemenliğinin Tayvanlılar tarafından kabul edilmesi karşılığında, Tayvan'ın kendi hükümetine, siyasi sistemine ve hatta silahlı kuvvetlerine sahip olmasını önermiştir.⁹

⁸ Zachari Haver, "Sansha and the Expansion of Cina's South Sea Administration," (2020), <https://amti.csis.org/sansha-and-the-expansion-of-chinas-south-china-sea-administration/>

⁹ Martin Jaques, *Çin Hükümetinde Dünyayı Neler Bekliyor?*, 382-384.



Bu yaklaşım, Çin'in ve Batı'nın egemenlik anlayışları arasındaki bir başka temel farklılığı ortaya koymuştur. Bu farklılık en açık şekilde Çinlilerin Hong Kong'un egemenliğinin devredilmesine karşı benimsedikleri tutumda sergilenmiştir. Burada Çinliler tarafından egemenliğin transferi (tıpkı bütün kaybedilen topraklar denen yerlerle -Tayvan, Hong Kong ve Makau ile ilgili olduğu gibi) tartışılmaz bir konu olarak görülmüştür. 1997 yılında egemenlik hakkı İngiltere'den Çin'e devredilen Hong Kong ancak 2020 yılına kadar tek ülke-iki sistem prensibiyle, sahip olduğu yasal serbestilere dokunulmaksızın yönetilmiş; ancak bu yıldan sonra işler değişmiş ve hakları elinden alınmıştır.

Çin nasıl bir ülke olacak ve nasıl hareket edecek sorusunun cevabı da henüz netleşmemiştir. Çin'in bölgeye karşı tavrı ve bölgeyi anlama biçimi, ağır biçimde haraççı sistemin mirası ve bir uygarlık-devleti olması tarafından etkilenmeye mahkûmdur. Her şeyden öte, Britanya'nın Afrika ve Orta Doğu'ya karşı tutumu bugüne kadar sömürgeci tarihi tarafından güçlü bir şekilde etkilenmeye devam etmektedir (özellikle güç kullanma isteği içinde). Çin'in durumunda, geleneksel düşünme biçimlerinin etkisi bu ülkenin Spratly ve Paracel Adaları, Hong Kong ve Tayvan'a karşı tutumunda açıkça görülür. En azından kendi bölgesinde Çin'in birçok Westfalyacı devlet gibi davranmadığı açıktır. Çin ve ASEAN, tartışmalı adalar sorununa çok farklı yasal ve kuramsal çıkış noktalarından yaklaşmaktadır. Aynı husus belki de yakın zamanda görülebileceği üzere, Tayvan için de söylenebilir. Çin'in daha çok güçlendikçe daha fazla *Sinosentrik* (Çin-merkezci) olması hiç de şaşırtıcı olmayacaktır. Belki de uzun dönemde beklenmesi en muhtemel husus bu olmalıdır. Küresel olarak egemen bir Çin neye benzeyecek ya da küresel bir güç olarak ortaya çıkmaya başladığında artan gücü nasıl bir şekil alacak? Gücünün büyüklüğü ne olacak ve bu güç hangi şekilleri alacak? Bunlar ve benzeri sorular, büyük güçler arası politikayla ilgilenenlerin merak ettiği cevaplar barındırmaktadır.¹⁰

En azından bilinen husus, Çin'in izole bir varlık olmayacağıdır. Burada önemli olan husus ise, ABD'nin ne kadar hızla gerileyeceği ya da yavaşlayacağıdır. ABD Çin'in yükselişi karşısında kendisini yeniden keşfetmekte ne kadar yetenekli olursa, o kadar dirençli olduğunu kanıtlayacaktır. Şubat 2020'de yapılan Münih Güvenlik Konferansı'nda ilk kez Batısızlaşma kavramı gündeme getirilmiş; Covid-19 pandemi krizi döneminde ise Çin para birimi RNB'nin uluslararasılaşması ve de doların dijital para ile değişimi tartışmaları yaşanmıştır. Dünyanın geri kalanı giderek daha fazla Amerikan gücünün bozulma eğilimini anlamaya başladığı ve

¹⁰ Martin Jaques, *Çin Hükmettiğinde Dünyayı Neler Bekliyor?*, 382-384.



bunu kendi davranış ve hesaplamalarına bir faktör olarak kattığı için, ABD'nin küresel etkisinin çok daha hızlı erozyona maruz kalması sürpriz olmayacaktır.

3. ABD'nin Çin'i Askeri Olarak Çevrelemesi ve Çin'in Reaksiyonu

“Büyük Güç Politikasının Trajedisi (2001)”de Çin'in kuvvetlendikçe ABD'yi kendi bölgesinden çıkarmak isteyen hegemon bir güce dönüşeceğini öngören J. Mearsheimer'a göre Çin'in düşük profilli bir dış politika izlemeyi sürdürmesi veya iki ülke ekonomisinin karşılıklı bağımlı olmaya devam etmesi dahi ikisi arasındaki bir “hegemonik karşılaşmayı” önleyemeyecekti. ABD Ulusal Güvenlik Strateji Belgesi (2017)'nde ise Çin ve Rusya, ABD'ye meydan okuyan “revizyonist güçler” olarak tanımlanmış ve Amerikan değerlerine zıt bir dünya inşa etmekle suçlanmış; hatta Çin'in ABD'yi Hint-Pasifik bölgesinin dışında tutmaya çalıştığı da belirtilmişti. Akademik çevrelerde, özellikle Batılı olmayan kesimde, ABD ile Çin arasında süren rekabet için “Soğuk Savaş, yüzleşme, sınırlama” vb. tanımlamalar yapılmaktadır. Obama'nın başkanlık döneminde Asya Mihveri (*pivot to Asia*) ile başlayan Çin'i dengeleme çabalarının Trump'la birlikte daha çok bir çevreleme stratejisine evrildiği görülmektedir. Pandemi sürecinde Trump'a değil Amerikan halkına karşı sorumlu olduğunu açıklayan, Pentagon (derin devletin)'un sesi Bakan M. Esper'in “Stratejik bir öngörülebilirlik sağlamak için bölgedeki askeri varlıkları artırmayı planlıyoruz” bağlamındaki sözleri, ABD'nin Pekin'e yönelik olarak sert gücü dahi bir baskı aracı olarak kullanma yönündeki kararlılığını işaret etmektedir. Esper, ortamı bulandırmak maksatlı olabilecek bir şekilde ayrıca, askeri hareketlilik artışının “yüksek derecede operasyonel bir öngörülemezlik” sağladığını da eklemektedir.¹¹

İnat'a göre de ABD-Çin ilişkisinin de çok gergin bir döneme doğru sürüklendiği son dönemde daha açık bir şekilde görülmektedir. Çin'in, Amerikan pazarının imkânlarını da kullanarak yükselişine engel olamazsa küresel üstünlüğünü kaybedeceğini gören Washington yönetimi, Pekin'e yönelik sınırlandırma siyasetini iyice belirginleştirmiştir. Soğuk Savaş döneminde Sovyetler'e karşı uygulanan çevreleme siyaseti (*containment policy*) ve 1990'larda Orta Doğu'da Irak ve İran'ı hedef alan ikili çevrelemenin (*dual containment*) ardından günümüzde Amerikan dış politikasının en büyük çevrelemesiyle karşı karşıya gelinmiştir: **Çin'in çevrelenmesi**. ABD'nin bu yeni çevreleme siyasetinin öncekilerden en önemli farkı, **bu defa müttefiklerine yeterince değer vermemesi** olarak göze çarpmaktadır. Washington yönetimi gerek Sovyetler'in gerekse Irak ve İran'ın çevrelenmesine yönelik

¹¹ Korkmaz, “Asya-Pasifik'te Jeopolitik Rekabet Derinleşiyor.”



politikalarını yürütürken Avrupa, Uzak Doğu ve Orta Doğu'daki müttefikleriyle çok yakın bir ilişki içerisinde olmuş ve onların desteğini elde etmişti. Günümüzde Trump yönetimi ise, Çin'in çevrelenmesi konusunda desteğine ihtiyaç duyacağı Avrupa Birliği ve Japonya gibi aktörlerde **ciddi bir güvensizlik hissine** yol açmış durumdadır. Washington'un bu tavrı, bu en büyük çevrelemenin başarılı olup olmayacağını belirleyen en önemli parametre olacaktır¹².

ABD Başkanı Trump'ın eski Ulusal Güvenlik Danışmanı H.R. McMaster ise, Çin'in ülkesi için ciddi bir tehdit hâline geldiğini şu sözleriyle ifade etmiştir¹³:

“Çin bir tehdit haline geldi; çünkü liderleri demokratik yönetişime ve serbest piyasa ekonomisine alternatif olarak kapalı, otoriter bir model geliştiriyorlar. Çin Komünist Partisi (ÇKP) yalnızca insan özgürlüğünü boşa çıkaran ve otoriter kontrolünü genişleten bir iç sistemi güçlendirmekle kalmıyor; aynı zamanda bu modeli ihraç ediyor ve dünyayı daha az özgür ve daha az güvenli hale getirecek yeni kuralların ve yeni bir uluslararası düzenin geliştirilmesine öncülük ediyor. Çin'in nüfuzunu artırma çabası, Güney Çin Denizi'ndeki insan yapımı adaların askerileştirilmesinde ve Tayvan ve Doğu Çin Denizi'ndeki askeri yeteneklerin konuşlandırılmasında açıktır. Ancak ÇKP'nin askeri ve ekonomik stratejilerinin bütünleşik doğası, onu ABD ve diğer özgür ve açık toplumlar için özellikle tehlikeli kılan şeydir.”

McMaster aktif görevde olmasa da yukarıdaki sözleri Pentagon'un niyetini yansıtması bakımından önemlidir. ABD Güney Asya'da siyasi-askeri faaliyetlerini ve konuşlanmasını artırmaya devam etmekte olup, 2. Dünya Savaşı'ndan bu yana bölgede bulunan Pasifik Komutanlığı'nın (PACOM) adını Hint-Pasifik Komutanlığı olarak değiştirmiştir. Bu da ABD'nin her iki okyanusu birleşik düşündüğünün ve bölgede kalıcı olmak istediğinin bir göstergesi olarak algılanmaktadır. Buna karşılık, 2018 yılında Çin ve Rusya “NATO'nun en büyük kâbuslarından birisi olabilecek” toplam 300 bin askerin görev aldığı “Vostok 2018” tatbikatını birlikte icra etmiştir. Buradan da, ABD'nin bölgede hegemonya kurma çabalarına yönelik tepki olarak nitelenebilecek bir karşı hegemonya alanının oluşturulmaya çalışıldığı görülmektedir.¹⁴

40 bin deniz piyadesi personeliyle ABD 7. Filosu, bölgede askerî açıdan Çin'e yönelik bir dengelemenin temel taşı olan PACOM'un ana unsurunu oluşturmaktadır ve Japonya'nın

¹² Kemal İnat, “Soğuk Savaş'ın Geri Dönüşü: “Ejderhanın Çevrelenmesi”,” Türkiye (2019), <https://www.turkiyegazetesi.com.tr/yazarlar/prof-dr-kemal-inat/606881.aspx>

¹³ Herbert Raymond McMaster, “How China Sees the World,” The Atlantic (2020), <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2020/05/mcmaster-china-strategy/609088/>

¹⁴ Hüseyin Korkmaz, “ABD'nin Çin'i Çevreleme Stratejisi ve Küresel Hegemonya,” Anadolu Ajansı Analiz (2019), <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/analiz/abd-nin-cini-cevreleme-stratejisi-ve-kuresel-hegemonya/1546970>



Yokosuka şehrinde bulunmaktadır.¹⁵ Guam adası, Japonya, Filipinler, Güney Kore ve Avustralya'da da deniz üsleri bulunan ABD'nin bölge ülkeleriyle yoğun bir askeri ve diplomatik ilişki kurma çabası içinde olduğu görülmektedir. 2020 yılıyla birlikte Çin'e yakın sular üzerinde ABD savaş uçakları uçuşlarını, donanma da deniz faaliyetlerini artırmış durumdadır. ABD ile Çin arasında GÇD'de son dönemlerde yaşanan sürtüşme, potansiyel olarak bölgede bir sıcak çatışmanın tetikleyicisi olabilir. USS Bunker Hill ve USS Barry adlı ABD savaş gemilerinin Paracel ve Spratly adaları yakınlarında seyrüsefer özgürlüğü gerekçesiyle bulunması iki ülke arasında yeni bir krize neden olmuştur. Bu konuda Çin ordusu ABD'yi "sorun çıkarıcı" olarak niteleyen bir açıklama yapmış; Çin'in GÇD'de ki menfaatlerini korumak için "yüksek alarm düzeyine geçtiğini" vurgulamıştır. ABD 7. Filosu ise "GÇD'de ki yasadışı ve kapsamlı denizcilik iddiaları seyrüsefer özgürlüğü için ciddi bir tehdit oluşturuyor" açıklaması ile bölgedeki gerginliğin devam edeceğini göstermiştir. Net olarak ifade etmek gerekirse Washington'un GÇD'de engelsiz erişim ve seyrüsefer özgürlüğü konusundaki ısrarı, Çin'in burada bir güvenlik bölgesi tesis etme stratejisi ile çatışmaktadır.¹⁶

Çin ordusunun ve donanmasının modernizasyonunun 2035 yılına kadar tamamlanması hedeflenmektedir. Çünkü Kuşak-Yol Girişimi'nin deniz ayağının işlerliğinin sağlanması her şeyden önce GÇD'de Çin hegemonyasının korunmasına bağlıdır. Bunun bilincinde olan Pekin, ABD ve bölgedeki müttefikleri ile sert güç kullanma da dâhil olmak üzere askeri rekabeti göze alabilecek tutum içinde görünse de gittikçe artan ABD-Çin rekabetinde Çin'in yine de öncelikle askeri gücünü kullanma konusunda dikkatli ve sabırlı davranması daha olasıdır. Askeri modernizasyon açısından henüz istenilen seviyeye gelinmemiş olması, Pekin'in ekonomik kalkınmaya yönelerek sert güç kullanma konusunda düşük profilli bir tavır izlemesinin ana nedenlerinden birisidir. Çünkü ABD ordusunun teknoloji üstünlüğü ve manevra kapasitesi hâlâ dünyada açık ara birinci sırada gelmektedir. Önceki devlet başkanlarının da ifade ettiği gibi Çin'in zaman ihtiyacı vardır. Hele de pandemi kriziyle her şeyin alt üst olmaya yüz tuttuğu bir dönemde fevri davranmak Çin ordusu veya donanması açısından çok akıllıca olmayacaktır.

ABD'nin saldırgan bir tutumla yaptığı çevrelemeye karşılık vermek adına, konvansiyonel yönden eksikliklerinin farkında olan bir kesim, Çin'in nükleer gücünün artırılmasını gerektiğini ve bu yolla caydırıcılığa sahip olması gerektiğini savunmaktadır. Çin

¹⁵ PACOM, <https://www.pacom.mil/Media/News/News-Article-View/Article/1594790/more-than-38000-guests-visit-fleet-activities-yokosuka-for-friendship-day/>

¹⁶ Korkmaz, "Asya-Pasifik'te Jeopolitik Rekabet Derinleşiyor."



Devlet Güvenlik Bakanlığı himayesindeki “Çin Modern Uluslararası İlişkiler Enstitüsü (CICIR) tarafından hazırlanan bir raporda “Tiananmen olaylarından bu yana ABD-Çin ilişkilerinin en düşük seviyede olduğu”, “yükselen bir düşmanlık dalgasıyla karşı karşıya oldukları” ve de silahlı çatışmayı ihtiva eden bir “en kötü senaryoya” hazırlanılması gerektiği vurgulanmaktadır.¹⁷

Diğer taraftan, söz konusu çevreleme gayreti, ABD’nin kurumsal kapasitesi açısından da bazı soru işaretlerini barındırmaktadır. ABD’nin dolara dayalı finans sisteminin sarsılmaya başlaması, buna karşılık Çin ve Rusya’nın sürekli altın stoklaması ve küresel finans çevrelerinin güdümündeki Çin’in “dijital paraya geçiş” planlarının netleşmesi önem arz etmektedir. 2020 yılının ilk çeyreğinde yüzde 5 daralan ABD ekonomisinin ikinci çeyrekte salgınının etkisiyle bu yılın ikinci çeyreğinde yüzde 32,9 daralarak rekor seviyede küçülmüştür.¹⁸ Dış borcu 20 trilyon dolardan fazla olan ve her yıl ortalama 1 trilyon dolar açık veren ABD ekonomisi, işsizliğin de rekor seviyede artmakta olması nedeniyle zora girmiştir. Ayrıca Başkan Trump, başkanlık seçimi anketlerinde Demokrat Parti adayı J. Biden’ın bir hayli gerisinde görünmektedir.

Bir yandan Çin küresel bir finansal güç merkezi olarak ortaya çıkarken, diğer yandan ABD’nin ekonomik açıdan göreceli olarak yavaşlaması, ABD’nin Çin’e yönelik söz konusu çevreleme stratejisini planladığı ölçüde etkili bir şekilde inşa etmesini de engellemektedir. Çin ise pandemiyle kötüye giden küresel ekonomi sebebiyle Kuşak-Yol Girişimi gibi büyük projelerde sorunlar yaşamaktadır. ABD-Çin arasındaki stratejik rekabet, genelde küresel düzeydeki askeri, ekonomik ve politik dinamikleri şekillendiren bir somut alan haline gelmiş durumdadır. Özelde ise, bu rekabetin iki ülkenin birbirlerine yönelik emelleri üzerinden şekillenen bir güç gösterisine dönüşmeye başlamıştır. İki küresel güç arasında Asya-Pasifik bölgesinde yoğunlaşan gerilim, klasik anlamda büyük bir savaşı olmasa da bölgesel krizlerin tırmanması suretiyle doğabilecek sıcak çatışma riskini artırmaktadır.

4. Güney Çin Denizi’nde Askeri Karşılaşmalar ve Silahlı Çatışma Olasılığı

Çin’in askeri saldırganlığı için en bariz örnek, 1979’da Vietnam’ı işgal etmesidir. Çin-Vietnam Savaşı ya da Üçüncü Çin-hindi Savaşı, 1979 yılında Çin ve Vietnam arasında yaşanan

¹⁷ Reuters, https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-health-coronavirus-china-sentiment-ex/exclusive-internal-chinese-report-warns-beijing-faces-tiananmen-like-global-backlash-over-virus-sources-idUKKBN22G198_

¹⁸ Anadolu Ajansı, https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/ekonomi/abd-ekonomisi-ikinci-ceyrek-kovid-19un-etkisiyle-rekor-seviyede-daraldi-/1927477_



kısa ama kanlı bir sınır çatışmasıdır. Vietnam'ın Kamboçya'yı işgal edip, Çin tarafından desteklenen Pol Pot liderliğindeki Kızıl Khmer hükûmeti tarafından yönetilen rejime son vermesi sonucu Çin Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu (ÇHKO) taarruza geçmiştir. Vietnam'ın kuzey kesimlerine kısa süreli bir Çin saldırısı olmuş ve Çin birlikleri bir ay sonra geri çekilmişlerdir. İki taraf da zafer ilan etmişlerdir. Bu savaş Vietnam'da günümüzde bile önemli bir yere sahiptir. Çin Ordusu geri çekilirken etkili bir "yanık toprak" politikası uygulamıştır. Köyleri, yolları ve demir yollarını yok ederek, Vietnam'ın kırsal bölgelerinde altyapıya büyük zararlar vermişlerdir. Çin-Sovyet ayrılığının doruk noktasında ortaya çıkan savaş, Sovyetler Birliği'nin müttefiki olan Vietnam'ı koruyamayacağına yönelik iddialara temel oluşturmuştur. (Savaş döneminde olası bir Sovyet saldırısına karşı 1,5 milyon Çinli asker Çin-Sovyet sınırı boyunca tam ölçekli bir savaşa hazır olarak bekletildi.) Vietnam Savaşı, ÇHKO'nun gerçek bir sıcak çatışmada nasıl davranabildiğinin açık bir örneğini teşkil etmektedir.

ABD ve Çin'in aralarındaki ticaret savaşları ve küresel pandemi nedeniyle karşılıklı yaptığı suçlamalar aynı şekilde devam edecek olursa, önümüzdeki bir-bir buçuk yıl içinde, Güney Çin Denizi (GÇD)'nde bu iki devletin müdahili olabileceği askeri çatışma riski artabilir. Çin bu bölgede 2009 yılından itibaren toprak isteme, adaları askerileştirme, hukuki kanıtlar üretme ve diplomatik nüfuz kullanma gibi taktiklerle ülkesel hak iddialarını artırmıştır.¹⁹ Yakın geçmişte Spratly ve Paracel Adalarını yönetmek üzere iki ayrı yerel idare kurduğunu ilan eden Çin, bu yolla da GÇD'deki hak iddialarını güçlendirmek istemiştir. Küresel politikadaki dalgalanmalar veya Çin'in içişlerindeki gelişmeler de (Hong Kong vb.) bölgede askeri çatışma riskini artırıcı mahiyet alabilmektedir. ABD'nin Çin'in GÇD'de ki kontrolünü engelleme ve seyrüsefer serbestliğini sağlama konusunda büyük çıkarları bulunmaktadır. ABD konuya, sadece ekonomik açılardan değil, deniz trafiği özgürlüğünü sağlama bakımından da Çin ile askeri çatışmayı göze alabilecek derecede önem atfetmektedir.²⁰

Çin'in geçmişte hak iddialarını ilerletmede kullandığı ana stratejilerden birisi, diğer bölge ülkeleri için riski artırmak olmuştur. Bunun için de onların petrol ve doğalgaz platformlarını, balıkçı gemilerini ve hatta askeri gemilerini taciz etmiştir. Örneğin, Mayıs 2019'da Çin, Vietnam'a ait bir sondaj platformunu destekleyen açık deniz gemilerini taciz

¹⁹ Barbara Starr and Ryan Browne, "US Increases Military Pressure on China as Tensions Rise over Pandemic," *CNN* (2020), <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/05/14/politics/us-china-military-pressure/index.html>.

²⁰ Oriana Skylar Mastro, "Military Confrontation in the South China Sea," *Council on Foreign Relations, Contingency Planning Memorandum*, no. 36 (2020), <https://www.cfr.org/report/military-confrontation-south-china-sea>.



etmek için sahil güvenlik unsurlarını kullanmıştır. Bölge Vietnam tarafınca kendi karasuları içinde kabul edilmekte ve bu ülke için önemli miktarda petrol üretimi sağlamaktaydı. Benzeri bir taciz olayı GÇD’de Malezya’ya ait bir sondaj kulesinde de yaşanmıştır.

Çin, GÇD’de askeri dengeyi değiştirmek için “savunma” adı altında askeri önlemler alabilir. Bu da diğer hak iddiasında bulunan ülkeler aleyhine olacağından onlar tarafından güçlü tepkilerle karşılanabilir. Çin bölgeye yeni aktörler gelmesini teşvik edebilir. Söz gelimi yakın askeri ilişkiler içinde bulunduğu Rusya’yı GÇD’deki ABD deniz kuvvetleri unsurlarını rahatsız etmesi için cesaretlendirebilir ki Rusya, 2019 yılında Filipin karasuları yakınında bunu zaten yapmıştır.

Çin ayrıca Spratly Adaları üzerinde bir Hava Savunma Kontrol Bölgesi (*Air Defense Identification Zone-ADIZ*) oluşturabilir ki bunu gerçekleştirmek adına hâlihazırda GÇD’deki çeşitli adalara radarlar yerleştirmiştir. Spratly Adaları etrafında düz taban çizgileri çekerse bu GÇD’nin ancak %10’unun uluslararası sulara ayrıldığı anlamına gelir (2016 UNCLOS bunu yasaklamış olsa da). Çin’in hâlihazırda Paracel Adaları’nda uygulamakta olduğu bu faaliyet tarzı diğer tüm devletlere ait deniz unsurlarının söz konusu sulara girişlerinde Çin’den izin almasını zorunlu kılacaktır.

Çin bahse konu düz taban çizgilerinden itibaren 200 deniz mili genişliğinde Münhasır Ekonomik Bölge- MEB (*Exclusive Economic Zone-EEZ*) ilan edebilir. Bu bölge GÇD’nin neredeyse tamamını kapsayabilir. Çin kendi MEB’indeki izinsiz yabancı keşif faaliyetlerinin milli haklarını ihlal ettiğinde ısrar etmektedir ve bu yorumu uygulamaya başlayabilir. Bununla birlikte ABD donanması GÇD’de keşif yapmak, bir takım beklenmedik olaylarda hazır bulunmasını sağlamak ve Avustralya, Japonya, Filipinler ile Tayvan’ın savunmasını temin için harekât icra etme ihtiyacı duymaktadır. Çin’in MEB iddiaları, ABD’yi ya harekâtlarına devam etme, dolayısıyla Çin ile doğrudan çatışma riskini artırma ya da harekâtlarını azaltma, dolayısıyla müttefiklerine karşı taahhütlerini aksatma yollarından birini seçmeye zorlamaktadır.

Çin’in MEB hakları konusundaki konumu tartışmalı olsa da ABD’nin küçük devletleri geri adım atmaları için serbest bırakması zor olabilir. Çin’in sahil güvenliği dünyada ilk sırada gelmektedir ve bölgedeki tüm ülkelerin toplam gemi sayısından fazla gemiye sahiptir. ABD sahil güvenliği GÇD’de faaliyet göstermeye başlamış olsa da bu henüz sınırlı sayı ve aralıkta kalmaktadır. Bu senaryoda, Çin diğer ülkelerin dış yerleşimlerine yönelik ikmal faaliyetlerini daha fazla ve sık sayıda engellemeye başlayabilir. Bu tür bir tehlikeyi göze alma durumu



tırmanan krizin sorumluluğunu diğer hak iddia edenlerin omzuna yükleyebilir ve onları işgal ettikleri adalardan ayrılmaya zorlayabilir. Diğer ülkeler Çin'in iddialarına karşı ses çıkarmazlarsa, Pekin, pek çoğu ABD müttefiki olan Doğu Asyalı komşularının bu sulara erişimini engelleyebilir ve bundan büyük bir avantaj elde edebilir.²¹

ABD'nin Pasifik Filosu bu durumda, müttefik olup olmadıklarına bakmaksızın bölgedeki tüm ülkelerin seyrüsefer serbestliğini korumak ve kaynaklara erişimlerini sağlamak adına askeri kriz/tırmanmayı ve hatta çatışmayı göze alabilir. Daha az olası olsa da Çin diğer hak iddia edenlere karşı, hatta ABD gemilerine karşı askeri seçenek kullanabilir. Filipinler ile ihtilafı olduğu Scarborough Shoal'ı işgal edebilir ya da askerileştirebilir ki bu ABD tarafından açık bir kırmızıçizgi olarak ilan edilmiştir. Çin'in bu hamleyi Filipinler'in kendisini desteklemekten vazgeçmesi durumunda ya da ABD'nin bölgedeki faaliyetlerini tahrik edici bulunduğu yapması beklenebilir. Çin ayrıca diğer hak iddia eden ülkelere işgal edilen adalara yiyecek, su ve yeni personel ikmalini engelleyebilir ya da bu adaları askeri güç kullanarak ele geçirebilir.²²

Çin'in bölgesel stratejisindeki saldırgan bir dönüşümü gösteren bir seri işaret şunlar olabilir: Çin Komünist Partisi (ÇKP) genellikle Çin'in kuvvet kullanımı öncesinde yaptığı gibi milliyetçi söylemlerini artırabilir. Şi Jinping GÇD'deki egemenlik konularını daha sık dile getirerek görev süresi içinde çözme iddiasında bulunabilir. Devletin sahibi olduğu gazetelerin Çin'in egemenliğine askeri seçenek kullanarak sahip çıkması yönündeki çağrılarında artış olabilir. Çin stratejik sürpriz unsurundan faydalanmak isterse gerçek askeri hazırlıklarını askeri tatbikat yapmak suretiyle gizleyebilir ki bunun tespit edilmesi zor olacaktır. Çin Subi, Fiery Cross ve Mischief Kayalıkları bölgelerine geçici rotasyon şeklinde hava araçları gönderebilir. Ayrıca belli sayıda destroyer, firkateyn, korvet, çıkarma ve destek gemisi ile sahil güvenlik unsurlarını deniz tatbikatı için görevlendirebilir. Havadan fırlatılan seyir füzeleri ya da yerden atılan sistemler formunda hava savunma ve gemi savunma kabiliyetlerini gizlilik içinde de olsa ileri bölgede daha fazla konuşlandırabilir. Bu hatlar boyunca Çin'in denizlerdeki tutumu milliyetçi söylemdeki artış ve askeri kabiliyetlerdeki gelişmelere paralel şekilde değişecektir. Bilhassa, kuvvet kullanmayı düşündüğü bölgelerde Çin sahil güvenlik devriyelerinin sayı ve yoğunluğunu artıracaktır. Bunun da ötesinde savaşmadan kazanmak ve egemenliğini kabul

²¹ Mastro, "Military Confrontation in the South China Sea"

²² Clarence J. Bouchat, *The Paracel Islands and U.S. Interests and Approaches in the South China Sea* (Strategic Studies Institute of U.S. Army War College Press, 2014).



ettirmek adına öncelikle diğer hak iddiasında bulunan ülkeleri zorlayıcı tedbirlerle baskılamak yolunu seçecektir.²³

Çin'in 2020 yılı ekonomik büyümesi %1,2 olarak tahmin edilmektedir ki bu rakam 1970'lerden bu yana gerçekleşecek en düşük büyüme oranı olacaktır. Küresel pandemiden ekonomisi diğer ülkelere göre daha fazla etkilenmiş olan Pekin, GÇD'de ABD'nin icra etmekte olduğu seyrüsefer serbestliğini sağlama harekâtlarını daha fazla eleştirmeye başlamıştır. Ayrıca ÇHKO'nun modernizasyonunun ilk aşaması da 2020 yılı içinde tamamlanacaktır. Tüm bunlar birlikte ele alındığında GÇD'de askeri çatışma olasılığı hâlihazırda geçmişe oranla daha yüksektir.

Çin ve ABD arasında yaşanan askeri tutum ve sürtüşmelerin, rakip bakış açılarının, taktik-stratejilerin ve günlük operasyonel karşılaşmaların gerçek ve ciddi olduğundan çoğu kimse şüphe duymamaktadır. Çin, ABD'nin müttefik ve ortaklarını zorlamak, tartışmalı konuları askerileştirmek ve bölgesel hegemonya aramakla suçlanmakta; ABD'nin ise GÇD kartını oynadığı ve Çin'in yükselişini bir deniz gücü olarak engellemeye çalıştığı düşünülmektedir. İki ülke arasındaki genel yoğun stratejik rekabet bağlamında, GÇD'nin bir istisna olma ihtimali daha düşüktür. Ancak rekabetin ne kadar şiddetli olacağı sorusu belirsizliğini korumaktadır.²⁴ Her gün Çin ve ABD arasındaki deniz anlaşmazlığı haberleri geldiğinde, çoğu kişi bu iki büyük gücün askeri çatışmaya girip girmeyeceğini merak etmektedir. Her iki tarafın GÇD'ndeki askeri varlıklarını sürdürmek ve genişletmek için nedenleri bulunmaktadır. Çin, GÇD'nin en büyük kıyı devletidir ve bölgesel egemenlik, kara suları ve deniz iletişim hatları gibi tehlikede olan önemli çıkarları vardır. Çin'in askeri modernizasyonu ile bölgede giderek daha fazla askeri platform aktif hale gelmektedir. Buna karşılık ABD, daha çok deniz hâkimiyeti, seyrüsefer serbestliği ve bölge ülkelerine güvenlik taahhütleri gibi konuları düşünmekte; II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonraki en güçlü askeri varlığını sürdürmekte ve GÇD'de çeşitli karmaşık askeri operasyonları icra etmektedir. II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra uzun bir süre, Çin'in zayıf deniz ve hava kuvvetleri nedeniyle, Çin ve Amerikan askeri güçlerinin denizde birbirleriyle karşılaşma şansı çok yüksek değildi. Ancak, son on yılda çok şey değişmiştir. Bir yandan, Çin'in kapasitesi hızla arttı ve özellikle donanma ve hava kuvvetleri etkileyici şekilde gelişmiştir. Öte yandan, ABD, Çin'in artan gücü konusunda

²³ Mastro, "Military Confrontation in the South China Sea."

²⁴ David Lai, *Asia-Pacific: A Strategic Assessment*, SSI (Strategic Studies Institute of U.S. Army War College Press, 2013), 3-9.



giderek daha fazla endişe duyarak 2009'dan itibaren bölgedeki deniz ve hava varlığını önemli ölçüde güçlendirmiştir. ABD hava unsurlarının uçuş sayısı iki katına çıkarak yılda 1.500'e, deniz üstü unsurlarının faaliyeti %60 artarak yılda 1.000 gemi gününe ulaşmıştır. Bu bağlamda, GÇD'de yoğun askeri karşılaşmalar kaçınılmaz olmuştur.²⁵

Her iki taraf da değişen durumdan rahatsız değildir. ABD donanması, GÇD'de benzersiz ve rakipsiz olmaya alışkın olup Çin'in denizdeki yükselişini kabullenmeye razı değildir. ÇHKO maddi/fiziki olarak güçlü olmasına rağmen, moral anlamında ve Amerikan meslektaşlarıyla olgun bir güç olarak nasıl etkileşime girileceğini öğrenme sürecinde hâlâ bir acemidir. Ancak kısa vadede her iki tarafın da barış içinde bir arada yaşamaktan başka alternatifleri yok gibi görünmektedir. Her iki taraf da normal olarak gelişirse, güç açısından, ne tür niyetleri olursa olsun, GÇD'nin geleceği iki kutuplu bir bölge olacaktır. Ayrıca, bölgedeki çoğu ülke Çin- ABD güç rekabetinde taraf olmak istememektedir. Bu nedenle, her iki taraf için de hâkim bir düzeni yeniden kurmak zordur. Güç dağılımı daha dengeli hâle geldikçe, yönetilebilen bir askeri çatışma fikri hayal hâline gelecektir. Bir tarafın kışkırtması kaçınılmaz olarak diğer tarafın misilleme sürecini davet edecektir ki bu durumda sarmal yükselme oldukça mümkündür. Her iki tarafın da çok sayıda silah platformuna sahip olduğu ve her ikisinin de büyük nükleer güç olduğu düşünüldüğünde, askeri bir çözümün fizibilitesi büyük ölçüde azalmıştır.²⁶

GÇD'de ki Çin-ABD rekabeti kesinlikle büyümekte ve orta-uzun vadede savaş hâlâ bir çıkış yolu olarak değerlendirilmektedir. İki taraf arasında her yıl binlerce deniz karşılaşması yaşanmaktadır. Bunların çoğu profesyonel ve güvenli olup, sadece birkaçı bazı riskler içermektedir. Pandemi süreci hem ülkeleri hem de askerleri daha hassas hale getirmiş, bu da bir dereceye kadar durumun gerginliğini artırmıştır. Covid-19 nedeniyle Çin ve ABD birbirleri hakkında daha fazla endişelidir. Batı Pasifik'te günlük operasyonları sürdürmenin yanı sıra, her iki tarafın da yeni kuşkuları vardır. ABD, Çin'in geçici güç boşluğundan yararlanacağından endişe duymakta; dolayısıyla kasıtlı olarak daha fazla güç göstermekte ve Çin'e daha fazla diplomatik baskı yapmaktadır. Çin, Washington'un GÇD politikasının, -pandemi sırasında bile ABD'nin Çin'i provoke etmekten vazgeçmediği noktaya kadar vardırıarak- gittikçe umutsuz olduğunu düşünmektedir. Pekin ayrıca, güç rekabeti ile motive olan ABD'nin Çin'in

²⁵ Hu Bo, "China-US Military Confrontation in the South China Sea: Fact and Fiction," The Diplomat (2020).

²⁶ Thomas M. Kane, Chinese Grand Strategy and Maritime Power, Naval Policy and History Series (London: Frank Cass, 2002), 158 + xiv pages.



faaliyetlerine odaklandığına ve diğer davacıların eylemlerini görmezden geldiğine inanmaktadır.

Nisan 2020 ortasından Mayıs 2020 başlarına kadar ABD Pasifik Filosu, Çin'in operasyonlarını caydırmak için USS America LHA-6 da dahil olmak üzere Haiyang Dizhi 8 ile Batı Capella arasındaki soğuk deniz alanına çeşitli savaş gemileri gönderdi. ÇHKO Donanması'nın aynı zamanda orada benzer sayıda savaş gemisine sahip olduğuna inanılıyordu ve bu da medya ile uzmanlar arasında ateşli bir tartışma başlattı. Daha az duyurulan ancak daha yoğun olan bir diğer olay ise, Çin savaş gemisi Liaoning formasyonunun keşif ve karşı-keşif, açık deniz çapraz bölge mobil eğitimi yaparken Amerikan savaş gemileri ve çoklu askeri uçakları takipte olmasıydı. İsmi açıklamayan bir ÇHKO Deniz Kuvvetleri subayı, çatışmanın çok yoğun olduğunu, bir defasında bir ABD savaş gemisinin Çin gemisine 100 m. mesafede olduğunu açıkladı. Yine de bu karşılaşmada her iki taraf da büyük ölçüde profesyonel ve ihtiyatlı kalmıştır. Aslında, çoğu medya raporunun ve uzman yorumunun verdiği izlenime rağmen, ne Çin ordusu ne de Amerikan ordusu 2019'un aynı dönemine kıyasla etkinliğini önemli ölçüde artırmadı. Sorun şu ki, bu operasyonlar aşırı gerginlikte icra edilmekte ve yakın karşılaşmalara aşırı maruz kalınmaktadır. Güç rekabeti zemininde, özellikle de pandeminin ortasında, güçlerini ve kararlılıklarını göstermek için, ABD kuvvetleri askeri faaliyetlerin örtülmesi ve duyurulmasına, medyaya ve halka tartışma-hayal etme konusuna aşırı önem verdiler. Her iki ülkede de bundan yararlanan ve durumu abartan bazı şahinler bulunmaktadır. GÇD davacıları da dâhil olmak üzere çoğu ülke Çin-ABD arasında askeri çatışma, görmek istememektedir. Bazı ülkeler gerçekten de Çin ve ABD arasındaki artan rekabet konusunda sevinmekte olup, bu da onların genişlemesi için bazı fırsatlara yol açabilir. GÇD'nde Çin-ABD arasındaki bir askeri çatışmanın ve hatta savaşın büyük bir alıcı kitlesi bulunmaktadır.²⁷

5. Sonuç

Dünya siyasi-ekonomik sisteminin son dönemdeki iki başat gücü ABD ve Çin önemli ölçüde fark attıkları diğer rakiplerini geride bırakarak zirvede yalnız başlarına karşı karşıya gelmiş ve bu durum da dünyamızda yeni tür reaksiyon ve komplikasyonlara neden olmuştur. ABD Çin'i "stratejik bir rakip" olarak tanımlamakta ve resmen ilan edilmemiş bir "kuşatma stratejisini" aşama aşama uygulamaya gayret etmektedir. Çin ise -komünist kapitalist yönetimiyle- küreselciliğin enteresan bir savunucusu olarak retorikte çok kutuplu bir

²⁷ Hu Bo, "China-US Military Confrontation in the South China Sea."



uluslararası sistem inşa etmeye çabalararak bu kuşatmayı yarmayı hedeflemektedir. Süregelen Tayvan sorunu, Kuşak-Yol Girişimi, Hong Kong'un özerkliğinin sona erdirilmesi, ekonomi-ticaret savaşları üzerinden başlatılan ve ABD'nin Çin'i "çevreleme" stratejisinin birer parçası olarak değerlendirilen bu olay-olgular giderek "yeni tür soğuk savaş"ın göstergeleri olarak ortaya çıkmaya başlamıştır.

Çin uluslararası sularda yapay adalar şeklinde müstahkem mevkiiler inşa etmiştir. Batı (ABD) ise Pasifik'in oldukça geniş alanlarında egemenlik talebinde bulunmakta ve Avrasya'yı kendisine uygun şekilde düzenlemeye çalışmaktadır.²⁸ Çin ve ABD elbette her türlü askeri çatışmaya ve GÇD'deki en kötü senaryolara hazırlanmaktadır. Ancak, bazı üst düzey Amerikalı yetkililerin tekrarlanan savaş söylemine rağmen, iki tarafın çelişkilerini stratejik ya da operasyonel olarak güç kullanarak çözmek istediklerine dair çok net bir işaret de yoktur. Günlük askeri etkileşimlerde, gerçekten artan riskler vardır, ancak öznel bir çatışma arzusu olmadığında, bu risklerin kontrol edilmesi de çok zor değildir.

Çin ve Amerikan askerlerinin önlemesi gereken en önemli husus -iki ülkenin Sovyet-ABD ile ve sonra Rusya-ABD askeri ilişkileri ile karşılaştırıldığında bile nispeten geri veya etkisiz olan mevcut kriz yönetim mekanizmaları göz önüne alındığında- "yanlış hesaplama"dır. Ayrıca, profesyonellerin işlerini yapmalarına izin verilmelidir. Çin-ABD askeri rekabeti, rekabetin yoğunluğunu artıran ve kendi kendini gerçekleştiren kehanetlere yol açacak medya, yorumcular ve bazı politikacılardan aşırı derecede etkilenmiştir. Hem Çin hem de ABD askerleri, politikaları ve kamuoyunu kontrol altında tutarak rekabetçi ve profesyonel kalmalıdır. Sonuçta, eğer savaş yaşanacak olursa, onun yükünü taşıyan cephe komutanları ile havacı ve denizci askerler olacaktır; diğerleri sadece seyredecektir.

Sonuç olarak, ABD ve Çin arasında yaşanmakta olan sistemik gerilimlerin GÇD gibi ihtilafli alanlarda yaşanabilecek olası tetiklenmeler sonrasında orta vadede silahlı çatışmaya dönüşme olasılığı vardır. Bununla birlikte, ABD'nin çevreleme çabalarına karşılık, büyük ekonomileri büyük savaşların bitirdiğinin bilincinde olan Çin'in ABD ile karşı karşıya gelmekten kaçınan düşük profilli tutumu ve "çatışmayı" zamana yayma hamleleri uzun vadeli olarak sistem düzeyinde yaşanacak gerilimleri muhtemel kılmaktadır.

²⁸ Michael Mandelbaum, "The New Containment: Handling Russia, China, and Iran," *Foreign Affairs* (2019), <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2019-02-12/new-containment>.



Covid-19 pandemisiyle dünyada daralan ekonomi, artan işsizlik ve bunlardan kaynaklanan politik ve sosyal gerginlikler bir yandan GÇD’de tansiyonu artırırken, diğer yandan da devletlerin silahlı çatışmaya tutuşmadan daha fazla düşünmesini zorunlu kılmaktadır. Ancak yakın tarihte görülmedik şekilde ekonomik yönden kaybedeceği çok fazla olan taraf bu riski göze alabilir. GÇD’deki bir sıcak çatışma hem bölgedeki ekonomik kalkınmaya hem de dünya ticaretine zarar verecektir. Bunun yerine bölgedeki sorunları kategorik olarak izleme mekanizmalarının kurulması, gerginliği azaltmada ve silahlı çatışmayı önlemede tüm taraflar için fayda sağlayacaktır. Askeri karşılaşmalarda çatışmanın önlenmesi amacıyla uygulanacak belirli bir davranış ilkeleri rehberi oluşturulmasının kısa vadede en acil ihtiyaç olduğu değerlendirilmektedir.

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Çin'in Kültürel Diplomasisi: Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri'nin Rolü ve Eleştiriler

Buket ÖNAL*

Özet

Ülkelerin dış politika hedeflerine ulaşmada önemli bir diplomasi aracı olan “kültür” yüzyıllardır bu amaca hizmet etmektedir. Kültürel diplomasinin olumlu sonuçlarını gören devletler, bu diplomasiyi çoğu kez devlet merkezli kurumsal plan ve programlar çerçevesinde bir dış politika aracı olarak kullanmaktadırlar. Hedef, dış politikayı yürütebilecek ortamı sağlamak amacıyla kültürü dışarda tanıtmak ve yayılmasını sağlamaktır. Bunu sağlayacak en önemli araç da “Dil”dir. Çin de dilini ve kültürünü dünyaya tanıtmak ve öğretme görevini Konfüçyüs Enstitülerine vermiştir. Kısa bir sürede dünyadaki örneklerini sayıca geçen ve dünyanın hemen hemen her yerinde açılan bu enstitüler, Çin'in kültürel diplomasisinin merkezinde yer almaktadırlar. Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin işlevi, dış politikayı yürütebilecek uyumlu bir dünya inşa etmek ve aynı zamanda “barışçıl yükseliş” e yardım etmektir. Diğer ülkelerdeki eğitim kurumlarıyla ortaklık çerçevesinde açılan bu enstitüler, kuruldukları günden bugüne hem dışarıdan hem de içeriden eleştiri almaktadır. Bu enstitülerin Çin'in propaganda aracı olduğunu ileri süren dıştaki eleştirilere rağmen içeride de bunun tam aksi olarak Enstitülerin bu görevi yeterince yerine getiremediği yönünde eleştiriler vardır. Bu çalışmada, Enstitülerin kültürel diplomasideki rolü ve enstitülere yapılan eleştiriler ayrıntılı ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çin, Kültürel Diplomasi, Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü, Eleştiri.

Cultural Diplomacy of China: Role and Criticisms of Confucius Institutes

Abstract

“Culture”, which is an important tool of diplomacy in reaching the foreign policy targets of the countries, has been serving this purpose for centuries. States that see the positive results of cultural diplomacy often use this diplomacy as a foreign policy tool within the framework of state-centered institutional plans and programs. The aim is to promote the culture and spread it outside in order to provide an environment that can carry out foreign policy. The most important tool to achieve this is “Language”. China, gave the task of introducing and teaching his language and culture to the world to Confucius Institutes. These institutes, which have many examples in the world and opened almost everywhere in the world, are at the center of China's cultural diplomacy. The function of the Confucius Institutes is to build a harmonious world that can carry out foreign policy and at the same time help the “peaceful rise”. These institutes opened in partnership with educational institutions in other countries have been criticized both externally and internally since the day they were founded. Despite the external criticism which suggests that these institutes are China's propaganda tool, there are criticisms inside that the Institutes are not able to fulfill this task adequately. In this study, the role of Institutes in cultural diplomacy and criticisms of the institutes will be discussed in detail.

Keywords: China, Cultural Diplomacy, Confucius Institute, Criticism.

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1. Giriş

Çin'in, "kültürel diplomasi"yi imajını ve ülkeye yönelik olumsuz algıyı değiştirmek için kullandığı ve böylece dış politikasını yürütebilecek daha elverişli bir ortam yaratmak istediği yönünde bir görüş hâkimdir. Çin, bunu doğrularcasına özellikle 2000'li yıllardan itibaren diplomasisinde "kültür" politikalarına daha çok yer vermekte ve özellikle Tibet, Tayvan, insan hakları vb. konulardaki olumsuz küresel algıyı ortadan kaldırmak için "kültürel diplomasi" araçlarını daha çok devreye sokmaktadır. Bunu Çin'in, Softpower 30 sıralamasında 2019 kültür alt endeksinde 8. sırada yer almasıyla anlayabiliriz. Aslında bu, Çin'in muazzam kültürel mirası düşünüldüğünde sürpriz değildir. Kültürün ötesinde, Çin, 2019'daki düşüşe rağmen eğitim ve işletme alt endekslerinde de nispeten iyi performans göstermiş durumdadır.¹

Kültür, Çin'in, kültürel değişimler yoluyla, dünyaya uygar, sorumlu ve güvenilir bir ulus olduğunu göstermeyi amaçlayan yumuşak gücünü arttırması için önemli bir araç olarak görülmektedir.² Kadim Çin tarihindeki önemli kültürel ve entelektüel gelişmeler, modern çağda da geçerli olmaya devam etmiş ve çağdaş Çin'in yumuşak gücüne eklenerek, "Kültürel Diplomasiyi" oluşturmuştur. Konfüçyüsçülük, Taoizm ve Mohizm gibi felsefeler günümüz Çin'in kültürel politikalarının da temelini oluşturmaktadır. Mao dönemindeki kopuşa rağmen 1980'lerden itibaren bu felsefik alt yapıya geri dönmüş ve özellikle "Konfüçyüsçülük" Çinli liderlerin söylemlerinde önemli bir yer almıştır. Buna paralel olarak 2004'ten itibaren kurulan ve dünya geneline hızlı bir şekilde yayılan "Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri" de bu söylemlerin eyleme dönüşmesidir diyebiliriz. Dünyanın birçok ülkesinde hatta aynı ülkede birden fazla üniversitede Enstitü kurulurken aynı zamanda ilkokuldan liseye kadar birçok okulda da "Konfüçyüs sınıfları" açılmıştır. Tüzüğünde de belirtildiği gibi bu enstitüler, Çin dilini ve kültürünü yaymak, Çin ile diğer ülkeler arasındaki eğitim ve kültür alışverişlerini güçlendirmek, Çin ve yabancı ülkeler arasında dostane ilişkiler geliştirmek, çok kültürlü dünyanın gelişimini teşvik etmek ve uyumlu bir dünya inşa etmek amacı güdüyor olsa da son dönemlerde çok daha farklı amaçlara hizmet ettiği yönünde eleştirilmektedir. Dışarıdaki bu eleştirilerin aksine içeride de bu kurumların uluslararası çıkarlara ve ideolojiye yeterince hizmet etmediği yönünde eleştiriler yapılmaktadır. Akademik çalışmaların genelinde enstitülerin başarıları analiz konusu yapılırken, içerideki ve dışarıdaki bu eleştiriler göz ardı edilmiş, Batıdaki akademik çalışmalar

¹ "China," *The Soft Power 30*, 2019, <https://softpower30.com/country/china/> (23.03.2020).

² Danielly Silva Ramos Becard ve Paulo Menechelli Filho, "Chinese Cultural Diplomacy: Instruments in China's Strategy for International Insertion in The 21st Century," *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 62, no.1 (2019), http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0034-73292019000100205&script=sci_arttext (23.03.2020).



da konuyu daha çok tek taraflı ele almayı tercih etmiştir. Oysa bu enstitülerin başarı ya da başarısızlığını ve/veya Çin'in farklı çıkarlarına hizmet edip etmediğini anlamak için konunun her iki taraftan da ele alınıp incelenmesi gerekmektedir. Nitekim bu çalışmada Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin Çin'in Kültürel Diplomasisindeki rolü, yarattığı fırsatlar ve enstitülere yapılan içerideki ve dışarıdaki eleştiriler hem İngilizce, hem Çince, hem de Türkçe kaynaklar çerçevesinde incelenmiş ve yukarıdaki sorulara cevap aranmıştır.

2. “Kültür” ve “Diplomasi” İlişkisi

Kültürün anlamı ile ilgili olarak farklı görüşler vardır. Kültür, kimine göre, tüm insanlar tarafından yaratılan medeniyetin başarılarına atıfta bulunur; kimilerine göre, düşünme yönelimi, davranış modeli ve kurumsal yönelim de dâhil olmak üzere insanların yaşam biçimidir; kimilerine göre ise temel olarak inançlara veya ideolojiye atıfta bulunur. Edward Burnett Taylor, kültürü “bilgi, sanat, ahlak, inançlar, yasalar ve gelenekler ile toplumun üyesi olan kişilerin edindikleri alışkanlıklar ve yetenekler dâhil olmak üzere karmaşık bir bütün” olarak görür. Clifford Geertz, “insanların düşünce sistemlerinin, değerlerinin, eylemlerinin ve hatta duygularının, tıpkı sinir sistemlerinin kendisi gibi, kültürün ürünleri olduğuna” inanır. Yirminci yüzyılın önde gelen antropoloğu E. Adamson Hoebel da kültürü, “belirli bir toplumun üyelerine özgü ve biyolojik kalıtımın bir sonucu olmayan, bütünleşmiş ve karmaşık bir öğrenilmiş davranış kalıpları sistemi” olarak tanımlar. Kısacası, kültür bu paylaşılan değerleri ifade eder ve genel olarak kabul edilir. Yaşam biçimi, davranışlar, düşünme biçimleri vb. ulusun kültürel gelenekleriyle bağlantılıdır. Bu kültürel gelenek, insan faaliyetlerinin en temel özelliklerini şekillendirmiş ve aynı zamanda ulusları veya ülkeleri birbirinden ayıran önemli bir sembol haline gelmiştir.³ Diplomasi, stratejik avantaj elde etmek ve kişinin kendi çıkarını gözetmek için farklı aktörler arasındaki etkileşim olarak tanımlanırken, uluslararası ilişkiler alanında diplomasi kavramı ise ulus veya örgüt temsilcileri arasında barış, ticaret, savaş, ekonomi, kültür, çevre ve insan hakları gibi konularda müzakere uygulamalarını ifade eder.⁴

³ Sun Jisheng, “传统文化与十八大以来中国外交话语体系构建” (18. Ulusal Kongreden Bu yana Çin Diplomatik Söylem Sisteminin Geleneksel Kültürü ve İnşası), https://www.gmw.cn/xueshu/2019-08/16/content_33083529.htm (18.03.2020); Kishore Chakraborty (ed.), “Culture,” *Cultural Diplomacy Dictionary*, The Academy for Cultural Diplomacy (2013): 34 http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/culturaldiplomacynews/content/pdf/Cultural_Diplomacy_Dictionary.pdf (18.03.2020).

⁴ Chakraborty, “Diplomacy,” 38.



Kültür ve diplomasi her zaman ayrılmaz bir şekilde bağlantılıdır. Bir ülkenin diplomasisi mutlaka kendi kültürel özelliklerini yansıtır ve kültür, o ülkenin diplomatik hedeflerini, araçlarını, yöntemlerini ve üslubunu etkiler. Bunu doğrulayan çalışmalar vardır: İlki, bir tür arka plan bilgisi olarak kültürün, insanların değerlerini, davranışlarını ve alışkanlıklarını doğrudan etkilediği yönündeki çalışmalardır. John Roger Searle'ın arka plan bilgisi üzerine yaptığı araştırmaya göre, çoğu zaman insanlar bilinçsizce bir şeyler yaparlar. “Searle'nin “arka plan” dediği şey, genel olarak yetenekler, yetiler, eğilimler, alışkanlıklar, huylar, sorgusuz sualsiz kabul edilen varsayımlar dizisi ve nasılın bilgisidir”.⁵ Davranış bilinçaltı bir durumdadır. Bu bilinçaltı durum aslında arka plan bilgisi tarafından yönlendirilen bir tür eğilim davranıştır. Bu nedenle, aynı arka plan bilgisine sahip insanlar kabaca aynı bilişe ve genellikle benzer davranışlara sahiptirler. Pierre Bourdieu'nin sosyal teoride “alışkanlık” (habitus) kavramı da arka plana benzer bir açıklama getirir. “Bourdieu'ya göre, kişi daha önce herkesin yaptığı birçok şeyi yeniden yaparak alışkanlığı da yeniden üretmiş olur. Başka bir deyişle alışkanlık, eylemi yapan kişinin çok da hesaplamadan yaptığı ve özünde toplum tarafından kabul görmek için pratiğe döktüğü bir gerçekliktir. Hesaplamadan yapmaktan kasıt bireyin toplumca kendisinden beklenenin dışında bir şey yapmama eğiliminde olmasıdır”. Bu alışkanlıklar sadece yansıtıcı alışkanlıklar değildir, aynı zamanda uzun bir yaşam, çalışma ve uygulama döneminden sonra alınan alışkanlıklardır.⁶ Michel Foucault tarafından önerilen “tarihsel ön bilgi” de benzer bir işleve sahiptir. Hiç kimse tarihsel ön bilginin etkisinden kaçamaz. Devlet için de dış politikanın oluşturulması, kültürel geleneğini, politik düşüncesini yansıtacak ve belirli eylemlerin uygulanmasını doğrudan etkileyecek belirli bir kültürel arka planda gerçekleşir. Dış meselelerin ve politika seçimlerinin algılanmasında da aynı şey geçerlidir. İkincisi, bir ülkenin teorik inşasının kültürel farklılıkları da yansıtacağına yönelik çalışmalardır. Teori, gerçekliği açıklamak, tanımlamak ve tahmin etmek için kullanılan sistematik bir fikirdir. Kültür önemli bir teorik yapı kaynağıdır. Teoloji kurucuları belirli bir zaman ve kültürel alanda doğarlar ve teorik yapılarını da güçlü bir kültürel baskı yansıtır. Örneğin Barry Buzan tarafından temsil edilen İngiliz okulunun önerdiği temel “Uluslararası Toplum” kavramı, aslında Avrupa tarihi ve uluslararası ilişkiler pratiğine dayanmaktadır ve

⁵ Vedat Çelebi, “John Roger Searle'de Bilinç ve Yönelimsellik,” *Felsefe ve Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no.18 (2014): 22.

⁶Seyda Koçak, “Pierre Bourdieu ve Meşhur Kavramları,” https://www.academia.edu/5808619/Pierre_Bourdieu_ve_Meşhur_Kavramları (18.03.2020).



bahsedilen uluslararası toplum aslında Avrupa merkezli bir uluslararası toplumdur. Teorik inşanın kültürel temellerindeki farklılıklar, farklı ülkelerin birbirlerinin dış politikalarını ve davranışlarını anlamalarını ve yorumlamalarını zorlaştırmaktadır. Üçüncüsü, bir ülkenin dış politikasının kaçınılmaz olarak kültürel geleneklerden etkilendiği ve kendi kültürel özelliklerini yansıttığına yönelik çalışmalardır. Kültürel geleneklere göre, diplomatik hedeflerin oluşturulmasının diplomatik araçlar, diplomatik yöntemler ve diplomatik stil üzerinde etkisi vardır. Farklı kültürel geleneklere sahip ülkeler, diplomasinin ulusal özelliklerinde de büyük farklılıklar göstermektedir.⁷

3. Kültürel Diplomasi

Kültürel diplomasinin tanımı konusunda belirli bir fikir birliği olmasa da en iyi şu şekilde tanımlanabilir; “ülkelerin kültürel ve politik değerlerini dünyanın geri kalanına tanıttığı araçlar bütünü”. “Kültürel Diplomasi” kavramı henüz yeni olsa da uygulamada yüzyıllardır var olmuştur diyebiliriz. Kâşifler, gezginler, tüccarlar, öğretmenler ve sanatçılar, ilk “kültürel diplomatlar” olarak düşünülebilir. Örneğin, düzenli ticaret yollarının oluşturulması ile tüccarlar ile hükümet temsilcileri arasındaki bilgi ve kültür alışverişi kültürel diplomasinin ilk örnekleridir. Temel fikir, insanların farklı kültürlere ve perspektiflere erişmesine izin vermek ve bu şekilde karşılıklı anlayışı ve diyalogu teşvik etmektir. Bu anlamda kültürel diplomasinin olumlu ve olumsuz biçimleri vardır. Bir devlet kültürel alışverişi aktif olarak desteklediğinde ve kültürlerarası ilişkileri güçlendirmek için yumuşak güç girişimlerini kullandığında olumlu, ulusal imajı veya çıkarları korumak için kültürel etkileşimleri kısıtladığında veya sınırlandırdığında olumsuz kültürel diplomasi gerçekleşmiş olmaktadır. Kültürel diplomasi, ulusal hükümetler de dâhil olmak üzere bir dizi aktör tarafından uygulanmaktadır; kamu ve özel sektör kurumları ve sivil toplum gibi.⁸

Daha geniş tanımlamayla kültürel diplomasi, fikirlerin, değerlerin, geleneklerin ve kültür ya da kimliğin paylaşımından yararlanarak, bunları ilişkileri güçlendirmek, sosyo-kültürel işbirliğini geliştirmek, ulusal çıkarları ve ötesini teşvik etmek için kullanılmasıdır. Diğer bir deyişle kendi kültürel çıkarlarını korumak ve ulusal kültürel hedeflerini

⁷ Jisheng, “传统文化与十八大以来中国外交话语体系构建.”

⁸ Chakraborty, “Cultural Diplomacy,” 30-31; “What is Cultural Diplomacy?,” *Institute for Cultural Diplomacy*, http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/index.php?en_culturaldiplomacy (16.03.2020).



gerçekleştirmek amacıyla belirli yabancı kültürel politikaların rehberliği altında egemen devletler tarafından kültürel yollarla yürütülen diplomatik faaliyetleri ifade eder. Bir hükümet tarafından üstlenilen kültürel faaliyetler arasında, uluslararası kültürel değişimlerle ilgili resmi anlaşmaların imzalanması; uluslararası kültürel konferanslar; organizasyon veya uluslararası kültürel organizasyonlara katılım; kültürel sergiler vb. yer almaktadır. Diplomasinin amacı, ulusal çıkarları ve her şeyden önce ülkenin toprak bütünlüğünü ve ulusal güvenliği gerçekleştirmektir. Kültürel çıkar, genel ulusal çıkarların bağımsız bir parçası olarak kabul edilirse, kültür de diplomasi olarak tanımlanabilir. Eğer dar anlamda, en doğrudan ve en sık görülen diplomasi biçimi politik diplomasiyse, o zaman şüphe yok ki geniş uluslararası ilişkiler alanında, en doğrudan ve sık ilişki politik, askeri, ekonomik veya teknolojik değil, kültürel dir. Kültür, davranışları ve inançları yönlendiren temel düzen olarak görüldüğünde, bu sadece bir diplomasi parçası değil, aynı zamanda dış politikanın asıl nedeni veya sebebidir diyebiliriz. Ancak, basit bir kültürel değişim kültürel diplomasinin gerçekleştiği anlamına gelmez. Belirli bir stratejinin parçası olarak gerçekleşmelidir. Özetlemek gerekirse, kültürel diplomasi, tarihsel bir perspektiften, uluslar ve etnik gruplar arasındaki kültürel değişimlerin belirli bir aşamaya gelişiminin siyasallaştırılmış ürünüdür ve aynı zamanda diplomatik faaliyetlerin olgunluğunun bir işaretidir. Dünya diplomasi tarihinde kültürel diplomasi, ekonomik diplomasi, politik diplomasi ve askeri diplomasi, diplomatik faaliyetlerin dört seviyesini oluşturmaktadır. Birbirlerini tamamlarlar ve ulusal çıkarları gerçekleştirme sorumluluğunu paylaşırlar. Dahası, kültürel diplomasinin yüksek derecede “barışçillığı” veya “esnekliği” nedeniyle, hedef ülkeler tarafından diğer diplomasi biçimlerinden daha kolay kabul edilebilir ve dış ilişkilerde genellikle diğer diplomatik yollarla ulaşılamayan stratejik bir rol oynar. Kitleli iletişim teknolojisinin yaygınlaşmasıyla, giderek küreselleşen, birbirine bağımlı bir dünyada, kültürel diplomasi dünya çapında barışı ve istikrarı teşvik etmek için kritik öneme sahiptir. Kültürel diplomasi, bir ülkenin uluslararası imajını şekillendirmek ve uluslararası strateji elde etmek için etkili bir araç olan ulusal kültürel yumuşak gücü kullanmanın önemli bir yoludur. Kültürel diplomasi iki şekilde ele alınabilir. Bir tanesi, ülkenin genel diplomasinin bir parçası olarak kültürel diplomasidir ve ülkenin dış stratejik hedeflerine ulaşmak için önemli bir araçtır. Diğer nesnel olarak, kültürel bir değişim faaliyeti olarak, kültürel diplomasidir ve ülkenin dış kültürel ilişkilerinin önemli bir parçasını oluşturur.⁹

⁹Zhang Qingmin, “文化外交：塑造国家良好形象” (Kültürel Diplomasi: Ülkenin Güzel İmajını Şekillendirmek), (2009), http://www.china.com.cn/international/txt/2009-09/10/content_18501006.htm



4. Çin'in “Kültürel Diplomasi” Politikalarının Tarihsel Kökenleri

Çin tarihinde, uyumun ve dostluğun yayılmasına özel olarak vurgu yapıldığı dönem, “Yüz Düşünce Okulları” olarak da bilinen ilkbahar ve sonbahar dönemdir (MÖ 771 - MÖ 476)¹⁰. Yüz Düşünce Okulu'nun stratejistleri, devletin hedef ve çıkarlarını güvence altına almak için zorlama yerine diplomatik manevra yapmayı tercih etmişlerdir. Özellikle Kong Zi veya Konfüçyüs (MÖ 551-MÖ 479)¹¹, gücün sınırlandırılmasını ve düzenlenmesini vurgulamış ve savaştan ziyade eğitim ve insanlığa odaklanmıştır. “İnsan doğası iyidir” düşüncesi Konfüçyüs'ün fikir ve söylemlerinin temelini oluşturmuştur. Zamanın bir başka büyük düşünürü olan Mencius da (MÖ 372-MÖ 289)¹² insanın eğiliminin iyiye doğru olduğunu tekrarlayarak “iyi (hayırsever) insanın yüksek bir konumda olması gerektiğine” inanmış ve hayırsever kralların hiçbir zaman düşmanının olmayacağı fikriyle savaşları kınamıştır. Konfüçyüs-Mencius'un siyasi görüşü, devlet prestijini artırmak için geniş topraklara sahip olma ihtiyacını reddetmiştir. Politik ahlak sistemi olarak uyum ve barış toplumu kurmayı hedefleyen Konfüçyüsçülüğün yanı sıra Taoizm¹³ ve Mohizm¹⁴ felsefesi de “evrensel sevgiyi” ve problemleri çözmek için tartışma ve ikna erdemlerini vurgulamıştır. Taoizmin ana metinlerini yazan Çinli filozof Lao Zi (MÖ 604-MÖ 531)¹⁵, savaşları reddederek eğitim ve

(18.03.2020); Yu Huifen, “文化外交：中国的优势、机遇与挑战” (Kültürel Diplomasi: Çin'in Avantajları, Fırsatları ve Zorlukları), (2017), <http://www.chinesewritersusa.org/yuhuifen-blog/2017/8/12> (18.03.2020); “What is Cultural Diplomacy.”

¹⁰ Çin, M.Ö. 700'den 220'ye kadar büyük bir kültürel değişim yaşamış ve bu dönemde ortaya çıkan filozofların geliştirdiği okula da “Yüz Düşünce Okulu” adı verilmiştir. Bkz. “Konfüçyüs Kimdir,” <https://www.felsefe.gen.tr/konfucyus-kimdir/> (18.03.2020).

¹¹ Konfüçyüs'ün Çin'deki Doğu Zhou Hanedanlığı döneminde yaşadığı sanılmaktadır. Konfüçyüs aslında bir devlet adamı olmakla birlikte, verdiği öğütler ve insanların bir arada yaşama ve çalışma tarzlarına ilişkin derin kavrayışı dolayısıyla, tüm zamanların en büyük öğretmenlerinden biri olarak görülmüş ve çevresinde çok sayıda insan toplamıştır. Onun kurduğu felsefe geleneği, bir devlette düzeni egemen kılmayı bilen insanın nasıl yetiştirileceği sorununa çözümler getirirken, erdemi en önemli konu yapmıştır. Bkz. “Konfüçyüs Kimdir,” <https://www.felsefe.gen.tr/konfucyus-kimdir/> (18.03.2020).

¹² Meng Zi'nin (Mencius), insan doğası ve siyaset üzerine olan görüşleriyle Konfüçyüsçülüğü geliştirilmiş, yazıya geçirmiş ve sistematik bir yapıya kavuşturmuş Çinli düşünürdür. Bkz. “Mencius,” *Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mencius-Chinese-philosopher> (18.03.2020).

¹³ Çinin en eski dinlerinden biri olan Taoizm, Şintoizm ve Konfüçyanizm (Konfüçyüsçülük)'e reaksiyondan doğmuştur. Kurucusu Lao Tzu (Lao-Tse / ihtiyar bilgin)'dir. Taoizme göre, insan ancak manevi yönüyle insandır. Bunun için Tao rehber olarak kabul edilmelidir. Taoizmin temel prensibi “iyilere karşı iyilik yapmak, iyilik yapmayanlara karşı yine iyilik yapmak, böylece her şeyin iyi olmasını sağlamak” olarak özetlenebilir. Bkz. “Taoizm,” *Dünya Dinleri*, <http://dunyadinleri.com/taoizm.html> (18.03.2020).

¹⁴ Mohizm, Mozi tarafından geliştirilen mantık, rasyonel düşünce ve bilim felsefesidir. Genel olarak sevgiye çağrı ve tüm anlaşmazlıkları barışçıl yoldan çözmeyi talep etmeyi öngörür. Mohizm; Konfüçyüsçülük, Taoizm ve Legalizm ile yaklaşık aynı zamanda gelişmiştir. Bkz. “Mohizm (Mohism) Nedir?,” <https://www.felsefe.gen.tr/mohizm-mohism-nedir/> (18.03.2020).

¹⁵ Lao Çince “yaşlı”, Zi da “hoca”, “bilge” demektir. Tao Te Ching kitabının yazarı bilge Lao Zi, Taoizmin



alçakgönüllülüğü öne çıkartırken, ünlü Strateji Uzmanı Sun Zi de (MÖ 544-MÖ 496)¹⁶ “Savaş Sanatı”nda, güçlendirilmiş şehirlerinden ziyade düşmanın zihnine saldırılmasını savunmuştur. Ona göre, “Gerçek zafer, savaşmadan kazanılan zaferdir. Gerçek önder savaşmadan kazanan önderdir”. Gerçekten de, Çin antik felsefesi ve tarihi nadiren sert bir güç benimsemiş ve çatışmalara katılmanın aksine dost kazanmaya odaklanmıştır. Daha sonra Çin tarihi, zamanın ulusal çıkarları tarafından dikte edilen farklı stratejiler ve öncelikler üretse de modern Çin’in stratejik katılımında göze çarpan yumuşak güç ve kültürel diplomasi, aslında batı deneyimlerinin özümsemesi değil, eski tarihinin ve geleneğinin ürünleridir diyebiliriz.¹⁷ Bu nedenle, Çin kültürü, değişimlere uyum sağlarken eski özelliklerini de korumaktadır. Tarihsel süreçte “Kültür”, siyasetten de etkilenmiş ve farklı liderler altında çeşitli alt tonlar kazanmıştır. Mao Zedong (Dönem 1945-1976), Kültür Devrimi (1965-1975) sırasında Konfüçyüsçü öğretileri devrimci olarak görmeyerek arka plana atarken,¹⁸ sonraki liderler Konfüçyüsçülüğü neredeyse tutkuyla kabul etmişlerdir. 1980’lerde Çin’in yeni lideri Deng Xiaoping’in (Dönem 1978-1992) reform ve dışa açılma politikaları, kendini kültür alanında da hissettirmiş, Batı’nın modernitesine duyulan ilgiyle birlikte, geleneksel kültür de yeniden canlanmıştır. 1990’lara gelindiğinde de Çin’de milliyetçilik ve vatanseverlik yükseliş göstermiş, Komünist Parti, geleneksel Çin kültürünün yeniden canlanması için Konfüçyüsçülüğü desteklemiştir. Nitekim ister Jiang Zemin’in (Dönem 1993-2002) “ülkenin erdem ile yönetilmesi” ister Hu Jintao’nun (Dönem 2003-2013) “uyumlu dünyası” olsun, Konfüçyüs ideallerini modern Çin’in çeşitli ulusal hedeflerini vurgulama ve gerçekleştirilmede merkezi konuma koymaktadır. 2003 yılında Hu Jintao’nun danışmanlarından Zheng Bijian’in “barışçıl yükseliş” doktrini de Çin’in uluslararası ilişkilerde daha büyük bir rol oynayabilmesi için dünyanın geri kalanına bir tehdit yaratmadığını göstermesini ve düşmanlığın üstesinden gelmek için yurtdışında Çin kültürü ve

kurucusu kabul edilen, önemli bir Çin filozofudur. Bkz. “Lao Zi (Lao Tzu) Kimdir?”, <https://www.felsefe.gen.tr/lao-zi-lao-tzu-kimdir/> (18.03.2020).

¹⁶ Wu Devleti’nde (Şimdiki Çin) yaşamış ünlü Çinli komutan, filozof ve askeri bilgedir. Savaş stratejisi üzerine yazdığı Savaş Sanatı (Çince:兵法, Pinyin: Bīng Fǎ) adlı yazılarda toplanan sohbeti dünyanın en eski strateji kuramları olarak kabul görür. Bkz. “Sun Tzu”, *Wikipedia*, https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sun_Tzu (18.03.2020).

¹⁷ Parama Sinha Palit, “China’s Cultural Diplomacy: Historical Origin, Modern Methods and Strategic Outcomes,” *China Research Center* 12, no.2 (2013), https://www.chinacenter.net/2014/china_currents/12-2/chinas-cultural-diplomacy-historical-origin-modern-methods-and-strategic-outcomes/ (18.03.2020).

¹⁸ Bu dönemde yeterince devrimci ve demokratik olmadığı iddiasıyla Konfüçyüs heykellerinin, tapınaklarının ve eserlerinin büyük çoğunluğu imha edilmiştir. Bkz. Cemre Pekcan, “Konfüçyüs Felsefesinin Dış Politikaya Etkisi Bağlamında 2003-2013 Yılları Arasında Çin-ABD İlişkiler,” *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 72, no. 4 (2017):1129.



Çin'e karşı olumsuz imgeleri ortadan kaldıracak faaliyetlerde bulunmasını öneriyordu. 1994'te hükümet tarafından desteklenen Uluslararası Konfüçyüs Derneği'nin kurulması ve 2002'de Komünist ideolojiye bağlılığıyla bilinen Çin Halk Üniversitesi'nde "Konfüçyüs Çalışmaları"nın başlatılması bunlara somut örneklerdir. Olimpiyatlardaki "Tek Dünya, Tek Hayal" sloganı ise uyum, barış ve gücün simgesi haline gelmiştir.¹⁹

Jiang Zemin'in "Ülkenin Erdem İle Yönetilmesi" anlayışı, Konfüçyüs'ün ahlak/iyilik/erdemlik anlayışına dayanır. Bunlar öğrenilebilir ve öğretiler şeylerdir ve toplumda barış ve uyum ancak bilgeliğin rehberliğinde sağlanabilir. Zemin, 2000 yılının Haziran ayında "İdeolojik ve Siyasi Çalışma Merkezi Konferansı"nda, üstyapıların bileşenleri olarak yasaların ve ahlakın, sosyal düzeni korumak ve insanların düşünce ve davranışlarını düzenlemek için önemli araçlar olduğunu söylüyor ve Ocak 2001'de de "Ulusal Propaganda Bakanlar Konferansı"nda da "hukukun üstünlüğünü erdem üstünlüğü ile birleştiren" stratejisini açıkça ortaya koyuyordu. Jiang Zemin'in "erdem kuralı" düşüncesi içerik bakımından zengin ve derin teorik bir temele sahiptir. Zemin'e göre, ülkenin erdemle yönetilmesi, "mesleki etik, sosyal etik ve aile erdemlerinin inşasına dayanarak, aktif olarak sosyalist pazar ekonomisinin gelişmesi için uygun bir sosyalist ideolojik ve ahlaki sistem kurulacak ve bunun tüm insanlar tarafından evrensel olarak tanınması ve bir standart haline getirilmesi" sağlanacaktı.²⁰

Hu Jintao döneminde ön plana çıkan "Uyumlu Dünya" ilkesi de Çin kültürünün ve Konfüçyüs öğretisinin en önemli parçaları olan barış ve uyumu vurgulamaktadır. 22 Nisan 2005'te Cakarta'daki Asya-Afrika Zirvesi'nde Hu Jintao, Asya ve Afrika ülkelerinin farklı medeniyetler, eşit diyalog, kalkınma ve refah arasındaki dostluğu teşvik etmeleri / uyumlu bir dünya kurlmaları gerektiğini belirten bir konuşma yapmış ve "uyumlu dünya" kavramını uluslararası sahnede ilk kez dile getirmiştir. Bu kavram daha sonra Jintao'nun Rusya ziyareti sırasında imzalanan Çin-Rusya Ortak Bildirisi'ne yazılmış ve 2005'deki BM'nin 60. Kuruluş yıldönümü zirvesinde Genel Kurul'da yaptığı "Kalıcı Barış ve Ortak Refahın Uyumlu Bir

¹⁹ Pekcan, "Konfüçyüs Felsefesinin Dış Politikaya Etkisi," 1131-1132; Palit, "China's Cultural Diplomacy."

²⁰ "2001年：江泽民提出“以德治国”理念” (2001: Jiang Zemin "erdemle yönet" kavramını ortaya koydu), (2009),

http://news.ifeng.com/special/60nianjiagu/60biaozhirenwu/renwuziliao/200909/0910_7766_1343080.shtml

(18.03.2020); Hu Jintao, "世界媒体应携手并进为和谐世界作出贡献" (Dünya Medyası Uyumlu Bir Dünyaya Katkıda Bulunmak İçin El Ele Gitmeli), *The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China*, (2009), http://www.gov.cn/ldhd/2009-10/09/content_1434675.htm (18.03.2020).



Dünya İnşa Etme Çabaları” başlıklı konuşmada da bu çağrı tekrarlanmıştır. Jintao, konuşmasında “yeni yüzyılın insan toplumunun gelişimi için parlak umutlar gösterdiğine dikkat çekmiş ve hem fırsatların hem de zorlukların bir arada bulunduğu önemli bir tarihsel dönemde, ancak dünyadaki tüm ülkelerin yakından birleşmeleri, kalıcı barış ve ortak refah ile uyumlu bir dünya kurabilmeleriyle bu zorluklarla baş edilebileceğini” söylemiştir. Aslında “uyumlu bir dünya” fikri, Çin’in yeni nesil liderleri tarafından Çin’in yeni dönemindeki dış politikasının ve hedeflerinin yeni bir özetidir diyebiliriz.²¹

Başkan Xi Jinping de (Dönem 2013-...) Mayıs ve Haziran 2016’da üst üste iki kez “kendine güven ve kurumsal özgüven ile kesin sosyalist yolun kendine güveninin kültürel öz güvene uyması gerektiğini” kaydetmiştir. 19. Çin Komünist Partisi Ulusal Kongresi’nde yaptığı konuşmada “Çin’in hikâyelerini iyi anlatabilecek, Çin’in gerçek, çok boyutlu ve panoramik bir görünümünü sunacak ve ülkemizin kültürel yumuşak gücünü artıracak uluslararası iletişim kurma kapasitemizi geliştireceğiz” diyerek bu istekliliği dile getiriyordu.²²

5. Çin’in “Kültürel Diplomasi” Uygulamaları ve Araçları

Çin’in kuruluşundan bu yana, ülkenin genel diplomasisinin bir parçası da kültürel diplomasi olmuş ve Çin geleneksel kültürü, çağdaş Çin diplomatik düşüncesi ve teorisinin önemli bir kaynağı haline gelmiştir. Günümüzde stratejik bir araç olarak kültürel diplomasi, geleneksel diplomasiye hizmet etmeye devam etmekte, aynı zamanda, yeni dönemde Çin’in uluslararası imajını şekillendirme, ulusal kimliği oluşturma ve olumlu uluslararası kamuoyu ortamını geliştirme konusunda önemli bir misyon taşımaktadır. Buna paralel olarak ülkenin uluslararası imajının şekillenmesi ve uluslararası toplum tarafından anlaşılması için “yumuşak güç” önemli bir araç haline almıştır. Çin’de kültür, yumuşak gücün kalbi ve ruhu olarak kabul edilir ve devlet iktidarı için önemli bir kaynaktır. Kültür öyle bir odak noktası haline gelmiştir ki yumuşak güç kavramı neredeyse kültürel güce karşılık gelmektedir. Çin’in dünya çapında

²¹ Yu Guirong ve Gu Xiaodan, “胡锦涛/ 和谐世界0思想的内涵及特征” (Hu Jintao / Uyumlu Dünya Çağrısı ve Özellikleri), *Journal of Northeastern University (Social Science)*9, no. 6 (2007): 512;

“胡锦涛在联合国首脑会议上发表重要讲话” (Hu Jintao BM Zirvesi’nde Önemli Bir Konuşma Yaptı), *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China*, 2005, <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/123/wjdt/zyjh/t212359.htm> (18.03.2020).

²² Diego Torres, “China’s Soft Power Offensive,” *Politico*, (2017), <https://www.politico.eu/article/china-soft-power-offensive-confucius-institute-education/> (22.04.2020); Jisheng, “传统文化与十八大以来中国外交话语体系构建.”



Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin kurulması da dâhil olmak üzere yumuşak gücünü artırmaya yardımcı olmak için aldığı bir dizi önlem, yabancı ülkelerle uyumlu ve dostane ilişkileri güçlendirmeyi ve uluslararası toplumun Çin algısını geliştirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Son on yıllarda muazzam değişim geçiren Çin’de, geleneksel Konfüçyüsçü ve Taocu değerler (sosyal uyum ve düzene vurgu gibi) modernleşme ve ekonomik kalkınma hedefleriyle organik olarak bütünleşmiştir. Çin’in ekonomik ve siyasi etkisi arttıkça kültürel diplomasi ve kamu diplomasisi yoluyla yumuşak güç geliştirme talebi de artmaktadır. Kültürel diplomasi, kültürel festivaller, sanat sergileri ve dil sınıfları aracılığıyla kişiler arası ilişkileri geliştirmek için güçlü bir araç olarak kullanılmaktadır. Soğuk Savaş’ın sona ermesinden bu yana, Çin’in iç ve dış politikaları ve eylemleri, Çin kültürel diplomasisinin ana hatlarını ve içeriğini açıkça ortaya koymaktadır. Çin’in yükselişiyle Çin liderleri de yavaş yavaş yumuşak gücün önemini fark etmekte ve Ulusal Halk Kongresi ve Çin Komünist Partisi’nin üst düzey liderliği, Çin kültürünün denizaşırı ülkelere yayılmasını teşvik etmek ve ülkenin yumuşak gücünü güçlendirmek için kültürel diplomasinin önemini vurgulamaktadır. 2000’li yıllardan itibaren Kültürel diplomasi, Çin’in gelecek planlarında kullanacağı önemli araçlardan biri olmuş ve 2002’de Çin, kültürel cepheye kendi “küreselleşme” stratejisini açıklayarak cevap vermiştir: Çin’in imajını yenilemek ve uluslararası bir kültür inşa etme “misyonu” yüklenmek.²³

Hu-Wen döneminde (2003-2013)²⁴ birlikte yaşama ve uyum üzerinde durularak kültürel çeşitliliğe daha açık bir bakış açısı kazandırılmıştır. Wen Jiabao “Kültürel çeşitlilik bu dünyada nesnel bir gerçektir ve yalnızca kültürlerin çeşitliliğine saygı duyulduğunda medeniyetler ilerleyecektir” diyordu. Bu dönemde aynı zamanda, “barış, kalkınma, işbirliği ve karşılıklı yarar” gibi büyük ulusal çıkarlara uygun olarak, uzlaşmacı ve pragmatik bir kültürel politika izlemeye işaret ediliyor ve 2004 yılında kültür, Çin’in siyaset ve ekonomi sonrası diplomasisinin üçüncü direği ilan ediliyordu. 2007 yılında, Başkan Hu Jintao, 17. Çin Komünist Partisi Ulusal Kongresi’nden önce, kültürün giderek artan bir sosyal uyum ve yaratıcılık kaynağı olduğu ve kapsamlı ulusal gücün güçlendirilmesinde artan bir faktör olduğunu vurgulamıştır. Bu tarihten itibaren Çin ve dünyadaki 123 ülke 5 yıl geçerli kültürel işbirliği anlaşmaları imzalamış, yıllık 430 kültürel değişim uygulama planı oluşturulmuş ve 160’tan

²³ Xin Liu, “China’s Cultural Diplomacy: A Great Leap Outward with Chinese Characteristics? Multiple Comparative Case Studies of the Confucius Institutes,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 28, no. 118 (2019): 646-661, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10670564.2018.1557951> (18.03.2020); Becard ve Filho, “Chinese Cultural Diplomacy.”

²⁴ Cumhurbaşkanı Hu Jintao ile Başbakan Wen Jiabao’nun liderliğindeki döneme verilen isimdir.



fazla ülke ve bölge ve dünyadaki binlerce kültürle farklı kültürel alışveriş içine girilmiştir. Buna paralel olarak kültür, eğitim, turizm, medya, sağlık, spor ve diğer alanlarda işbirliğini güçlendirmeye yönelik politikalar izlenmiş, bazı önemli festivallerde Çin kültürünü tanıtmak için yurtdışında da kutlamalar düzenlenmiştir. Çin Komünist Partisinin 17. Merkez Komitesi Altıncı Genel Oturumunda, “Sosyalizmin Büyük Gelişmesini ve Refahını Teşvik Etmek İçin Kültürel Sistem Reformunun Derinleştirilmesine İlişkin Kararlar” kabul edilmiş, kültürel bir güç oluşturma hedefi ortaya konulmuş ve Çin kültürünü dünyaya yayma gereği vurgulanmıştır.²⁵ Partinin 18. Merkez Komitesi de kamu diplomatik faaliyetlerinin hükümet tarafından yönetilmesi ve piyasa ilkelerine göre yürütülmesi gerektiğini duyurmuş ve yumuşak güç diplomasisini teşvik etmek için birden fazla kanalın kullanılması öngörülmüştür. Böylece Çin’in yumuşak güç dış politikası giderek çeşitlenmiş ve kültürel faaliyetleri de giderek genişletilmiştir. Çin’in diplomasisindeki dönüm noktası 2012’de yapılan Partinin 18. Ulusal Kongresidir. Kongre’den sonra Çin, bir dünya gücü olarak statüsünü açıklamış ve Çin karakteristikleri ile diplomasi teorisini geliştirmeyi ve Çin karakteristikleri ile büyük güçlerin diplomasisini uygulamayı önermiştir. Çin diplomasisinin kültürel bilinci giderek daha belirgin hale gelmiş ve geleneksel Çin kültürünün diplomasideki rolü yeniden tanınmıştır. Bu dönemden itibaren Çin tarafından önerilen yeni diplomatik fikirlerin çoğu Çin’in geleneksel kültürüyle ilgilidir ve ulusal niteliklerin Çin’in diplomasisi üzerindeki etkisi Çinli liderlerin sıklıkla tekrarladığı diplomatik bir söylem haline gelmiştir. Xi Jinping, “Çağdaş Çin, tarihi Çin’in devamı ve gelişmesidir. Çağdaş Çin ideolojisi ve kültürü de geleneksel Çin ideolojisi ve kültürünün mirası ve yüceltilmesidir. Çinliler, Çin’in kültürel mirasını iyice anlamalı ve Çinlileri besleyen kültürü doğru bir şekilde kavramalıdır. Bunlar, Çin’in ne tür bir dış politika izlediğini belirleyecektir” diyordu.²⁶

Çin’in, diğer ülkelere (uluslararası medya, akademik değişim programları, uluslararası kültür ve sanat sergileri ve yurtdışındaki kültür enstitüleri) benzer kamusal ve kültürel diplomasi araçlarını kullandığı söylenebilir. Bunlar arasında, Çin kültürünün yurtdışındaki profilini yükseltmeye yardımcı olacak çeşitli sanat sergileri, konserler ve büyük ölçekli

²⁵ Lu Shiwei, “中国文化外交的机遇、挑战与战略思考” (Çin Kültür Diplomasisinin Fırsatları, Zorlukları ve Stratejik Düşüncesi), (2012), <http://memo.cfsnet.com/2012/1231/1294075.html> (20.03.2020).

²⁶ Jisheng, “传统文化与十八大以来中国外交话语体系构建”.



etkinlikler (2008 Olimpiyat Oyunları²⁷ ve 2010 World Expo²⁸ gibi) vardır. Çin ulusal kültürünün önemli bir parçası olan Çince, Çin kültürünü anlamının en etkili ve doğrudan yolu olarak görülmüştür. İlk kez 2004'te kurulan Çin'deki Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü de çok sayıda ülkede çok sayıda öğrenciye dil ve eğitim olanakları sağlamak için öğretim ve etkinlik merkezi kurmuştur. Yurtdışında Çince okuyan kişi sayısı 30 milyonu aştığı bilinmektedir. İlk ve orta dereceli okullara Çince derslerinin eklenmesi yeni bir trend haline gelmiştir. Aynı zamanda, Çin'in resmi medyası küreselleşmenin giderek daha fazla farkındadır (özellikle Tibet konusunda dünyayı ikna edememek buna önemli bir neden oluşturmuştur) ve buna yönelik girişimler içindedir. 2010'dan itibaren yurtdışında 24 saat açık olan kablolu haber kanalları ve gazetelerinin varlığı (China Daily, Asia Weekly ve European Weekly) ve 2011'de New York Time Square'de Çin'in reklamlarının yayınlanması bunlara örnektir.²⁹ Xinhua Haber Ajansı'nın 180 uluslararası ofisi vardır ve 3 binden fazla muhabir ve yerel olarak işe alınan çalışanlar, sekiz dilde yayın (Çince, İngilizce, Fransızca, Rusça, İspanyolca, Arapça, Portekizce ve Japonca) yapmaktadır. Aralık 2016'da adını China Global Television Network (CGTN) olarak değiştiren China Central Television (CCTV), 171 ülkede 6 kanalda (2 İngilizce ve Arapça, Fransızca ve İspanyolca) yayın yapmış, China Radio International (CRI) 65 dilde yayın yaparak BBC Radio'nun arkasından dünyanın en büyük ikinci radyo kuruluşu olmuştur. 2009 yılında İngilizce olarak lanse edilen ve ABD'de, Çince ve İngilizce günlük haberler yayınlayan ilk Çin gazetesi olan Global Times, The Economist tarafından "dikkate değer bir yenilik" olarak kabul edilmiştir.³⁰

Çin film endüstrisi de kültür diplomasisinin önemli bir aracıdır. Çin, Hollywood'un ve diğer küresel oyuncuların ilgisini çeken bir ülke haline gelmiştir. Bu pazarı korumak için Çin, büyük bütçeli yabancı filmlerin sayısını yılda 34 ile sınırlayan bir kota sistemi uygulamaktadır. Bu sınırlamayı aşmanın bir yolu uluslararası ortak yapımdır. Bu amaçla Çin stüdyoları ve Hollywood arasındaki ortak yapım giderek yaygınlaşmaktadır. Tabii bu yapımlarda Çinlileri

²⁷Olimpiyat Oyunlarının düzenlenmesi sürecinde çeşitli kültür festivalleri, sergiler, forumlar ve diğer kültür ve spor etkinlikleri düzenlenmiş ve Çin kültürü hakkında dünyaya bilgi verilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bkz. Qingmin, "文化外交：塑造国家良好形象."

²⁸ World Expo, "ekonomi, bilim ve teknoloji ve kültür alanlarında olimpik olay" olarak bilinir. Kültürel diplomasiyi uygulandığı başka bir platformdur. Çin bu yolla kültürünü, ekonomik ve teknolojik gelişimini diğer ülkelere gösterebilmiştir. Bkz. Qingmin, "文化外交：塑造国家良好形象."

²⁹ Zhang Lihua vd., "China's Cultural Diplomacy: Strategy, Policy, and Implementation," *Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy*, (2015), <https://carnegietsinghua.org/2015/04/17/zh-event-4812> (18.03.2020); Qingmin, "文化外交：塑造国家良好形象"; Palit, "China's Cultural Diplomacy"; Liu, "China's Cultural Diplomacy."

³⁰ Becard ve Filho, "Chinese Cultural Diplomacy."



kötü göstermemek ve Tibet gibi hassas konulara değinmemek gibi Çin sansürünün de olduğunu söylemek lazım. Çin'in bu içerik kontrolü, hem Çin'in yurtdışında olumsuz temsillerinden kaçınmayı hem de Çin'de neyin görüntülendiğini kontrol etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Hollywood şirketleri ile gelişen bu yeni ilişkide Çin, teknik bilgisini arttırmış, yerel kültür endüstrilerini geliştirmiş ve film stüdyolarına yatırım yapmaya başlamıştır.³¹ Yine de tüm dünyada en çok bilinen ve tartışılan Kültürel Diplomasi aracı Konfüçyüs Enstitüleridir diyebiliriz.

6. Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri: Kuruluş, Amaç ve İşleyiş

Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri, Çin'in kültürel yumuşak güç gündeminin en görünür tezahürünün yanı sıra kültürel diplomasisinin en önemli araçlarından ve stratejilerindedir. Çin 2002'den itibaren Çince öğretimini teşvik edecek kurumlar üzerinde düşünmeye başlamış, İngiltere'nin, Fransa'nın, Almanya'nın ve İspanya'nın kendi dillerine yaptığı yatırımdan ilham alarak 2004 yılında kendi kurumunu oluşturup Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü adını vermiştir. Enstitüler, Çin'in gelişen söylemine ve kimliğine hitap etmektedir. Çin hükümeti tarafından finanse edilen ve dünya çapında Çin dilini ve kültürünü destekleme misyonuyla hareket eden Çin Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü, kuruluşundan bu yana, hızla dünya çapında büyümüştür. Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri, yerel bir üniversite ile programdan sorumlu Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü Genel Merkezi Hanban (Uluslararası Çin Dil Konseyi Ofisi) arasındaki ortak girişimlerdir. İlk kurulduğunda, bir Çin dili eğitim ajansı olan ve Eğitim Bakanlığı tarafından yönetilen Hanban'ın işlevleri yıllar geçtikçe devlet tarafından kültürel değişimleri içerecek şekilde yavaş yavaş genişletilmiştir. Hanban, bugün 11 farklı bakanlık ve komisyonun ortak yönetimi altında uzun vadeli ulusal kalkınma, eğitim, kültür, dış ilişkiler ve stratejik planlamadan sorumlu bir merkez haline gelmiştir.³² Pekin ayrıca genç öğrenciler için "Konfüçyüs Sınıfları" oluşturmak üzere ilkokullar ve liselerle ortaklık kurmaktadır. Bu yolla ilköğretim ve ortaöğretim okulları müfredatlarında neredeyse hiçbir ek ücret ödemedi Çince dil sunabilmektedir. Şimdiye kadar 162 ülkede (bölge) 541 Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü ve 1170 Konfüçyüs Sınıfı açılmıştır. Bunlar arasında Asya'da 39 ülkede (bölge) 135 Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü, 115 Konfüçyüs sınıfı; Afrika'da 46 ülkede, 61 Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü, 48 Konfüçyüs sınıfı; Avrupa'da 43 ülkede (bölge) 187 Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü, 346 Konfüçyüs sınıfı; Amerika Kıtası'nın 27 ülkesinde 560 Konfüçyüs sınıfı ile 138

³¹ Becard ve Filho, "Chinese Cultural Diplomacy."

³² Su-Yan Pan, "Confucius Institute Project: China's Cultural Diplomacy and Soft Power Projection," *Asian Education and Development Studies* 2, no. 1 (2013): 27.



Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü; Okyanusya'daki 7 ülkede 101 Konfüçyüs sınıfı ile 20 Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü vardır.³³

Hanban resmi sitesinde, kar amacı gütmeyen bir eğitim kurumu olan Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü'nün, Çince öğrenmek isteyen dünyanın tüm ülkelerinde (bölgelerinde) insanların ihtiyaçlarına cevap vermeyi, tüm ülkelerdeki (bölgeler) insanların Çin dilini ve kültürünü anlamasına yardım etmeyi ve Çin ile diğer ülkeler arasındaki eğitim ve kültür alışverişlerini güçlendirmeyi taahhüt ettiği ve Çin ve yabancı ülkeler arasında dostane ilişkiler geliştirmek, çok kültürlü dünyanın gelişimini teşvik etmek ve uyumlu bir dünya inşa etmek amacıyla olduğu dile getirilmiştir.³⁴ Enstitüler bu kapsamda, Çince öğretimi, Çince öğretmenlerinin eğitimi, Çince dil öğretimi kaynaklarının sağlanması, HSK sınavı (Çince Yeterlilik Testi) ve Çince Öğretmenlerinin Sertifikasyon sınavlarının yapılması, Çin'in eğitimi, kültürü vb. ile ilgili bilgi ve danışmanlık hizmetlerinin sunulması, Çin ve diğer ülkeler arasında dil ve kültürel değişim faaliyetlerinin yürütülmesi gibi hizmetleri vermektedir. Enstitülerin programları enstitüden enstitüye farklılık gösterse de genellikle tüm enstitüler aşağı yukarı aynı içeriği sunmaktadır. Ancak bazı Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri belli bir alanda (turizm, tıp, öğretmenlik mesleki eğitim vb.) uzmanlaşmıştır.³⁵

Çinli ve denizaşırı ortaklar arasında beş yıllık sözleşmeler üzerine bir girişim olarak kurulan bir Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü, her iki taraftan üyelere oluşan bir Yönetim Kurulu tarafından yönetilir ve kurulun toplam sayısı ve bileşen oranı ortak görüş alış verişleri ile belirlenir. Yönetim Kurulu, Enstitünün işleyişi, yıllık planlarının oluşturulması, faaliyet raporlarının oluşturulması, bütçesi ve bütçe teklifi, proje uygulama programları ve mali hesapların değerlendirilmesi ve onaylanmasından sorumludur. Kurul ayrıca Enstitü Müdür ve Müdür Yardımcılarının atanması ve görevden alınmasından da sorumludur. Enstitüler her türlü rapor, proje ve bütçe teklifini inceleme ve onay için Genel Müdürlüğe sunmak zorundadır. Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü Genel Merkezi, bireysel Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin değerlendirmelerini yapmakla yükümlüdür. Genel Merkez, ilke veya hedefleri ihlal eden veya müdürlük tarafından

³³ http://www.hanban.org/confuciousinstitutes/node_10961.htm (21.04.2020).

³⁴ “孔子学院章程” (Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü Şartı), Hanban, http://www.hanban.org/confuciousinstitutes/node_7537.htm (21.04.2020).

³⁵ “Constitution and By-Laws of the Confucius Institutes,” Hanban http://english.hanban.org/node_7880.htm (22.04.2020).



belirlenen öğretim kalitesi standartlarına ulaşmayan Enstitülerle Anlaşmaları feshetme hakkını saklı tutar.³⁶

Hanban ayrıca Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin gelişimini desteklemek, Çin dilinin tanıtımını ve dünyadaki Çin kültürü aktarımını kolaylaştırmak için, nitelikli Çince öğretmenleri ve Çince dili yetenekli öğrencileri yetiştirmek için “Konfüçyüs Enstitü Bursları” programını başlatmıştır. Sağlık durumu iyi olan, 16 ila 35 yaşları arasında Çin vatandaşı olmayan herkese başvuru açıktır ve bunun için Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri, bağımsız olarak yönetilen Konfüçyüs Sınıfları ve denizaşırı Çin dil test merkezleri görevlendirilmiştir.³⁷

Hanban’ın desteğiyle yürütülen “Çin Köprüsü” Çin Yeterlilik Yarışması da büyük çaplı uluslararası bir yarışmadır ve kültürel ve eğitsel anlamda dünya çapında tanınmaktadır. “Çin Köprüsü” yarışması, çeşitli ülkelerdeki öğrencilerin Çince öğrenmeye olan coşkusunu uyandırmayı ve dünyanın Çin dili ve kültürü anlayışını güçlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca Çin ve diğer ülkeler arasındaki gençler arasında bir iletişim köprüsü kurar. Şimdiye kadar, “Çin Köprüsü” Üniversite Öğrencileri Yarışması 8 kez düzenlenmiş ve yarı finale ve finale katılan 60’tan fazla ülkeden 705 üniversite öğrencisini Çin’e çekmiştir. Lise Öğrencileri için “Çin Köprüsü” de 2 kez düzenlenmiş, 20’den fazla ülkeden yaklaşık 200 ortaokul öğrencisi, Çin’e davet edilmiştir.³⁸

Kasım 2004’te, ilk denizaşırı “Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü” Güney Kore’nin Seul kentinde açılmıştır. Yurt dışındaki ilk enstitünün Güney Kore’de açılmasında bu ülkenin Çin için ekonomik ortak olarak önemi, büyük bir ABD müttefiki olması ve bölge dışı varlığını kolaylaştırmak için bir kanal olması rol oynamıştır. Tüzüğüne göre, her ülkenin ihtiyaçlarına cevap verme esnekliği ile 3 farklı Enstitü kurulabilir. Enstitülerin çoğunluğu üç kuruluş arasındaki bir ortaklıktır: Hanban, bir Çin kurumu (genellikle bir üniversite) ve yabancı bir kurum (genellikle bir üniversite).³⁹ Yabancı ülkelerde açılan Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü, ev sahibi ülkenin yasa ve yönetmeliklerine uymalı, yerel kültürel ve eğitim geleneklerine ve sosyal adetlere saygı göstermeli ve ilgili Çin yasalarına aykırı olmamalıdır. Yeni kurulan her Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü için, Çin belirli miktarda başlangıç fonu yatırımı yapmaktadır. Fon miktarı değişiklik gösterebilir. Yıllık proje fonları yabancı teşebbüs birimi ve Çin tarafından ortaklaşa

³⁶ “Constitution and By-Laws of the Confucius Institutes.”

³⁷ “2016 Confucius Institute Scholarship Application Procedure,” *Hanban*, 2016, http://english.hanban.org/article/2016-01/15/content_629582.htm (24.04.2020)

³⁸ “About “Chinese Bridge,” *Hanban*, http://english.hanban.org/node_8080.htm (24.04.2020).

³⁹ Becard ve Filho, “Chinese Cultural Diplomacy”; Qingmin, “文化外交：塑造国家良好形象.”



artırılmaktadır ve iki tarafın oranı genellikle yaklaşık 1:1 olmaktadır. Bu finansal yardımın enstitülerin dünya çapında artışında önemli rol oynadığını söyleyebiliriz. Dünyadaki Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri, Çin hükümeti tarafından istihdam edilen ve yurtdışında Çin dili ve kültürünün tanıtılması ve öğretilmesi ile yurtdışındaki ticaret ilişkilerinin özendirilmesi gibi Çin hükümeti tarafından kullanılan “yumuşak güç” stratejisiyle bağlantılı birçok işleve sahiptir.⁴⁰

Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin kurulabilmesi için bazı şartların yerine getirilmesi gerekmektedir:

i. Yabancı kurum için şartlar aşağıdakileri içermekle birlikte bunlarla sınırlı değildir:

- a. Yasal olarak kayıtlı bir yerel kuruluş olmak, öğretim ve kültürel değişim faaliyetlerinde bulunmak ve kamu hizmetleri sunmak için kaynaklara erişime sahip olmak.
- b. Çin dilini ve kültürünü öğrenmek için yeterli talebin olduğu bir yerde bulunmak.
- c. Günlük operasyonlar için yeterli insan kaynakları, sınıflar / ofisler, tesisler ve ekipmanlara sahip olmak.
- d. Yeterli başlangıç finansmanı ve sürekli takip finansmanına sahip olmak.

ii. Çin Kurumu için şartlar aşağıdakileri içermekle birlikte bunlarla sınırlı değildir:

- a. Kurumun liderliğine büyük önem vermek, Konfüçyüs Enstitüsüne / Sınıfına tam destek vermek ve kurumu kapsamlı kalkınma planına dahil etmek.
- b. Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü'nün tüm hazırlıkları için yeterli olmak ve Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü'nün sürdürülebilirliğini sağlamak için akademik bir sistem oluşturmak.
- c. Yeterli sayıda Çinli Yönetim Kurulu üyesi ve öğretmen gönderebilir olmak ve ilgili destekleyici politikalara sahip olmak.
- d. Teklif veren yabancı kurumla iyi bağlantı içinde olmak ve uluslararasılaşma konusunda nispeten üst düzey yeteneğe sahip olmak.⁴¹

Şu anda Çin'deki 42 birinci sınıf üniversite ile denizaşırı üniversite tarafından kurulan ve dünyadaki toplam Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü sayısının yaklaşık %30'unu oluşturan 154

⁴⁰Daha fazla bilgi için bkz. “孔子学院章程”; “Historical Acts of Cultural Diplomacy,” *Academy for Cultural Diplomacy*, http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/index.php?en_historical-acts-of-cd (26.04.2020).

⁴¹ “Application Procedure,” *Hanban*, http://english.hanban.org/node_7879.htm (25.04.2020).



Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü bulunmaktadır. Bunlar arasında Xiamen Üniversitesi 16, Renmin Üniversitesi 13 ve Pekin Üniversitesi 10 ortaklıkla ilk üç sırayı almaktadır.⁴²

7. Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin Kültürel Diplomasideki Rolü ve Yarattığı Fırsatlar

Kültür-egitim ağlarının başlıca örnekleri kültürel kurumlardır. Dil de kültürü yaymak için en etkili araçlardan biridir ve kültürel küreselleşmede merkezi bir konumdadır. Çin dilini ve kültürünü dünyaya tanıtmaya ve öğretme görevini üstlenmiş Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri'nin dünyanın dört bir yanında (örneğin aldığı Fransa, Almanya, İngiltere, İspanya'yı da geçerek) açılması ve talep görmesi Çin'in yumuşak güç uygulamalarındaki en önemli başarılarından biridir. Genel olarak, Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri Çin'in yumuşak gücünü artırmak için tasarlanmış programlardır ve Çin'in uluslararası kültürel diplomasininin faydalı bileşenidir. Akademik kurumların ve akademisyenlerin resmi olmayan kültürel diplomatlar olma potansiyeli olduğu düşünüldüğünde, hem Enstitüler hem de akademisyenler Çin'i dünyaya tanıtmak ve yabancılara Çin'i anlatmak için bir araç niteliğindedirler. Çin, Enstitüler aracılığıyla kültürel stratejisini ortaya koymuş, imajını ve saygınlığını arttırmayı amaçlamıştır. Böylece dış pazardaki güvenilirliğini arttırmak, gelişmiş ülkelerle dostluğu geliştirmek, gelişmekte olan ülkelerle işbirlikleri yaratmak ve henüz diplomatik ilişkiler kurulamamış ülkelerle bu ilişkileri başlatmak gibi amaçlara da ulaşmayı hedeflemiştir. Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin işlevi, Çin'in söylemini uygulamak için uyumlu bir dünya inşa etmek ve aynı zamanda "barışçıl yükseliş"e yardım etmektir.⁴³

Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü projesi, Devlet destekli bir kültürel diplomasi biçimidir ve bağımsız diğer kültür enstitülerinin aksine yabancı bir ülkedeki paydaşla ortaklıkları aracılığıyla kültürel ortam yaratan Eğitim Kurumlarıdır. Bu ortaklık daha yüksek bir koordinasyon ve bağlılık seviyesini temsil ve doğrudan kişilerarası iletişim ve değişim sağlamaktadır. Ayrıca, Enstitüler sadece Çin akademik kurumlarıyla bağlantılı değildir, tüm Enstitüler Pekin merkeziyle de (Hanban) bağlantılıdır. Devlet yönetim zincirindeki bir halka olarak kültürel diplomasi ile görevlendirilen bu merkez, diğer tüm Enstitüler için dolaylı bir bağlantı görevi görür. Hanban'ın 2006'dan beri her yıl düzenlediği Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü

⁴² 42所“世界一流大学”建设高校承办的154所孔子学院名单 (42 Birinci Sınıf Üniversite Tarafından Üstlenilen 154 Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü'nün Listesi), <https://www.jiaohanyu.com/article/261> (24.04.2020).

⁴³ Yang Kun, "Discourse, Identity and Strategy: The Analysis of China's Cultural Diplomacy Based on the Case of Confucius Institutes," *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research (ASSEHR)* 181 (2018): 627-630.



Konferansları aynı fikirde olan başkalarıyla tanışma, deneyimlerini paylaşma ve fikir alışverişinde bulunma fırsatı sağlamaktadır. Bu ortaklık Çin üniversitelerini de güçlendirmektedir. Çin'in paydaşlar benimseme yaklaşımı stratejik olarak da çok akıllıcadır. Dünya çapında Enstitülerin harcamaları ve işletme ve geliştirme maliyetlerinin %50'sini Çin karşılarken, kalan %50 ev sahibi kurumlar tarafından karşılanmaktadır. Böylece Çin hükümeti, az maliyetle büyük etkiler elde edebilmektedir.⁴⁴

8. Konfüçyüs Enstitülerine Eleştiriler

Konfüçyüs Enstitülerine içeriden de dışarıdan da eleştiriler gelmektedir: İçerideki eleştiriler, Enstitülerin ulusal çıkar ve ideolojiye yeterince hizmet edemediği yönündedir ve buna yönelik çözüm önerilerini de içerir. Bu eleştirilerin bazıları aşağıdaki gibidir.

a. Enstitüler dil eğitiminde başarılı olsalar da Enstitü öğrencilerinin Çin kültürüne yönelik anlayış ve yakınlığını sağlamada benzer bir başarıyı sağlayamamaktadırlar. Bu eleştiri yapanlara göre, Enstitü öğrencilerinin çoğu Çin adetlerini anlama ve saygı göstermede istekli değildirler. Bunun yanında, hala Çin'e yönelik ön yargıların devam ettiği ve bu önyargıların ve yanlış anlaşılmanın ortadan kaldırılmasında Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri ve Konfüçyüs Sınıflarına çok iş düştüğü dile getirilmektedir. Bu nedenle, Çin'i tanıtırken "uyum ve farklılık" ve "tek bir çatı altında bir dünya" gibi siyasi ve kültürel kavramlar kullanılmalı ve siyasi kültür mirası vurgulanmalıdır.

b. Diğer bir eleştiri Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin ekonomik fayda konusundaki eksikliğidir. Uluslararası Çince dilinin de ekonomik faydaları olması gerektiği yönünde tavsiyeler vardır. Bu fayda iki açıdan kendini gösterir: birincisi, iş iletişimi için bir dil iletişim platformu sağlayarak dolaylı olarak potansiyel iş imkânları sağlamak; ikincisi, uzun vadede doğrudan dil öğretiminden ekonomik faydalar elde etmek.

c. Çin kültürünün (siyasi kültür dâhil) ve iletişim araçlarının, Çin dilinin uluslararası tanıtımının ve Çincenin yabancı dil olarak öğretilmesinin önemli bir parçası haline getirmek gerektiği yönündeki eksiklikleri ortadan kaldırmak için Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü'nü barındıran ilgili kurumlarda, buna yönelik özel araştırmaları teşvik etmek için yüksek lisans ve doktora programlarının kurulması önerilmektedir.

⁴⁴ Falk Hartig, "Cultural Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics: The Case of Confucius Institutes in Australia", *Communication, Politics&Culture* 45 (2012): 260-261; Pan, "Confucius Institute Project".



d. Konfüçyüs Enstitülerindeki ön cephedeki öğretmenler, özellikle Çinceyi öğretirken, siyasi, kültürel ve diğer kelime dağarcığını daha fazla kullanmalıdır. Bu konuda eksiklikler vardır.

e. Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin Çin'in ulusal çıkarına hizmet etmede eksiklikleri vardır. Her düzeydeki kolej ve üniversitedeki birimler için kültürel, siyasi ve ekonomik kazanımlar etrafında somut veya nicel hedefler formüle etmeli ve buna yönelik çalışılmalıdır.

f. Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri ve diğer Çin uluslararası tanıtım ajansları dönem veya öğretim yılı açısından başarı ve başarısızlıklarını ortaya koyan bir analiz raporuna sahip olmalı ve Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin dekan ve göçmen öğretmenleri için ölçülebilir bir performans değerlendirme sistemi olmalıdır. Sorunsuz işbirliği ve işbirliğinin daha da genişletilmesi için bu önemlidir. Ayrıca Konfüçyüs Enstitüsünün başarı veya başarısızlığının bir neden analizi ve açık sorumlulukları olmalıdır.

g. Yurtdışı birçok Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü'nün araştırmasına göre, kültürel farklılıklar nedeniyle bürokratik tarz özellikle zayıf iletişim ve yanlış anlamalara yol açmaktadır. Buna acilen çözüm bulunmalıdır. Günlük problemlere ek olarak her dönemde net bir düzenli iletişim süresine girilmeli ve net geri bildirim sistemi oluşturulmalıdır.

h. Çin'in kültürel bir sembolü olarak uluslararası tanıtımının uygulayıcılarının (öğretmenler de dâhil) Çin kültürünü kendi konuşmaları, davranışları, görsel-işitsel tavırları, yaşam tarzı, tedavi ve hatta giyinme yoluyla aktarabilecekleri aşınadır ve buna dikkat edilmelidir.⁴⁵

ı. Enstitülere paydaş katılımının dezavantaj yarattığı yönünde de eleştiriler vardır. Bu eleştirilere göre, her ne kadar bu ortaklık Çincenin ve kültürün öğretilmesi için bir fırsat, maliyet etkinliği ve uluslararası ilişkiler açısından bir prestij sağlıyor olsa da bu enstitülerin yerel koşullara uyum sağlaması ve muhtemelen Çin'deki enstitü işletmesinden daha açık ve ilerici olması da bir tehdit yaratabilecektir.

i. Enstitüler için kalifiye personel bulmadaki eksiklikler bir diğer eleştiridir. Bu eleştiriye göre, düşük maaşlar yüzünden Çinli öğretmenlerin ailelerini bırakarak gitmek zorunda olmaları zamanla bu eksikliği daha da arttıracaktır.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Wang Jie , “汉语言文化国际推广的收益问题及孔子学院等的运作建议” (Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü'nün Çin Dilinin ve Kültürünün Uluslararası Teşviki ve İşletme Önerileri), (2020), <https://www.zz-news.com/com/xdywyj/news/itemid-104543.html> (25.04.2020).

⁴⁶ Hartig, “Cultural Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics,” 269-270.



j. İçeride Enstitülere yapılan diğer bir eleştiri de hükümetin eğitim kaynaklarını Çin'deki fakir okul bölgelerine tahsis etmek yerine yurtdışı kurumlar için kullandığı yönündedir.⁴⁷

İçeride Çin'in bu Enstitüler üzerinde daha etkin rol oynaması yönündeki önerilere rağmen dışarıdan yapılan eleştiriler ise Çin'in uluslararası akademik kampüsler üzerindeki artan etkisi yönünde olmuştur. ABD başta olmak üzere birçok ülkede bu endişe yaratmış ve hatta birçok enstitü peş peşe kapatılmıştır. Hem Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü hem de Çin hükümeti bunu reddetmiş olsa da, eleştirenler bu müdahalelerin akademik özgürlüğü ve okul özerkliğini kısıtladığı yönündedir. Onlara göre, Enstitüler birer “propaganda aracı”dır. İnsan Hakları İzleme Örgütü 2019 Çin raporunda, “Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü'nün Çin hükümetinin bir uzantısı olduğu, ders materyallerindeki bazı konuları ve görüşleri siyasi nedenlerle gözden geçirdiği (sansür) ve işe alımda siyasi sadakat aradığı” dile getirilmiştir. Rapora göre, Enstitüler, Akademik ve entelektüel özgürlüğe yönelik tehditler; Finansman ve istihdam düzenlemeleri konusunda şeffaflık; İstihdamda ayrımcılık ve Çin Komünist Partisinin propagandası için bir platform sağlanması konularında sorunlu kurumlardır. Bu nedenle de tüm üniversitelere “Konfüçyüs Enstitülerini Reddet” çağırısı yapılmıştır.⁴⁸ Hatta bu Enstitülerin Çin'in istihbarat merkezleri olduğuna yönelik eleştiriler de vardır. Örneğin Belçika Vrije Üniversitesi Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü Dekanı Song Xinning, Belçika'daki Çin istihbarat teşkilatlarıyla işbirliği yapmakla (casuslukla) suçlanmış ve Belçika'ya girişi yasaklanarak Enstitüdeki çalışma izni iptal edilmiştir.⁴⁹

Enstitülerin en fazla tartışıldığı ülke ABD'dir. Çünkü ABD aynı zamanda en yoğun Enstitüye sahip ülke konumundadır. Bu yoğunluk ABD'de Çince dil öğretimine olan taleple ilgilidir diyebiliriz. 1960 yılından itibaren ABD'de yabancı dil kayıtlarını izleyen Modern Dil Derneği'nin (MLA) verilerine göre, 1960-2013 yılları arasında Çince kurslarına talep %90 artmıştır. ABD Başkanları (George W. Bush ve Barack Obama) da diğer diller yanında (Arapça, Rusça, Hintçe, Farsça vb.) Çinceyi de öğrenmeyi teşvik ederek buna yardımcı olmuştur

⁴⁷ Jian (Jay) Wang, “Chines Cultural Diplomacy: Confucius Institutes,” *University of Southern California Center on Public Diplomacy*, (2014), <https://www.uscpubliediplomacy.org/blog/chinese-cultural-diplomacy-confucius-institutes> (27.04.2020).

⁴⁸ “孔子学院：争议中扩张的中国文化机构” (Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü: Çin Kültür Kurumu Anlaşmazlık İçinde Genişliyor), *BBC* (2019) <https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/simp/world-49631216> (28.04.2020); “China: Government Threats to Academic Freedom Abroad,” *Human Rights Watch* (2019) <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/03/21/china-government-threats-academic-freedom-abroad> (28.04.2020).

⁴⁹ “Brussels University to Close Chinese-Funded Institute After Espionage Accusations,” *The Brussels Times* (2019), <https://www.brusselstimes.com/belgium/83195/brussels-university-to-close-chinese-funded-institute-after-espionage-accusations-vub-confucius-institute/> (29.04.2020).



diyebiliriz. Çünkü bu dönemde Çince öğrenme ABD için siyasi olarak anlamlı görünüyordu. Nitekim ülkede açılan Enstitüler de bu hükümet girişimlerini tamamlayıcı bir role sahipti. Ancak Enstitülerin ABD'deki genişlemesi zamanla Çin'in olası gizli niyetlerine karşı güvensizlik yaratmaya başladı ve bu girişimlerin Çin Komünist Rejim propagandasının bir aracı olduğu fikri gelişti. Bu tartışmaların arttığı bir dönemde Amerikan Üniversite Profesörleri Derneği (AAUP) bir rapor yayınlarak, bu Enstitülerin akademik özgürlük ve üniversite özerkliğine uymamasından dolayı, tüm üniversitelere bu Enstitüler ile ilişkileri ya sonlandırmaları ya da daha fazla özerklik sağlamak için Hanban'la yeniden görüşüp anlaşmalarını tavsiye etmiştir.⁵⁰ ABD Senatosu alt komitesi de Enstitülere yönelik sekiz aylık bir soruşturma yürütmüş ve bir rapor yayınlamıştır. Rapor, Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin dil öğrenimini, tarihini ve kültürünü desteklemek için tasarlanmış bağımsız öğrenme merkezleri olmaktan uzak olduğunu ve Çin hükümeti tarafından sıkı bir şekilde kontrol edildiğini ortaya koymaktaydı. Şubat 2018'de Amerikan Kongresine, Konfüçyüs Enstitülerin kapatılması için dilekçe verilmiş ve dilekçede, Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri aracılığıyla öğrenciler hakkında casusluk yapıldığı, ABD'deki fikir hürriyetine zarar verilmek istendiği ve Çin hükümetini eleştiren Çinli öğrencilerin tespit edilip ailelerinin Çin'de tehdit edildiği iddia ediliyor ve bu sebeplerden dolayı da kapatılması isteniyordu.⁵¹ Bunun yanında Savunma Bakanlığı'nın 2019'da Kongre için hazırladığı raporda da Çin'in güvenlik politikaları için, akademi ve eğitim kurumlarını, düşünce kuruluşlarını ve devlet tarafından işletilen medyayı kullandığı dile getirilmiştir.⁵² 2019 Ulusal Savunma Yetki Yasası gereğince, ABD'de Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin kapatılması istenmiş ve üniversiteler ikisinden birini seçmeye zorlanmıştır: Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü'nü sürdürmek veya ABD Savunma Bakanlığı'ndan Çince kursları için fon almak. Nitekim gerek Ağustos 2018'de tasarının kabul edilmesi, gerekse 2019 yetki yasasından sonra çok sayıda Enstitü kapatılmıştır.⁵³ 24 Nisan 2020 itibariyle ABD'de 2020 yazında kapatılacak olan 5 enstitü (Maryland Üniversitesi, New Mexico Eyalet Üniversitesi, Missouri Üniversitesi,

⁵⁰ Becard ve Filho, "Chinese Cultural Diplomacy."

⁵¹ Emre Konak, "Türkiye'deki Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri Kapatılmalı mı?," *China Pulse* (2018), <https://cinnabzi.com/page/4/?lang=tr>; <https://www.abc.net.au/chinese/2019-03-10/confucius-influence-around-the-world-in-question/10883700> (29.04.2020).

⁵² "Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2019," Annual Report to Congress, *Office of the Secretary of Defense* (2019):112, https://media.defense.gov/2019/May/02/2002127082/-1/-1/1/2019_CHINA_MILITARY_POWER_REPORT.pdf (30.04.2020).

⁵³ Wang Shan, "美国已有13间大学关闭孔子学院" (13 ABD Üniversitesi Konfüçyüs Enstitülerini Kapattı) (2019), <http://www.rfi.fr/cn/20190719%E7%BE%8E%E5%9B%BD%E5%B7%B2%E6%9C%8913%E9%97%B4%E5%A4%A7%E5%AD%A6%E5%85%B3%E9%97%AD%E5%AD%94%E5%AD%90%E5%AD%A6%E9%99%A2> (30.04.2020).



Arizona Üniversitesi ve Miami Üniversitesi) de dâhil olmak üzere toplam 86 Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü bulunmaktadır. 2014'ten Nisan 2020'ye kadar kapatılan enstitü sayısı da 37'dir. Bu sayı Enstitülerin toplam sayısı düşünüldüğünde başarısına gölge düşürmüyor gibi görünse de bu üniversitelerin hepsinin ABD'nin prestijli üniversiteleri olduğu da unutulmamalıdır. Kapatılacak olan Enstitülerden biri de 2004'te Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü'ne ev sahipliği yapan ilk ABD üniversitesi olan Maryland Üniversitesi'dir. ABD federal hükümet çalışanlarının yaklaşık %70'inin başkent Washington yakınlarındaki Maryland'de yaşadığı düşünüldüğünde bu üniversitenin öğrencilerinin çoğunun hükümet yetkilisi olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Böylece Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü, Çin tanıtım çalışmalarını doğrudan ABD'nin çekirdek sınıfına ulaştırabiliyordu. Bu üniversitenin enstitüyü kapatması önemli bir kayıp olacaktır. ABD'de Enstitülerin propaganda aracı olduğunu düşünenler kadar, bu eleştirileri fazla abartılı bulanlar da vardır. Onlara göre bu suçlamalarda bulunulacak yeterli kanıt yok.⁵⁴

Kanada Üniversite Öğretmenleri Birliği (CAUT) de Kanada'daki tüm Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin kapatılması çağrısında bulunmuştur. CAUT'a göre, "Enstitüler üniversite müfredatının geliştirilmesinde çok önemli bir rol oynamaktadır ki bu akademik özgürlüğün temel ihlali olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Ayrıca Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri, otoriter bir hükümet tarafından sahiplenilmekte, işletilmekte ve siyasetine ortak edilmektedir." Bu endişelerle 2006 yılında Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü ile ortaklık kuran ilk Kanada kuruluşu olan, British Columbia Teknoloji Enstitüsü (BCIT) 2019 yazında Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü'nü sessizce kapatmış, bunu diğerleri izlemiştir. Bu endişelere rağmen Kanada Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri operatörlerinin genel görüşü "Enstitülerin siyaseti etkileme arzusu olmadığı ve amaçlarının sadece Çinceyi öğretmek ve kültürel anlayışı geliştirmek" olduğu yönündedir. Bu nedenle de bazı üniversiteler Enstitülerle işbirliğini devam ettirmekte ve sözleşmelerini yenilemekte sakınca görmemektedirler.⁵⁵

Benzer gelişmeler Avrupa'da da yaşanmıştır. Avrupa'da ilk Konfüçyüs Enstitüsüne ev sahipliği yapan (2005) İsveç Stockholm Üniversitesi 2015'te kendi bünyesindeki Enstitüyü

⁵⁴ "How Many Confucius Institutes Are in the United States?", *National Association of Scholars* (2020), https://www.nas.org/blogs/article/how_many_confucius_institutes_are_in_the_united_states (30.04.2020); Liu, "China's Cultural Diplomacy"; "孔子学院——中国文化“走出去”的成功案例", (2008) <https://www.chsi.com.cn/jyzx/200811/20081103/9654675.html> (30.04.2020).

⁵⁵ Tristin Hopper, "Canadian Teachers Urge Universities to Close on-Campus Cultural Schools Funded by Chinese Government", *National Post* (2014), <https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/confucius-institutes> (01.05.2020); Jeremy Luedi, "Why Canada is Shutting Down its Confucius Institutes", *True North Far East* (2019), <https://truenorthfareast.com/news/confucius-institute-canada-closing-shut-down> (01.05.2020).



kapatma kararı almıştır. İki ülke arasındaki ilişkilerin bozulması, Çin makamlarının Çin Devlet Başkanı Xi Jinping gibi Çin yönetici seçkinlerini eleştiren kitaplar satan Çin doğumlu İsveç vatandaşı Gui Minhai'yi hapsedmesi ve sonrasındaki anlaşmazlıklar nedeniyle yıllar içinde ortaya çıkmış ve İsveç 2014'te süresi biten sözleşmeyi yenilemeyeceğini açıklamıştır. Ayrıca İsveç, ülkedeki tüm Enstitüleri kapatarak, bunu gerçekleştiren ilk Avrupa ülkesi de olmuştur.⁵⁶ Avrupa'da kapatılan bir diğer Enstitü de Fransa'daki Lyon Üniversitesi'ndeki Konfüçyüs Enstitüsüdür. Enstitü, Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Gregory Lee'nin Çinli direktör ile olan müfredat konusundaki anlaşmazlığı nedeniyle Hanban tarafından tek taraflı olarak kapatılmıştır.⁵⁷ İsveç ve Fransa dışında Almanya, Danimarka ve İngiltere'de de benzer kapanışlar yaşanmıştır. Ancak İngiltere, Çin'in enstitüleri komünist ideolojisini dünya çapında tanıtmak için kullandığına ve bunun İngiltere gibi demokratik ve özgür bir topluma tehdit olacağına yönelik raporlara ve kapatılma taleplerine rağmen hala Avrupa'da en fazla Konfüçyüs Enstitüsüne sahip ülke konumundadır.⁵⁸

ABD ve İngiltere'den sonra dünyada en fazla Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü bulunduran Avustralya'da da Sydney Üniversitesi'ndeki Dalai Lama'nın konuşmasının iptalinde Konfüçyüs Enstitüsünün lobicilik yaptığı yönündeki görüş; Newcastle Üniversitesi'ndeki bir akademisyenin Hong Kong ve Tayvan'ın Çin anakarasından ayrıldığı yönündeki bir konuşmasının ifşa edilmesinden sonra özür dilemek zorunda bırakılması; Pekin'in öğrencileri, akademisyenleri, denizaşırı Çinlileri ve çeşitli ülkelerdeki şirketleri ülke açıklamalarına ve politikalarına uymaya zorladığı yönünde eleştiriler nedeniyle Enstitüler mercek altına alınmıştır.⁵⁹ Avustralya parlamentosu bu endişeleri ortadan kaldırmak amacıyla yabancı hükümetler ve yasal faaliyetler de dâhil olmak üzere ilgili kuruluşlar adına hareket eden kişi ve organların bir kamu siciline kaydolmasını zorunlu tutmuştur. Bu doğrultuda Başsavcılık "Avustralya hükümeti üniversitelerimizden uluslararası eğitim ortaklıklarının Avustralya

⁵⁶ Kayla Wong, "Sweden Closes its Last Chinese-Funded Confucius Institute Amid Strained Relations with China," *Mothership* (2020), <https://mothership.sg/2020/04/sweden-closes-last-confucius-institute-china/> (01.05.2020).

⁵⁷ Liu, "China's Cultural Diplomacy"; Andreas Fulda, "Chinese Propaganda Has No Place on Campus," *Foreign Policy* (2019), <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/10/15/confucius-institute-chinese-propaganda-campus-communist-party-censorship/> (01.05.2020).

⁵⁸ "British Politicians Realize Confucius Institutes Have Nothing to Do with Confucius," *Vision Times* (2019), <https://www.visiontimes.com/2019/03/02/british-politicians-realize-confucius-institutes-have-nothing-to-do-with-confucius.html> (01.05.2020).

⁵⁹ Robert Burton-Bradley, "孔子学院：语言学习中心还是中国政府代理人？"(Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü: Dil Öğrenim Merkezi mi, Çin hükümet Temsilcisi mi?), *ABC News* (2019), <https://www.abc.net.au/chinese/2019-03-10/confucius-influence-around-the-world-in-question/10883700> (02.05.2020).



yasalarına, eğitim kalite standartlarına ve akademik özgürlüklere uymasını sağlamak için sağlam mekanizmalar olmasını beklemektedir” diyerek ev sahibi üniversitelerden enstitülerin kayıt altına alınmasını sağlamasını istemiştir.⁶⁰ New South Wales eyaleti Eğitim Bakanlığı da Avustralya okullarındaki potansiyel propaganda endişelerinin ardından inceleme talimatı vermiş ve Bakanlık raporunda, incelemenin “fiili siyasi nüfuz” olduğuna dair hiçbir kanıt bulamadığı yer almış ancak “enstitünün uygunsuz yabancı nüfuzu teşvik ettiği ya da edeceği” endişesi dile getirilmiştir. Bu endişe doğrultusunda Bakanlık, tek taraflı olarak Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü programı ile işbirliğinin sona erdirilmesine karar vermiştir.⁶¹ Avustralya’daki bazı üniversitelerde de Çin’in, Tayvan, Dalai Lama ve Tibet ve Falun Gong⁶²’a karşı tutumu ve kampüsteki siyasi faaliyetleri nedeniyle Enstitülerin kapatılmasına yönelik protestolar hatta imza kampanyaları başlatılmıştır. Afrika’da buna benzer eleştiri ve kapatma eylemlerine rastlamıyoruz.⁶³

9. Sonuç

Kadim Çin kültürünü yeniden keşfederek onu kültürel diplomasisinin merkezine oturtan Çin’in küresel ekonomik bir güç olmasıyla artan Çince öğrenim taleplerine cevabı Konfüçyüs Enstitüleri olmuştur. Çince dil öğreniminin dünya çapında tanıtımı, Çin’in dış politika hedeflerine yumuşak güç kullanarak ulaşma çabasının bir parçası olarak görülmektedir. Bu anlamda Çin’in Kültürel Diplomasi Politikalarının bir aracı olan Konfüçyüs Enstitülerinin bu çabadaki rolü tartışılmazdır. Çok kısa bir sürede dünyadaki diğer örneklerini geçerek 500’ü bulan ve 1000’i hedefleyen bir sayıya ulaşan enstitüler, kuruldukları dönemde başlayan ancak son dönemde iyice artan eleştirilere maruz kalmaktadır. Özellikle Çin’le dünya ekonomik yarışı içinde olan ve dünyadaki enstitülerin %40’ına sahip ABD, bu eleştirileri yapmakla kalmamış, bunun ülke güvenliğini de tehlikeye attığı ve çok acil kapatılmaları gerektiği yönünde kararlar

⁶⁰ Paul Karp, “Government to Assess Regulation of Chinese influence at Universities,” *The Guardian* (2019), <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/jul/25/government-to-assess-regulation-of-chinese-influence-at-universities> (02.05.2020).

⁶¹ Danuta Kozaki, “NSW Government Scraps Chinese Government-Sponsored Program over Foreign Influence Fears,” *ABC News* (2019), <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-08-23/nsw-government-scraps-confucius-classroom-foreign-influence-fear/11440936> (02.05.2020); Zou Shuo, “Closing of Confucius classes in Australia 'deeply regretted'”, *China Daily* (2019) <https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201908/26/WS5d631dd5a310cf3e35567c53.html> (02.05.2020).

⁶² Falun Gong, Mançurya’da Li Hongzhi tarafından 1980’lerin sonunda bulunan, insanların daha sağlıklı ve iyi hissetmesi amacıyla uygulanan; dürüstlük, merhamet ve sabra dayanan bir meditasyon sistemidir. Çin hükümeti Falun Gong’ın uygulayıcıları artınca bunu sisteme bir başkaldırı olarak görmüş ve 1999 Falun Gong’u yasaklamıştır.

⁶³ “Shut Down Griffith University's Confucius Institute,” https://www.change.org/p/griffith-university-shut-down-griffith-university-s-confucius-institute?use_react=false (02.05.2020).



olarak uygulamaya başlamıştır. Bu endişeler diğer ülkelere de yayılınca enstitüler açıldıkları hızda olmasa da birçok yerde kapatılmıştır. Kapatılan Enstitülerin o ülkelerin en önemli ve prestijli üniversitelerde olması da diğer bir sorundur.

Dışarıda, Enstitüler Çin'in propaganda aracı olduğu yönünde eleştirilirken, içeride ise bu rolünü beklediği gibi gerçekleştiremediği yönünde eleştirilmektedir. Aslında Çin ve Hanban her ne kadar enstitülerin bir propaganda aracı olmadığı yönünde açıklamalar yapsa da Konfüçyüs Enstitüsü'nün Çin hükümetinden bağımsız olduğu söylenemez. Nitekim Çin dilinin kullanılmasının desteklenmesi, Çin kültürünün yayılmasına ve Çin'in küresel nüfuzunun artmasına da katkıda bulunacaktır. Çin, bu enstitüleri aynı zamanda dünyadaki olumsuz imajını değiştirmek için de kullanmaktadır Ancak yine de bu enstitüler için yapılan eleştirilerin birçoğunun kasıtlı ve kanıtsız olduğu aşikârdır. Enstitülere karşı yapılan bu girişim artan rekabetin bir izdüşümüdür diyebiliriz. Aslında Batı'nın eleştirilerinin odağında olan ve Çin'in imajını olumsuz etkileyen akademik ve ifade özgürlüğü, okulların özerkliği gibi tartışmalara Çin Eğitim Bakanlığı, her Konfüçyüs Enstitüsünde daha fazla şeffaflık ve özerkliğe izin vererek son verebilir. İçeride yapılan eleştirilerin başında da Enstitülerin öncelikli hedefi olan dil eğitiminde başarılı olmalarına rağmen, Enstitü öğrencilerinin Çin kültürüne yönelik anlayış ve yakınlığının sağlanamadığı yönündedir. Bu amaçla enstitülerin politikalarında bir yenileme gerekebilecektir. Çünkü bu Enstitülerin başarı ölçümlerinden en önemlisidir ve sonuçta kültürel diplomasisinin etkinliği, harcanan nakitten ziyade değişen zihinlerle ölçülür.

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Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ve Avrupa Birliği'nin 2019 Hong Kong Protestolarına Yaklaşımları +

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Özet

21. yüzyıl, küresel siyasette birçok bölgede protestolar ve toplumsal hareketlere tanık olmaktadır. Bu olaylar, ekonomik sorunlardan özgürlük mücadelesine kadar geniş bir yelpazede ortaya çıkabilmektedir. Bu çerçevede özellikle dikkat çeken Hong Kong, tarihsel geçmişiyle ekonomik ve siyasi olarak Çin için önemli bir yere sahip olmuştur. Son yıllarda sıklıkla gündeme gelen Hong Kong protestoları Çin ile gerginliğin giderek artmasına neden olmuştur. Çin için hassas konular arasında yer alan Hong Kong, birçok aktörün dikkatini çekmiştir. Bu çerçevede, Hong Kong'daki protestolara küresel güçlerin yaklaşımları Çin açısından önemli olmaktadır. Çalışmada ele alınan iki aktör olan Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ve Avrupa Birliği, Çin'in ekonomik ve siyasi hayatında ilk sıralarda olması nedeniyle önemlidir. Çalışmada öncelikle Hong Kong protestolarının genel bir değerlendirilmesi yapılmış, sonraki bölümlerde Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ve Avrupa Birliği'nin protestolara yaklaşımları kronolojik olarak ortaya konulmuştur. İki aktörün yaklaşımı liderler, kurum ve organ temsilcilerinin söylemleri temelinde gösterilmiştir. Böylece, Hong Kong protestolarıyla ilgili olarak iki önemli aktörün yaklaşımlarındaki benzerlikler ve farklılıklar temelinde bazı çıkarımlar yapmak mümkün olacaktır. Çalışmada, protestolar karşısında ABD'nin AB'den daha sert söylemlerinin olduğu, Trump yönetiminin sorunun doğrudan taraflarından biri haline geldiği görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çin, Hong Kong, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Avrupa Birliği

The United States and European Union's Approach to the 2019 Hong Kong Protests

Abstract

The 21st century has witnessed protests and social movements in many regions in global politics. These events can occur in a wide range from economic problems to the struggle for freedom. In this context, Hong Kong has an important place for China in economic and political terms with its historical background. The Hong Kong protests, which have frequently been on the agenda in recent years, have led to increasing tension with China. Hong Kong, a sensitive issue for China, has attracted the attention of many actors. In this framework, the approach of global powers to protests in Hong Kong is important for China. The two actors in the study, the United States and the European Union, are important due to their high-ranking positions given their economic and political relations with China. In this study, firstly, a general evaluation of Hong Kong protests has been made, and in the following sections, the

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approaches of the United States and European Union to the protests have been presented chronologically. The approach of the two actors is shown based on the discourses of the managers of the institutions and the representatives of the state. Thus, it will be possible to draw some conclusions based on similarities and differences in the approaches of the two major actors regarding the Hong Kong protests. In the study, it was seen that the USA had harsher rhetoric than the EU in the face of the protests, and the Trump administration became one of the direct sides of the problem.

Keywords: *China, Hong Kong, United States of America, European Union*

1. Giriş

Costa'nın belirttiği gibi, "Hong Kong, son 150 yıldır Batı'nın Çin'e giriş kapısı olmuştur."

¹ Bu nedenle Batı için Hong Kong'un önemi geçmişten günümüze değişmemiştir. Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin (Çin) güneyinde yer alan Hong Kong, Çin'e bağlı özel statüde olan bir bölgedir. Çin'e sadece dış politika ile askeri konularda bağlı olan Hong Kong toplam 7,5 milyon nüfusu ile dünyadaki önemli finans merkezlerinden birisidir. Yıllar içinde ticaret ve ulaştırma gibi alanlarda ön plana çıkan Hong Kong, Güney Doğu Asya'daki ürün trafiğinin lojistik merkezi haline gelmiştir. Böylece Hong Kong, Güneydoğu Asya'da refah seviyesinin yüksek olduğu bölgelerden biri olmuştur. Hong Kong'un 1842 yılından itibaren İngiliz idaresi altına girmesi Hong Kong'daki toplumsal krizin ortaya çıkmasında önemli bir faktör olarak görülmektedir. Nihayetinde Hong Kong İngilizler tarafından 1997 yılında Çin yönetimine devrildiğinden itibaren "Bir Ülke, İki Sistem" ilkesi doğrultusunda yönetilmeye başlanmıştır.²

1997 yılından sonra Çin, Hong Kong'un güvenliğini sağlamak amacıyla Halkların Kurtuluş Ordusu Hong Kong Garnizonu'nu kurmuş ve görevlendirmiştir. Hong Kong anayasasının 18. maddesine göre, Hong Kong özel yönetim bölgesi güvenliği hakkında endişe duyarsa, Çin merkezi hükümetinden yardım isteyebilecektir. Bu durumda Çin'in uygulayabileceği iki olasılık vardır. Birincisi, Ulusal Halk Kongresi Daimi Komitesi kararıyla Çin'in kanunlarının bir kısmını veya tamamını Hong Kong üzerinde uygulamaktır. İkincisi ise

¹ Christopher K. Costa, One Country-Two Foreign Policies: United States Relations with Hong Kong after July 1, 1997, (*Villanova Law Review*, 1993), 825.

² Mustafa Aydoğan, "Çinin Büyük Sınavı: Hong Kong Olayları," Boğaziçi Asya, (2019), <http://bogaziciasya.com/cinin-buyuk-sinavi-hong-kong-olaylari/> (10.12.2019).



Halkların Kurtuluş Ordusu Hong Kong Garnizonunu kullanarak devletin güvenliğini sağlamaktır. “Bir Ülke, İki Sistem” ilkesi genel anlamda bu şekilde özetlenebilir.³

Hong Kong hükümeti tarafından 2019 yılında hazırlanan “suçluların Çin’e iadesi kanun tasarısı”, Hong Kong Anayasası’nda düzenlenen temel özgürlük ve hak alanlarının sınırlandırılmasına yönelik bir adım olduğu görüşü nedeniyle Hong Kong halkı tarafından kabul görmemiş ve geniş kitlelerin katılımıyla protestolara neden olmuştur.⁴ Hong Kong’da geçmişte de benzer protestolar yaşanmıştır. Nitekim ulusal güvenlik yasası olan “23. Kanun Teklifi” de 2002 yılında protestolara neden olmuştur. Bu kanunla, “Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti rejimini yıkmaya yönelik” şeklinde tanımlanan her türlü siyasal örgütlenme ve etkinlik yasaklanmış, protestolar sonucunda bu kanun geri çekilmiştir.⁵ 2014 yılında yaşanan “Şemsiye Hareketi” ise, Çin’in 2017 yılında Hong Kong’da yapılacak seçimlerde adayları kendisinin belirleyeceğini açıklaması nedeniyle başlamıştır.⁶

Hong Kong’da, suçluların Çin’e iadesine yönelik tasarıya karşı yürütülen protestolarda Hong Konglu protestocular polisle karşı karşıya gelmiştir. Şiddet olaylarının artmasıyla uluslararası birçok aktör, taraflara olayların son bulması çağrısında bulunmuştur. Protestoculara karşı Çin yönetiminin göstermiş olduğu tepki uluslararası aktörler tarafından eleştirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, yapılan çalışmada Amerika Birleşik Devletleri (ABD) ve Avrupa Birliği’nin (AB) Çin-Hong Kong siyasi krizine yönelik söylemleri konu edilmiştir.

Konuyla ilgili literatür incelendiğinde ABD-Çin⁷ ve AB-Çin⁸ ilişkilerine dair çok sayıda çalışma olmasına karşın, Hong Kong özelinde az sayıda çalışma olduğu görülmektedir. Costa, ABD-Hong Kong ilişkilerinin tarihsel sürecine değindiği çalışmasında Hong Kong’un ABD için ekonomik anlamda ve Çin ile ilişkilerindeki önemini belirtmiştir.⁹ Tang, ABD-Çin ilişkilerinde Hong Kong’un önemini belirtmiş, Hong Kong’un açık bir sistem olmasının veya

³ Neslihan Ecem Kapar, “Hong Kong; Yasa Karşıtlığı mı, Meşruiyetin Sorgulanması mı?,” *Tasam*, (2019), https://tasam.org/trTR/Icerik/51452/hong_kong_yasa_karsitligi_mi_mesruiyetin_sorgulanmasi_mi (10.12.2019).

⁴ Murat Çiçek, “Tek Ülke İki Sistem: Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti ile Hong Kong Arasındaki Sistem Tartışması,” *Politika Akademisi*, (2019), <http://politikaakademisi.org/2019/07/29/tek-ulke-iki-sistem-cin-halk-cumhuriyeti-ile-hong-kong-arasindaki-sistem-catismasi/> (11.12.2019).

⁵ Ali Burak Biber, “Hong Kong’da Neler Oluyor?,” *Trt Haber*, (2019), <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/hong-kongda-neler-oluyor-419585.html> (11.12.2019).

⁶ Ceren Ergenç, “Sınıflar, Kalabalıklar ve Devlet: Hong Kong Şemsiye Hareketi’nin Düşündürdükleri,” *Mülkiye Dergisi* 39, no. 2 (2015): 298.

⁷ Cemre Pekcan, *Çin Dış Politikası ve ABD ile İlişkiler*, (Bursa: Dora Basım Yayın, 2019).

⁸ İlhan Aras, *Avrupa Birliği ve Çin: Siyasi-Ekonomik İlişkiler*, (Ankara: Detay Yayıncılık, 2018).

⁹ Costa, “One Country-Two Foreign Policies: United States Relations with Hong Kong after July 1, 1997”.



otoriter bir yönetime bürünmesinin ABD-Çin ilişkilerinin geleceğini belirleyeceğinden bahsetmiştir.¹⁰ Lan, 1960-1970'ler ve 1980-1990'larda Hong Kong'dan ABD'ye gelen iki göçmen nesil üzerine bir çalışma yapmıştır.¹¹ Diğer konu olan AB'ye bakıldığında ise; Chan, Hong-Kong-AB ilişkilerini ve AB'nin imajına yönelik Hong Kong kamuoyunun yaklaşımını incelemiş ve ilişkinin geliştirilmesi gerektiğini belirtmiştir.¹² Lai, temelde ekonomik olarak önemli bir ilişkinin olduğu 1997 sonrası Hong Kong-AB ilişkilerini ele almış ve tarafların birbirleri için ticari anlamda önemli olduklarını belirtmiştir.¹³ Chan, AB'nin Hong Kong'da bazı politika değişikliklerinde itici güç olmasını ele almıştır.¹⁴ Literatür çerçevesinde, güncel çalışmaların eksik olduğu, Hong-Kong protestolarına yaklaşıma ilişkin ABD ve AB özelinde çalışma olmadığı görülmektedir.

Çalışmada öncelikle 2019 yılında Hong Kong'da yaşanan gelişmeler genel hatlarıyla aktarılacaktır. Sonraki bölümlerde öncelikle ABD'nin ve daha sonra AB'nin protestolara yaklaşımları kronolojik olarak gösterilecektir. Böylece, Çin için önemli bir sorun olan protestolara diğer önemli aktörlerin yaklaşımları gösterilerek ilgili literatüre katkı sağlamak hedeflenmiştir.

2. 2019 Yılında Hong Kong'daki Gelişmeler

Hong Kong geçtiğimiz 2019 yılından beri devamlı protestolara¹⁵ sahne olurken aynı zamanda tarihindeki hem en geniş katılımlı hem de en uzun süreli protestolar yaşanmaktadır. İlk zamanlarda üniversite kampüslerinde başlayan protesto gösterilerinin zaman içinde yatışması beklenirken aksine gösteriler üniversite kampüslerinden meydanlara kadar taşınmış ve daha geniş bir alana yayılmıştır. Protestoların başlamasını tetikleyen ana etken, Hong Kong sınırları içinde bulunan suçluların Çin'e iade edilmesini öngören yasa tasarısının parlamentoda gündeme alınması olmuştur. Yasa tasarısına karşı olanlar, tasarının ana hedefinin Hong

¹⁰ James T. H. Tang, "Hong Kong in United States-China Relations: The International Politics of Hong Kong's Reversion to Chinese Sovereignty," *Journal of Contemporary China* 6, no.16 (1997).

¹¹ Shanshan Lan, "Negotiating Multiple Boundaries: Diasporic Hong Kong Identities in the United States", *Identities* 19, no. 6 (2012).

¹² Kenneth Ka-Lok Chan, "Constructing Relations with Hong Kong under 'One Country, Two Systems'. Prospects for the European Union," *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 6, no.2 (2007).

¹³ Suetyi Lai, "Just Another Chinese City? Hong Kong's Post-1997 Role to the European Union," *Asian Education and Development Studies* 8, no. 2 (2019).

¹⁴ Kenneth Ka-Lok Chan, "Power Through Trade: Opportunities and Constraints of the European Union's Norm Entrepreneurship-the Case of Hong Kong," *Asia Europe Journal*, Online first (2019), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10308-019-00546-2>

¹⁵ Bkz. Martin Purbrick, "A Report of the 2019 Hong Kong Protests," *Asian Affairs* 50, no. 4 (2019); Sonny Shiu-Hing Lo, "Hong Kong in 2019: Turning Point amid Tensions," *Asian Survey* 60, no.1 (2020).



Kong'da bulunan Merkezi Çin Hükümeti karşıtı muhalifleri hedef aldığını ileri sürüyor ve tasarısının yasalaşması halinde muhaliflerin Çin'de yargılanacakları, bu durumda da haksızlığa ve şiddete maruz kalacakları endişesini taşıyorlardı. Hong Kong'da yaşanan gelişmelerin tek nedeninin bu yasa tasarısı ve onunla elde edilmek istenen sonuçlar olduğunu söylemek doğru bir değerlendirme olmayacaktır. Hong Kong'da geçmişte yaşanan ve bugün de bir başka biçimde kendini gösteren siyasi krizlerin temelinde Hong Kong'un Çin'e katılma yönteminin doğurduğu demokratik sorunlar yatmaktadır. İşte bu noktada bugün yaşanan krizi anlayabilmek için Hong Kong Özel İdare Bölgesi Yürütme Konseyi ve Yasama Konseyi'nin nasıl ve kimler tarafından seçildiğine bakmak faydalı olacaktır.¹⁶

Mevcut yasal siyasi rejim kurallarına göre Hong Kong Hükümeti Yürütme Konseyi'nin Başkanı (Baş Yönetici) Carrie Lam 1200 üyeli Seçim Kurulu tarafından seçilmekte ancak Çin Merkez Hükümeti tarafından atanmaktadır. Bakanlar Kuruluna denk gelen Yürütme Konseyi üyeleri ise Baş Yönetici tarafından atanmaktadır. Yasama Konseyi 70 üyeden oluşmaktadır. Bunlardan 35'i coğrafi seçim bölgelerinden doğrudan seçim yoluyla seçilip gelirken çeşitli meslek ve çıkar gruplarına mensup grup üyelerinin kendi temsilcileri olarak seçtikleri 35 üye ise işlevsel seçim bölgelerinden dolayı olarak seçilmektedir. İşlevsel seçim bölgeleri usulü 1985 yılında uygulamaya konulmuşken, coğrafi seçim bölgeleri usulü ise ilk kez 1991 yılında uygulanmış ve Hong Kong halkı ilk kez doğrudan oy kullanma hakkını elde etmiştir. Bu duruma göre, Hong Kong halkı günümüzde sadece Yasama Konseyi'nin yarısını oluşturan coğrafi seçim bölgelerinde doğrudan seçme ve seçilme hakkına sahiptir. Çin-Hong Kong arasında yaşanan küçük ya da büyük kapsamlı her protestonun ya da siyasi krizin altında Çin'in Hong Kong üzerindeki hâkimiyetinden kaynaklanan bu yasal yapı meselesinin olduğu görülmüştür. Çıkış sebepleri farklı olsa da her defasında protestolar nihayetinde genel oy hakkının verilmesi çağrısına dönüşmüştür.¹⁷

Protestoların sona ermesi için göstericiler, Hong Kong yönetimine beş maddeden oluşan bir talep listesi sunmuşlardır. Sunulan istekler şu şekildedir¹⁸:

¹⁶ Nihal Kutlu, "Hong Kong Protestolarını Anayasal Krizler Üzerinden Anlamak," Daktilo1984, (2019), <https://daktilo1984.com/forum/hong-kong-protestolarini-anayasal-krizler-uzerinden-anlamak/> (18.12.2019).

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ "Hong Kong'da Gösteriler 6'ncı Ayında: Protestocular Ne İstiyor, Hükümet Ne Diyor?," Mepanews, (2019), <https://www.mepanews.com/hong-kongda-gosteriler-6nci-ayinda-protestocular-ne-istiyor-hukümet-ne-diyor-31380h.htm> (20.12.2019).



“Suçluların iade tasarısının tamamen kaldırılması, polislerin uyguladığı şiddetin incelenmesine yönelik bir komisyon kurulması, protesto gösterilerinin isyan suçu olarak tanımlanmaması, tutuklanan protestocuların serbest bırakılması, Hong Kong seçimlerinde genel oy hakkının tanınması.”

Çin’in taleplere tepkisi sert olmuş ve protestocuları “kamu düzenini bozmaya teşebbüs eden teröristler” olarak görmüştür. Çin Devlet Başkanı Xi Jinping yaşanan protesto gösterilerine ilişkin yaptığı açıklamada “Çin’in sabrının sınırlı olduğunu” ifade etmiştir. Çin’in protestoları ciddiye almaya başladığının göstergesi ise Hong Kong’a 27 kilometre uzaklıkta bulunan Shenzhen şehrine Çin Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu’nun yığınak yapmaya başlamasıyla görülmüştür.¹⁹

Protestocular polis ile aralarındaki çatışmaların olağan hale geldiği caddelerden uzak, güvenli bir protesto alanı olarak Hong Kong Uluslararası Havaalanını görmeye başlamışlardır. Asya’nın en işlek havaalanlarından biri olan Hong Kong Uluslararası Havaalanı, protestocuların mesajlarını doğrudan uluslararası topluma ulaştırmalarında kilit bir protesto hedefi olmuştur. Havaalanında protestocular tarafından olayların nedenlerinin ve taleplerinin açıklandığı Çince, İngilizce, Fransızca, Korece, Japonca ve diğer dillerde hazırlanan broşürler gelen uluslararası ziyaretçilere dağıtılmıştır (Gültekin, 2019). Ziyaretçilere dağıtılan broşürde şu şekilde ifadeler yer almıştır²⁰:

“Bu aylarda olan her şey şüphesiz seyahat planlarınızı etkiledi. Hong Kong bir zamanlar gördüğünüz şehir değil, kırık, parçalanmış bir şehre geldiniz. Bu kırık parçaları bir araya getirmek, bu şehri evimiz yapan şeyi korumak için savaşıyoruz. Bize katlanın. Birkaç yıl içinde tekrar Hong Kong’a geldiğinizde her zaman hayal ettiğiniz göz alıcı, canlı, güzel Hong Kong’u görebileceğinize inanıyoruz.”

Hong Kong havaalanında protestolar sebebiyle yaklaşık 1000 uçuş etkilenmiştir. Bunun üzerine mahkeme emriyle protestocuların havaalanına gelmelerini engellemek amacıyla kısıtlayıcı kararlar çıkarılmıştır. Çin yönetimi havaalanı protestolarına sert eleştirilerle

¹⁹ Mustafa Aydoğan, “Çinin Büyük Sınavı: Hong Kong Olayları.”

²⁰ Holmes Chan, “US Issues Travel Advisory for Hong Kong Over ‘Civil Unrest,’ Urges Travellers to Exercise Increased Caution,” Hong Kong Free Press, (2019), <https://hongkongfp.com/2019/08/08/us-issues-travel-advisory-hong-kong-civil-unrest-urges-travellers-exercise-increased-caution/> (20.12.2019).



yaklaşmıştır. Çin medyasında protestocular şiddete başvuran çeteler ve suçlular olarak gösterilmiştir. Çin'in Hong Kong ve Makao şehirlerindeki işlerden sorumlu Ofis sözcüsü Yang Guang, protesto gösterilerinin “terörizm belirtileri” gösterdiğini ve “hukukun üstünlüğü için gerçek bir tehdit” olduğunu belirtmiştir. Artan protesto gösterilerine karşılık Çin'in giderek sertleşen söylemleri ise bir güç müdahalesinde bulunmayı düşünebileceği korkularını tetiklemiştir.²¹

China Daily gazetesi gelişmeleri okuyucularına aktarırken aslında Merkezi Çin Hükümetinin meseleye bakışını ve gelişmeler karşısında alacağı tavrı Hong Kong'da bulunan Kızıl Ordu garnizon komutanının ifadeleri üzerinden aktarmıştır. Komutanın “olayların bir ülke-iki sistem ilkesini tehlikeye attığını, bu nedenle asla kabul edilemez olduğunu ve gerekirse müdahale edebileceklerini” açıklaması, Merkezi Çin Hükümetinin Hong Kong'daki mevcut statükodan hiç de geri adım atmaya niyetli olmadığı anlamına gelmiştir. South China Morning Post gazetesinde ise Çin yönetiminin 2019 yılında başlayan protesto gösterilerini “Arap Baharı” olaylarına, “renkli devrimlere” benzettiğini, Batı'nın kışkırtma ve komplolarının bir ürünü olduğunu iddia ederek gelişmeler karşısında tutumunu sertleştirdiği, Hong Kong'da tırmanan olayların siyasi ve ekonomik bir krize yol açtığı öne sürmüştür. Hong Kong'da bulunan siyasi yorumcular ise; Çin Devlet Başkanı Xi Jinping'in ülke içinde ve uluslararası alanda büyük sarsıntı yaratabilecek Tiananmen benzeri bir olayın bir daha yaşanması riskini göze almak istemediği için orduyu devreye sokma konusunda kararsız kaldığını vurgulamışlardır. Yine aynı siyasi yorumcular Çin Devlet Başkanının bu tutumunda, ülkede zayıf görünmekten, saygınlığını kaybetmekten, Çin'in yükselmekte olan hegemonya sürecinin zarar görmesinden duyduğu korkunun etkili olduğunu, yönetim içindeki farklı gruplar arasındaki iktidar rekabetinin de karar alma sürecini aksattığını ifade etmişlerdir.²²

Bu çerçevede, Çin yönetiminin protesto olaylarını nasıl değerlendirdiği de önem kazanmaktadır. Çin yönetiminin protestolara ilişkin olarak 2019 yılında yayınladığı “Yeni Dönemde Ulusal Savunma” başlıklı rapora göre, 2019 yılında gerçekleşen protesto gösterileri kritik bir öneme sahip olmuş ve bu gelişmeler adeta yeni bir “Soğuk Savaş” bağlamında değerlendirilmiştir. Raporda üç nokta dikkat çekmiştir. Birincisi; Çin'in, bölgedeki ve

²¹ Buse Gültekin, “Hong Kong Neyi Protesto Ediyor: İşte Hong Kong'luların 5 Talebi,” EuroPolitika, (2019), <http://www.europolitika.com/hong-konglularin-5-talebi/> (20.12.2019).

²² Ergin Yıldızoğlu, “Hong Kong ‘Yeni Soğuk Savaş’ platformu mu oluyor?,” BBC Türkçe, (2019), <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-49206875> (20.12.2019).



dünyadaki yükselme projesinin karşısındaki en önemli engel olarak ABD gücü ve etkisinin gösterilmesi, haliyle Ulusal Savunma raporunda da ABD'nin ana hedef gösterilmesidir. Raporda dikkat çeken ikinci nokta; toplumsal, ekonomik, etnik sorunların dış güçler tarafından Çin'in iç istikrarını bozmak veya bir çatışma olması durumunda Çin'in savunma gücünü zayıflatmak için kullanılabileceğinin belirtilmesidir. Bu bağlamda raporda Tibet, Hong Kong ve Tayvan öncelikli olarak öne çıkan bölgeler olmuştur. Raporda dikkat çeken üçüncü nokta ise; Çin'in bu bölgelerde veya Güney Çin Denizi'nde egemenlik haklarını korumak için savaşmaktan çekinmeyeceğinin vurgulanmasıdır. Bu durum, Çin'in "büyük stratejisinin" önündeki en büyük engel olarak ABD'yi görmesine ve "Yeni Dönemi" adeta yeni bir "Soğuk Savaş dönemi" olarak algılamasına yol açmıştır.²³

Aylarca süren protestolar, polis müdahaleleri ve taraflar arasındaki müzakereler neticesinde Hong Kong Baş Yöneticisi Carrie Lam yapmış olduğu açıklamada şu ifadeleri kullanmıştır²⁴:

"Geçtiğimiz iki ay boyunca meydana gelen olaylar, Hong Kong halkını şok etti ve üzdü. Hepimiz evimiz Hong Kong için çok endişeliyiz. Hepimiz mevcut çıkmaz ve huzursuz zamanlardan bir çıkış yolu bulmayı umuyoruz. Toplumdaki hoşnutsuzluğu gidermek için yollar bulmalı ve çözümler aramalıyız. İki aydan fazla süren sosyal huzursuzluktan sonra, bu hoşnutsuzluğun tasarının çok ötesine uzandığı açıktır".

2019 Eylül ayında Carrie Lam'ın protestoya sebep olan yasa tasarısını tamamen geri çektiklerini açıklamasına karşılık göstericiler bu durumu "çok az, çok geç" (*too little, too late*) olarak yorumlayarak protestolarına devam etmişlerdir.²⁵

Hong Kong'da yaşanan protestolar sırasında Kasım 2019'da gerçekleştirilen yerel seçimlerde 4 milyona yakın seçmenin %71'i oy kullanarak rekor bir katılım gösterilmiştir. Çoğunlukla yerel konularda karar verme yetkisi olan 18 bölgesel meclisten 17'sini protestolara katılan ve destek veren muhalifler kazanmıştır. Hong Kong halkı için bu yerel seçimler, Hong Kong ve Çin yönetimine mesaj verebilmek için önemli bir şans olmuştur. Carrie Lam seçimlerin

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ "Resmen Açıklandı! Aylar Süren Protesto Amacına Ulaştı," CNN Türk, (2019), <https://www.cnnturk.com/dunya/resmen-aciklandi-aylar-suren-protesto-amacina-ulasti?page=1> (20.12.2019).

²⁵ Nihal Kutlu, "Hong Kong Protestolarını Anayasal Krizler Üzerinden Anlamak," Daktilo1984, (2019), <https://daktulo1984.com/forum/hong-kong-protestolarini-anayasal-krizler-uzerinden-anlamak/> (18.12.2019).



ardından yapmış olduğu açıklamada, seçim sonuçlarının izlenen politikaları üzerinde ciddi etkileri olacağını ve sonuçlara saygı duyduğunu ifade etmiştir.²⁶

Çin karşıtı protestoların sürdüğü ve protestocuların Carrie Lam'ın istifasını istediği bir dönemde Çin Başbakanı Li Keqiang Hong Kong'a destek ziyaretinde bulunmuştur. Ziyaretinde yapmış olduğu açıklamada Carrie Lam'ın "refah ve istikrarın güvencesi olduğunu" ifade ederek çalışmalarını ve çabalarını takdir ettiğini söylemiştir.²⁷

3. ABD'nin Bakışı

ABD yönetimi her zaman hesap verebilir ve demokratik kurumlara sahip olan bir Hong Kong'un gelişmesine açıkça destek vermiştir. Bu nedenle Hong Kong, geçmişten günümüze kendisi için önemli iki ekonomik aktör olan ABD ve Çin arasındaki ekonomik çatışmaların arasında kalmaktadır.²⁸

Hong Kong'daki protestoları ABD Başkanı Donald Trump yönetimi de yakından takip etmektedir. Trump, Çin yönetiminin Hong Kong'daki protestoculara daha anlayışlı bir şekilde yaklaşması gerektiği konusunda açıklamalarda bulunmuştur.²⁹ 1989 yılında gerçekleşen Tiananmen olaylarına atıfta bulunan Trump protestolara karşı Xi Jinping'e daha dikkatli olması konusunda uyarılar yapmıştır.³⁰ Gösterilerin şiddetlendiği 2019 Ağustos ayında Trump, Çin menşeli ürünlere ek vergi getirildiğini açıklamıştır. Çin yönetimi ise, bu durumu Hong Kong olayları üzerinden gerçekleştirilen bir çeşit "ekonomik şantaj" olarak yorumlamıştır.³¹

Çin'e karşı Hong Kong'u koruduğunu/ savunduğunu öne süren Trump, "Ben olmasaydım, Hong Kong 14 dakikada yeryüzünden silinmiş olurdu." şeklinde ABD'nin sorundaki rolünün önemini göstermiştir. Ayrıca Trump Çin'in Hong Kong'un dışında bir milyon asker bulundurduğunu ve Xi Jinping ile yapmış olduğu görüşmede askeri bir

²⁶ Yusuf Emre Koç, "Çin'in Yumuşak Karnı: Hong Kong," Kriter Dergi, (2020), <https://kriterdergi.com/dis-politika/cinin-yumusak-karni-hong-kong> (01.01.2020).

²⁷ "Çin'den Hong Kong Yönetimine Destek Ziyareti", Mepanews, (2019), <https://www.mepanews.com/cinden-hong-kong-yonetimine-destek-ziyareti-32116h.htm> (20.12.2019).

²⁸ James T. H. Tang, "Hong Kong in United States-China relations: The International Politics of Hong Kong's Reversion to Chinese Sovereignty," 430.

²⁹ Mustafa Aydoğan, "Çinin Büyük Sınavı: Hong Kong Olayları."

³⁰ "Trump Warns China Against 'Tiananmen Square' Style Crackdown in Hong Kong," FRANCE24, (2019), <https://www.france24.com/en/20190819-usa-china-hong-kong-donald-trump-trade-deal-democracy-protests-tiananmen-square> (21.12.2019).

³¹ Mustafa Aydoğan, "Çinin Büyük Sınavı: Hong Kong Olayları."



müdahalenin iki ülke arasında yapılacak olan ticari anlaşmaya olumsuz etkisi olabileceği değerlendirilmesinde bulunmuştur.³²

Amerikan Temsilciler Meclisi Sözcüsü Nancy Pelosi ise, Hong Kong'da yaşanan protestolarda polisin olaylara müdahalesini şiddet eylemi olarak tanımlayan bir açıklama yapmıştır. Çin Dışişleri Bakanlığı Sözcüsü Hua Chunying, Pelosi'nin yapmış olduğu açıklamanın ardından ABD'nin Çin'in içişlerinden uzak durması uyarısında bulunarak “Siz kendi işinize bakın. Hong Kong'la ilgili sizi endişelendirecek bir durum yok” ifadelerini kullanmıştır. Ayrıca Pelosi'nin ifadelerinde gerçeklere önem verilmediğini vurgulayan Hua, “Siyahı beyaza çevirdiniz ve şiddet suçlarını insan hakları ve özgürlük için güzel bir savaş olarak tanımladınız” açıklamasında bulunmuştur.³³

Cumhuriyetçi Senatör Marco Rubio tarafından sunulan “Hong Kong İnsan Hakları ve Demokrasi Yasası” başlıklı iki yasa tasarısı 15 Ekim 2019 tarihinde Trump'ın imzalamasıyla yasalaşarak yürürlüğe girmiştir. Hong Kong'daki protestoculara destek veren ABD yasa tasarıları ile Hong Kong'daki insan hakları ihlallerinden sorumlu olan Çinli yetkililere yaptırım uygulayabilecek, ayrıca ABD Dışişleri Bakanlığı yıllık raporlarında Çin'in Hong Kong'da güvence altına aldığı özerklik haklarına riayet edip etmediği incelenecektir. Trump imzalamış olduğu yasa tasarısının ardından yaptığı açıklamada “Yasaların Çin ve Hong Kong liderleri ve temsilcilerinin aralarındaki anlaşmazlıkları uzun vadeli bir barış ve refah oluşturacak şekilde çözülebilmesi için yasalaştığını” söylemiştir.³⁴

Çin Dışişleri Bakanlığı, ABD'nin Pekin Büyükelçisi Terry Branstad'ı Dışişleri'ne çağırarak imzalanmış olan yasa tasarısını Çin'in içişlerine “ciddi” bir müdahale olarak gördüklerini açıklamıştır. Bakanlık Sözcüsü “ABD tarafı olguları görmezden geliyor, siyahı beyaza çeviriyor ve bariz bir şekilde yakıp yıkan, masum kent sakinlerine zarar veren, hukuk

³² Dildar Başkan, “ABD Başkanı Trump: Ben Olmasaydım, Hong Kong 14 Dakikada Yeryüzünden Silinmiş Olurdu,” Anadolu Ajansı, (2019), <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/abd-baskani-trump-ben-olmasaydim-hong-kong-14-dakikada-yeryuzunden-silinmis-olurdu/1653148#> (22.12.2019).

³³ Berrak Kanbir ve Rodriguez Sanmartin, “Çin'den Batı'ya Hong Kong Uyarısı: İç İşlerimize Karışmayın,” Euronews, (2019), <https://tr.euronews.com/2019/08/13/cin-den-batiya-hong-kong-uyarisi-ic-islerimize-karismayin> (22.12.2019).

³⁴ “Trump Hong Kong Yasa Tasarılarını İmzaladı,” Deutsche Welle Türkçe, (2019), <https://p.dw.com/p/3TrXv> (25.12.2019).



devletini çiğneyen ve sosyal düzeni tehlikeye sokan, şiddete başvuran suçluları cesaretlendiriyor” ifadelerini kullanmıştır.³⁵

Trump'ın Hong Kong İnsan Hakları ve Demokrasi Yasası'nı onaylamasına yanıt olarak Pekin yönetimi, Amerikan askeri gemilerinin Hong Kong Limanı'na girmelerini yasakladığını açıklamıştır. ABD Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Mark Milley, alınan bu karar üzerine Çin Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Li Zuocheng ile görüşmüştür. Görüşmeye ilişkin açıklamada bulunan ABD Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Sözcüsü Albay DeDe Halfhill, “İki komutan arasındaki görüşme, ABD-Çin arasında sonuç odaklı ve yapıcı bir savunma ilişkisi kurmaya fırsat sağladı” ifadelerini kullanmıştır.³⁶

Protestolara neden olan yasa tasarısının iptal edilmesine rağmen protestoların devam etmesi ile birlikte ABD'nin Hong Kong konsolosluğu önünde toplanan protestocular, “Başkan Trump, lütfen Hong Kong'u özgürleştir” yazılı bir pankartla ABD'ye “Hong Kong'a müdahale çağrısında” bulunmuştur. Protestocular, yasa tasarısının iptalinin yeterli olmadığını, öne sürdükleri beş talep kabul görene kadar protestolarına devam edeceklerini açıklamışlardır.³⁷

ABD ile Çin arasındaki Hong Kong gerilimi NBA'e (*National Basketball Association/ Ulusal Basketbol Ligi*) de sıçramıştır. Tepki çeken “Özgürlük için mücadele, Hong Kong'a destek” twitter paylaşımı ile gündeme gelen NBA takımlarından Houston Rockets'ın genel müdürü Daryl Morey, Çinli şirketlerin sponsorluklarını çekmesi ve bazı televizyon kanallarının takımın maçlarını yayınlamayacağını açıklaması üzerine paylaşımını silmiştir. NBA ise Morey'nin paylaşımına gelen tepkiler üzerine üzüntü duyduklarını ifade eden bir açıklama yapmıştır. Missouri Cumhuriyetçi Senatörü Josh Hawley ise NBA'yi yapmış olduğu açıklamadan dolayı Çin'e “boyun eğmekle” suçlamış ve Çin'deki sezon öncesi NBA maçlarını iptal etmesi çağrısında bulunmuştur.³⁸

³⁵ Emel Öz Güzellik, “Çin ABD'nin Pekin Büyükelçisini Dışişleri Bakanlığına Çağırıldı,” Anadolu Ajansı, (2019), <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/cin-abdnin-pekin-buyukelcisini-disisleri-bakanligina-cagirdi/1657704> (22.12.2019).

³⁶ “ABD Genelkurmay Başkanı Milley'den Çinli Mevkidaşına Hong Kong Telefonu,” Sputnik Türkiye, (2019), <https://sptnkne.ws/A94b> (28.12.2019).

³⁷ “Hong Konglu Eylemciler ABD Konsolosluğu Önünde Toplandı: Başkan Trump, Lütfen Hong Kong'u Özgürleştir,” Sputnik Türkiye, (2019), <https://sptnkne.ws/9FWx> (28.12.2019).

³⁸ Dildar Baykan, “Pence'den Hong Kong'daki Protestoculara ‘Yanınızdayız’ Mesajı,” Anadolu Ajansı, (2019), <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/penceden-hong-kongdaki-protestoculara-yaninizdayiz-mesaji/1625558> (22.12.2019).



ABD Başkan Yardımcısı Mike Pence, Hong Kong’da devam eden protestolarla ilgili Çin’in “Hong Kong’daki insanların hak ve hürriyetlerini büyük oranda kısıtladığını ve müdahalelerini artırdığını” ifade ederek, ABD’nin protestocuların yanında olduğunu açıklamıştır. Pence, NBA ve spor giyim markası Nike’ı da Çin’e karşı tutumları konusunda eleştirmiştir. Pence ayrıca, “Nike kendisini sözde sosyal adalet şampiyonu gibi öne çıkarıyor ama söz konusu Hong Kong olunca, sosyal vicdanını kapının dışında bırakmayı tercih ediyor.” değerlendirmesinde bulunmuştur. Çin yönetiminin milyonlarca Müslüman’ı da hapisanelerde tuttuğunu belirten Pence, Çin’in Sincan Uygur Özerk Bölgesi’ndeki eylemlerini de eleştirmiştir. Çin Dışişleri Bakanlığı sözcüsü Hua Chunying, Pence’i “kibir ve ikiyüzlülük” ile suçlayarak, ABD’nin “sorumlu olmayan görüşleri ifade etmekten vazgeçmesi gerektiğini” söylemiştir.³⁹

Hong Kong’daki protestocular kendilerini destekleyen bir yasayı imzaladıkları için Trump’a teşekkür etmişler, Trump’ı önemli bir film karakteri olan boksör Rocky Balboa olarak gösteren posterler hazırlamışlardır. 28 Kasım 2019 tarihinde Hong Kong’da düzenlenen bir Şükran Günü mitinginde ABD bayrakları ve Trump’ın Rocky afişleri ile protesto gösterilerine devam etmişlerdir.⁴⁰



Kaynak: “Hong Kong protestocuları, Trump’ı Rocky...”

4. AB’nin Bakışı

2019’un Temmuz ayında başlayan protestolar, ilerleyen aylarda şiddetle artan eylemlere dönüşünce AB, Hong Kong’da süregelen protestolara ilişkin bazı değerlendirmelerde bulunmuştur. Avrupa Parlamentosu’nun (AP) 18 Temmuz’da Hong Kong’la ilgili aldığı kararda,

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ “Hong Kong Protestocuları, Trump’ı Rocky Şeklinde Tasvir Eden Posterler Taşdı,” The Independentturkish, (2019), <https://www.independentturkish.com/node/98401/dunya/hong-kong-protestocuları-trump’ı-rocky-şeklinde-tasvir-eden-posterler-taşdı> (31.12.2019).



Çin yönetiminin Hong Kong Özel İdari Bölgesi hükümetinin Kaçak Suçlular Yönetmeliği üzerindeki değişiklikleri geri çekmesini ve barışçıl göstericiler ile ilgili suçlamaları kaldırmasını talep etmiştir. Dönemin Çin Dışişleri Bakanlığı Sözcüsü Geng Shuang ise, Hong Kong'la ilgili işlerin Çin'in iç işleri kapsamında olduğunu, Çin hükümetinin hiçbir yabancı hükümet, örgüt veya şahsın müdahalesine izin vermeyeceğini belirtmiştir. Geng Shuang, AP'nin Çin'in egemenliğine saygı duyup hiçbir şekilde Hong Kong'la ilgili işlere müdahil olmaması ve Hong Kong'daki kamu düzenine zarar veren grupları desteklememesi gerektiğini ifade etmiştir.⁴¹ AB ayrıca devam eden protestoları çözmek için taraflar arasında kapsayıcı bir diyaloga ihtiyaç olduğu yönünde söylemde de bulunmuştur.⁴²

Dönemin AB Dış İlişkiler ve Güvenlik Politikası Yüksek Temsilcisi Federica Mogherini, protestolarda kitleleri etkileyen birkaç demokrasi yanlısı protestocunun⁴³ tutuklanmasının ardından Hong Kong'daki son gelişmeleri “son derece endişe verici gelişmeler” olarak nitelendirmiştir. AB tarafından ileri sürülen, Mogherini'nin ifadesine benzeyen söylemler Çin yönetimini rahatsız etmiştir. Çin Dışişleri Bakanlığı Sözcüsü Geng Shuang, Avrupalıların doğru ile yanlısı birbirinden ayırarak, şiddeti durdurmak ve hukukun üstünlüğünü, refah ve istikrarı korumak için Çin yönetiminin attığı adımların desteklenmesini temenni ettiklerini açıklamıştır.⁴⁴

Protestoların 12. haftasında, Hong Kong'daki Sendikalar Birliği ise Mogherini'nin gelişmeleri kınayan açıklamasından birkaç gün sonra demokrasi yanlısı protestocularla dayanışma içinde olduklarını ifade etmiştir. Sendikalar Birliği tarafından, Pekin'den gelen siyasi baskı nedeniyle insan haklarının daha fazla zedelenmemesi için, Avrupa'ya sürece öncülük etmesi çağrısında bulunulmuştur.⁴⁵

⁴¹ “Çin'den Avrupa Parlamentosu'nun Hong Kong Kararına Tepki,” CRI Online Türkçe, (2019), <http://turkish.cri.cn/1781/2019/07/20/1s199084.htm> (21.12.2019).

⁴² “AB'den Hong Kong'daki Protestolara İlişkin Açıklama: Kapsayıcı Bir Diyaloga İhtiyaç Var,” T24, (2019), <https://t24.com.tr/haber/ab-den-hong-kong-daki-protestolara-iliskin-aciklama-kapsayici-bir-diyaloga-ihityac-var,835285> (21.12.2019).

⁴³ Çalışmada yararlanılan kaynaklarda, protestocuların “demokrasi yanlısı” veya “hükümet karşıtı” şeklinde iki farklı şekilde nitelendirildiği görülmüştür. Kaynaklardaki ifadelere sadık kalınarak kullanılmıştır.

⁴⁴ “Çin'den AB'ye Hong Kong Tepkisi,” CRI Türk, (2019), <http://www.criturk.com/haber/haber-lokasyon/cinden-abye-hong-kong-tepkisi-109489> (21.12.2019).

⁴⁵ “Hong Kong a ‘Test for European Leadership’, Trade Unions Say,” Euractiv, (2019), <https://www.euractiv.com/section/china/news/hong-kong-a-test-for-european-leadership-trade-unions-say/> (22.12.2019).



AB, şiddeti kısıtlamanın ve azaltmanın taraflar arasındaki diyalogu sürdürmenin tek yolu olduğu yönündeki tutumunu 2019 yılı Ekim ayında da sergilemiştir. Dönemin Yüksek Temsilcisi Mogherini tarafından, Hong Kong'da bir kişinin kritik şekilde yaralanmasına neden olan canlı mühimmat kullanımının ardından şiddetin artması ve huzursuzluğun devam etmesinin son derece rahatsızlık verici olduğu ifade edilmiştir. Hong Kongluların toplanma hakkı da dahil olmak üzere temel hak ve özgürlüklerinin korunmaya devam edilmesi gerektiği, bu süreçte kolluk kuvvetlerince gösterilen şiddetin kabul edilemez olduğu ve müdahalelerin orantılı kalması gerektiği telkin edilmiştir.⁴⁶

Protestocuların bulunduğu Hong Kong Politeknik Üniversitesi'nin polis tarafından kuşatılmasının ardından AP, 2019 yılı Temmuz ayında Hong Kong'daki polis memurlarının protestoculara karşı göstermiş olduğu şiddeti kınayan bir karar almıştır. Buna karşın Çin'in Paris Büyükelçiliği, Fransa ve Avrupa'nın Hong Kong'daki protestolara göstermiş olduğu tepkiyi ikiyüzlülük olarak nitelendirmiştir. AB'yi, hükümet karşıtı isyancıların eylemlerini kamuoyunda yüceltmek ile suçlayan Büyükelçilik, "AB, isyancıların istismarlarını alenen yüceltti ve Hong Kong polisinin saldırganlara karşı kendi yaşamlarını savunmak için başvurmuş olduğu meşru savunma haklarını göz ardı etti." ifadelerinde bulunmuştur.⁴⁷

AB'yi diplomatik ve dış ilişkiler konusunda temsil eden Avrupa Birliği Dış Eylem Servisi'ne (*European Union External Action Service, EEAS*) göre AB, 2018-2019 yıllarında Hong Kong'un üçüncü büyük ticaret ortağı olarak yer almıştır. EEAS'tan Hong Kong'a yıllık yapılandırılmış diyalog için gelen ekip AB ve Hong Kong arasında daha yakın bir işbirliğini amaçladıklarını ifade etmiştir. Ziyaret, Hong Kong'daki siyasi krizin tırmandığı bir süreçte ve AB'nin şiddete son verilmesiyle hukuk kurallarına uyulması çağrısını yaptığı zamanda gerçekleşmiştir. AB ve Hong Kong arasındaki EEAS Asya ve Pasifik Genel Müdürü Gunnar Wiegand, yapmış olduğu bir açıklamada "Gerçek dostlar zor zamanlarda yan yana dururlar ve Hong Kong bu konuda AB'ye güvenebilir." demiştir.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ "#HongKong- AB Yetkilileri 'Bir Ülke, İki Sistem' İlkesine Saygı Duymaya Çağırıyor," Eureporter, (2019), <https://www.eureporter.co/tr/frontpage/2019/10/02/hongkong-eu-calls-on-authorities-to-respect-one-country-two-systems-principle/> (22.12.2019).

⁴⁷ "China Slams 'Criminal' EU Response to Hong Kong Clampdown," Aljazeera, (2019), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/10/2010/china-slams-criminal-eu-response-hong-kong-clampdown-191007110105021.html> (22.12.2019).

⁴⁸ Keegan Elmer, "Hong Kong can Rely on European Union's Support in 'Difficult Times'," South China Morning Post (2019), <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3039744/hong-kong-can-rely-european-unions-support-difficult-times> (28.12.2019); "EU, Hong Kong Discuss Ways to Deepen Partnership," New Europe, (2019), <https://www.neweurope.eu/article/eu-hong-kong-discuss-ways-to-deepen-partnership/> (28.12.2019).



Kimliğinin anonim kalması koşuluyla konuşan bir Avrupalı diplomat, AB'nin yapmış olduğu söylemlerde birlik olduğunu ancak yapılması gerekenden daha azının yapıldığını ifade etmiştir. Kıtadaki diğer diplomatlar ise Avrupa'nın Pekin'le olan ekonomik ilişkisine yönelik endişesi nedeniyle, somut bir eylemde bulunma olasılığının düşük olduğunu, protestolara yönelik desteğin kınama söylemleriyle kısıtlı kalacağını ve AB'nin siyasi destek sağlamaya devam edeceğini ifade etmişlerdir.⁴⁹ Benzeri bir yorum ise Alman basınında yapılmış olup, Alman hükümetinden Hong Kong'daki gelişmelere karşı daha kesin bir tavır beklendiği dile getirilmiştir. Gelişmelerle ilgili olarak, “Çin'de özgürlük uğruna mücadele edenlerin katledildiği olaylarda felaket tehdidi ortaya çıkmışken Almanya susuyor. Sadece Hessen Eyaleti'nden Hristiyan Demokrat Partili Michael Brand sesini yükselterek, artık Pekin rejimine karşı ekonominin değil siyasetin konuşulması gerektiğini savunuyor.” ifadesine yer verilmiştir.⁵⁰

Kasım 2019'da Avrupa Komisyonu Hong Kong'daki hükümet karşıtı protestolara yönetimin tepki olarak şiddet göstermesinin “kabul edilemez” olduğunu ifade etmiştir ve kolluk kuvvetlerine eylemlerinde orantılı olma çağrısı yapmıştır. Hong Kong polisinin, protestocuların eylemlerini geri püskürtmek ve kaçmalarını engellemek için Politeknik Üniversitesi'ni kuşatması üzerine Avrupa Komisyonu, tutuklanan üniversite personelleri ve hızla tırmanın şiddet olayları nedeniyle derin bir endişe içinde olduklarını ifade etmiştir.⁵¹ Bu çerçevede protestocular tarafından işgal edilen Hong Kong Politeknik Üniversitesi, beş aydan uzun süren siyasi huzursuzluklar arasında bir çatışma noktası haline gelmiştir; üniversitede artan şiddet olayları nedeniyle yaralı sayısı da artmıştır. Yaralılara müdahale eden sağlık personellerinin gözaltına alınmasıyla ilgili olarak dönemin AB Komisyonu Sözcüsü Maja Kocijancic, Hong Kong'da devam eden hükümet karşıtı gösterilerde, göstericilerin ifade özgürlüğü ve yürüyüş haklarına saygı duyulması gerektiği ve güvenlik yetkililerine ölçülü olmaları çağrısında bulunmuştur.⁵² Çin'in Paris Büyükelçiliği, hükümet karşıtı protestolara karşı, Kocijancic'in

⁴⁹ Keegan Elmer, “Europe Reluctant to do More About Hong Kong for Fear of Beijing's Reaction, Say Diplomats,” South China Morning Post (2019), <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3038633/europe-reluctant-do-more-about-hong-kong-fear-beijings> (28.12.2019).

⁵⁰ “AB Çin'e Karşı Ortak Politika Belirlemeli,” Deutsche Welle Türkçe, (2019), <https://p.dw.com/p/3O6RZ> (28.12.2019).

⁵¹ John Chalmers, “EU Says Escalating Violence in Hong Kong ‘Unacceptable’,” Reuters, (2019), <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hongkong-protests-eu/eu-says-escalating-violence-in-hong-kong-unacceptable-idUSKBN1XS1EV> (29.12.2019).

⁵² Yusuf Hatip, “AB'den Hong Kong'ta İtidal Çağrısı,” Anadolu Ajansı, (2019), <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/abden-hong-kongta-itidal-cagrisi/1648781> (29.12.2019); Nicola Smith ve Danielle Robinson, “UK Student Left With Brain Haemorrhage in Violent Arrest By Undercover Hong Kong



barışçıl toplanma ve ifade hakları da dahil olmak üzere temel özgürlüklerin desteklenmesi gerektiği şeklindeki açıklamasına “AB’nin açıklamasındaki ikiyüzlülüğe karşı memnuniyetsizlik duyduğumuzu ifade ediyoruz.” şeklinde tepki göstermiştir.⁵³ Çinli yetkililer, protestocuların toplum içinde gerilim yaratarak infiale neden olduklarını, eylemlerinin istismar halini aldığını ifade etmiştir. Akabinde, Hong Kong’un Çin’in bir parçası olduğunu, AB’nin istikrarı ve refahı destekleyerek Çin’in egemenliğine saygı göstermesi gerektiğini ifade etmişlerdir.⁵⁴

Hong Kong’un Pekin destekli Carrie Lam yönetiminin suçluların Çin’e iadesini yasalaştırma hareketine karşı 2019 Haziran ayında başlatılan protestolar sonrasında Hükümet tasarıyı geri çekmiştir. Buna karşın protestolar, olaylara müdahale eden polislerin protestoculara göstermiş olduğu şiddet nedeniyle soruşturulmaları için sürdürülmüştür.⁵⁵ Protestolar, Hong Kong’un Çin idaresine geçmesinin 22. yıldönümü kutlamalarında şiddetlenmiş ve protestocuların Hong Kong Yasama Meclisi’ni istila etmesiyle şiddetini artırmıştır. Hong Kong’lu sendikacı Lee Cheuk-yan da dahil olmak üzere Hong Kong demokrasi yanlısı protestoculardan oluşan bir heyet, polis vahşeti iddialarını vurgulamak için 2019’un Ekim ayında Brüksel’i ziyaret ederek; Avrupa-Çin ekonomik ilişkisinin Hong Kong’daki insan hakları ihlallerini gölgede bırakıp bırakmadığına karar vermeleri gerektiğini dile getirmiştir. AB’yi diplomatik ve dış ilişkiler konusunda temsil eden yetkililer Hong Kongluların barışçıl bir şekilde toplanma haklarının ve temel özgürlüklerinin desteklenmesi gerektiğini ifade etmişlerdir.⁵⁶

Officers,” The Telegraph, (2019), <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/10/27/uk-student-left-brainhaemorrhage-violent-arrest-undercover-hong/> (29.12.2019).

⁵³ “Çin’in Paris Büyükelçiliğinden AB’ye ‘Hong Kong’ Tepkisi,” Timeturk, (2019), <https://www.timeturk.com/cin-in-paris-buyukelciligidinden-ab-ye-hong-kong-tepkisi/haber-1237137> (29.12.2019).

⁵⁴ Berlin-Pekin Hattındaki Hong Kong Gerilimi Tırmanıyor,” Deutsche Welle Türkçe, (2019), <https://p.dw.com/p/3PQhX> (28.12.2019).

⁵⁵ “EU Calls for Restraint in Hong Kong,” Hürriyet Daily News, (2019), <https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/eu-calls-for-restraint-in-hong-kong-148846> (29.12.2019).

⁵⁶ Keegan Elmer, “Hong Kong can Rely on European Union’s Support in ‘Difficult Times’,” South China Morning Post, (2019), <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3039744/hong-kong-can-rely-european-unions-support-difficult-times> (28.12.2019).



5. Sonuç

Protestoların başlamasından bu yana Hong Kong sokaklarında tansiyonun düşmemesi ve protestoların azalmaması Çin'i bu bölgede ilerleyen yıllarda zorlu bir sürecin beklediğini göstermektedir. Çin, küresel düzeyde elde ettiği prestijin hasara uğramasını istememektedir. Protestoların ilk safhalarında ılımlı bir duruş sergileyen Çin yönetimi, olayların tırmanması sonucunda protestoculara yönelik daha sert bir tutum benimsemeye başlamıştır. Hatta Çin ordusunun Hong Kong'a müdahalede bulunmaya hazır olduğuna dair açıklamalar yapılmıştır.

Çin ile ticaret savaşında olan ABD, ilk başlarda olayların yatışmasını beklemeyi tercih eden bir politika uygulamış, daha sonra sokaklarda şiddetin dozunun artmasıyla birlikte hem Hong Kong hem de Çin yönetimlerini protestoculara karşı sert yaklaşımlarından dolayı eleştiren açıklamalar yapmıştır. ABD, Hong Kong olaylarında protestocuları destekleyici açıklamalar yaparak Çin'e karşı ticaret anlaşmalarında bir türlü uzlaşmaya varılamaması sebebiyle, yaşanan protestoları ticaret anlaşmalarında avantaj sağlamak amacıyla kullanmıştır. ABD yetkilileri tarafından yapılan açıklamalarda Hong Kong'da gerçekleşen protestoların halkın ifade özgürlüğü kapsamında en temel demokratik haklarının olduğu ifade edilmiştir. Trump yönetimi, Tiananmen ve Sincan Uygur Özerk Bölgesindeki yaşanan olayları hatırlatarak Çin Devlet Başkanı Xi Jinping'i Hong Kong konusunda daha dikkatli davranması gerektiği konusunda uyarmıştır. Trump, Çin'in Hong Kong'a yapacağı askeri müdahaleyi engellediğini ve herhangi bir askeri müdahalenin iki ülke arasında ciddi ekonomik sorunlara ve yaptırımlara yol açacağını ifade etmiştir. Çin ise tüm bu açıklamalara karşılık Hong Kong olaylarının iç meselesi olduğunu ABD'nin Çin'in iç meselesine karışacak açıklamalarda bulunmalarını gerektiğini ifade eden açıklamalar yapmıştır. ABD senatosunda kabul edilen ve Hong Kong protestolarını destekleyici tasarıların ardından ABD bu olayların Çin'in iç meselesi olmaktan uzak olduğunu açıklar biçimde kararlar almıştır.

Çin-Hong Kong arasında şiddetle artan siyasi krizde AB'nin Hong Kong'dan yana tavır sergilediğini söylemek yanlış olmayacaktır. Taraflar arasında başlayan siyasi krizin ilk anlarından itibaren protestocuların temel insan haklarının ihlal edildiğini düşünen AB, birçok kez Lam yönetimine ölçülü olmaları gerektiği konusunda çağrıda bulunmuştur. Çin yönetimi tarafından AB'nin çağrılarına karşı daha sert yanıtlar gelmiş olup bir kısım açıklamalarda AB'nin ikiyüzlü bir tavır sergilediği dile getirilmiştir. Bu yorumun yapılmasındaki en büyük



etkenin ekonomik nedenler olduğu düşünülmektedir. Öyle ki, Alman basınında ifade edildiği gibi Avrupa ülkelerinin Çin ile sadece ekonomik anlamda değil hukuk devleti ve insan haklarının gerektirdiği konularda da görüşmesi beklenmiş olsa da gösterilen tepkiler ölçülülük ve orantılı müdahale çağrısından öteye gitmemiştir.

AB tarafından yapılan çağrı ve ileri sürülen söylemler, Hong Kong halkının toplantı ve ifade haklarını kullandığı, bu haklara saygı duyulması gerektiği yönünde olmuştur. Çin'e göre ise protestolar temel hakların kullanılması ölçüsünü aşmış ve isyancıların toplumun istikrarını istismar etmesi halini almıştır. Her iki aktör arasındaki söylem farkını protestocuların eylemlerini adlandırırken AB'nin "demokrasi yanlısı", Çin'in ise "hükümet karşıtı" ifadelerini kullanmasından da görmek mümkündür. Netice olarak AB, yaşanan olaylarla ilgili olarak endişe duyulduğu yönünde tepki göstermiş ve Hong Kongluların AB'ye yönelik beklentileri tam olarak karşılanamamıştır. Avrupa'nın, Pekin'le olan ekonomik diyalogu nedeniyle somut bir adım atılmadığı, protestolara yönelik desteğin kınama söylemlerinden ibaret kaldığı görülmüştür.

Hong Kong'da 2019 yılında yaşanan ve gelecekte de yaşanması beklenen olaylara ilişkin ABD ve AB'nin yaklaşımlarına bakıldığında bazı farklılıkları görmek mümkündür. Çin, ABD için ekonomik olarak rekabet ettiği, AB için ise rekabetten ziyade en önemli ekonomik ortaklarından biri anlamına gelmektedir. Protestolar karşısında Trump'ın görece daha sert söylemleri olmuşken ve Hong Kong halkı ABD'ye daha büyük bir umut bağlamışken, AB daha zayıf bir aktör olarak kalmıştır. Çin'in iki aktöre yönelik ortak yaklaşımı ise "iç işlerine karışılmaması" olmuştur. Küresel bir salgın haline gelen koronavirüs nedeniyle "askıya alınan" protestoların gelecekte tekrar yaşanması ABD, AB ve ilgili küresel aktörlerin yaklaşımlarını tekrar gündeme getirecektir.

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