

AN ANALYSIS OF
TURKISH-CHINESE (MILITARY) RELATIONS

A Master's Thesis

by

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to Osman Peker

AN ANALYSIS OF
TURKISH-CHINESE (MILITARY) RELATIONS

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

by

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July 2008

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ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF TURKISH-CHINESE (MILITARY) RELATIONS

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This study has two intertwined objectives. First, this study propounds an analytical framework for the analysis of a state's military relations as an alternative to the analytical framework traditionally employed. The new analytical framework is devised by segregating the entirety of a state's foreign military relations into four categories according to their distinctive subject matters. As a case study, this study scrutinizes Turkish-Chinese military relations within the analytical framework propounded, and by doing so, it purports to display the validity of the new analytical framework. Second, this study makes an inclusive examination of bilateral relations between Turkey and China, mainly in the post Cold War era. It contends that Turkish-Chinese relations have yet to develop to levels envisaged and aimed at by policymakers and scholars from the two sides. It probes the causes that have thus far hindered the development of political, economic, military, and social and cultural relations between Turkey and China in separate and consecutive sections.

Keywords: Foreign Military Relations, Turkish-Chinese Relations, Turkish-Chinese Military Relations, Formal Military Relations, Operational Military Relations, Technical Military Relations, Organizational Military Relations

ÖZET

TÜRKİYE-ÇİN (ASKERİ) İLİŞKİLERİNİN BİR ANALİZİ

Ersoy, Eyüp
Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler
Tez Danışmanı: Yar. Doç. Dr. Mustafa Kibaroğlu

Temmuz 2008

Bu çalışma iç içe geçmiş iki amacı gerçekleştirmeye yöneliktir. İlk olarak, iki ülke arasındaki askeri ilişkileri incelemekte kullanılan geleneksel analitik çerçeveye bir alternatif olarak yeni bir analitik çerçeve ortaya koymaktadır. Bu yeni analitik çerçeve, bir devletin askeri ilişkilerinin bütününe konularına göre dört ayrı kategoriye bölünmesi ile tasarlanmıştır. Bu çalışma, Türkiye ile Çin arasındaki askeri ilişkileri ortaya konan yeni analitik çerçeve dahilinde irdelemektedir. Böylece bu çalışma ortaya konan yeni analitik çerçevenin geçerliliğini gösterme iddiasındadır. İkinci olarak, bu çalışma daha çok Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde Türkiye ile Çin arasında gelişen ilişkilerin kapsamlı bir incelemesini ortaya koymaktadır. Buradaki temel sav, iki devlet arasındaki ilişkilerin iki ülke siyasetçileri ve akademisyenlerince öngörülen ve hedeflenen seviyeye ulaşmaktan uzak olduğudur. Bu çalışmada, Türkiye ile Çin arasındaki siyasi, ekonomik, askeri ve sosyal ve kültürel ilişkilerin gelişimini engelleyen sebepler ayrı ve müteselsil bölümlerde incelenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dış Askeri İlişkiler, Türkiye-Çin İlişkileri, Türkiye-Çin Askeri İlişkileri, Resmi Askeri İlişkiler, Operasyonel Askeri İlişkiler, Teknik Askeri İlişkiler, Kurumsal Askeri İlişkiler

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6. <i>Yıldırım</i> Short Range Ballistic Missile (SRBM)	179

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP:	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi
APC:	Armored Personnel Carrier
ASAT:	Anti Satellite
ASELSAN:	Askeri Elektronik Sanayi
ASW:	Antisubmarine Warfare
ATO:	Ankara Ticaret Odası
BSEC:	Black Sea Economic Cooperation
BVRAAM:	Beyond Visual Range Air to Air Missiles
CASIC:	China Aerospace Science and Industry Corporation
CATIC:	China Aero-Technology Import and Export Corporation
CBM:	Confidence Building Measures
CIA:	Central Intelligence Agency
CIWS:	Close in Weapon System
CMC:	Central Military Commission
COSTIND:	Commission of Science, Technology and Industry for National Defense
CPC:	Communist Party of China
CPMIEC:	China Precision Machinery Import-Export Corporation
D-8:	Developing-8
DAO:	Defense Attaché Office

DTM:	Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı
EC:	European Community
ECO:	Economic Cooperation Organization
EU:	European Union
FBI:	Federal Bureau of Investigation
GAD:	General Armaments Department
ICBM:	Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
IDEF:	International Defense Fair
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
INVITEX:	Invitation Exercise
ISAF:	International Security Assistance Force
JSF:	Joint Strike Fighter
KMT:	Kuomintang
MAP:	Misafir Askeri Personel
MHP:	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi
MİLGEM:	Milli Gemi
MİMTÜ:	Milli İmkanlarla Modern Tank Üretimi
MLRS:	Multiple Launch Rocket System
MOU:	Memorandum on Understanding
MRBM:	Medium Range Ballistic Missiles
NATO:	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSC:	National Security Council
OECD:	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

OIC:	Organization of the Islamic Conference
PAC:	Pakistan Aeronautical Complex
PASİAD:	Pasifik Ülkeleriyle Sosyal ve İktisadi Dayanışma Derneği
PASSEX:	Passage Exercise
PfP:	Partnership for Peace
PKK:	Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan
PLA:	People's Liberation Army
PLAAF:	People's Liberation Army Air Force
PLAN:	People's Liberation Army Navy
PRC:	People's Republic of China
PSFD:	Production, Sustainment, and Follow-on Development
RFI:	Request for Information
SAM:	Surface to Air Missiles
SCAIC:	Sichuan Aerospace Industry Corporation
SCO:	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SRBM:	Short Range Ballistic Missile
SSBN:	Ballistic Missile Submarine
SSN:	Attack Submarine
SSM:	Savunma Sanayi Müsteşarlığı
T-LALADMIS:	Turkish Low Altitude Air Defense Missile System
T-MALADMIS:	Turkish Medium Altitude Air Defense Missile System
T-LORAMIDS:	Turkish Long Range Air and Missile Defence System
TAF:	Turkish Armed Forces

TAI:	Turkish Aerospace Industries
TBMM:	Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi
TGNA:	Turkish Grand National Assembly
TLF:	Turkish Land Forces
TOBB:	Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği
TNF:	Turkish Naval Forces
TRNC:	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
TuAF:	Turkish Air Force
UAV:	Unmanned Aerial Vehicle
UN:	United Nations
US:	United States
USSR:	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO:	World Trade Organization
WEU:	Western European Union

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Bilateral military relations, cooperative or conflictual,¹ continue to be an essential component in the formation and implementation of states' foreign policies since, simply, they are considered instrumental in attaining the perceived interests of two polities that have forged bilateral military relations. These polities can be city states like Athens and Corcyra, empires like the Ottoman Empire and the German Reich, nation states like People's Republic of China² and Bulgaria, or international organizations like the European Union (EU) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). These perceived interests of two different polities are not necessarily identical; yet, they can be pursued simultaneously. While Turkish-American military relations during the Cold War were to serve the US policy of containment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), they were also to serve the Turkish policy of securing NATO, predominantly American, support and deterring a probable Soviet aggression.

¹ Conflicts of military nature between two polities can also be considered military relations between them. Yet, throughout the thesis, unless otherwise stated, the concept 'bilateral military relations' denote *cooperative* military relations between two polities.

² Henceforth, the People's Republic of China is referred as China and the Republic of China is referred as Taiwan.

A parsimonious account of objectives that polities aim at achieving through establishing bilateral military relations may include deterring potential aggressors by securing the support of another actor, and balancing rivals by boosting the aggregate power of collaborating actors. This account may also include coercing adversaries to pursue certain policies by displaying the will and intention of collaborating actors to execute joint operations when necessity arises, and challenging and, if possible, punishing common enemies by carrying out punitive measures. Besides these traditional strategic objectives that were observed, for example, in the British foreign policy during the Napoleonic Wars, a polity may involve in bilateral military relations so as to enlarge its share in the global defense market by securing military contracts for their products, to boost its military prowess by procuring additional weapon systems, to maintain the readiness of its militaries by conducting joint drills with the armed forces of other polities, or to demonstrate its putative concern and affection for the security and stability of another polity by allocating and locating a portion of its military personnel and equipment in it.

Bilateral military relations between states are traditionally examined and discussed in an analytical framework that is composed of, and divided into, four categories, that are political relations, economic relations, military relations, and social and cultural relations. Displaying a tacit graduation, this traditional analytical framework suffer several deficiencies as an ideal framework for analyses of bilateral military relations, such as overlooking the economic dimension of bilateral military relations which unavoidably taints any straightforward classification between bilateral economic and military relations. Yet, the traditional analytical framework has peculiar advantages; it is, for example, rather appropriate in revealing the

imbalances between bilateral political and economic relations, or between economic and military relations.

On the other hand, Turkish-Chinese relations are gradually improving, especially with the momentum of recent activism observed in Chinese and Turkish foreign policies. As China increases its sway over international politics, it is considered as a prospective candidate pole in the international power structure. Apart from the global repercussions of the ‘dragon’s rise’³, its involvement in the regions traditionally considered crucial for the protection of Turkey’s security and the advancement of Turkish interests⁴ makes any analysis of the pace and the trajectory of Turkish-Chinese relations imperative. Besides, in part thanks to the requirements of economic development like the quest for new markets, Turkey has recently not only rediscovered the Middle East⁵ but also shifted its attention to other parts of the world, as the declarations of 2005 as ‘Africa Year’, and 2006 as ‘Latin America Year’ by Ankara indicate. Another region wherein Turkey is gradually becoming more active is the Far East. As a huge dynamic East Asian market, and a permanent member of the United Nations (UN) Security Council, China appears to be an actor with which close economic and political relations would be beneficial in attaining Turkish foreign policy objectives. Thus, again, an analysis of the pace and the trajectory of Turkish-Chinese relations becomes imperative.

Military relations between Turkey and China, on the other hand, are not on a par with political and economic relations as they have lost vigor witnessed in bilateral military relations in the middle of 1990s. Although bilateral military relations

³ Jasper Becker, *Ejder Şahlanyor: Bugünkü Çin’e İçeriden Bir Bakış [Dragon Rising: An Inside Look at China Today]* (İstanbul: NTV Yayınları, 2007).

⁴ For Chinese activism in the Middle East, see, for example, Geoffrey Kemp, “The East Moves West,” *The National Interest*, Vol. 84 (Summer 2006), pp. 71-77. For the Central Asia, see, for example, Niklas Swanström. “China and Central Asia: A New Great Game or Traditional Vassal Relations?” *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 14, No. 45 (November 2005), pp. 569-584.

⁵ F. Stephen Larrabee, “Turkey Rediscovered the Middle East,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No.4 (July-August 2007), pp. 103-114.

between Turkey and China cannot be confined to their cooperation in the modernization of armed forces, Chinese and Turkish comprehensive programs diligently implemented to modernize their respective armed forces continue to be an impetus for the prevalence of bilateral military relations. Chinese military modernization has hitherto elicited considerable international concern due to, in part, the exponential increases in annual Chinese defense budgets and, in part, annual reports of the US Department of Defense on ‘the military power of the People’s Republic of China’, which more often than not designate Chinese military modernization efforts as dangers, or at least obstacles, to regional, if not international, peace and stability.⁶ Turkish military modernization has also gained momentum in recent years. Even though indigenous development has been promoted, international cooperation still constitutes a crucial element in yielding favorable results foreseen in official documents.⁷ Accordingly, an analysis of the current situation in bilateral military relations between Ankara and Beijing would be helpful in not only revealing and understanding the dynamics of Turkish military relations, the desire to achieve a rapid military modernization being a prominent one, but also in anticipating the future developments in Turkish-Chinese bilateral military relations.

Bearing in mind the points stated above, this thesis has three purposes. First, it propounds an analytical framework for the analysis of a state’s military relations. Second, this thesis makes an inclusive examination of bilateral relations between

⁶ On Chinese military modernization, see, for example, David Shambaugh, *Modernizing China’s Military: Progress, Problems, and Prospects* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). For the annual reports of the US Department of Defense from 2002 to 2006, see, “Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People’s Republic of China,” *The US Department of Defense*, <http://www.dod.mil/pubs/china.html>.

⁷ Savunma Sanayi Müsteşarlığı [Undersecretariat for Defense Industries], “Stratejik Öncelikler [Strategic Priorities],” *2007-2011 Stratejik Plan [2007-2011 Strategic Plan]*, <http://www.ssm.gov.tr/TR/kurumsal/Documents/SP/sto.html>.

Turkey and China, mainly in the post-Cold War era. Third, it scrutinizes bilateral military relations between Turkey and China, within the analytical framework propounded in the first section. Thus, this thesis is mainly composed of a theoretical discussion, a descriptive examination, and a case study.

Chapter 1 is a theoretical discussion. First, it describes the traditional framework employed for the analyses of bilateral relations wherein bilateral military relations are also examined. This traditional framework is composed of, and implicitly or explicitly divided into, four categories, i.e. political relations, economic relations, military relations, and social and cultural relations. Second, it introduces an analytical framework, which comprises again four categories, i.e. formal military relations, operational military relations, technical military relations, and organizational military relations. These four categories constitute a state's foreign military relations.

Chapter 2 discusses basic characteristics of Turkish foreign policy, which constitute the primary and overarching framework for any analysis of any facet of Turkish foreign policy. Such a discussion is essential as military relations of a state are rather embedded in its general foreign policy. First, fundamental objectives of Turkish foreign policy are specified, and the security conception of Turkey is discussed. Second, basic parameters of Turkish foreign policy are pointed out. Third, players central to the formation and implementation of Turkish foreign policy are indicated.

Chapter 3 is a descriptive examination of bilateral relations between Turkey and China in political, economic, and social and cultural spheres. The main argument advanced here is the existence of low level of relations between the two countries; additionally, the basic causes that have inhibited the improvement of bilateral

relations to higher levels are identified. First, bilateral political relations are to be discussed. Issues of convergence and issues of divergence observed in bilateral political relations are to be highlighted. Second, bilateral economic relations are to be examined stressing again the factors adversely affecting the development of economic relations between Ankara and Beijing. Third, social and cultural relations between Turkey and China are to be assessed.

Chapter 4, which is the case study, is an examination of bilateral military relations between China and Turkey within the general framework of Turkish military relations established in the first chapter. The main argument set forward in this chapter is that the low level of development witnessed in other realms of bilateral relations is also noticeable for bilateral military relations between the two states. First, bilateral military relations between two states are examined with reference to each of the four categories that constitute a state's foreign military relations. Second, factors that have been influential in the improvement of bilateral military relations, and other factors that have so far curbed the level of this improvement are discussed.

Conclusion summarizes the main points explained and clarified throughout the study. Subsequently, it highlights some additional points. First, it underlines that which of the main actors of Turkish foreign policy will advance Turkey's relations with China in the future is a crucial issue that is waiting to be clarified by Turkish scholars and policymakers. Second, it contends that the future of Turkey's relations with China seems to be inauspicious since geopolitics is not just as 'will and representation' but it is rather as 'will, representation, *and* capability'. Third, it points out that diverging positions and policies of Turkey and China on issues of common concern could probably bedevil their relations in the future. Fourth, it stresses that it would be vital for Turkey to bolster its somewhat dormant relations with South

Korea and Japan since close relations with South Korea and especially Japan could strengthen the position of Turkey in its relations with China. And, it concludes.

CHAPTER II

BILATERAL MILITARY RELATIONS: AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Bilateral military relations between two states are in general examined in two different ways; either an exclusive analysis directly related to military relations between two states is set forth or bilateral military relations is examined within a general framework employed to examine bilateral relations between two states. This analytical framework is composed of, and implicitly or explicitly divided into, four categories, i.e. political relations, economic relations, military relations, and social and cultural relations.

In this chapter, first, a particular dimension of the exclusive analyses directly related to bilateral military relations is to be presented, which is the presence of peculiar contexts in each study. These peculiar contexts are constituted by general bilateral relations between two specific states in a particular period of time. Second, the traditional framework generally employed for the analyses of bilateral relations, wherein bilateral military relations are also examined, is to be discussed. Third, as a case study, the way this traditional framework is applied to the analyses of Turkish-Chinese relations is to be examined. Consequently, another analytical framework,

which comprises again four categories, i.e. formal military relations, operational military relations, technical military relations, and organizational military relations is to be introduced.

2. 1. Bilateral Military Relations: The Traditional Analytical Framework

Without special consideration to analytical frameworks, a state's military relations with another state, or even with a region,⁸ can be examined. In fact, it is.⁹ Although an analytical framework is not employed in these studies, they are not devoid of any context in which bilateral military relations are analyzed. There usually exists a tacit context within which bilateral military relations are examined.¹⁰ This context is in nature peculiar to relations between two specific states, and in general is limited to a particular time frame.¹¹ In other words, in these studies, general bilateral relations between two states in a particular period of time appear to constitute a tacit context wherein bilateral military relations are analyzed. However, so as to achieve a thorough analysis which entails a broader context, two factors are also incorporated

⁸ Kenneth W. Allen, "China's Foreign Military Relations with Asia-Pacific," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 10, No. 29 (2001), pp. 645-662; Rachel Utley, "Franco-African Military Relations: Meeting the Challenges of Globalization?" *Modern & Contemporary France*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (February 2005), pp. 25-40.

⁹ For studies on contemporary bilateral military relations, see, for example, Sarah E. Mendelson, "U.S.-Russian Military Relations: Between Friend and Foe," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Winter 2002), pp. 161-172; Renato Cruz de Castro, "The Revitalized Philippine-U.S. Security Relations," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 43, No. 6 (2003), pp. 971-988; Kurt Campbell and Richard Weitz, "The Limits of U.S.-China Military Cooperation: Lessons from 1995-1999," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Winter 2005-06), pp. 169-186; Christopher T. Holinger, "Improving Military-to-Military Relations with Russia," *Joint Force Quarterly*, Vol. 45, Second Quarter (2007), pp. 58-61.

¹⁰ Yet, in some studies, the first chapter is devoted to describe the context wherein bilateral military relations take place. See, for example, Leonid I. Polyakov, *U.S.-Ukraine Military Relations and the Value of Interoperability* (Pennsylvania: Strategic Studies Institute, 2004), pp. 3-21, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB590.pdf>.

¹¹ See, for example, Rommel C. Banlaoi, "Broadening Philippine-Australia Defense Relations in the Post 9/11 Era: Issues and Prospects," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (2003), pp. 473-488; Jing-Dong Yuan, "Sino-US Military Relations since Tiananmen: Restoration, Progress, and Pitfalls," *Parameters*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 51-67.

into analyses in these studies. One is the effects of third parties on *bilateral* military relations between two states, and the other is the effects of non-military issues on *bilateral military* relations between two states.

Relations with third parties have always been influential in the emergence, development, resurgence, or attenuation of bilateral relations between two states. Accordingly, third parties are frequently referred as significant factors in analyses of bilateral military relations. For example, while examining US-Taiwan military relations Peter Brooks states that “the views of the [Bush] Administration regarding the U.S.-Taiwan-PRC [People’s Republic of China] trilateral relationship are an important *foundation* for U.S. defense policy toward Taiwan.”¹² On the other hand, after enumerating “several potentially momentous developments that suggest...a major change in the overall strategic environment in which the U.S.-Japan partnership operates,”¹³ Kurt M. Campbell, in his analysis of US-Japan security partnership, indirectly highlights the salience of third parties as important factors in bilateral military relations by stating that

The United States must convince China that it does not seek to contain its rise, and it must persuade Japan that Washington will continue to be a reliable and steady partner. Japan must convince China that it will sincerely deal with the issue of history and persuade the United States that it will continue to support the burden of the U.S. forward presence, both materially and politically. China must convince the United States that it sees Asia as big enough for both of them, now and in the future, and it must accept an increased Japanese role in the security affairs of Asia. It is hard to imagine a continuing future of peace and stability in Asia unless these three powers can negotiate a kind of strategic *modus operandi*.¹⁴

¹² Peter Brooks, “U.S.-Taiwan Defense Relations in the Bush Administration,” *Heritage Lectures*, No. 808 (November 14, 2003), p. 2,

http://www.heritage.org/Research/AsiaandthePacific/upload/52476_1.pdf. Emphasis is mine.

¹³ Kurt M. Campbell, “Energizing the U.S.-Japan Security Partnership,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Autumn 2000), pp. 125-134, p. 128.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130. Emphasis in original.

In short, the relations of two states with other parties serve to constitute a tacit context in which these relations take place, and are analyzed.

The second factor incorporated into the analyses of bilateral military relations is non-military issues. Even though the emphasis is invariably on military relations, political and economic dimensions of bilateral relations are frequently referred so long as, expectedly, they are instrumental in buttressing arguments pertaining to military relations. For instance, explaining the emergence of military-to-military relations between South Korea and Japan marked by, for example, the first defense summit in May 1996 and the first joint search-and-rescue exercise in 1999, Jason U. Manosevitz asserts that “security cooperation for Japan and South Korea is neither country-specific nor designed for containment [of North Korea] nor rooted in shared comprehensive political objectives.”¹⁵ Instead, “effectively policing the waters where both have interests” against, for example, the “rise in oil tanker accidents, an increase that was wrecking havoc on the environment and growing costly” has been the prime motive for their naval cooperation and air force agreement.¹⁶ In short, shared economic concerns serve to form a basis on which military cooperation between South Korea and Japan has emerged.

A noticeable feature of the exclusive analyses directly related to bilateral military relations is the absence of an explicit and a universally valid contextualization in them. Each context in these analyses is in nature peculiar to relations between two specific states, in general is limited to a particular period of time, and incorporates different third parties and various non-military issues. Accordingly, each context becomes unique. Notwithstanding their explanatory power, the presence of *ad hoc* contexts in each study would render any study inchoate since, basically, they do not

¹⁵ Jason U. Manosevitz, “Japan and South Korea: Security Relations Reach Adolescence,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 43, No. 5 (2003), pp. 801-825, p. 813.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 813, p. 816.

provide universally valid analytical frameworks in which changes in contexts can also be traced and examined.

On the other hand, an explicit and universally valid analytical framework is traditionally employed to examine bilateral relations between two states, wherein bilateral military relations are also examined. This analytical framework is composed of, and implicitly or explicitly divided into, four categories, i.e. political relations, economic relations, military relations, and social and cultural relations. It should be emphasized here that this traditional analytical framework is not employed for the analysis of bilateral military relations *per se* but it is a general framework wherein bilateral military relations between two states are also examined. It should also be noted that one or two of the categories of bilateral relations are sometimes omitted in analyses of bilateral relations between two states.¹⁷

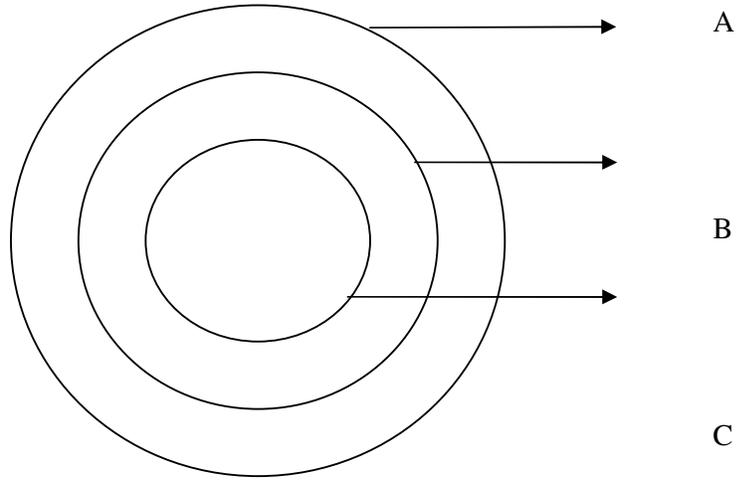
The traditional framework can be implicitly applied to analyses of bilateral relations through the examination of each sort of relations in the continuation of the text instead of discussing each kind of relations in distinct consecutive sections.¹⁸ That is, military, economic and social relations are indeed given attention and examined but usually treated as epiphenomenal to political relations. This implicit and quite nebulous categorization seems to be the result of the fact that the trajectory of the bilateral relations is mainly set by political relations and, economic and military relations are generally referred to explain certain aspects of political relations. For example, bilateral military relations between Turkey and the USA are

¹⁷ There seem to be three main reasons for omissions. First, the writer seems to consider a particular sort of relations negligible for the sake of the argument at hand. Second, a particular sort of relations does not exist indeed. And third, the writer himself is negligent.

¹⁸ See, for example, Çağrı Erhan, "Türkiye-ABD İlişkilerinin Mantıksal Çerçevesi [The Logical Framework of Turkey-USA Relations]," in İdris Bal, ed., *21. Yüzyılda Türk Dış Politikası [Turkish Foreign Policy in the 21st Century]* (Ankara: 2006, Ankara Global Araştırmalar Merkezi), pp. 139-151; Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer, "Türk-Rus İlişkileri: Düşmanlıktan Fiili Yakınlaşma'ya [Turkish-Russian Relations: From Enmity to De Facto Rapprochement]," in Alan Makovsky and Sabri Sayarı, eds., *Türkiye'nin Yeni Dünyası: Türk Dış Politikasının Değişen Dinamikleri [Turkey's New World: Changing Dynamics of Turkish Foreign Policy]* (İstanbul: 2002, Alfa Yayınları), pp. 125-156.

referred by George Harris in his analysis of US-Turkish relations, first, as a possible source of friction, then as a reason for the continuation of the Turkish-US alliance, and finally a likely setback in the realm of security cooperation in the future.¹⁹

On the other hand, explicit application of the traditional framework to analyses of bilateral relations between states, that is, dividing bilateral relations into separate categories and discussing each kind of relations in distinct consecutive sections, is not rare.²⁰ It appears that the traditional framework is explicitly employed in cases where bilateral relations between two states are not so developed and complicated, and it is relatively easy to draw lines between different realms of relations.



¹⁹ George Harris, "A.B.D. – Türkiye İlişkileri [The USA-Turkey Relations]," in Alan Makovsky and Sabri Sayarı, eds., *Türkiye'nin Yeni Dünyası: Türk Dış Politikasının Değişen Dinamikleri [Turkey's New World: Changing Dynamics of Turkish Foreign Policy]* (İstanbul: 2002, Alfa Yayınları), pp. 255-273, p. 263, pp. 267-268, p. 271-272.

²⁰ See, for example, Yaşar Kalafat and Araz Aslanlı, "Türkiye-Azerbaycan İlişkileri [Turkey-Azerbaijan Relations]," in İdris Bal, ed., *21. Yüzyılda Türk Dış Politikası [Turkish Foreign Policy in the 21st Century]* (Ankara: 2006, Ankara Global Araştırmalar Merkezi), pp. 407-424; Genelkurmay ATASE ve Denetleme Başkanlığı [Presidency of ATASE and Supervision of Chief of Staff], *Tarihte Türk-Rumen İlişkileri [Turkish-Romanian Relations in History]* (Ankara: 2006, Genelkurmay Basımevi), pp. 168-176; Okan Mert, *Türkiye'nin Kafkasya Politikası ve Gürcistan [Turkey's Caucasia Policy and Georgia]* (İstanbul: 2004, IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık), pp. 252-264; Atay Akdevelioğlu and Ömer Kürkçüoğlu, "İran'la İlişkiler [Relations with Iran]," in Baskın Oran, ed., *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy: Facts, Documents, Observations since the War of Liberation]*, Vol. 2 (İstanbul: 2005, İletişim Yayınları), pp. 579-586.

Figure I: The Traditional Analytical Framework in Which Bilateral Military Relations are Examined

A: Foreign Policy of State X

B: Bilateral Relations between States X and Y

C: Bilateral Military Relations between States X and Y

There are two main advantages of the traditional analytical framework for analyses of bilateral military relations. First, since it is composed of all realms of bilateral relations, the traditional analytical framework is appropriate to indicate the interplay among these realms, which is frequently influential in bilateral military relations between two states. For example, political relations between Turkey and France were severely strained in the fall of 2006 when the lower chamber of the French Parliament, the French National Assembly, passed a controversial bill on October 12, 2006, which sanctioned imprisonment and a fine for the ‘denial’ of the so-called Armenian ‘genocide’ of 1915.²¹ Ensuing political tension subsequently culminated in the suspension of military relations with France as General İlker Başbuğ announced one month later.²² As a further “concrete response”, the Turkish Ministry of Defense did not invite Michele Alliot Maire, the then French Minister of Defense, to the eight International Defense Fair (IDEF 2007), which were to take

²¹ For the original text of the bill, see, <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/12/ta/ta0610.asp>. “Threat to Free Speech,” *Financial Times*, October 13, 2006, http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/be916c64-5a57-11db-8f16-0000779e2340.html?nclick_check=1.

²² “Turkey Suspends Military Ties with France over Armenian Genocide Bill,” *International Herald Tribune*, November 15, 2006, http://www.iht.com/articles/ap/2006/11/15/europe/EU_GEN_Turkey_France_Military.php.

place in May 2007 in Ankara.²³ In sum, understanding developments in bilateral military relations between two states requires at least a quick glimpse at the bilateral political relations, which the traditional analytical framework provides.

Second, since it is composed of all realms of bilateral relations, the traditional analytical framework is suitable to reveal the imbalances between the levels of different sorts of relations. For example, sporadic disputes notwithstanding, political relations between Ankara and Washington are advanced enough to make US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice proclaim that there is a “tremendously strong friendship” and a “strategic relationship” between Washington and Ankara and issue a statement of the strategic vision for Turkish-US relations.²⁴ Economic relations, on the other hand, are not rosy. In the words of Mark Parris, an erstwhile US ambassador to Turkey from 1997-2000, “mutual investment in bilateral trade and investment that was one of the prime movers behind ‘strategic partnership’ in the nineties is missing in action,” and stagnation in bilateral commerce prevails.²⁵ Concurring with Parris, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has recently dubbed the trade volume between two countries ‘ridiculous’.²⁶ Military relations are of paramount import in Turkish-US relations since, *inter alia*, “the US has been the leading supplier of defense goods and services to Turkey,” a relationship that has

²³ Aydın Hasan, “Fransız Bakan Fuara Çağırılmadı [French Minister was not Called to the Fair],” *Milliyet*, November 17, 2006, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2006/11/17/siyaset/siy03.html>. Yet, the Turkish response cannot amount to a “concrete response” as argued by the reporter since French defense companies were allowed to participate in IDEF 2007 and the number of visitors from France was the second highest after Germany. See the official web page of IDEF 2007, <http://www.idef07.com/idef.php?main=ist07>.

²⁴ Condoleezza Rice, “Remarks with Deputy Prime Minister Abdullah Gül after Their Meeting,” *U.S. Department of State*, July 5, 2006, <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/68577.htm>. For the text of the statement of the strategic vision, see, “Shared Vision and Structured Dialogue to Advance the Turkish-American Strategic Partnership,” *U.S. Department of State*, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2006/68574.htm>.

²⁵ Mark Parris, “Allergic Partners: Can US-Turkish Relations be Saved?” *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring 2005), pp. 49-57, p. 55.

²⁶ Bülent Aydemir, “Statejik Ortağız, 10 Milyar Dolar Ticaret Komik Oluyor [We are Strategic Partners, \$ 10 Million Trade Happens to be Ridiculous!],” *Sabah*, September 26, 2007, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/2007/09/26/haber,FB840855992E4D4A91936B8DC66E4B6D.html>.

weathered “the end of formal security assistance, periodic crises over arms transfers” and Turkish “efforts at diversification.”²⁷ In sum, having incorporated each sort of bilateral relations into account, the traditional analytical framework, when applied, most probably reveals the evenness of or imbalances between bilateral military relations and other bilateral relations as the very brief discussion of Turkish-US relations above indicates.

2. 2. The Traditional Analytical Framework: A Case Study

Turkish-Chinese relations have yet to advance to a full-fledged phase of bilateral relationship and thus, scholars generally opt to apply the traditional framework to analyses of bilateral relations between Turkey and China by examining political, economic, military, and social and cultural relations in separate consecutive sections.²⁸ Accordingly, analyses of Turkish-Chinese relations provide clear distinctions to identify the subjects discussed and examined in these separate sections.

The first issue discussed under political relations is generally the development of historical relations between Turkey and China, usually starting with the establishment of the first Turkish diplomatic mission in Nanjing in 1929, which culminated in the official recognition of the People’s Republic of China by Turkey

²⁷ F. Stephen Larrabee and Ian O. Lesser, *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2003), p. 172

²⁸ See, for example, Nuraniye Hidayet Ekrem, *Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Dış Politikası (1950-2000) [Foreign Policy of People’s Republic of China (1950-2000)]* (Ankara: 2003, ASAM Yayınları), pp. 160-182; Barış Adıbelli, *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Türk-Çin İlişkileri [Turkish-Chinese Relations since the Ottoman Empire]* (İstanbul: 2007, IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık), pp. 238-277; John C. K. Daly, “Sino-Turkish Relations Beyond the Silk Road,” *China Brief*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (February 21, 2007), pp. 10-13; Reşat Arım, “Çin: Uzak Doğu’nun Yükselen Gücü ve Türkiye [China: Rising Power of the Far East],” in İhsan D. Dağı, *Türk Dış Politikasında Gelenek ve Değişim [Tradition and Change in Turkish Foreign Policy]*(Ankara: 1998, Siyasal Kitabevi), pp. 115-127, pp-126-127.

on August 4, 1971.²⁹ Subsequently, reciprocal high level visits of state officials are specified. Statements of state leaders are usually discussed as indications of official state policies on issues of common concern.³⁰ In addition, protocols and agreements on political matters signed and ratified by the two states are also specified. Furthermore, several issues that have influenced the development of bilateral relations and that will probably affect the future of these relations are examined. Among them are the question of East Turkestan-Xinjiang and Chinese response to Turkish treatment of the subject, the future of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and Chinese activism in the Central Asia, the procurement and transfer of the energy resources of the Central Asia and the Caspian Basin, and finally the prospects of cooperation on international issues, such as international terrorism and the proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction.³¹

Economic relations pertain to the issues of bilateral trade between Turkey and China, and reciprocal investments in respective economies. First, as constituents of the legal framework of bilateral economic relations between Turkey and China, protocols and agreements signed on economic matters are specified.³² The development of bilateral trade with a mounting trade deficit for Turkey is always scrutinized. Turkish exports to China and Turkish imports from China are examined

²⁹ Till 1971, Turkey officially recognized the Republic of China located in Taiwan and led by Chinese Nationalist Party, or the Kuomintang of China (KMT) as the sole representative of the Chinese Nation. See, Nuraniye H, Ekrem, "Türkiye-Çin İlişkilerinin Boyutları ve Engelleri [Dimensions and Setbacks of Turkey-China Relations]," *Stratejik Analiz*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (May 2000), pp. 11-14, p. 11.

³⁰ As an example, for a detailed discussion of the visit and statements of the previous Chinese President Jiang Zemin to Turkey, see, Barış Adıbelli, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-Çin İlişkileri [Turkish-Chinese Relations since the Ottoman Empire]*, pp. 223-230.

³¹ See, for example, R. Kutay Karaca, *Dünyadaki Yeni Güç: Çin [New Power in the World: China]* (İstanbul: 2004, IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık), pp. 179-188. Also, see, Wang Youming, "Çin ve Türkiye Arasındaki Siyasi İlişkiler [Political Relations between China and Turkey]," in Atilla Sandıklı, Elnur Osmanov, Ufuk Tepebaş, Arzu Yorkan, eds., *Türkiye ve Asya Ülkeleri: Siyasi ve Ekonomik İlişkiler [Turkey and the States of Asia: Political and Economic Relations]* (İstanbul: 2006, Tasam Yayınları), pp. 255-258. However, the writer surprisingly does not refer to the issue of Uyghurs in relations neither as a source of conflict nor as an area of cooperation.

³² See, for example, Nuraniye Hidayet Ekrem, *Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Dış Politikası [Foreign Policy of People's Republic of China]*, p. 168-169. However, the list seems to be carelessly prepared as it also includes agreements on tourism, sanitation, and culture.

on yearly basis, and the progress in the balance of trade is pointed out.³³ In some studies, the main chapters of imports and exports, and their proportions to total volume of imports and exports are also discussed in detail.³⁴

On the other hand, bilateral direct investment, meager as it may be in comparison with the total trade volume between the two states, is pointed out.³⁵ Moreover, several issues that have influenced the development of bilateral economic relations and that will probably affect the future of these relations are highlighted. Among them are the intense competition between the Turkish industry and the Chinese industry for the marketing of similar goods and products in both the Turkish market and the global market, China's WTO membership and its implications for the future of Turkish economy especially for the textile industry, the setbacks militating against the development of bilateral economic and commercial relations, and finally the probable areas of economic cooperation between Turkey and China.³⁶

The bulk of the bilateral military relations between Ankara and Beijing is constituted by reciprocal visits of military personnel. In general, visits of the Turkish and Chinese chiefs of general staff, generals from different branches of the armed forces, and delegations that are composed of military personnel from various echelons and institutions of respective armed forces, particularly military academies, are discussed. So are the remarks of these visiting personnel on issues of common

³³ Atilla Sandıklı and İlhan Güllü, "Gelişen Çin Ekonomisi ve Türk Dış Ticaretine Etkileri [Developing Chinese Economy and Its Impacts on Turkish Foreign Trade]," in Atilla Sandıklı and İlhan Güllü, eds., *Geleceğin Süper Gücü Çin: Uzakdoğu'daki Entegrasyonlar ve Şangay İşbirliği Örgütü [Superpower of the Future, China: Integrations in the Far East and Shanghai Cooperation Organization]* (İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2005), pp. 289-320, pp. 311.

³⁴ See, for example, R. Kutay Karaca, *Dünyadaki Yeni Güç: Çin [New Power in the World: China]*, pp. 188-194.

³⁵ Mehmet Ögütçü, *Yükselen Asya [Asia Rising]* (Ankara: 1998, İmge Kitabevi), p. 137; John C. K. Daly, "Sino-Turkish Relations Beyond the Silk Road," pp. 10-13, p. 11.

³⁶ See, for example, Çağdaş Üngör, "Yakın Tarihten Bir Uzaklık Öyküsü: Türkiye-Çin İlişkileri [A Story of Distance from Recent History: Turkey-China Relations]," in Atilla Sandıklı, Elnur Osmanov, Ufuk Tepebaş, Arzu Yorkan, eds., *Türkiye ve Asya Ülkeleri: Siyasi ve Ekonomik İlişkiler [Turkey and the States of Asia: Political and Economic Relations]* (İstanbul: 2006, Tasam Yayınları), pp. 343-352, pp. 346-348; Mehmet Ögütçü, "Turkey and China," *Perceptions*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (September/November 1996), p. 155-179, pp. 164-179.

concern during the meetings.³⁷ Besides, bilateral military relations on defense production and procurement, and educational exchanges of military personnel between military schools of Turkish and Chinese armed forces are indicated.³⁸ Issues that have influenced the development of bilateral military relations and that will probably affect the future of these relations are also discussed. Among them are the low level of bilateral relations in general, the dependence of Chinese military technology on foreign sources, mainly Russian, that is, its inadequacy to provide state-of-the-art military technology, and finally the advantageous position of other sources, mainly Western, as producers and suppliers of cutting-the-edge weapon systems required for the modernization of Turkish armed forces.³⁹

Social and cultural relations are limited to a small number of subjects. Reciprocal visits of Turkish and Chinese ministers of culture, agreements on cultural exchanges between Turkey and China, educational exchanges between the two countries, the presence of a few departments of Chinese and Turkish languages in their respective universities, and the declaration of sister cities in Turkey and China are all pointed out under social and cultural relations.⁴⁰

2. 3. Bilateral Military Relations: Another Analytical Framework

In general, a state engages in a myriad of relations of military nature with other states and, also with international organizations. Viewed in their entirety, these

³⁷ See, for example, Barış Adıbelli, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-Çin İlişkileri [Turkish-Chinese Relations since the Ottoman Empire]*, pp. 270-275.

³⁸ John C. K. Daly, "Sino-Turkish Relations Beyond the Silk Road," p. 12; Barış Adıbelli, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-Çin İlişkileri [Turkish-Chinese Relations since the Ottoman Empire]*, pp. 268-269, p. 275.

³⁹ Armağan Kuloğlu, "Geleceğin Güç Odağı Çin ve Bu Ülkenin Türkiye ile Olan İlişkileri [China, the Power Center of the Future, and the Relations of This Country with Turkey]," *Global Strateji*, Vol. 3, No. 11 (Sonbahar 2007), pp. 49-57, pp. 53-54

⁴⁰ Reşat Arım, "Çin: Uzak Doğu'nun Yükselen Gücü ve Türkiye [China: Rising Power of the Far East and Turkey]," p. 127; Nuraniye Hidayet Ekrem, *Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Dış Politikası [Foreign Policy of People's Republic of China]*, p. 169; Çağdaş Üngör, "Yakın Tarihten Bir Uzaklık Öyküsü: Türkiye-Çin İlişkileri [A Story of Distance from Recent History: Turkey-China Relations]," pp. 350-351.

relations constitute a state's foreign military relations.⁴¹ A framework for analyses of bilateral military relations can be devised by segregating the entirety of a state's foreign military relations into four categories according to their distinctive subject matters. These four categories can be called as formal military relations, operational military relations, technical military relations, and organizational military relations.

Formal military relations constitute the general foundations of bilateral military relations and determine the contours of their official conduct. The establishment of a military/defense attaché office as a part of a state's diplomatic mission abroad seems to represent a strong political will to forge bilateral military relations with another state. It is a threshold below which it is rather difficult to speak of genuine bilateral military relations. On the other hand, a variety of agreements between two states dealing with matters of military nature, or simply military agreements, officially define the areas of cooperation between two states, and thus, as starting points, determine main routes for the conduct of military relations in the future. Besides, reciprocal visits between two states of senior military personnel from high-ranking officer cadres of their armed forces, together with the visits of delegations of low profile from different branches of armed forces, constitute the principal conduit for military-to-military contacts. Finally, indicative of a higher level of interaction between two armed forces, student exchanges between military education institutions of two states can be considered under formal military relations.⁴²

⁴¹ Even though 'external military relations' as a phrase used in some academic studies and official documents to denote the entirety of a state's military relations with other states and international organizations, the usage of 'foreign military relations' seems to be more common. See, for example, Kenneth W. Allen and Eric A. McVadon, *China's Foreign Military Relations* (Washington DC: 1999, Henry L. Stimson Center); Björn Hagelin, "Military Dependency: Thailand and the Philippines," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (December 1988). The Federal Research Division of the US Library of Congress also uses 'foreign military relations' in several of its country profiles, such as Bulgaria, Philippines, Romania, Sudan and Turkey. See, <http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/>. Following these examples, the phrase 'foreign military relations' is to be used throughout this text.

⁴² Other kinds of interaction between military forces of two states are dismissed here as they are deemed of symbolic value. These are, for instance, establishment of military hotlines, exchanges

Cooperative or conflictual relations between two states that involve the employment of weapon systems constitute operational military relations.⁴³ Port visits of a state's naval warships to another state signify a certain level of cordial military relations between these two states, and thus deserve close attention.⁴⁴ In addition, the conduct of bilateral joint military exercises with the active participation of military units from the armed forces of two states continues to be an integral part of military cooperation between states. Finally, military installations established in the territory of a particular state but appropriated for the use of the military forces of another one through agreements have been an enduring component of bilateral military relations among several states.

Bilateral military relations between two states that pertain to the military modernization of the armed forces of at least one of the two states constitute technical military relations. For the purposes of their military modernizations, states may opt for direct procurement of military equipment from foreign sources, unless they indigenously or collaboratively manufacture it. In addition, states may prefer establishing due mechanisms to manufacture military hardware of common or individual need through cooperative projects with one another as well.

Relations of states with international organizations in military matters that are directly related to the states' internal or external military affairs constitute

between army museums, and sports contests among armed forces of countries. As examples, for sports activities of Turkish Armed Forces, see, <http://www.tsk.mil.tr/cism/eng/index.htm>. For, Armed Forces Sports Program of the US Department of Defense, see, <http://www.defenselink.mil/armedforcessports/index.html>.

⁴³ Any discussion of conflictual military relations, or hot conflicts, between two states is beyond the extent of this work, and thus omitted.

⁴⁴ Trivial as it may seem, port visits do occasionally come to the front in international politics due to several reasons. A prominent one is the convenience of port visits to convey implicit messages to a specific audience. For example, by dispatching *the USS Missouri* to Turkey on March 22, 1946, which carried the remains of Turkish Ambassador Münir Ertegün aboard, "Washington had not so subtly reminded the Soviet Union and others that the United States was a great military power and that it could project this power abroad, even to shores far distant." See, Barry M. Blechman and Stephen S. Kaplan, "U.S. Military Forces as a Political Instrument Since World War II," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 94, No. 2 (Summer 1979), pp. 193-209, p. 3. This point is to be further discussed in chapter 3.

organizational military relations.⁴⁵ More to the point, engaging in a relationship with another state, particularly in military matters, under the aegis or within the framework of international organizations appears to exert noticeable influences on a state's bilateral relations, in general, and bilateral military relations, in particular, with another state.⁴⁶ In short, organizational military relations have two aspects: relations of a state with a specific international organization, and relations of a state with another state within specific international organizations.

Table I: Foreign Military Relations: A Typology

<p>Formal Military Relations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Military/Defense Attaché Offices ➤ Military Agreements ➤ Visits of Military Personnel ➤ Exchanges between Military Education Institutions
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⁴⁵ For example, UN Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction (Mine-Ban Convention), or simply Ottawa Treaty, effects a state's both internal and external military affairs as it proscribes, on the one hand, the usage, development, production, stockpiling, retainment and, on the other hand, procurement and transfer of anti-personnel mines. For the full text of the Convention, see, <http://disarmament2.un.org/rdb/apm-abc-text.html>.

⁴⁶ With respect to the common membership of two states whose bilateral military relations are examined, international organizations taken into consideration may change. In other words, while for an analysis of Chinese-Israeli military relations United Nations (UN) is taken into account, for Chinese-Russian military relations Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is taken into account in addition to the UN. The point is to be further discussed in chapter 3.

Operational Military Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Port Visits ➤ Joint Military Exercises ➤ Military Bases ➤ Hot Conflicts *
Technical Military Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Direct Supply/Procurement of Weaponry ➤ Cooperation in Armaments Production
Organizational Military Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ UN * ➤ X ➤ Y

It is worth propounding this analytical framework for analyses of bilateral military relations for three primary reasons. First, by segregating the entirety of a state's foreign military relations and plainly identifying each and every possible realm of its bilateral military relations with another state, this analytical framework enables the researcher to define and describe each sort of existing military relations between two states, and thereby expose *the exact nature* of their military relations.

* As indicated earlier, hot conflicts between two states are not to be discussed here.

* Universal membership, with a few exceptions like Taiwan, entails the incorporation of the UN in all analyses of foreign military relations of a state or bilateral military relations between two states. X and Y denote other international organizations to which any two states whose bilateral military relations are discussed are common members

Against the possibility of neglecting some facets of bilateral military relations between two states for the sake of a specific argument set forth in an analysis, this analytical framework constrains the researcher to take each sort of relations into consideration and, thus induces him to achieve and present a rigorous account of bilateral military relations between two states.

Second, situating bilateral military relations in a state's foreign military relations, this analytical framework provides the opportunity to discern *the precise level* of bilateral military relations of a state. In other words, for example, the type, number and content of military agreements of state X with state Y can be compared to all the military agreements of state X. Hence, a quite clear picture of the level of military relations between state X and Y, albeit with regard to military agreements. By the same token, this analytical framework is suitable for comparative analyses of bilateral military relations. The type, number and content of military agreements of state X with state Y can be compared to type, number and content of military agreements of state X with state Z. In so doing, the relative level of state X's military relations with state Y vis-à-vis state Z can be manifested, again albeit with regard to military agreements.

Third, this analytical framework incorporates relations of a state in military matters with international organizations to analyses of a state's foreign military relations. Therefore, it paves the way for detecting the effects of these relations on bilateral military relations between two states. Simply, for instance, Ankara's relations with NATO have repercussions for its bilateral military relations with another member of NATO. In short, the implications of common membership to international organizations need to be considered to achieve a panoptic analysis of military relations between two states.

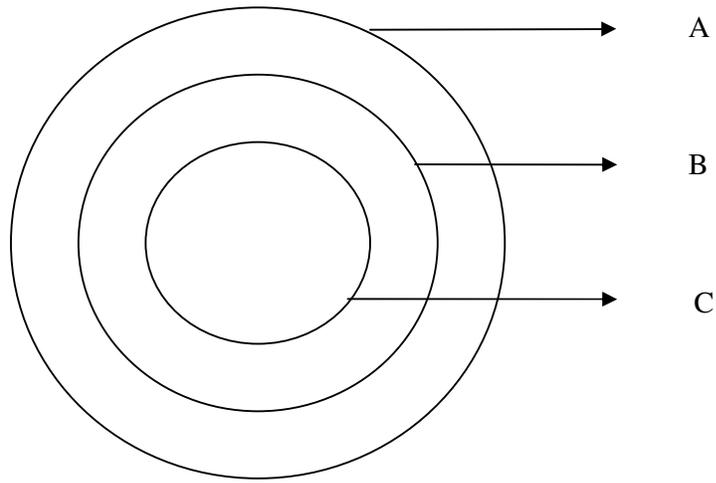


Figure II: The Analytical Framework in Which Bilateral Military Relations can be Examined

A: Foreign Policy of State X

B: Foreign Military Relations of State X

C: Bilateral Military Relations between States X and Y

Capitalizing on the advantages of both analytical frameworks, this thesis employs a concentric method in its analysis of bilateral military relations between Turkey and China. The second chapter delineates the basic characteristics of Turkish foreign policy. The third chapter examines bilateral relations between the two states excluding military relations. The fourth chapter analyzes bilateral military relations between Turkey and China wherein bilateral military relations between Ankara and Beijing are situated in the general context of Turkish military relations through employing the typology propounded above.

CHAPTER III

TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY: A GENERAL SURVEY

Foreign military relations of a state are essentially embedded in its foreign policy. For example, the nexus between Turkish foreign policy and its bilateral military relations is made evident when İlker Başbuğ, Commander of the Turkish Land Forces, stated in June 2007 during his visit to Beijing that “there is a great similarity between Turkey and China in assessing the problems of the world,” and “there is a great similarity between the threats and risks” faced by both Turkey and China.⁴⁷ The implication in these words seems to be that convergence in basic foreign policy attitudes of Turkey and China is favorable to the development of their military relations. As a corollary, it seems indispensable to elucidate, at the very least, the basic characteristics of a state’s foreign policy for a profound analysis of its bilateral military relations.

This chapter presents a descriptive general survey of Turkish foreign policy, which constitutes the primary and overarching framework for an analysis of Turkish

⁴⁷ Barış Adıbelli, “Kara Kuvvetleri Komutanı Başbuğ’un Çin Ziyareti [Visit of the Commander of Land Forces Başbuğ to China],” *Cumhuriyet Strateji* (July 2, 2007), quoted in <http://www.kemalistpolitika.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=142>. To Adıbelli, Başbuğ’s stress on convergent attitudes of Turkey and China in international politics “demonstrates that Turkish Armed Forces has employed a multilateral opening [policy] in the military sphere.” See, *Ibid.* Also see, “Çin ile Türkiye’nin Düşmanı Aynı [Enemy of China and Enemy of Turkey are the Same],” *Aydınlık*, No. 1038 (June 10, 2007), pp. 4-5.

foreign military relations. First, fundamental objectives of Turkish foreign policy are specified, and the security conception of Turkey is discussed. Second, basic parameters of Turkish foreign policy are pointed out. Third, players central to the formation and implementation of Turkish foreign policy are indicated.

3. 1. Objectives of Turkish Foreign Policy

An apparent consensus on how and according to which criteria the objectives of foreign policy are categorized has yet to be achieved in international relations literature.⁴⁸ According to Kalevi J. Holsti, self-preservation of a political unit, defense of areas considered strategically vital, and preservation or realization of ethnic, religious, or linguistic unity constitute short-range objectives of a state. On the other hand, satisfying welfare demands and needs via international action, increasing a state's prestige in the international system, and material and/or ideological self-extension constitute middle-range objectives. Finally, there are long-range objectives, which are "plans, dreams, and visions concerning the ultimate political or ideological organization of the international system, rules governing relations in that system, and the role of specific nations within it."⁴⁹ On the other hand, Kim R. Nossal identifies six main foreign policy objectives. "The classical trio of goals" comprises security, wealth, and prestige but it "does not cover all the

⁴⁸ Faruk Sönmezoğlu, *Uluslararası Politika ve Dış Politika Analizi [International Politics and Foreign Policy Analysis]* (İstanbul: Filiz Kitabevi, 2005), p. 270.

⁴⁹ Kalevi J. Holsti, *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis* (New Jersey: Prentice/Hall International, 1977), pp. 138-163, p. 151. However, according to the controversial thesis of Francis Fukuyama, that is, *the end of history*, as a logical conclusion, no state in the international system but "the developed states of the West" can aspire to have long-range objectives as, thanks to "the ultimate triumph of Western liberal democracy," a struggle between rival systems is by no means a determining tendency of the contemporary era. See, Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History," *The National Interest*, (Summer 1989), <http://www.wesjones.com/eoh.htm>. Also, see, Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Avon Books, Inc., 1992). However, the debate continues. For an analysis of global politics of the Chinese efficacious development *model* and how this has rendered it 'a threat to the West' because of threatening the US hegemony, see, Randall Peerenboom, *China Modernizes: Threat to the West or Model for the Rest?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

important goals and objectives of global actors” since there also are, he asserts, independence, justice, and community as foreign policy objectives.⁵⁰

Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs proclaims that “the primary objective of Turkish foreign policy is to help secure and nurture a peaceful, stable, prosperous and cooperative regional and international environment that is conducive to human development at home as well as in the neighboring countries and beyond.”⁵¹ Likewise, *Defense White Paper 2000*, published by the Ministry of Defense, posits the principle of ‘peace at home, peace in the world’ as the framework for Turkish national goals, which are “to establish peaceful principles, to provide stability and to realize socioeconomic development in an environment of peace in her region.”⁵²

These peaceful declarations notwithstanding, the fundamental objectives and duties of the Turkish state, and by extension the Turkish foreign policy, are, according to Article 5 of the Turkish Constitution, “to safeguard the independence and integrity of the Turkish Nation, the indivisibility of the country, the Republic and democracy; to ensure the welfare, peace, and happiness of the individual and society.”⁵³ Besides, the same *Defense White Paper 2000* also highlights the Turkish conception of national security, expressed in Law No. 2945 as “the preservation and protection against all kinds of internal and external threats to the constitutional order

⁵⁰ Kim R. Nossall, *The Patterns of World Politics* (Ontario: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1998), pp. 65-81. As quoted by Nossall, the classical trio was most succinctly summarized by Thomas Hobbes when he claimed that “the principal causes of quarrel between human beings” were competition, diffidence, and glory: “The first, maketh men invade for gain; the second for safety; and the third for reputation.” See, Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (New York: Touchstone, 1997), p. 99.

⁵¹ “Synopsis of the Turkish Foreign Policy” *Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, December 17, 2007, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Synopsis/SYNOPSIS.htm>. However, the Ministry adds later in the text making Turkey an integral part of Europe as the other foreign policy objective which, together with the first one, drives “Turkey’s foreign policy vision for the future.” See, *Ibid.*

⁵² “Defense White Paper 2000,” http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers/Turkey_English2000.pdf.

⁵³ *The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey* (Ankara: BYEGM Matbaası, 1990), p. 5. In addition to these, Article 5 entrusts the Turkish state “to strive for the removal of political, social and economic obstacles which restrict the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual in a manner incompatible with the principles of justice and of the social state governed by the rule of law; and to provide the conditions required for the development of the individual’s material and spiritual existence.” *Ibid.*, p. 5.

of the state, her national existence, her integrity and all her political, social, cultural and economic interests and contractual rights in the international arena.”⁵⁴

The incumbent Turkish government, displaying a desire to implement proactive foreign policy, has set “being a regional power and a global actor” which is “an arbiter able to drive the developments” as the objective of Turkish foreign policy. It states that “the primary condition to achieve this objective is the formation of a circle of security and welfare around” Turkey by “consolidating economic, cultural, and political bonds with neighboring countries.”⁵⁵ In sum, even if there are some harbingers of an assertive foreign policy seeking more than security, the ultimate objective of Turkish foreign policy, it seems, is the preservation of security through peace and stability both at home and in its vicinity.⁵⁶ That the policies of Turkish state to achieve this objective heavily depend on its understanding of security calls for a closer examination of Turkey’s security conception.

3.2. Security Conception of Turkey

There is no consensus on the focus of interest, that is, the referent point of security, in international relations literature. Generally defined, referent objects of security “are things that are seen to be existentially threatened and that have legitimate claim to survival.”⁵⁷ Therefore, as Brian L. Job argues, “in principle, four

⁵⁴ For the full text of the Law 2945, see, “Milli Güvenlik Kurulu ve Milli Güvenlik Kurulu Genel Sekreterliği Kanunu [Law of the National Security Council and the Secretariat General of the National Security Council],” *Resmi Gazete*, No. 18218 (November 11, 1983), pp. 3-10, p. 3.

⁵⁵ “60. Hükümet Programı [The Program of the 60th Government],” *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık*, August 31, 2007, www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/docs/hukumetprg.doc, p. 65.

⁵⁶ The declaration of Turkish General Staff seems to support this conclusion: “Turkey carries out a policy [defense] aiming to find a solution to the crises peacefully or to stop the conflicts as well as provide fair and permanent peace. To that end, she makes contributions to all activities supporting stability.” See, “Turkey’s Defense Policy,” *Turkish General Staff*, December 30, 2007, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/eng/genel_konular/savunmapolitikasi.htm.

⁵⁷ Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Vilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (London: Lynne Rienner, 1998), p. 36. In other words, “the referent object is that to which one can say, ‘it has to survive, therefore it is necessary to...’”. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

or more distinct securities may be at issue simultaneously: the security of the individual citizen, the security of the nation, the security of the regime, and the security of the state.”⁵⁸

Even though the Turkish constitution declares “the welfare, peace, and happiness of the individual and society” as a referent point of Turkey’s security in addition to territorial integrity of the country, independence of the state, and constitutional order of the state, the same approach, it seems, has not been endorsed by both the military and civilian institutions of the state. Designated for the implementation of Turkish defense policy, the military, or specifically the Turkish General Staff, is understandably interested in the protection and the preservation of “national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and vital interests of the country,” excluding non-state referent points of security.⁵⁹ The incumbent Turkish government, on the other hand, has proclaimed that during its first five-year in office it has “considered national security of Turkey from a broader perspective and displayed the resolution in realizing internal and external security through considering military, diplomatic, cultural and societal dimensions of security in its totality.”⁶⁰ Yet, all the referent points of security it refers pertain to the state: indivisible integrity of the country, national unity and integrity, unitary nature of the state, boundaries of the

⁵⁸ Brian L. Job, “The Insecurity Dilemma: National, Regime, and State Securities in the Third World,” in Brian L. Job, ed., *The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1992), p. 15.

⁵⁹ “Turkey’s Defense Policy,” *Turkish General Staff*. Still, retired generals of the Turkish military forces are inclined to insert non-state referent points of security in their discussions of the security of Turkey. According to Nezihi Çakar, a retired general and advisor of the then President of Turkey Süleyman Demirel, referent points of Turkish security include national welfare and security, and economic development, in addition to constitutional principles and values, and freedom, independence and integrity of the country. See, Nezihi Çakar, “Turkey’s Security Challenges,” *Perceptions*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (June/August 1996), p.20. For Şadi Ergüvenç, a retired brigadier general, “defence of legitimate rights, sovereignty and freedoms” is as important as the “protection of territorial and national integrity” in constituting the context of “Turkey’s vital security interests.” See, Şadi Ergüvenç, “Turkey’s Security Perceptions,” *Perceptions*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (June-August 1998), pp. 32-42, p. 39.

⁶⁰ “60. Hükümet Programı [The Program of the 60th Government],” *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık*, p. 13.

state, and independence.⁶¹ In short, state, with its attributes, appears to be the overriding, if not the only, referent point of security in Turkey's security policy.

Security against what is another question awaiting a unanimous answer in international politics. While maintaining the centrality of state as a referent point, a broad definition is suggested by Richard H. Ullman:

A threat to national security is an action or sequence of events that (1) threatens drastically and over a relatively brief span of time to degrade the quality of life for the inhabitants of a state, or (2) threatens significantly to narrow the range of policy choices available to the government of a state or to private, nongovernmental entities (persons, groups, corporations) within the state.⁶²

Considering what constitutes a threat, the Turkish Constitution seems to adopt a broader perspective as well. "An activity contrary to Turkish national interests, the principle of the indivisibility of the existence of Turkey with its state and territory, Turkish historical and moral values or the nationalism, principles, reforms and modernism of Atatürk" seems to provide a general definition of a threat as "no protection shall be accorded to" it.⁶³ However, particular definitions of an activity deleterious to Turkey's security are not impervious to changing circumstances.

Writing in the Cold War years, Fahir Armaoğlu, a renowned Turkish historian, contended that Turkey was confronted by four types of threats, which were Greek imperialism, international communism, separatist activities, and sectarian clashes in

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 13. Indeed, the Government mentions "social and economic development" of Eastern and Southeastern regions of Turkey. However, the government apparently conceives this policy just as a means of "strengthening national unity and integrity through satisfying the hopes, demands, and expectations of the people of the region to the utmost extent". See, Ibid., pp. 13-14.

⁶² Richard H. Ullman, "Redefining Security," *International Security*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Summer 1983), pp. 129-153, p. 133.

⁶³ Quotation is from the Preamble of the Constitution. See, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası [Constitution of the Republic of Turkey]," *TBMM*, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/Anayasa.htm>. Of note, this sentence was amended on October 3, 2001. Prior to the amendment, the sentence reads as follows: "The determination that no protection shall be afforded to *thoughts or opinions*..." Emphasis is mine. See, *The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey* (Ankara: BYEGM Matbaası, 1990), p. 4.

the region [the Middle East].⁶⁴ On the other hand, in the mid-1990s, Şükrü Elekdağ, a former Turkish ambassador to Washington, proposed ‘two and a half war campaigns’ strategy for Turkey, that is, a strategy designed to effectively conduct “two full scale operations simultaneously along the Aegean and southern fronts while at the same time being prepared for a ‘half war’ that might be instigated from within the country,” as, to Elekdağ, main threats against Turkish security were “Greek designs”, Syria as “a natural ally of Greece”, and PKK terrorism.⁶⁵ According to Halil Şimşek, a retired brigadier general, among the external factors effecting Turkish national security strategy, globalization is salient and involves considerable risks, if not threats, to Turkish security.⁶⁶

Besides personal evaluations are the officially acknowledged threats to Turkey’s security. It is widely accepted that Turkey’s “security horizons are now much wider than they were during the Cold War,” when Ankara was heavily preoccupied with the possibility of a Soviet aggression.⁶⁷ Turkish General Staff proclaims that today “Turkey’s basic security concerns are focused on terrorism, the threat of long-range missiles and weapons of mass destruction, religious extremism, [and] regional conflicts.”⁶⁸ *Defense White Paper 2000*, on the other hand, asserts that “the traditional concept of threat has now started to contain new threats and risks emerging in the form of:

⁶⁴ Fahir Armaoğlu, *Türkiye Cumhuriyetini Yıkma Matuf Siyasi ve İdeolojik Oyunlar [Political and Ideological Plots Aimed to Subvert the Republic of Turkey]* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1986), pp. 21-31.

⁶⁵ Şükrü Elekdağ, “2 ½ War Strategy,” *Perceptions*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (March/May 1996), pp. 33-57.

⁶⁶ Halil Şimşek, *Türkiye’nin Ulusal Güvenlik Stratejisi [National Security Strategy of Turkey]* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2002), pp. 49-51. Şimşek refrains from making an explicit reference to Turkey though. Yet, considering the context, his implication is evident. For an elaborate discussion from a critical perspective of changing security conceptions in Turkey, see, Pınar Bilgin, “Turkey’s Changing Security Discourses: The Challenge of Globalization,” *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 44, No.1 (January 2005), pp. 175-201.

⁶⁷ Ian O. Lesser, “Turkey in a Changing Security Environment,” *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (Fall 2000), pp. 183-198, p. 197.

⁶⁸ “Turkey’s Defense Policy,” *Turkish General Staff*.

regional and ethnic conflicts,
political and economic instabilities and uncertainties in the countries,
proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles,
religious fundamentalism,
smuggling of drugs and all kinds of weapons, and
international terrorism.”⁶⁹

3.3. Parameters of Turkish Foreign Policy

According to Mustafa Aydın, the interplay of two basic sets of variables is observed in the process of foreign policy formation of a state. Structural variables, on the one hand, are “continuous, fairly static and not directly related to the international political medium and the daily events of foreign politics.”⁷⁰ Conjunctural variables, on the other hand, are “dynamic, made up of a web of interrelated developments in domestic politics and international relations, and subject to change under the influence of domestic and foreign developments.”⁷¹ While Aydın identifies the legacy of Ottoman Empire, geographical realities, and the impact of Kemalism as the ‘structural determinants’ of Turkish foreign policy,⁷² for Oral Sander ‘the forces of continuity’ in Turkish foreign policy are Atatürk’s legacy, geopolitics, and economic considerations.⁷³ Moreover, to Ferenc Vali, there are three ‘foundations’ of Turkey’s foreign policy, which are geopolitical foundations, ethnic foundations, and

⁶⁹ “Defense White Paper 2000.” Although the document does not explain the traditional concept of threat, the implication is that it was about the USSR. It should also be noted that despite the deliberate evasion of identifying particular states as threats to Turkey’s security in official documents, the only contingency that Ankara considers as *casus belli* in advance is the Greek extension of its territorial waters in the Aegean Sea beyond the present six miles. See, Şükrü Elekdağ, “2 ½ War Strategy,” p. 39.

⁷⁰ Mustafa Aydın, “The Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy, and Turkey’s European Vocation,” *The Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Winter 2003), pp. 306-331, p. 307.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Mustafa Aydın, *Turkish Foreign Policy: Framework and Analysis* (Ankara: Center for Strategic Research, 2004), pp. 11-44.

⁷³ Oral Sander, *Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası [Foreign Policy of Turkey]* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 1998), pp. 71-97.

ideological foundations.⁷⁴ In general, geographic location, historical experiences, and dominant ideology among policy makers are considered as the basic parameters of Turkish foreign policy.

Geographic position of a state can facilitate the implementation of its foreign policy. Still, it can cause complications as well. In short, regarding its foreign policy, it can be both an asset and a liability for a state. As an asset, Turkey, thanks to its “very important geostrategic location,”⁷⁵ which borders the Caucasus, the Middle East and the Balkans/Europe as well as the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, “has been able to play a role in world politics far greater than its size, population, and economic strength would indicate.”⁷⁶ By the same token, owing to its particular geographical position, Turkey is the only state which is a member of NATO, the Organization for Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Council of Europe, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) and Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), and Developing-8 Countries (D-8) all at the same time.⁷⁷

Membership to several international organizations contributes to the conduct of multilateral diplomacy in Turkish foreign policy, and multilateral diplomacy can be

⁷⁴ Ferenc Vali, *Bridge Across the Bosphorus: The Foreign Policy of Turkey* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 42-77. There are other classifications as well. For instance, to Yasemin Çelik, ‘the foundations’ of Turkish foreign policy are geography, population, social structure, economic capability, military capability, and political structure. See, Yasemin Çelik, *Contemporary Turkish Foreign Policy* (Westport, Praeger Publishers, 1999), pp. 1-25. To Baskın Oran, ‘basic elements influencing Turkish foreign policy’ are those related to cultural dimension, historical dimension, strategic dimension, and domestic structural dimension. See, Baskın Oran, “TDP’nin Kuramsal Çerçevesi [Theoretical Framework of TFP],” in Baskın Oran, ed., *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy: Facts, Documents, Observations since the War of Liberation]*, Vol. 1 (İstanbul: 2005, İletişim Yayınları), pp. 20-29.

⁷⁵“Defense White Paper 2000.”

⁷⁶ Mustafa Aydın, “Securitization of History and Geography: Understanding of Security in Turkey,” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (May 2003), pp 163-184, p. 170.

⁷⁷ This fact is frequently stressed in Turkish official documents and also in scholarly studies. See, for example, Leonard A. Stone, “Interpreting the Interpretation: Contemporary Turkish Foreign Policy,” *Perceptions*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (March/May 1997), pp. 24-30, p. 27.

capitalized on to achieve foreign policy objectives. For instance, in an attempt to present Turkey as a ‘civilizational peace broker’ and thereby buttress its stature both in the EU and in regional politics, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan “has repeatedly noted the major role Turkey could perform in enhancing the civilizational dialogue between Christian and Islamic communities.”⁷⁸ In fact, membership to both the EU and OIC provided Turkey the opportunity to perform such a role when, for instance, Turkey hosted OIC-EU Joint Forum in February 2000 in Istanbul.⁷⁹

On the other hand, depending on political circumstances, geographic location of a state can be a liability. According to Zbigniew Brzezinski, Turkey’s unique location makes it a “geopolitical pivot”, a state “whose importance is not derived from its power and motivation but rather from its sensitive location” and “which is able to deny access to areas or resources to a significant player.”⁸⁰ However, in addition to magnifying the influence exerted by Turkish policy makers, this geographical peculiarity has historically generated anxiety in Turkish foreign policy. As an example, on the one hand, Istanbul and the Turkish Straits historically provided an invaluable base for Turkish people “from which they were able to exercise control in all directions, the Balkans and Central Europe, the Black Sea region, the Aegean and Mediterranean, Mesopotamia and Arabia, Syria and North Africa.”⁸¹ They provided the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic “a resource that could not be

⁷⁸ Gareth M. Winrow, “Turkey’s Changing Regional Role and Its Implications.” Paper presented at the conference titled “Europeanization and Transformation: Turkey in the Post-Helsinki Era” at Koç University, December 2005, <http://ces.bilgi.edu.tr/docs/Kocwinrow2005.pdf>, p. 6.

⁷⁹ Former Turkish Foreign Minister İsmail Cem, in his address to the Forum, also emphasized common membership of Turkey to both the EU and OIC and its peculiar geocultural position: “Turkey hosts this Forum with the understanding that she has a particular responsibility and mission. We are attached to both the OIC and the EU; we are a country which is both European and Asian, we are a culture which has both Eastern and Western dimensions.” Quoted in Nasuh Uslu, *Turkish Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Period* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 2004), p. 12.

⁸⁰ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chess Board: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), p. 41.

⁸¹ Ferenc Vali, *Bridge Across the Bosphorus: The Foreign Policy of Turkey*, p. 45.

duplicated in manpower to influence the actions of the U.S.S.R.,”⁸² and, it can be argued, the Russian Federation.

On the other hand, recurrent conflicts with foreign powers, especially Russians, for the control of these vital waterways have had ramifications for Turkish security perceptions as well as for Turkish foreign policy. When Joseph Stalin demanded bases on Bosphorus along with territorial concessions on March 15, 1945, Turkey sought a formal alliance with the West in the form of membership in NATO, which was to heavily influence its foreign policy orientation.⁸³ Ahmet Davutoğlu, a prominent Turkish scholar and currently a foreign policy advisor to Turkish Prime Minister, on the other hand, seems to implicitly display the Turkish concern over the Turkish straits by discussing how “politics of alliances and blocs” historically affected the status of the Straits and mentioning that there exists “a parallelism between the decrease in the position of Ottoman State in international power hierarchy and its gradual loss of the control over the straits.”⁸⁴ That is, the Turkish Straits are historically a focus of interest in the foreign policies of great powers waiting for a proper time to act in pursuit of their interests.

Furthermore, it is asserted that multiplicity of neighbors may increase a state’s sense of insecurity, and indirectly influence its foreign policy, since “a nation that borders on a large number of other nations faces a particularly high risk that it may be threatened or attacked by at least some of its neighbors” and “confronts its neighbors with uncertainty because it must protect and defend itself against many

⁸² Keith R. Legg and James F. Morrison, *Politics and the International System: An Introduction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 101.

⁸³ Mustafa Aydın, “The Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy, and Turkey’s European Vocation,” p. 317.

⁸⁴ Ahmet Davutoğlu, *Statejik Derinlik: Türkiye’nin Uluslararası Konumu [Strategic Depth: Turkey’s International Position]* (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2007), 161-169, p. 164. For Davutoğlu, the Turkish Straits are “Turkey’s one of the most important sources of strategic advantage,” and “carry great importance for the long term strategic destiny” of Turkey. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

potential opponents.”⁸⁵ However, the main factor aggravating a state’s sense of insecurity seems to be not the sheer number of neighboring countries but the absence of coordinated state policies to address its existent problems with neighboring countries. Coping with the problems at least with some of the neighboring countries may not necessarily decrease the sense of insecurity but definitely increases foreign policy options of a state.⁸⁶

In addition, Turkey’s peculiar geographic position poses “the dangers of involvement in regional conflicts that do not represent immediate threats to her borders.”⁸⁷ The Iranian revolution, the Iran-Iraq war, the subsequent first Gulf war and the ensuing civil war in Iraq, Bosnia and Kosovo crises in the Balkans, the conflicts over Nagorno-Karabakh, Chechnya and Abkhazia in the Caucasus, and the American invasion of Iraq are just some of the crises and the conflicts that have taken place within the immediate vicinity of Turkey. Ankara has been able to refrain from interfering in these conflicts to a great extent by, for example, resisting to the “emergent internal public pressures for a more interventionist policy on behalf of ethnic minorities in Turkey’s vicinity”⁸⁸ subjected to suppression and sometimes ethnic cleansing. Yet, the risk of involvement in regional conflicts for Turkey still exists.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Benjamin A. Most and Harvey Star, “Diffusion, Reinforcement, Geopolitics and the Spread of War,” *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 74, No. 4 (December 1980), p 932-946, p. 935.

⁸⁶ This is the logic behind Davutoğlu’s recommendation to dissipate existent tensions between Turkey and (some of) its neighbors because, to Davutoğlu, “it is impossible for a country experiencing perennial tensions with its immediate bordering neighbors to produce regional and global policies transcending these borders.” See, Ahmet Davutoğlu, *Statejik Derinlik: Türkiye’nin Uluslararası Konumu [Strategic Depth: Turkey’s International Position]*, p. 144.

⁸⁷ Mustafa Aydın, “The Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy, and Turkey’s European Vocation,” p. 323.

⁸⁸ Mustafa Aydın, “Securitization of History and Geography: Understanding of Security in Turkey,” p. 176.

⁸⁹ For example, Turkey would have taken part in the US military campaign against Iraq if the Turkish Grand National Assembly had not voted against the so-called March 1 bill. The Bill was not admitted by a margin of just 4 votes. See, Eyüp Ersoy and Mehmet Yeğin, “A Rupture in US-Turkey Relations March 1, 2003: How to Explain the Turkish Foreign Policy Decision?” *Civilacademy*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Summer 2007), pp. 137-144.

History is another basic parameter of Turkish foreign policy. In general, there appear to be two main reasons of why “the past is never dead” in foreign affairs.⁹⁰ First, historical analogies are widely employed by both policy makers and scholars to make sense of social events.⁹¹ Second, historical legacies occasionally plague relations between countries.⁹² With regard to Turkey, “the legacy of history is discernible in its relations with neighboring countries as well as its Western allies.”⁹³ On the one hand, the absence of historical contentions between Turkey and another state is conducive to the inception and the smooth continuation of relations. For example, a scholar explains the initiation of the mainly cordial relationships between Turkey and the US in part with the fact that “the US carried none of the historical baggage associated with the wars of the Great European Powers...that caused the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and led to the establishment of the modern Turkish Republic.”⁹⁴

On the other hand, modern Turkish Republic was established in “the heartland of the Ottoman Empire, with its advantages as well as complications and the legacy of its problematic relations.”⁹⁵ One complication pertains to Turkish-Middle Eastern relations. The rule of the Ottoman Empire in the region “left an enduring legacy on

⁹⁰ This famous quotation is from William Faulkner: “The past is never dead. It is not even past.” Joseph Blotner and Noel Polk, eds., *Faulkner: Novels 1942-1954* (New York: The Library of America, 1994), p. 535.

⁹¹ As an example, for an analysis of how historical analogies have been used by US foreign policy makers, see, Jeffrey Record, *Making War, Thinking History: Munich, Vietnam, and Presidential Uses of Force from Korea to Kosovo* (Annapolis: US Naval Institute Press, 2002).

⁹² For instance, persistent visits of former Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Kouzumi to the Yasukuni Shrine, where Japanese soldiers lost their lives in the service of imperial Japan were buried including those convicted of war crimes after WWII, incited vociferous reactions from China so much so that Chinese President announced in March 2006 that “there would be no summit between the two countries as long as Japan’s prime minister visits the Yasukuni Shrine.” See, Wenran Jiang, “China Looks beyond Koizumi in its Japan Diplomacy,” *China Brief*, Vol. 6, No. 12 (June 7, 2006), http://www.jamestown.org/china_brief/article.php?issue_id=3756.

⁹³ Ali Karaosmanoğlu, “The Evolution of the National Security Culture and the Military in Turkey,” *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (Fall 2000), pp. 199-216, p. 199.

⁹⁴ Edward J. Erickson, “Turkey as Regional Hegemon-2014: Strategic Implications for the United States,” *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Autumn 2004), pp. 25-45, p. 25.

⁹⁵ Mustafa Aydın, “Securitization of History and Geography: Understanding of Security in Turkey,” p. 165.

all sides and contributes to Turkey's generally cool relations with its Arab neighbors."⁹⁶ Since most of the founders of the modern Turkey fought in the Ottoman army against collaborating Arab and Western armies, the feeling that "the Arabs stabbed Turkey in the back during World War I, contributing to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire,"⁹⁷ especially witnessed in the military-bureaucratic elite, is quite widespread in Turkish society. Arabs, on the other hand, are prone to support the "understanding linking Arab underdevelopment to the centuries-old 'Ottoman Imperialism',"⁹⁸ and also consider "Kemalist westernization as a political project that took place at the expense and denial of Turkey's Islamic heritage."⁹⁹ These mutually prejudicial convictions tend to impede the development of genuine relations between Turkey and Arab countries. Nevertheless, there are some efforts to ameliorate Turkey's relations with the Arab World especially since the Justice and Development Party (AKP) took office in Turkey in 2002.¹⁰⁰

Another complication generated by the historical legacy pertains to the Turkish sensitivity to the alleged collaboration of external actors with internal sources of threats. Tensions emerged over the trials of Christian subjects in the Ottoman Empire resulted in foreign interventions of the Western powers over the 'violations of the rights' of these subjects. Since external powers, "playing protector to one of its many minorities, were able to meddle with the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire

⁹⁶ Ian O. Lesser, "Turkey in a Changing Security Environment," *Journal of International Affairs*, p. 190.

⁹⁷ Cengiz Çandar and Graham E. Fuller, "Grand Geopolitics for a New Turkey," *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 22-38, p. 26.

⁹⁸ Meliha Benli Altunışık and Özlem Tür, "From Distant Neighbors to Partners: Changing Syrian-Turkish Relations," *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (June 2006), pp. 229-248, p. 231.

⁹⁹ Dietrich Jung, "Turkey and the Arab World: Historical Narratives and New Political Realities," *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (March 2005), pp. 1-17, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Özlem Tür, "Türkiye ve Ortadoğu: Gerilimden İşbirliğine [Turkey and the Middle East: From Tension to Cooperation]," in Zeynep Dağı, ed., *Doğu'dan Batı'ya Dış Politika: AK Partili Yıllar [Foreign Policy from the East to the West: Years with JD Party]* (Ankara: Orion Yayinevi, 2006), pp. 141-166.

during its declining years”¹⁰¹ Turkey has developed a high degree of sensitivity towards external concerns over its internal issues so as not to let anyone “create further vulnerabilities for the integrity and survival of the state.”¹⁰²

Besides, as another imperial legacy, “in its most extreme manifestation, the sense of isolation and distrust of outsiders culminates in what has been called the Sevres-phobia - the conviction that the external world is conspiring to weaken and divide up Turkey,”¹⁰³ named after the Treaty of Sevres which “provided the partition of Ottoman territories among the European powers after the First World War.”¹⁰⁴ The high level of suspicion was manifested, for instance, in the words of former Turkish President Süleyman Demirel. Evaluating the Western pressure to carry out political solutions to the ‘Kurdish problem’, Demirel claimed that the West is “trying to involve the Sevres Treaty to set up a Kurdish state in the region...and that was what they [the Western States] meant by political solutions.”¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, alleged Western devious plans are referred by Abdülkadir Akçin to advocate alternative foreign policy strategies for Turkey:

In the new world order, the Turkish Republic must monitor especially well the scenarios that the Western states are struggling to stage over the unitary structure of Turkey, and play well the cards related to the Central Asia, the Far East and the Third World countries as a requirement of the alternative strategy.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Mustafa Aydın, “The Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy, and Turkey’s European Vocation,” p. 313.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Malik Müfti, “Daring and Caution in Turkish Foreign Policy,” *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (Winter 1998), pp. 32-50, p. 42.

¹⁰⁴ Ali Karaosmanoğlu, “The Evolution of the National Security Culture and the Military in Turkey,” p. 202. For the full text of the Treaty composed of 433 articles, see, “Peace Treaty of Sevres,” *The World War One Document Archive*, http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Peace_Treaty_of_Sevres.

¹⁰⁵ Ramazan Gözen, “Two Processes in Turkish Foreign Policy: Integration and Isolation,” *Foreign Policy*, Vol. 21, No. 1-2 (1997), pp. 106-128, p. 119.

¹⁰⁶ Abdülkadir Akçin, “Önsöz [Preamble],” in R. Kutay Karaca, *Dünyadaki Yeni Güç: Çin [New Power in the World: China]* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2004), p. 15. Abdülkadir Akçin is the President of the Department of Strategies at Gebze Institute of Technology.

The third basic parameter of Turkish foreign policy is the fundamental ideology of the governing elite. Turkish government adopted the essential characteristics of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's foreign policy, which is succinctly summarized in the precept 'Peace at Home, Peace in the World [Yurtta Sulh, Cihanda Sulh], as "the basic principle determining the national security policy of Turkey."¹⁰⁷ Karaosmanoğlu indicates that "this [precept] implied a policy based on the maintenance of the status quo and on the survival of a relatively homogenous national state with a clear Turkish identity."¹⁰⁸ Concurring with Karaosmanoğlu, to Oral Sander, there is a close connection between the two parts of the precept. Attempts to "establish 'peace at home' through the initiation of social and economic adjustments" required 'peace abroad' that "should have been insulated from adventurism, exaggerating ideological differences among states, and keeping the past enmities alive."¹⁰⁹ In short, continual concern over the probable fallouts of external tensions and instabilities on domestic stability has made Atatürk's dictum a basic parameter of Turkish foreign policy.¹¹⁰

In addition, according to Mustafa Aydın many of 'the principles of Atatürk,' which are nationalism, secularism, republicanism, populism, statism, and reformism, "had foreign policy implications" for Turkey, especially in its founding years.¹¹¹ He contends that, for example, while "republicanism was against the totalitarian tendencies and revisionist and imperialist notions of being an Empire" and thereby contributed to the adoption of a *status quo* policy, secularism facilitated the

¹⁰⁷ "Defense White Paper 2000."

¹⁰⁸ Ali Karaosmanoğlu, "The Evolution of the National Security Culture and the Military in Turkey," p. 208.

¹⁰⁹ Oral Sander, *Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası [Foreign Policy of Turkey]*, p. 78.

¹¹⁰ Still, official endorsement of this precept by no means indicates permanent cordial relations between Turkey and other states. Turkey has experienced a multitude of crises and tensions especially with the neighboring countries during the 1990s due to several reasons. For an examination of Turkish foreign policy in the 1990s, see, William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy: 1774-2000* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2002), pp. 218-322.

¹¹¹ Mustafa Aydın, *Turkish Foreign Policy: Framework and Analysis*, p. 32.

termination of centuries of enmity with the Western states, and by representing the dismissal of “the idea of the state as the protector of Islam” it paved the way for the establishment of “the basis for peaceful relations with Western Christian countries.”¹¹²

However, to what extent Atatürk’s principles have bearings on contemporary Turkish foreign policy seems to be a matter of debate. For instance, with the rise of AKP in the Turkish political system, religious identity has commenced to play an important role in Turkish foreign policy for two main reasons.¹¹³ First, it is perceived by the AKP government as a catalyst to improve relations with the Arab and Muslim world.¹¹⁴ Second, it is perceived by the Turkish statesmen and some foreign policy makers alike as an asset to present Turkey, a ‘Muslim democracy,’ as a role model in the Muslim world.¹¹⁵ According to Soner Çağaptay, AKP’s emphasis on religious attributes in Turkish foreign policy and its strong interest in relations with the Muslim countries is tantamount to the erosion of secularism. According to Çağaptay:

...the AKP has taken an avid interest in Middle Eastern Muslim causes. Because the AKP government has not supported Turkish foreign policy moves paralleling those of the country’s Western allies, instead putting a premium on Turkey’s ties with Muslim countries and emphasizing solidarity with Muslim causes, the Turks are turning to the Muslim Middle East...Five

¹¹² Mustafa Aydın, “The Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy, and Turkey’s European Vocation,” pp. 318-319.

¹¹³ It can be argued that emphasizing religious identity in Turkish foreign policy dates back to the coalition government of the Welfare Party (RP) under Necmettin Erbakan and the True Path Party (DYP) in 1996-97.

¹¹⁴ This sort of perception is also reciprocated. For example, “the fact that a (pro-)Islamic party, with a sensibility to cultural matters, was in power in Turkey was perceived by Syria, a fellow Muslim country, as a factor that might facilitate the bilateral relations. The Syrian and Turkish statesmen occasionally acknowledged the common faith, as a powerful tie between two people among other factors.” See, Nikolaos Raptopoulos, “Rediscovering its Arab Neighbors? The AKP Imprint on Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East,” *Les Cahiers du RMES*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (July 2004), p. 8, <http://www.rmes.be/1-NR1.pdf>.

¹¹⁵ For example, “[The US] National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice has called Turkey...an ‘excellent model’ that has ‘great importance as an alternative to radical Islam,’ while President Bush has opined that Turkey provided Muslims around the world with a hopeful model of a modern and secular democracy.” See, Laura Peterson, “The Pentagon Talks Turkey,” *The American Prospect*, Vol. 13, No. 16 (September 8, 2002), pp. 13-15, p. 14.

years of AKP rule has undermined not only the Turks' commitment to the West but also Turkish secularism. Pro-Western foreign policy and secularism are the Siamese twins of Turkish politics.¹¹⁶

3. 4. Actors in Turkish Foreign Policy

According to Malik Mufti, there are four distinct domestic sources of Turkey's foreign policy, which are the government, unelected bureaucracies in the ministries and the military, the legislative, i.e., Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA), and public opinion conveyed through civic associations and the media.¹¹⁷ Philip Robins, on the other hand, offers a more detailed classification. To him, primary players are the government, the presidency, the foreign ministry, and the security establishment. Secondary players are parliament, the media, interest groups, ethnic pressure groups, and public opinion.¹¹⁸ It seems that primary players are those that are involved in Turkish foreign policy making *and* implementation, and secondary players are those that are influential, in varying degrees, in Turkish foreign policy making.¹¹⁹

As the executive branch of the Turkish state politically accountable to the electorate, the Turkish government is in charge of, and responsible for, the policy of the state, including foreign policy. Turkish governments lay down their particular foreign policy orientations in their government programs, of course within the general framework of official state principles ordained in fundamental state

¹¹⁶ Soner Çağaptay, "Secularism and Foreign Policy in Turkey: New Elections, Troubling Trends," *Policy Focus*, No. 67, April 2007, p. vii,

<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/download.php?file=PolicyFocus67.pdf>.

¹¹⁷ Malik Mufti, "Daring and Caution in Turkish Foreign Policy," p. 42.

¹¹⁸ Philip Robins, *Suits and Uniforms: Turkish Foreign Policy since the Cold War* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), pp. 68-92.

¹¹⁹ Only the primary players plus the Assembly are to be discussed here.

documents like the Constitution.¹²⁰ The minister of foreign affairs is the principle minister in the cabinet responsible for foreign affairs.

The Turkish President, as the head of the Turkish State elected by TGNA, exercises several powers related to the foreign policy, including “to accredit representatives of the Turkish state to foreign states and to receive the representatives of foreign states appointed to the Republic of Turkey,” “to ratify and promulgate international treaties,” and “to decide on the mobilization of the Turkish Armed Forces.”¹²¹ Depending on circumstances, the role and the power of presidency in Turkish foreign policy may change. According to Alan Makovsky, the power of presidency “increases proportionally to the weakness and passivity of the popularly elected government.”¹²² The assertiveness of the President himself is another factor in affecting the sway of the presidency over foreign policy. Erstwhile Turkish President Turgut Özal, “challenged the orthodox foreign policy understandings, structure, methodology and style in Turkey,” and arguably “left great important imprint on an increasingly activist and internationalist approach to Turkish foreign policy.”¹²³ On the other hand, regarding foreign policy issues, “although [they are] Özal’s successors, Süleyman Demirel and then Ahmet Necdet Sezer, used their powers with more restraint than their predecessor.”¹²⁴

¹²⁰ For a comparison of declared foreign policy orientations of two consecutive Turkish governments, see, “57. Hükümet Programı V. Ecevit Hükümeti [Program of the 57th Government, The 5th Ecevit Government],” *BelgeNet*, <http://www.belgenet.com/hukumet/program/57-2.html> and “58. Hükümet Programı Abdullah Gül Hükümeti [Program of the 58th Government, Abdullah Gül Government],” *BelgeNet*, <http://www.belgenet.com/hukumet/program/58-3.html>.

¹²¹ Article 104 of the Turkish Constitution. See, “The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey,” *Office of the Prime Minister, Directorate General of Press and Information*, <http://www.byegm.gov.tr/mevzuat/anayasa/anayasa-ing.htm>.

¹²² Alan Makovsky, “Turkey’s Presidential Jitters,” *PolicyWatch*, No. 451 (April 10, 2000), p. 2, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC05.php?CID=1329>.

¹²³ Sedat Laçiner, “Özalizm (Neo-Ottomanism): An Alternative in Turkish Foreign Policy?” *Journal of Administrative Sciences*, Vol. 1, No. 1-2 (2003-2004), pp. 161-202, p. 161.

¹²⁴ Mustafa Aydın, *Turkish Foreign Policy: Framework and Analysis*, p. 92.

The Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the main state institution responsible for day-to-day conduct of Turkish foreign relations. Among its responsibilities are “to implement the foreign policy in accordance with the basics designated and determined by the Government, and to conduct relations of the Turkish Republic with foreign states and international organizations,” and “to follow the developments in foreign states and international organizations, and interrelations among these.”¹²⁵ Even though it is a part of state machinery, the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs enjoys relative autonomy in state structure thanks to, for example, the nature of diplomacy as a profession and the high degree of the quality of the personnel.¹²⁶

In spite of the fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs “retains significant influence”, the military is so potent an actor in Turkish foreign policy that, in the words of Makovsky, “a policy strongly advocated by the military will almost certainly be implemented; a policy strongly opposed by the military almost certainly will not.”¹²⁷ In fact, the military is a foreign policy actor. For instance, “Turkey’s rapprochement with Israel was initiated and led by the military.”¹²⁸ According to İlhan Uzgel, the role of the Turkish military as a “foreign policy practitioner” is also visible in its involvement in the regional missions, its relations with the US, its vocal approach to the issues related to Turkish-Greek disputes, its relations with Israel, and its stance on the ‘Kurdish problem.’¹²⁹

¹²⁵ “Dışişleri Bakanlığının Kuruluş ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun [Law on the Establishment and Duties of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs],” *Resmi Gazete*, No. 21982 (July 6, 1994), pp. 13-28, p.13, p.14.

¹²⁶ Baskın Oran, “TDP’nin Uygulanması [Practicing of TFP],” in Baskın Oran, ed., *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy: Facts, Documents, Observations since the War of Liberation]*, Vol. 1 (İstanbul: 2005, İletişim Yayınları), pp. 54-73, pp. 54-67.

¹²⁷ Alan Makovsky, “The New Activism in Turkish Foreign Policy,” *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 1, No.2 (April-June 1999), pp. 3-21, p. 18.

¹²⁸ Gencer Özcan, “The Military and the Making of Foreign Policy in Turkey,” in Barry Rubin and Kemal Kirişçi, *Turkey in World Politics: An Emerging Multiregional Power* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), pp. 13-30, p. 23.

¹²⁹ İlhan Uzgel, “Between Praetorianism and Democracy: The Role of the Military in Turkish Foreign Policy,” *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations*, No. 34 (2003), pp. 177-211, pp. 196-208.

National Security Council (NSC) is the central medium of the military's involvement in foreign policy making.¹³⁰ Although its main function is to submit "to the Council of the Ministers its views on the advisory decisions that are taken,"¹³¹ "in practice it is virtually unheard of for cabinets and parliaments publicly to question its views."¹³² Besides, "the NSC is also responsible for coordinating the drafting and then the approval of the National Security Policy Document,"¹³³ which "lists the threats to national security, sets out priorities, lays down policy guidelines, and provides a detailed framework of foreign and security policies for governments and state institutions."¹³⁴ However, with the recent amendments in the Law No. 2945, the role of the military in the NSC is curbed.¹³⁵

Finally, the Turkish Assembly, TGNA, has responsibilities pertaining to the ratification of international treaties, declaration of state of war, and authorization to deploy armed forces of Turkey to abroad, and armed forces of foreign states to Turkish territory.¹³⁶ It also includes Foreign Affairs Commission, currently comprising 25 members of parliament.¹³⁷ TGNA has recently played a decisive role

¹³⁰ NSC is composed of the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Ministers, Ministers of Justice, National Defense, Internal Affairs, and Foreign Affairs, in addition to the Chief of the General Staff, the Commanders of the Army, Navy and Air Forces and the General Commander of the Gendarmerie, and convenes in every two months under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic. According to Law 2945, the NSC has 9 major responsibilities. See, "Milli Güvenlik Kurulu ve Milli Güvenlik Kurulu Genel Sekreterliği Kanunu [Law of the National Security Council and the Secretariat General of the National Security Council]," p. 4-5.

¹³¹ Article 118 of the Turkish Constitution. See, "The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey."

¹³² Philip Robins, *Suits and Uniforms: Turkish Foreign Policy since the Cold War*, p. 76.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Gencer Özcan, "The Military and the Making of Foreign Policy in Turkey," p. 20.

¹³⁵ See, "Milli Güvenlik Kurulu Genel Sekreterliği Yönetmeliği [Regulation on the Secretariat General of the National Security Council]," *Resmî Gazete*, No. 25340 (January 8, 2004), pp-23-29. Traditionally, the General Secretariat of the NSC is headed by military personnel. Now, he/she can be a civilian. Currently, Tahsin Burcuoğlu, former Turkish Ambassador to Athens, is the General Secretary of the NSC.

¹³⁶ See the articles 90 and 92 of the Turkish Constitution, "The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey."

¹³⁷ See, "Dışişleri Komisyonu [Foreign Affairs Commission]," *TBMM*, http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/komisyonlar_sd.komisyon_bilgi?p_kom_kod=11.

in Turkey's refusal to permit the passage of American troops for the invasion of Iraq by not admitting the so-called March 1 bill.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ See, Michael Rubin, "A Comedy of Errors: American-Turkish Diplomacy and the Iraq War," *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring 2005), pp. 69-79. For Michael Rubin, it was a failure (!) of TGNA and 'a rude awakening' to the American public.

CHAPTER IV

TURKISH-CHINESE RELATIONS: AN INTRODUCTION

Today, it is arguably no prophecy and no secret that “the rise of China - and Asia - will, over the next decades, bring about a substantial reordering of the international system. The center of gravity of world affairs is shifting from the Atlantic to the Pacific.”¹³⁹ On the other hand, in the contemporary world order, founded, sustained and dominated by the US, China is regarded by most of the scholars as the foremost candidate for a superpower status, which is expected to alter the unilateral world order and challenge the US hegemony.¹⁴⁰

This conception of China as the prospective challenger to the US hegemony and a rising power incrementally expanding its influence in world politics is also prevalent in Turkey. For example, R. Kutay Karaca asserts that “the only country which can intrepidly challenge and position against the unilateral world order that the US has

¹³⁹ Henry A. Kissinger, “Conflict is not an Option,” *International Herald Tribune*, June 9, 2005, <http://www.iht.com/articles/2005/06/08/opinion/edkiss.php>. For similar remarks of a Turkish pundit, see, Cengiz Çandar, “Asya Yüzyılı’na Doğru ABD, Çin ve Türkiye [USA, China, and Turkey towards the Asian Century],” *Karizma*, Vol. 6, No. 23 (Temmuz-Eylül 2005), pp. 31-37, p. 32. For Çandar, this prospective shift of the center of gravity in international politics “is to be a historically unique and novel page.” Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ See, for example, G. John Ikenberry, “The Rise of China and the Future of the West,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 1 (January-February 2008), pp. 23-37.

recently formed is China.”¹⁴¹ To Mehmet Ögütçü, China is as important as, perhaps more important than, the US, the EU, and Japan for Turkey due to its present-day position and its future potential.¹⁴²

Accordingly, persistent arguments for the diversification and intensification of Turkey’s relations with East Asia, in general, and China, in particular, are put forward. For Deniz Ülke Arıboğan, “it will be a grave mistake if [Turkish] foreign policy makers insist on maintaining a Euro-American approach without taking into account Far East Asia as a region of future international importance.”¹⁴³ Hasret Çomak expressed as early as 1996 that “increasing cooperation and providing new chances of cooperation with this country [China], which is expected to become the superpower of the world by 2025, is an indispensable opportunity for Turkey.”¹⁴⁴

Despite relentless arguments about the urgency of improving relations with China, Turkish-Chinese relations have yet to display a high level of development. Contrary to the general inclination to make prospective analyses of Turkish-Chinese relations, this chapter engages in a retrospective analysis of bilateral relations between Ankara and Beijing and examines the causes of the modest level of development in relations. Bilateral political relations, bilateral economic relations, and bilateral social and cultural relations are discussed separately and in consecutive order.

¹⁴¹ R. Kutay Karaca, *Dünyadaki Yeni Güç: Çin [New Power in the World: China]* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2004), p. 226.

¹⁴² Mehmet Ögütçü, *2023 Türkiye Yol Haritası: Gelecek, Şimdi Başlıyor [2023 Turkey Roadmap: The Future is Beginning Now]* (İstanbul: Etkileşim Yayınları, 2007), p. 120.

¹⁴³ Deniz Ülke Arıboğan, “Opening the Closed Window to the East: Turkey’s Relations with East Asian Countries,” in İdris Bal, ed., *Turkish Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era* (Florida: Brown Walker Pres, 2004), pp. 401-419, p. 419.

¹⁴⁴ Hasret Çomak, “2000’li Yıllara Doğru Süper Güç Konumuna Gelmesi Beklenen Çin ile Türkiye İlişkileri [Relations between Turkey and China that is Expected to Arrive at the Position of a Superpower around 2000s],” *Silahlı Kuvvetler Dergisi*, No. 348 (April 1996), pp. 95-98, p. 98. For similar views, also see, Mehmet Ögütçü, “Turkey and China,” *Perceptions*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (September-November 1996), pp. 155-179, pp. 176-179.

4. 1. Turkish-Chinese Political Relations

4. 1. 1. A Short History

Even though diplomatic relations between Turkey and China were established on August 4, 1971, historically relations between two countries date back to the late Ottoman times. Unable to assist the Turkestan Khanates, Bukhara, Khiva, and Khokand, in their struggles against the advancing Russian imperial forces due to several reasons, Ottoman Sultan Abdülaziz (1830-1876) decided to respond to the insistent pleas of the Kashgar Khanate, which was established by Yakub Beg in 1867 in the territory of today's Xinjiang.¹⁴⁵ The Sultan ordered the dispatches of several types of weapons, including German-made cannons, and military specialists to Kashgar.¹⁴⁶ And in return, in 1870, Yakub Beg "recognized Sultan Abdülaziz as their [people of Kashgar] Caliph, minting coins with his image and delivering the special sermon (*hutbe*) in the mosque citing his name."¹⁴⁷ Until being invaded and annexed by the Chinese forces in December 1877, Kashgar Khanate were to be the last Turkestan Khanate in Central Eurasia, which was under Ottoman suzerainty for seven years, albeit nominally.

While the main concern in Abdülaziz's Far East (*Aksa-ı Şark*) policy was to distract Russian efforts from the immediate borders of the Ottoman Empire and occupy Russians in Central Eurasia, the main concern in the Far East policy of the successor Ottoman Sultan, Abdülhamid II (1842-1918), was Western European

¹⁴⁵ For more information, see, Mehmet Saray, *Rus İşgali Devrinde Osmanlı Devleti ile Türkistan Hanlıkları Arasındaki Siyasi Münasebetler (1775-1875) [Political Relations between the Ottoman State and the Khanates of Turkestan in the Era of Russian Occupation (1775-1875)]* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1994), especially pp. 103-115.

¹⁴⁶ For the official Ottoman documents on this subject, see, Cevat Ekici and Kemal Gurulkan, eds., *Belgelerle Osmanlı-Türkistan İlişkileri (XVI-XX. Yüzyıllar) [Ottoman-Turkestan Relations with Documents (XVI-XX Centuries)]* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 2004), pp. 81-100.

¹⁴⁷ Deniz Ülke Arıboğan, "Opening the Closed Window to the East: Turkey's Relations with East Asian Countries," p. 415.

states, primarily the British.¹⁴⁸ “His objective was to keep the European states busy in the Far East and to ensure that they were not struggling with the Ottoman State.”¹⁴⁹ To that end, owing to the title *Caliph*, Abdülhamid II welcomed the request of German Kaiser William II (1859-1941) to send ‘counsel missions’ to China to mollify Chinese Muslims, who had participated in the violent Boxer Rebellion, because to Abdülhamid II “China, with a Muslim population of 70 million, could be a political weapon against the Western world demonstrating the political activism of the Caliph.”¹⁵⁰ Ottoman activism in the region was to vanish with the dethronement of Abdülhamid II and the advent of the subsequent wars, especially World War I, which resulted in the total collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

Although Ottoman Empire ceased to exist, the triumph of Turkish nationalists under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal in Turkish War of Liberation, and the subsequent modernization efforts of the newly established Turkish state had repercussions in Chinese politics. In the deliberations taken place between the imperial powers of the time and Chinese nationalists (Kuomintang or KMT) in the mid 1920s over the issues of extraterritoriality, tariff autonomy, and concessions, one of the two events “which greatly stiffened the attitude of the Chinese nationalists towards the powers” was “the cavalier manner with which the Turkish Nationalists had treated the Powers and practically compelled them to sign the Treaty of

¹⁴⁸ Barış Adıbelli, *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Türk-Çin İlişkileri [Turkish-Chinese Relations since the Ottoman Empire]* (İstanbul: 2007, IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık), p. 119.

¹⁴⁹ İhsan Süreyya Sırma, *Belgelerle II. Abdülhamid Dönemi [The Period of Abdülhamid II with Documents]* (İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, 2000), p. 19.

¹⁵⁰ Namık Sinan Turan, “19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Uzakdoğu İlişkilerine Dair Gözlemler [Observations Regarding the Ottoman-Far East Relations in the 19th Century],” in Deniz Ülke Arıboğan, ed., *Çin’in Gölgesinde Uzakdoğu Asya [The Far East Asia under the Shadow of China]* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2001), pp. 45-72, p. 69. A ‘counsel mission’ headed by Brigadier General (*Mirliva*) Enver Paşa was to send to China in 1901 which, with other Ottoman activities in the region, ‘created a considerably important influence in the Far East by reminding the spiritual existence of the Ottomans.’ Deniz Ülke Arıboğan, “Uzakdoğu’da Değişen Dengeler ve Türkiye [Changing Balances in the Far East and Turkey],” in Deniz Ülke Arıboğan, ed., *Çin’in Gölgesinde Uzakdoğu Asya [The Far East under the Shadow of China]* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2001), pp. 73-103, p. 83.

Lausanne.”¹⁵¹ Adamant to abrogate extraterritorial rights enjoyed in China by the citizens of several powers, The National Government invoked the Turkish experience in its correspondences with other states and, for example, “pointed out how light-heartedly the same Powers had renounced their rights under the capitulations with Turkey.”¹⁵²

Furthermore, Zeng Qi, leader of the Chinese Youth Party, which was the largest party in the 1930s and 1940s in China after Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) and Chinese Communist Party (CCP), advocated political liberalization in the single-party system of Chinese governance by drawing attention to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s rule in Turkey. According to Zeng Qi, “although [Mustafa] Kemal had been authoritarian at the beginning, he later attempted to establish a Western parliamentary system, and yet he did not lose control of the government because an opposition had been institutionalized.”¹⁵³ Accordingly, “Zeng saw no reason why the Nationalists should not follow the Turkish model by encouraging a responsible opposition that would impose efficiency and accountability on the government.”¹⁵⁴ Chinese communists, on the other hand, attentive to the developments in Turkey, became very critical against Turkey as it became evident that Turkish domestic reforms and its foreign policy were irreversibly Western oriented. In 1940, Mao Zedong called Atatürk’s rule that had recently ended in Turkey as “feeble Kemalist

¹⁵¹ Stephen P. Duggan, “Factors in the Chinese Situation,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (September 1929), pp. 379-396, p. 389. The other event was “the offer of Bolshevik Russia actively to support China against the other powers.” *Ibid.*

¹⁵² Minch’ien T. Z. Tyau, “Forging New Links: A Survey of Eighteen Months of Unified China’s Foreign Relations,” *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 7 (July 1930), pp. 637-660, p. 651.

¹⁵³ Edmund S. K. Fung, “The Alternative of Loyal Opposition: The Chinese Youth Party and Chinese Democracy, 1937-1949,” *Modern China*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (April 1991), pp. 260-289, p. 265.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

dictatorship of the bourgeoisie,” and called Turkey as “pseudo-colony,” and “a part of the retrogressive imperialist world.”¹⁵⁵

Ten years later, on July 25, 1950, Turkish government was to announce its decision to dispatch Turkish troops to Korea, which were to fight Chinese soldiers from People’s Volunteer Army in several encounters, including the Battle of Wavon, the Battle of Sinnam-ni, the Battle of Kaechon, the Battle of Sunchon, and the Battle of Kumyangjang-ni.¹⁵⁶ Turkish and Chinese forces suffered heavy casualties in their fights against each other. For instance, in the bloody clashes taken place around the infamous Kunuri Pass, Chinese forces suffered nearly ten thousand casualties, mostly bayoneted by the Turkish troops, while the losses of Turkish forces amounted to nearly three hundred (218 dead, 94 missing).¹⁵⁷

“One of the exceptional cases of Republican era Turkish history” for several reasons,¹⁵⁸ Turkish participation to Korean War was to have ongoing implications in Turkish politics. With particular reference to Turkish-Chinese relations, according to Çağdaş Üngör, the narratives on the Turkish participation in the Korean War, including war memoirs, journalistic accounts, and newspaper articles, “became an early influence in setting the new parameters for understanding the East Asian countries and particularly ‘Red’ China.”¹⁵⁹ Besides, to Üngör, “the depiction of the

¹⁵⁵ Doğu Perinçek, *Lenin, Stalin, Mao'nun Türkiye Yazıları [Writings of Lenin, Stalin, and Mao on Turkey]* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1992), p. 164. Also see, Ahmet İnel, “27 Mayıs 1960 Öncesinde Türkiye'nin Çinden Görünüşü [The View of Turkey from China before May 27, 1960],” *Tarih ve Toplum*, Vol. 31, No. 185 (May 1999), pp. 20-21.

¹⁵⁶ Füsün Türkmen, “Turkey and the Korean War,” *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Autumn 2002), pp. 161-180, pp. 172-176.

¹⁵⁷ John M. Vander Lippe, “Forgotten Brigade of the Forgotten War: Turkish Participation in the Korean,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (January 2000), pp. 92-102, p. 97. Barış Adıbelli, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-Çin İlişkileri [Turkish-Chinese Relations since the Ottoman Empire]*, p. 181.

¹⁵⁸ Çağrı Erhan, “ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler [Relations with the USA and NATO],” in Baskın Oran, ed., *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy: Facts, Documents, Observations since the War of Liberation]*, Vol. 1 (İstanbul: 2005, İletişim Yayınları), pp. 522-575, p. 547.

¹⁵⁹ Çağdaş Üngör, “Perceptions of China in the Turkish Korean War Narratives,” *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (September 2006), pp. 405-420, p. 405.

Chinese soldier as the evil enemy, pitiable war prisoner, or a naïve (brainwashed) believer in Communism helped to build a long-lasting image of this little-known land and people in Turkey.”¹⁶⁰

Turkey was to wait for two decades after the Korean War to finally recognize People’s Republic of China. Till 1971, Turkey officially recognized the Republic of China located in Taiwan and led by the Chinese Nationalist Party, or the Kuomintang of China (KMT) as the sole representative of the Chinese Nation.¹⁶¹ On August 4, 1971, Turkey recognized People’s Republic of China governed by the Communist Party of China (CPC), in an official ceremony held at the Turkish Embassy in Paris.¹⁶² When Turkey established diplomatic relations with People’s Republic of China in 1971, the first Nihat Erim Government was in office and Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs was Osman Olcay.¹⁶³

Turkish government’s decision to recognize the ‘Red China’ was to evoke criticisms from some members of the right-wing Justice Party in the Turkish Senate. For instance, for Süleyman Demirel, leader of the Justice Party who was to visit People’s Republic of China when he became the President, it was of no use for Turkey to recognize the ‘Red China’ and also, implicitly recalling the Turkish fight in Korea against Communism, he stated that “it was regrettable to break relations with the Nationalist China (Taiwan) which struggled against the Communist expansion in the Southeast Asia for nearly 25 years.”¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 405-406.

¹⁶¹ Nuraniye Hidayet Ekrem, “Türkiye-Çin İlişkilerinin Boyutları ve Engelleri [Dimensions and Setbacks of Turkey-China Relations],” *Stratejik Analiz*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (May 2000), pp. 11-14, p. 11.

¹⁶² Barış Adıbelli, *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Türk-Çin İlişkileri [Turkish-Chinese Relations since the Ottoman Empire]*, p. 191.

¹⁶³ “33. Hükümet Üyeleri [Members of the 33rd Government],” *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık*, 2005, <http://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/sour.ce/index.asp?wpg=kabine&did=basbakanlik.123488>.

¹⁶⁴ Barış Adıbelli, *Çin Dış Politikasında Tayvan Sorunu [The Taiwan Problem in Chinese Foreign Policy]* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2006), p. 211.

Bilateral relations between Ankara and Beijing were to improve with several reciprocal high-level visits of the statesmen of two countries, and a host of low-level visits of members of parliaments, delegations from respective ministries, and other state agencies.¹⁶⁵ For example, in 2007, more than 70 bilateral high-level visits at ministerial level took place.¹⁶⁶ In addition, numerous agreements have been signed on various subjects.¹⁶⁷

Table II: High Level Bilateral Visits Between Turkey and China¹⁶⁸

<i>Outgoing Turkish Leaders</i>	<i>Incoming Chinese Leaders</i>
(P) Kenan Evren (12-17 December 1982) (P) Süleyman Demirel (23-27 May 1995)	(P) Li Xiannian (13-19 March 1984) (P) Jiang Zemin (18-21 April 2000)
(PM) Turgut Özal (30 June-7 July 1985)	(PM) Zhao Ziyang (17-23 July 1986) (PM) Zhu Rongji (15-19 April 2002)
(MFA) İsmail Cem (14-20 February 1998)	(MFA) Qian Qichen (3-7 September 1990)

¹⁶⁵ For a detailed account of bilateral visits in 2003 and 2004, see, “China-Turkey Relations in 2003,” *Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the Republic of Turkey*, July 7, 2005, <http://www.chinaembassy.org.tr/eng/ztgx/t210766.htm>; “China-Turkey Relations in 2004,” *Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the Republic of Turkey*, July 7, 2005, <http://www.chinaembassy.org.tr/eng/ztgx/t210767.htm>.

¹⁶⁶ Mesut Çevikalp and Osman Erol, “Çin Büyükelçisi: Türk Mallarına Öncelik Veririz [The Chinese Ambassador: We would Prioritize Turkish Commodities],” *Aksiyon*, No. 683 (January 7, 2008), pp. 34-36, p. 34.

¹⁶⁷ For the full list of agreements signed between two states, see, Appendix I.

¹⁶⁸ “Turkish-Chinese Relations,” *Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Beijing*, April 18, 2007, http://www.turkey.org.cn/news/news_view.asp?newsid=274. P stands for President, PM stands for Prime Minister, and MFA stands for Minister of Foreign Affairs. Interestingly, the lists of the Embassy and also Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs do not include the visit of Kenan Evren, the 7th President of Turkey, to China. China was actually one of the four states Evren visited in his four-nation tour; the others were Indonesia, South Korea, and Bangladesh. See, “Aralık 1982 [December 1982],” <http://www.byegm.gov.tr/yayinlarimiz/ayintarihi/1982/aralik1982.htm>.

(MFA) Abdullah Gül (1-5 February 2005)	(MFA) Tang Jiaxuan (6-9 February 2001)
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4.1.2. An Appraisal

Turkish and Chinese policy makers have expressed in several occasions to improve bilateral relations and cooperation between two countries. For example, “vowing to push the bilateral friendly cooperative ties to a new high,” Abdullah Gül, the then foreign minister of Turkey, stated in Beijing in February 2005 that “Turkey will further cooperation with China.”¹⁶⁹ On the other hand, vowing “to further strengthen cooperative relations in various fields between the two countries,” Chinese State Councilor Hua Jianmin, recently elected to the Central Committee of CPC, stated in Ankara in April 2006 that “China is willing to carry out international cooperation with Turkey.”¹⁷⁰

While official statements of policy makers foreshadow smooth continuation of bilateral relations, ardent calls for improving Turkey’s relations with China to higher levels are also prevalent. For instance, according to Mehmet Ögütçü, instead of limiting “itself to single-level interaction with the EU and the US,” Turkey, with patience and perseverance, “needs to work now to develop a *strategic partnership* with China”¹⁷¹ since, to Ögütçü, “forging an effective and long-term Turkish-

¹⁶⁹ “Vice Premier Meets Turkish Counterpart,” *China View*, February 1, 2005, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2005-02/01/content_2535934.htm. For an analysis of this visit, see, Erkin Ekrem, “Türkiye-Çin İlişkisi: Dışişleri Bakanı Abdullah Gül’ün Çin Ziyareti [Turkey-China Relations: Visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gül to China],” *Türksam*, February 8, 2005, <http://www.turksam.org/tr/yazilar.asp?kat=20&yazi=145>.

¹⁷⁰ “China, Turkey Vow to Strengthen Ties,” *Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the Republic of Turkey*, April 24, 2006, <http://www.chinaembassy.org.tr/eng/xwtdt/t248380.htm>.

¹⁷¹ Jean-Christophe Peuch, “Erdogan Courted in Beijing,” *Asia Times*, January 16, 2003, http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Central_Asia/EA16Ag05.html. Emphasis is mine.

Chinese partnership has become an urgent task” for Turkey¹⁷². Despite official and non-official calls for furthering Turkish-Chinese relations, it seems that bilateral relations between two countries have ‘made process but not progress’.¹⁷³ Relatively low level of bilateral relations can be observed, for example, in Chinese designation of its relations with Turkey, and relatively low level of Turkish interest to its relations with China.

Nuraniye Hidayet Ekrem, in her analysis of official Chinese designation of its relations with other states, asserts that “Turkey’s position in Chinese multilateral foreign policy is tertiary in degree.”¹⁷⁴ While China endorses a relation of “constructive strategic partnership” with the US and Russia, and a relation of “comprehensive strategic partnership” with England and France, it endorses a relation of “friendly cooperation” with Turkey, without conveying any interest to forge a strategic relation with Turkey.¹⁷⁵ By the same token, it seems that China attaches more importance to its relations with Greece than its relations with Turkey as Chinese President Hu Jintao has recently expressed Beijing’s desire to build “an all-round strategic partnership” with Athens.¹⁷⁶

Although interest in different aspects of Chinese politics, such as, its foreign policy, economic development, or military modernization, has gradually increased in Turkey, bilateral relations between Ankara and Beijing hardly find a place in Turkish foreign policy agenda. A quick survey of election manifestos of main political parties

¹⁷² Mehmet Ögütçü, “Turkey’s New Economic Diplomacy: Balancing Commercial Interests with Geopolitical Goals,” *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring 2002), pp. 33-46, p. 45.

¹⁷³ This succinct phrase is from an article on ASEAN. See, David Martin Jones and Michael L. R. Smith, “Making Process, Not Progress: ASEAN and the Evolving East Asian Regional Order,” *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Summer 2007), pp. 148-184.

¹⁷⁴ Nuraniye Hidayet Ekrem, *Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Dış Politikası (1950-2000) [Foreign Policy of the People’s Republic of China (1950-2000)]* (Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, 2003), p. 172.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. In addition, for a critical analysis of Chinese policy of ‘partnerships’, see, Paul Lin, “Beijing’s Search For Partners Poses Risks,” *Association for Asian Research*, October 23, 2003, <http://www.asianresearch.org/articles/1622.html>.

¹⁷⁶ “China-Greece Relations in ‘Best’ Period Since Diplomatic Ties Forged: President,” *People’s Daily*, January 20, 2006, http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200601/20/eng20060120_237063.html.

that are currently represented in the Turkish Assembly seems to be sufficient to give a hint on the place of Turkish-Chinese relations on the political agendas of Turkish policy makers.

Nationalist Action Party (MHP), currently the third largest party in the Assembly, declared that improving Turkey's relations with Japan, Russian Federation, and *People's Republic of China* in all areas has an important place among its priorities.¹⁷⁷ Republican Peoples Party, currently the second largest party in the Assembly, declared that it would rapidly develop Turkey's relations with Russia, *China*, Japan, India, and countries of Far East in addition to countries of Latin America and Africa.¹⁷⁸ Justice and Development Party (AKP), currently the ruling party, declared that Turkey's relations with important Asian countries, such as *China*, India and Japan were to be accelerated.¹⁷⁹ That *China* is specifically mentioned in each manifesto is indicative of importance attached to Turkey's relations with *China*. However, any special attention is not given to Turkey's relations with *China*, and *China* is considered within the general category of countries of significance.¹⁸⁰

Relatively low level of interest in bilateral relations on both sides notwithstanding, there are mainly two factors that have facilitated the continuation of bilateral relations, that is, 'making process', between Ankara and Beijing since the inception of diplomatic relations. First, as pointed out by Atilla Sandıklı, foreign policy principles endorsed by *China* in its relations with other states are almost identical to those of Turkey and, it can be argued, it is difficult to consider them

¹⁷⁷ "Türkiye'nin Onurlu Geleceği [Honorable Future of Turkey]," *MHP*, p. 92, <http://www.mhp.org.tr/beyanname/secimbeyan2002.pdf>. Emphasis is mine.

¹⁷⁸ "Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Pusula '07 [Republican People's Party Compass '07]," *CHP*, p. 16, http://www.chp.org.tr/index.php?module=museum&page=stream&entry_id=1274. Emphasis is mine.

¹⁷⁹ "Güven ve İstikrar İçinde Durmak Yok Yola Devam [Never Stopping and Continuing Walking the Path in Trust and Stability]," *AKP*, June 2007, p. 226, <http://www.akparti.org.tr/beyanname.pdf>. Emphasis is mine.

¹⁸⁰ In all manifestos, the bulk of the discussion is devoted to Turkey's relations with the US and the EU.

inimical to Turkey's security considering the security conception of Turkey discussed in the previous chapter.¹⁸¹ Since 1954, successive Chinese governments have proclaimed that the so-called five principles of peaceful coexistence are adhered in the conduct of Chinese foreign policy.¹⁸² These principles are "mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence in developing diplomatic relations and economic and cultural exchanges with other countries."¹⁸³ It appears that dissimilar to, for example, the EU's approach characterized by promotion of 'ethnic rights' or amendment of certain articles in Turkish Penal Code, Chinese approach to bilateral relations characterized by five principles of peaceful coexistence has been conducive to the smooth continuation of relations between Ankara and Beijing.¹⁸⁴

Second, successive Turkish governments and Turkish statesmen have never expressed any desire or intention to recognize or support 'Taiwanese independence,' and announced in every occasion that they espouse one-China policy. For instance, Devlet Bahçeli, the then Vice-Prime Minister and currently leader of the right-wing

¹⁸¹ Interview with Colonel (Ret.) Atilla Sandıklı, who was the General Director of Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TASAM) located in İstanbul, July 14, 2007. For the full text of the interview, see, Eyüp Ersoy, "Atilla Sandıklı: Türkiye ile Çin'in Dış Politika İlkeleri Örtüşüyor [Foreign Policy Principles of Turkey and China are Overlapping]," *USAK*, <http://www.usakgundem.com/uamakale.php?id=299>.

¹⁸² "The Five Principles *per se* are first found in the text of a treaty between India and the People's Republic of China on Tibet signed in Peking on April 29, 1954... They were reaffirmed in a communiqué of the two Asian leaders in New Delhi on June 28, 1954, and the following day they received further approval in a joint statement by Premiers U Nu and Chou En-lai in Rangoon." See, Russell H. Fifield, "The Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence," *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (July 1958), pp. 504-510, pp. 504-505.

¹⁸³ "Constitution of the People's Republic of China," *People's Daily*, March 22, 2004, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/constitution/constitution.html>.

¹⁸⁴ The EU's approach to its relations with Turkey is every now and then castigated in Turkey from the security perspective. For instance, according to Armağan Kuloğlu, Principal Advisor to Ankara-based Turkish think-tank Global Strategy Institute, it is observed that "EU is continuously demanding concessions from Turkey on issues adversely militating against Turkey's security." Furthermore, "the EU's demands from Turkey against state security with an approach of human rights, freedom, and more democracy, and its endeavor to dispel the understanding of nation-state... is perceived as a threat." See, Armağan Kuloğlu, "Geleceğin Güç Odağı Çin ve Bu Ülkenin Türkiye ile Olan İlişkileri [China, the Power Center of the Future, and the Relations of This Country with Turkey]," *Global Strateji*, Vol. 3, No. 11 (Autumn 2007), pp. 49-57, p. 51, p. 56.

Nationalist Action Party (MHP), “stressed that Turkey has consistently adhered to the ‘One-China’ principle and supported China’s reunification.”¹⁸⁵ Being extremely sensitive to other states’ approaches to ‘the Taiwan Province’¹⁸⁶, Chinese government and policy makers have expressed in every occasion their appreciation of the unwavering position of Turkish state on the issue. For instance, in January 2003, Zhu Rongji, the then Chinese Premier, “expressed gratitude to the Turkish government...for its one-China policy and respect for China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity” in his meeting with Tayyip Erdoğan in Beijing even though Erdoğan held no official position in the Turkish government at that time.¹⁸⁷ In short, Taiwan has never been a source of friction in bilateral relations between Ankara and Beijing dissimilar to, for example, relations between Beijing and Washington.

These two main factors that have facilitated the smooth continuation of Turkish-Chinese relations notwithstanding, there are mainly three factors that seem to have hindered the development of bilateral relations to higher levels, that is, have caused relations ‘not to make progress’. First, the issue of East Turkestan/Xinjiang is so delicate a common concern between Ankara and Beijing that different approaches to the issue have caused complications in bilateral relations especially in the first half of the 1990s. It is a widespread conviction in the Turkish public that “Turkey has a

¹⁸⁵ “Vice-Premier Qian Qichen Holds Talks with His Turkish Counterpart Devlet Bahçeli,” *Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the Republic of Turkey*, June 2002, <http://www.chinaembassy.org.tr/eng/ztgx/t162029.htm>. Statements of Devlet Bahçeli seem to be important since traditionally his party is more interested in the well-being of Xinjiang/East Turkestan autonomous region, as indicated by Bahçeli’s visit to the region during his trip, and is very critical against Chinese policies in the region. For example, in April 2000, during the discussion in the Turkish Cabinet on the issue of granting ‘Order of Merit’ to the visiting Chinese President Jiang Zemin, ministers from MHP reportedly opined that Turkey should not honor someone like Jiang Zemin who massacred Turks in the East Turkestan. See, Deniz Zeyrek, “Hükümette Çin Çatlağı [Split in the Government about China],” *Radikal*, April 13, 2000, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/2000/04/13/politika/huk.shtml>.

¹⁸⁶ According to the Chinese Constitution, “Taiwan is part of the sacred territory of the People’s Republic of China. It is the lofty duty of the entire Chinese people...to accomplish the great task of reunifying the motherland.” See, “Constitution of the People’s Republic of China.”

¹⁸⁷ “Chinese Premier Meets Turkish Ruling Party Leader,” *Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the Republic of Turkey*, January 15, 2003, <http://www.chinaembassy.org.tr/eng/ztgx/t162032.htm>.

direct interest in the welfare of this 10-million strong Uighur community, the oldest and first literate Turkic people of the world, with a strong community in Turkey.”¹⁸⁸

Fervent remarks championing the independence of East Turkestan and virulent reproaches against Chinese policies in the region are not uncommon in the Turkish public. There are three main approaches to the issue. First, the issue is deemed as a religious cause. According to Rahim Er, “the jihad of East Turkestan is to bury Chinese Communism in the history as the jihad in Afghanistan buried Soviet Communism in the ground.”¹⁸⁹ To Er, East Turkestan cannot be considered as an internal problem of China since it is not only a problem of Turkey but the entire Muslim world, and “with and without the support of Turkey, the Mujahideen of East Turkestan is to attain their independence.”¹⁹⁰ Second, it is deemed as a national cause. *The Voice of Turkestan*, a quarterly journal founded by the famous Uyghur nationalist İsa Yusuf Alptekin in 1983, is the primary advocate of Uyghur nationalism, and is replete with nationalist comments espousing the independence of East Turkestan. For instance, to Erkin Emet, “the entire Uyghur nation believes in the independence of East Turkestan. One day, the right cause is to succeed regardless of the strength of China.”¹⁹¹ Third, the issue is deemed a case of human rights violations. According to Şatlık Amanov, China has tightened its policy of assimilation of Uyghur people and its repressive attitude towards the Uyghur

¹⁸⁸ Cengiz Çandar and Graham E. Fuller, “Grand Geopolitics for a New Turkey,” *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No.1 (Winter 2001), pp. 22-38, p. 36.

¹⁸⁹ Rahim Er, *İmparatorluk Coğrafyasında Diplomasi Koşturmak [Riding Diplomacy in the Imperial Geography]* (İstanbul: Babıali Kültür Yayıncılığı, 2000), p. 168. Rahim Er is a veteran journalist writing regularly in the conservative newspaper *Türkiye*.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

¹⁹¹ İbrahim Büyükeken, “Uygur Türklerinin Çilesi Bitmiyor [The Ordeal of the Uyghur Turks is not Ending],” *Doğu Türkistan’ın Sesi*, Vol. 23, No. 67-68 (October 2006), pp. 55-62, p. 62. Erkin Emet, an Uyghur himself who was born in Kashgar, is an assistant professor in the Department of Contemporary Turkish Dialects and Literatures, Ankara University.

population, and “the most dreadful human rights violations carried out by the Chinese government are witnessed in East Turkestan.”¹⁹²

The Turkish government, on the other hand, has gradually abandoned its policy of supporting ‘the East Turkestan cause’ observed in the first half of the 1990s. In March 1992, to the chagrin of the Chinese government, the Turkish President Turgut Özal while receiving İsa Yusuf Alptekin stated: “I have taken delivery of the Eastern Turkestani cause. The Turkic republics under former Soviet rule have all declared their independence. Now it is Eastern Turkestan's turn. It is our desire to see the ancient homeland of the Turkic peoples as a free country.”¹⁹³ However, seven years later, following the visit of Turkish President Süleyman Demirel to China in 1995, the Turkish government was to issue a confidential circular signed by Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz. The circular, pointing out that the Chinese government was uneasy about the activities of associations established by Turkey’s citizens of Uyghur origin, demanded any minister or civil servant not participate in the meetings of these sorts of associations.¹⁹⁴

In April 2000, receiving the Chinese President Jiang Zemin in Ankara, President Demirel elucidated Turkey’s position on the issue. For Demirel, Turkey’s interest in the events in East Turkestan/Xinjiang is normal as Uyghur Turks are relatives of Turkish people. On the other hand, Turkey’s policy is the preservation of territorial integrity of China and non-interference in its internal affairs. In short, “Uyghur Turks are a valuable part of China as loyal citizens. They are the bridge of friendship

¹⁹² Şatlık Amanov, “ABD’nin İnsan Hakları Politikası ve Çin: Doğu Türkistan Örneği [Human Rights Policy of the USA and China: The Case of East Turkestan],” *Avrasya Dosyası*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2006), pp. 67-98, p. 85, p. 90. Also see, Nuraniye Hidayet Ekrem, “Uluslararası Af Örgütü’nün Yeni Çin Raporu ve Uygurlar [The Latest China Report of Amnesty International and Uyghurs],” *Doğu Türkistan’ın Sesi*, Vol. 23, No. 66 (May 2006), pp. 53-54.

¹⁹³ “İsa Yusuf Alptekin Received by Turkish President,” *East Turkestan Information Bulletin*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (March 1992), http://caccp.freedomsherald.org/et/etib/etib2_2.html#6.

¹⁹⁴ “Başbakanlıktan Gizli Doğu Türkistan Genelgesi [Confidential East Turkestan Circular from the Prime Ministry],” *Hürriyet*, February 4, 1999, <http://webarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/1999/02/04/94416.asp>.

between our countries [Turkey and China].”¹⁹⁵ In addition, the then Turkish Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül did not include East Turkestan/Xinjiang in his itinerary during his visit to China in February 2005, a decision construed by the Turkish media as a deliberate negligence.¹⁹⁶ In sum, Ankara has modified its policy on the issue of East Turkestan/Xinjiang over time and has arguably become inclined to downplay it in its relations with Beijing.¹⁹⁷

The Chinese government, once very critical against Turkey in its alleged role in the separatist activities in Xinjiang, has incrementally changed its position on the issue. In 1992, implying Turkey, Jiang Zemin, the then General Secretary of CPC Central Committee who was to become Chinese President one year later, reportedly stated that China should take into account the efforts of some international political powers to divide China by assisting the separatists fleeing abroad and by using slogans like Pan Turkism and Pan Islamism.¹⁹⁸ However, with the steps taken China has abandoned its criticisms, if not suspicions, against Turkey. The paramount step was the signing of ‘Agreement on Cooperation in Combating Transnational Crimes’ on February 14, 2000 which, according to Mehmet Ögütçü, “dispersed to some extent the clouds and the atmosphere of distrust in bilateral relations.”¹⁹⁹ For instance, in April 2002, the then Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji, in his meeting with the then Turkish Prime Minister in Ankara, stated that China hoped to further

¹⁹⁵ Quoted in Barış Adıbelli, *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Türk-Çin İlişkileri [Turkish-Chinese Relations since the Ottoman Empire]*, p. 228.

¹⁹⁶ See, for example, “Gül Uygurları Unuttu Gitti [Gül Has Forgotten the Uyghurs],” *Radikal*, February 1, 2005, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=142084>.

¹⁹⁷ This attitude is indicated and criticized by several scholars and commentators. For instance, to Selçuk Çolakoğlu, “Turkish foreign policy makers are trying to ignore the East Turkestan problem so as to get along with China.” Selçuk Çolakoğlu, “Türkiye’nin Doğu Asya Politikası [Turkey’s East Asia Policy],” in Zeynep Dağı, ed., *Doğu’dan Batı’ya Dış Politika: AK Partili Yıllar [Foreign Policy from the East to the West: Years with JD Party]* (Ankara: Orion Yayınevi, 2006), pp. 353-387, p. 367.

¹⁹⁸ Quoted in Nuraniye Hidayet Ekrem, *Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Dış Politikası (1950-2000) [Foreign Policy of the People’s Republic of China (1950-2000)]*, p. 180.

¹⁹⁹ Mehmet Ögütçü, “Yeni Ekonomik Süpergüç Çin’in Önlenemeyen Yükselişi [Unpreventable Rise of China, the New Economic Superpower],” *Avrasya Dosyası*, Vol 12, No. 1 (2006), pp. 37-65, p. 59.

cooperation with Turkey and “leave no single opportunity for East Turkestan forces to damage Sino-Turkish relations.”²⁰⁰

Despite the two governments’ efforts and declarations to prevent the East Turkestan/Xinjiang issue from impairing bilateral relations, this issue of common concern, it seems, has been a complicating factor, and it will possibly continue to be so for two main reasons. First, Turkey hosts arguably “the most influential Uyghur lobby in the world” and also “a public sensitive to the developments in the region due to ethnic and cultural bonds.”²⁰¹ Public sensitivity, as indicated above, emanates from religious feelings, ethnic ties, and concerns over human rights, and it can be observed in several areas. For example, all over the Turkey, there are large numbers of streets and public gardens named after important Uyghur personalities like İsa Yusuf Alptekin and Mehmet Emin Buğra. Inauguration of a park in Kayseri in 1995 named after İsa Yusuf Alptekin was protested by the Chinese Ambassador Wu Koming, who in person went to Kayseri and requested to meet the governor and the mayor of Kayseri to make them change the name of the park, but his request was refused by both the leaders.²⁰²

Activities of ‘the Uyghur Diaspora’ in Turkey, which constitutes an inseparable part of the Turkish public, have been a serious concern for the Chinese government. For instance, China reportedly exerted diplomatic pressure on the Turkish

²⁰⁰ Premier Zhu Rongji Holds Talks with His Turkish Counterpart Bulent Ecevit,” *Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the Republic of Turkey*, June 2002,

<http://www.chinaembassy.org.tr/eng/ztx/t162028.htm>. According to the Chinese Premier, “A joint crackdown on East Turkestan forces conforms with the fundamental interests of the two countries in maintaining security and stability.” Ibid.

²⁰¹ Selçuk Çolakoğlu, “Türkiye’nin Doğu Asya Politikası [Turkey’s East Asia Policy],” pp.367-386.

²⁰² Mehmet Emin Batur, “İsa Yusuf Alptekin Parkı İlgi Bekliyor [İsa Yusuf Alptekin Park is Waiting Attention],” *Erciyes Gazetesi*, September 11, 2006,

http://www.hurgokbayrak.com/yeni_sayfa_318.htm. Another similar incident on naming a park in İstanbul in the same year took place. According to the reports: “Heavy diplomatic pressure from China has caused Turkey’s Foreign Ministry to request that the İsa Yusuf Alptekin Park in İstanbul be closed, the Eastern Turkestan flag be removed and the Eastern Turkestan Martyrs’ Memorial be dismantled. This request has provoked fierce protest in Turkey and abroad.” See, “China Pressures Turkey on İsa Yusuf Alptekin Park,” *East Turkestan Information Bulletin*, Vol. 6, No. 1-2, http://caccp.freedomsherald.org/et/etib/etib6_1.html#2.

government for the closure of the East Turkestan Center established in Istanbul in 1998. Finally, being subjected to restrictions of the Turkish Government, the Center was to move to Munich, Germany.²⁰³ In sum, activities of ‘the Uyghur Diaspora’ in Turkey have caused concerns for the Chinese government. These activities spoiled bilateral relations especially in the first half of the 1990s, a time when Turkey was struggling to improve its relations with the non-Western world. Only through the cooperative attitudes of the Turkish governments, beginning in the second half of the 1990s, deterioration in bilateral relations over the East Turkestan/Xinjiang issue has been averted.²⁰⁴

Second, approaches of the two states to the East Turkestan/Xinjiang issue have differed. For Turkey, the issue is mainly about the welfare and well being, definitely not the independence, of a community with which it shares historical, linguistic, ethnic and religious ties and which could serve as ‘a bridge of friendship’ in bilateral relations. However, for China, it is mainly about the prevention of separatist activities of rebellious people from an ethnic community, who, in the words of a Chinese Premier, are “a handful of people inside and outside China [that] have planned and organized a series of violent incidents in Xinjiang with the aim of setting up a state of ‘East Turkestan’.”²⁰⁵ In addition, after 9/11, Chinese leaders has changed their rhetoric, decided to designate separatist activities as ‘terrorist

²⁰³ Barış Adıbelli, *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Türk-Çin İlişkileri [Turkish-Chinese Relations since the Ottoman Empire]*, p. 205. Elif Gökçe Unutmaz, “Mahmut Kaşgarlı’yla Söyleşi [Interview with Mahmut Kaşgarlı],” *Sanat Alemi*, October 15, 2006, <http://www.sanatalemi.net/Sayfala.asp?nereye=yazioku&ID=3206>.

²⁰⁴ Still, as a recent demonstration of a group of Uyghurs against China during the Olympic torch ceremony near the Blue Mosque in Istanbul in April 2008 has showed, the activities of the Uyghur community in Turkey have not completely ended and they would continue to be a complicating factor in relations between Ankara and Beijing. See, C. Onur Ant, “Uighur Protest in Turkey against China,” *The Boston Globe*, April 3, 2008, http://www.boston.com/news/world/europe/articles/2008/04/03/uighur_protest_in_turkey_against_china/.

²⁰⁵ “Premier Zhu Rongji Holds Talks with His Turkish Counterpart Bulent Ecevit.” *Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the Republic of Turkey*.

activities,' and began to emphasize 'common concerns in fighting against terrorism' in meetings with Turkish leaders. Besides, the Chinese government has never expressed any intention to consider Uyghur population as 'a bridge of friendship.' While East Turkistan/Xinjiang has been a permanent issue in bilateral relations, a permanent concern for the governments, divergence of positions on it, it can be argued, has been a factor indirectly precluding the development of bilateral relations to higher levels.

The second main factor that seems to have hindered the development of bilateral relations to higher levels pertains to history. History, a basic parameter of Turkish foreign policy as indicated in the previous chapter or, in the words of Mustafa Aydın, a 'structural determinant,' seems to have constrained the development of Turkish-Chinese relations in three ways. First, even though commercial transactions had been taking place, diplomatic relations between Ankara and Beijing were established belatedly in 1971. The dates presented below conspicuously reflect the impact of the structural constraints of the Cold War on the establishment of diplomatic relations. Being in the different, if not diametrically opposing,²⁰⁶ 'camps' of the Cold War prevented an early advent of diplomatic relations between Turkey and China. Absence of an early initiation of diplomatic relations arguably deprived Turkish-Chinese relations of any substantial background of historical relations, or 'historical depth'. According to Deniz Ülke Arıboğan, that "their relations developed primarily without, heavily influenced by the American initiatives," is a reason of why

²⁰⁶ It seems difficult to argue that Turkey and China were in the diametrically opposing camps of the Cold War, i.e. capitalist and communist camps embodied by NATO and Warsaw Pact respectively, since, for example, China courted the non-aligned movement in its foreign policy during the Cold War while Turkey was steadfastly 'Western' in its foreign policy orientation, at least till the mid-1970s. Positions of Turkey and China in the Bandung Conference of 1955 seem to be a valid testament. For China's position, see, Kuo-kang Shao, "Chou En-lai's Diplomatic Approach to Non-Aligned States in Asia: 1953-60," *The China Quarterly*, No. 78 (June 1979), pp. 324-338. For Turkey's position, see, Hüseyin Bağcı, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950'li Yıllar [1950s in the Turkish Foreign Policy]* (Ankara: METU Press, 2001), pp. 58-61; Zeki Kuneralp, *Sadece Diplomat [Diplomat Only]* (İstanbul: İstanbul Matbaası), pp. 107-113.

“relations between Turkey and China failed to develop as successfully as they should have.”²⁰⁷

Table III: The Dates When Turkey Established Diplomatic Relations with East Asian States

<i>China</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>South Korea</i>
1971, August 4	1952, June 6	1957, March 8

Table IV: The Dates When China Established Diplomatic Relations with Some States Neighboring Turkey

<i>Turkey</i>	<i>Bulgaria</i>	<i>Greece</i>	<i>Iran</i>	<i>Syria</i>
1971, August 4	1949, October 4	1972, June 5	1971, August 16	1956, August 1

Second, history of the Turkish-Chinese relations has not been lacking in setbacks. From the grim experiences of the Korean War to the harsh reciprocal accusations over the East Turkestan/Xinjiang issue to the ruthless rivalry in similar industries, especially the textile industry, there have been problems in bilateral relations that have from time to time stalled the progress in political relations between Ankara and Beijing.

Third, historical experiences of Turkey itself have an effect on bilateral relations between Turkey and China. For instance, according to Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer, founders of the new Turkish Republic “felt the need to protect the domestic order predicated on western ideas and models of socio-political organization against

²⁰⁷ Deniz Ülke Arıboğan, “Opening the Closed Window to the East: Turkey’s Relations with East Asian Countries,” p. 414.

internal turbulence, or worse yet from direct challenges from the outside” and, she continues, domestic exigencies of the new Republic induced the political elite to redefine the priorities of Turkish foreign policy orientation.²⁰⁸ These redefined priorities were unequivocally Western oriented. Furthering the argument, Arıboğan asserts that “promoting westernization policies both domestically and as an international security tool, and isolating herself from the Islamic East, Turkey could neither look to the Far East as a separate entity nor differentiate between her interests in the Near and Far East.”²⁰⁹ Concurring with Arıboğan, Çağdaş Üngör contends that “identity as a Western state wherein Turkey has situated itself has affected to a great extent [Turkey’s] outlook to the world, and accordingly to China.”²¹⁰ Üngör concludes that this entrenched perception is closely related to the rupture in Turkish-Chinese relations, which has been observed in the modern era.²¹¹ In short, it seems that Turkish foreign policy orientation based on Turkey’s historical experiences and preferences has had an adverse effect on Turkish-Chinese relations.

The third main factor that seems to have hindered the development of bilateral relations to higher levels pertains to geography. Geography, a basic parameter of Turkish foreign policy as indicated in the previous chapter or, in the words of Mustafa Aydın, a ‘structural determinant,’ seems to have constrained the development of Turkish-Chinese relations in two interrelated ways. First, due to the sheer geographical distance between Turkey and China, coupled with the relative

²⁰⁸ Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer, “Turkey in the New Security Environment in the Balkan and Black Sea Region,” in Vojtech Mastny and R. Craig Nation, eds., *Turkey between East and West: New Challenges for a Rising Regional Power* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1996), pp. 71-95, p. 78.

²⁰⁹ Deniz Ülke Arıboğan, “Opening the Closed Window to the East: Turkey’s Relations with East Asian Countries,” p. 403.

²¹⁰ Çağdaş Üngör, “Yakın Tarihten Bir Uzaklık Öyküsü: Türkiye-Çin İlişkileri [A Story of Distance from the Recent Past: Turkey-China Relations],” in Atilla Sandıklı and İlhan Güllü, eds., *Geleceğin Süper Gücü Çin: Uzakdoğu’daki Entegrasyonlar ve Şangay İşbirliği Örgütü [Superpower of the Future, China: Integrations in the Far East and Shanghai Cooperation Organization]* (İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2005), 343-352, p. 344.

²¹¹ Ibid.

inability or deliberate inaction of the two states to exert influence beyond their immediate vicinities, areas wherein the two states have been traditionally active have yet to intersect.²¹² The only area that Ankara and Beijing both have displayed considerable foreign policy activism seems to be the Central Asia. However, in the Central Asia their interests are more likely to diverge than to converge as indicated by several scholars. To Çandar and Fuller, “an expansionist authoritarian China represents a challenge to Turkish interests in the region [Central Asia],” and “it is not in Turkey’s interest to see China become the dominant force in Central Asia.”²¹³ Furthermore, it is contended that “nowhere do Turkish and Chinese interests diverge more sharply than in their attempts to secure reliable sources of energy.”²¹⁴ This divergence is also more likely to cause contention than cooperation between Ankara and Beijing in the Central Asia. In short, there appears to be no solid geostrategic ground for Turkey and China on which the wheels of bilateral relations, which have hitherto spun more but moved less, can turn forward; a situation that can be attributed in part to the geographic distance between the two countries.

Second, contrary to the assumptions of ‘geographical indeterminism’, that is, the approach to foreign relations which takes ‘geographical’ out of geopolitics, Turkey’s geographical location has been influential in shaping its foreign policy not just because of Turkey’s own geopolitical calculations but also because of the geopolitical calculations of other states. “Turkey is at the center of American geopolitical calculations because of its location at the crossroads of the Balkans, eastern Mediterranean, Caucasus, Central Asia, and Middle East, with its Arab-

²¹² For analyses of foreign policy doctrines of incumbent Turkish and Chinese governments respectively, see, for example, Alexander Murinson, “The Strategic Depth Doctrine of Turkish Foreign Policy,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 6 (November 2006), pp. 945-964; Avery Goldstein, *Rising to the Challenge: China’s Grand Strategy and International Security* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), especially pp. 177-204.

²¹³ Cengiz Çandar and Graham E. Fuller, “Grand Geopolitics for a New Turkey,” p. 36.

²¹⁴ John C. K. Daly, “Sino-Turkish Relations Beyond the Silk Road,” *China Brief*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (February 21, 2007), pp. 10-13, p. 12.

Israeli problems.”²¹⁵ The same observation with different regional specifications seems to be also valid for other non-neighboring states like Russia and Israel. First, since China has never been as active as other non-neighboring states like the US, Russia or Israel in the vicinity of Turkey, it has never gained as high a place as that of other states in Turkish foreign policy agenda. Second, the importance of relations with the West in Turkish foreign policy agenda in part emanates from the activities of the Western states in Turkey’s vicinity, even sometimes within Turkey. Accordingly, successive Turkish leaders from Ottoman Sultans to the Presidents of the Turkish Republic have treated Turkey’s relations with East Asian states as a function of relations with the West. This approach is always prevalent in Turkey and is frequently advocated. For instance, to Mehmet Öğütçü, “viewing China sometimes as a balancing power [and] sometimes as a complementary power in our [Turkey’s] relations with the West is of critical significance...in the global economic and geopolitical order.”²¹⁶ That Turkey’s relations with China have been a function of Turkey’s relations with the West can be attributed in part to the geographical position of Turkey on which the West has been a good deal more active than the East, particularly China.

4. 2. Turkish-Chinese Economic Relations

Tacitly highlighting the vast market opportunities in China, President Kenan Evren wittily stated in his visit to Beijing in December 1982: “I wish we sell orange to every Chinese.”²¹⁷ Since then, bilateral trade relations between Turkey and China

²¹⁵ Cengiz Çandar and Graham E. Fuller, “Grand Geopolitics for a New Turkey,” p. 22.

²¹⁶ Mehmet Öğütçü, “Yeni Ekonomik Süpergüç Çin’in Önlenemeyen Yükselişi [Unpreventable Rise of China, the New Economic Superpower],” p. 39.

²¹⁷ Mehmet Öğütçü, *Yükselen Asya [Asia Rising]* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1998), p. 139. According to Muharrem Sarıkaya, Evren’s wish was difficult to realize since China was the third biggest citrus producing country at that time while Turkey was the tenth. However, Sarıkaya seems to be oblivious

have immensely developed. For instance, total trade volume between the two countries increased 1566, 99 % between 1996 and 2006.

Table V: Changes in Turkey’s Trade Volume with East Asian States from 1996 to 2006 ²¹⁸

<i>China</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>South Korea</i>
1566, 99 %	118, 91 %	352, 03 %

Indeed, the increase is immense. Yet, it has not yielded exceptional results. For example, Turkey’s trade with China, the second largest economy in the world according to International Monetary Fund (IMF), represents just 2, 74 % of its total foreign trade.²¹⁹ Besides, Turkey’s trade relations with China are not exceptional in comparison to the trade relations of some states with China that are neighboring Turkey. For instance, in 2005, Greece’s trade with China represented 2, 74 % of its total foreign trade, exactly the same as Turkey, while China occupied a great deal higher place in Iran’s foreign trade.

Table VI: Place of China in Foreign Trade of Some States Neighboring Turkey in 2005 ²²⁰

to the fact that the extent of Chinese domestic demand/consumption is the decisive factor in Chinese importation, not the total production of a particular product. See, Muharrem Sarıkaya, “Her Türke Bir Portakal Aldık [We Bought an Orange for Every Turk],” *Sabah*, July 30, 2006, <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2006/07/30/yaz01-50-107.html>.

²¹⁸ Source: *Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu [Turkish Statistical Institute]*, http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?tb_id=12&ust_id=4. Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan are excluded in figures.

²¹⁹ The calculation is based on Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) valuation of a country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Source: *World Economic Outlook Database, IMF*, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2007/02/weodata/index.aspx>.

²²⁰ Sources: *World Development Indicators*,

<i>Turkey</i>	<i>Armenia</i>	<i>Bulgaria</i>	<i>Greece</i>	<i>Iran</i>
2, 74 %	0, 83 %	2, 14 %	2, 74 %	18, 44 %

It is contended in 1998 that economic relations between Turkey and China “are far from reflecting the true potential of the two countries.”²²¹ Bilateral economic relations have displayed significant development thereafter. Still, the development in bilateral economic relations is mainly driven by uneven commercial relations with a mounting trade deficit for Turkish economy. Furthermore, economic relations in other areas like direct investments have yet to display notable progress. Besides, there appear to be setbacks that have hampered the smooth advancement of bilateral economic relations between Turkey and China to higher levels.

This part is an analysis of Turkish-Chinese economic relations. First, legal foundations of the economic relations, that is, agreements and protocols, are to be indicated. Second, main components of relations, simply imports, exports, and direct investments, are to be examined in detail. Third, the principal factors that have adversely affected the development of bilateral economic relations between Turkey and China are to be discussed. These factors are mainly the absence of a suitable economic environment for bilateral economic activities, the existence of economic areas wherein the two sides compete, and the problems encountered by Turkish businessmen in the Chinese market.

The legal foundation of Turkish-Chinese economic relations is constituted by four agreements and eighteen protocols.²²² All of the four agreements were signed in

<http://ddp-ext.worldbank.org/ext/DDPQQ/member.do?method=getMembers>; *National Bureau of Statistics of China*, <http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/>. Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan are excluded in figures.

²²¹ Mehmet Ögütçü, *Yükselen Asya [Asia Rising]*, p. 139.

²²² “Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti [People’s Republic of China],” *T.C. Başbakanlık Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı [Republic of Turkey, Prime Ministry, Undersecretariat for Foreign Trade]*, September 2006, p. 3,

Beijing. The first agreement was the ‘Trade Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the People’s Republic of China’ that was signed on July 16, 1974, and was composed of seven articles.²²³ The governments expressed their desire “of promoting commercial relations between the two countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.”²²⁴ The second agreement was the ‘Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the People’s Republic of China on Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation,’ which was signed on December 19, 1981, and was composed of again seven articles.²²⁵ Article 5 stipulated the establishment of a Mixed Commission that would meet annually with the tasks of, for example, “examining any problems arising from the implementation of this Agreement and putting forward proposals.”²²⁶ Mixed Commission was to meet 15 times in 29 years, the last of which was convened in Ankara in June 16-18, 2007.²²⁷

The third agreement was the ‘Agreement between the Republic of Turkey and the People’s Republic of China Concerning the Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of Investments’ which was signed on March 11, 1993, and was composed of eleven

<http://www.dtm.gov.tr/dtmdadmin/upload/ANL/AsyaDb/chc.doc>; “2006 Yıllık Raporu [Annual Report 2006],” *T.C. Pekin Büyükelçiliği Ticaret Müşavirliği [Republic of Turkey, Embassy in Beijing, Trade Consultancy]*, 2006, p. 75, <http://www.musavirlikler.gov.tr/upload/CHC/YILLIK%20RAPOR2006-SON.doc>. Of note, all of the four agreements were signed in Beijing.

²²³ For the full text of the Agreement, see, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümeti ile Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Hükümeti Arasında Ticaret Anlaşması [Trade Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the People’s Republic of China],” *Resmi Gazete*, No. 15112 (January 8, 1975), pp. 1-2.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²²⁵ For the full text of the Agreement, see, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümeti ile Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Hükümeti Arasında Ekonomik, Sınai ve Teknik İşbirliği Anlaşması [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the Peoples Republic of China on Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation],” *Resmi Gazete*, No. 17607 (February 16, 1982), pp. 1-4.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²²⁷ “Türkiye-Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Hükümetlerarası Karma Ekonomik Komisyon 15. Dönem Toplantısı [15th Session of Turkey-People’s Republic of China Intergovernmental Joint Economic Commission],” *Asya Pasifik’te Gündem [Agenda in Asia-Pacific]*, No. 7 (August 6, 2007), pp. 1-8, p. 7, http://www.bahcesehir.edu.tr/UserFiles/bulten/Aspas_07.pdf.

articles.²²⁸ Articles cover some issues related to investments like expropriation, repatriation, subrogation, preclusion and taxation. The fourth agreement was the ‘Agreement between the Republic of Turkey and the People’s Republic of China for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income’ which was signed May 23, 1995, and composed of 29 articles.²²⁹

Within this legal framework, bilateral economic relations have taken place, and developed rapidly. The bulk of the economic relations between Turkey and China is constituted by bilateral trade.

Table VII: Main Data on Bilateral Trade between Turkey and China since 2000 (1000 \$)²³⁰

<i>Year</i>	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Place in Turkey’s Total Exports (%)</i>	<i>Place in China’s Total Imports (%)</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Place in Turkey’s Total Imports (%)</i>	<i>Place in China’s Total Exports (%)</i>	<i>Trade Volume</i>	<i>Trade Balance</i>
2000	96.010	0,35	0,04	1.344.731	2,48	0,54	1.440.741	-1.248.721
2001	199.373	0,64	0,09	925.620	2,24	0,35	1.124.993	-726.247
2002	268.229	0,74	0,10	1.368.317	2,65	0,42	1.636.546	-1.100.088
2003	504.626	1,07	0,12	2.610.298	3,77	0,60	3.114.924	-2.105.672
2004	391.585	0,62	0,07	4.476.077	4,58	0,75	4.867.662	-4.084.492
2005	549.764	0,75	0,08	6.885.400	5,89	0,89	7.435.164	-6.335.636

²²⁸ For the full text of the Agreement, see, “Türkiye ile Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Arasında Yatırımların Karşılıklı Teşviki ve Korunmasına İlişkin Anlaşma [Agreement between the Republic of Turkey and the People’s Republic of China Concerning The Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of Investments],” *Resmi Gazete*, No. 21921 (May 1, 1994), pp. 1-21.

²²⁹ For the full text of the Agreement, see, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Arasında Gelir Üzerinden Alınan Vergilerde Çifte Vergilendirmeyi Önleme ve Vergi Kaçakçılığına Engel Olma Anlaşması [Agreement between the Republic of Turkey and the People’s Republic of China for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income],” *Resmi Gazete*, No. 22863 (December 30, 1996), pp. 168-228.

²³⁰ “Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti [People’s Republic of China],” *T.C. Başbakanlık Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı [Republic of Turkey, Prime Ministry, Undersecretariat for Foreign Trade]*. For the figures from 1996 to 2006, see, Appendix III.

2006	693.038	0,81	0,09	9.588.249	6,98	0,99	10.281.287	-8.895.211
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Turkish-Chinese commercial relations are booming mainly due to the rapid increase in Turkish imports from China. In six years, from 2001 to 2006, Turkish imports from China witnessed a tremendous leap of 935, 87 %. Accordingly, while China was absent in the list of the first ten countries in Turkish imports in 2001, it entered the list and ranked 10th in 2002, 8th in 2003, 6th in 2004, 4th in 2005, and 3rd in 2006 just behind Russia and Germany.²³¹ Apart from substantially influencing bilateral economic relations between Turkey and China, immense increase in Turkish imports from China has also become a fundamental factor in the changes observed in Turkish foreign imports. For example, China's forceful entry, with Iran, in the list indicated above seems to be the primary factor behind the fall of Japan, with Algeria, from the list.²³²

Commodities mainly from six sectors constitute the bulk of Turkish imports from China. These sectors are office machines and communication devices (22 %), consumer goods (16 %), electrical machines (12 %), textiles and garments (11 %), half-manufactured goods (10 %), and non-electrical machines (9 %).²³³ In particular, motorbikes, parts for printing machines, phones, anthracite, toys, air conditioners, polyvinyl chloride (PVC), video cameras, footwear, and suitcases and purses are the main commodities imported from China.²³⁴

Turkish exports to China, on the other hand, have not increased as remarkably as the imports. From 2001 to 2006, Turkish exports to China increased 207, 61 %.

²³¹ Source: *Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı [Undersecretariat for Foreign Trade]*, http://www.dtm.gov.tr/dtmadmin/upload/AB/EuromedEntegrasyonDb/Turkiye_pay.xls. For the lists of 2001 and 2006, see, Appendix IV.

²³² See, Appendix IV.

²³³ "Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti [People's Republic of China]," *T.C. Başbakanlık Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı [Republic of Turkey, Prime Ministry, Undersecretariat for Foreign Trade]*.

²³⁴ *Ibid.* This report of Turkish Undersecretariat for Foreign Trade written in Turkish includes a meticulous list of commodities imported from and exported to China.

While in 2006 Turkish imports from China represented nearly 7 % of its total imports, Turkish exports to China could not amount to even 1 % of its total exports. Thus, China has never entered the list of the first ten countries in Turkish exports as opposed to its place in Turkish imports. In 2006, Turkish exports to China ranked 24th in Turkish total exports, with China being behind the countries, such as United Arab Emirates, Poland, and Denmark.²³⁵

Turkish exports to China are not as diversified as its imports therefrom. Commodities mainly from four sectors constitute the bulk of Turkish exports to China. These sectors are mine ores and mineral waste (51 %), chemicals (17 %), machines and transportation vehicles (12 %), and agricultural products (8 %).²³⁶ In particular, marble and travertine, chromium ore, boron compounds mainly disodium tetraborate, also known as borax, scrap copper, motor vehicles, and zinc are the main commodities exported to China.²³⁷

Bilateral commercial relations have constantly been associated with a growing trade deficit for Turkey since 1995. In absolute terms, the trade deficit increased 1135, 95 % in six years, from 2001 to 2006. In relative terms, the result is no less striking. The ratio of trade deficit to total trade volume peaked in 1999 with 92, 13 %, then decreased in 2001 to 64, 56 %, and then again increased to 86, 62 % in 2006.²³⁸ In 2006, China ranked second after Russia in the list of countries with which Turkey had the largest trade deficit.²³⁹ It can be argued that imbalance in bilateral

²³⁵ Source: *Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı [Undersecretariat for Foreign Trade]*, <http://www.dtm.gov.tr/dtmadmin/upload/EAD/IstatistikDb/eko08.xls>.

²³⁶ “Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti [People’s Republic of China],” *T.C. Başbakanlık Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı [Republic of Turkey, Prime Ministry, Undersecretariat for Foreign Trade]*.

²³⁷ Ibid:

²³⁸ My calculations that are based on the figures provided by *Turkish Statistical Institute*. See, Appendix III.

²³⁹ Source: *Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı [Undersecretariat for Foreign Trade]*, http://www.dtm.gov.tr/dtmadmin/upload/AB/EuromedEntegrasyonDb/Turkiye_acigi.xls. Of note, 4 of the 15 polities are East Asian polities, which are China (2nd), South Korea (5th), Japan (7th), and Taiwan (12th).

trade is more about the ratio of trade deficit to total trade volume than the sheer quantity of trade deficit itself. In that sense, Turkish-Chinese commercial relations are quite imbalanced, even in comparison to Turkish commercial relations with states with which Turkey has experienced the largest trade deficits.

Table VIII: The Ratio of Turkish Trade Deficit to Its Total Trade with Countries with which Turkey Experienced the Largest Trade Deficits in 2006²⁴⁰

<i>China</i>	<i>Russia</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Iran</i>	<i>South Korea</i>
86, 62 %	69, 23 %	20, 78 %	68, 12 %	91, 60 %

Despite unprecedented, albeit uneven, development of bilateral commercial relations, meager increase has been observed in bilateral direct investments. As of September 2007, 305 Chinese firms have been operating in Turkey.²⁴¹ It appears that Chinese firms have shown growing interest in the flourishing Turkish market as the number of Chinese firms operating in Turkey increased threefold in six years, from 101 in 2002 to 305 in 2007.²⁴² Still, as of September 2007, Chinese firms represents only 1, 69 % of the foreign firms operating in Turkey.²⁴³ On the other hand, as of

²⁴⁰ My calculations that are based on figures provided by *Turkish Statistical Institute*. See, *Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu [Turkish Statistical Institute]*,

http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreIstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=624, and

http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreIstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=625. Russia, China, Germany, Iran, and South Korea are the first five countries Turkey experienced the largest trade deficits in 2006.

²⁴¹ “Uluslararası Doğrudan Yatırım Verileri Bülteni [Data Bulletin on International Direct Investment],” *TC Başbakanlık Hazine Müsteşarlığı [Republic of Turkey, Prime Ministry, Undersecretariat of Treasury]*, p. 9, http://www.hazine.gov.tr/stat/yabser/AylikBulten_aralik2007.pdf.

²⁴² “2006 Uluslararası Doğrudan Yatırımlar [Foreign Direct Investments in 2006],” *Hazine Müsteşarlığı Yabancı Sermaye Genel Müdürlüğü [Directorate General of Foreign Capital, Undersecretariat of Treasury]*, p. 31,

http://www.yased.org.tr/webportal/Turkish/istatistikler/tudyi/dr/Documents/Hazine-20070613_UDYatirim_Rapor.pdf.

²⁴³ “Uluslararası Doğrudan Yatırım Verileri Bülteni [Data Bulletin on International Direct Investment],” *TC Başbakanlık Hazine Müsteşarlığı [Republic of Turkey, Prime Ministry, Undersecretariat of Treasury]*, p. 9. Total number of foreign firms operating in Turkey is 18.028. By

February 2008, according to Turkish-Chinese Business Council, the number of Turkish firms operating in China is reportedly around 500.²⁴⁴ The coastal Chinese city Shanghai is the main destination for Turkish firms as 36 of the 66 Turkish firms specified in a report published in 2006 by The Office of the Commercial Counselor of Turkish Embassy in Beijing is located in Shanghai.²⁴⁵

In 2005, Turkey attracted \$ 8.538 million in foreign direct investment and “Chinese investment in Turkey was only slightly more than \$ 1 million.”²⁴⁶ This negligible amount of Chinese direct investment notwithstanding, recent Chinese provision of \$ 720 million credit for Ankara-İstanbul High Speed Train Project marked a huge leap in Chinese activism in the Turkish economy and signified growing Chinese attention to investment opportunities in Turkey.²⁴⁷ Turkish investments in China, on the other hand, amounted to nearly \$ 22 million in 2005, representing only 0, 037 % of foreign direct investment that China attracted in that year.²⁴⁸ Still, Turkish investments were greater than the direct investments in China of each country bordering Turkey, indicative of the greater economic activism of the Turkish businessman in the Chinese market than that of Greek or Iranian.²⁴⁹

comparison, for example, German firms represent 17, 20 %, American firms 4, 63 %, British firms, 10, 04 %, and Iranian firms 4, 93 %.

²⁴⁴ “Sarımsak İşlemek İçin Bile Çin’e Giden Türk Şirketi Var [There is Even Turkish Company That Goes to China to Process Garlic],” *Zaman*, February 6, 2008, <http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=648355>.

²⁴⁵ “Ek 24. CHC’inde Yerleşik Türk Firmaları [Appendix 24, Turkish Companies Located in PRC],” *T.C. Pekin Büyükelçiliği Ticaret Müşavirliği [Republic of Turkey, Embassy in Beijing, Trade Consultancy]*, <http://www.musavirlikler.gov.tr/altdetay.cfm?AltAlanID=297&dil=TR&ulke=CHC>.

²⁴⁶ John C. K. Daly, “Sino-Turkish Relations Beyond the Silk Road,” p. 11.

²⁴⁷ Mesut Çevikalp and Osman Erol, “Çin Büyükelçisi: Türk Mallarına Öncelik Veririz [Chinese Ambassador: We would Prioritize Turkish Commodities],” p. 34.

²⁴⁸ Source: *Statistical Yearbook of China 2006*, <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2006/indexeh.htm>. According to Chinese statistics, China attracted \$ 60.324.590.000 in foreign direct investment in 2005. Source: *Statistical Yearbook of China 2006*, <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2006/indexeh.htm>.

²⁴⁹ Source: *Statistical Yearbook of China 2006*, <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2006/indexeh.htm>. The figures are as follows: Armenia – N/A, Azerbaijan - \$ 740.000, Bulgaria – \$ 230.000, Georgia – N/A, Greece - \$ 1.840.000, Iran - \$ 4.200.000, Iraq - \$ 3.110.000, Syria - \$ 960.000. Ibid.

Table IX: Turkish Investments in the Chinese Market from 2000 to 2005 (1.000 \$)

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<i>Year</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
2000	1.480
2001	3.370
2002	2.430
2003	12.700
2004	7.450
2005	22.160

After 2005, on the other hand, Turkish investments in the Chinese market have considerably increased with the ventures of several Turkish firms. For example, in 2007, Sabancı Group bought 99, 5 % of IQNE Qingdao Nylon Enterprise operating in Tianjin, a subsidiary firm of the US-based Invista Group, for \$ 70 million while Dönmez Leatherworking, an İzmir-based Turkish firm, made an investment of about \$ 15 million in Shandong in a joint venture.²⁵¹

As a matter of fact, Turkish-Chinese economic relations have been characterized by a steady, modest development. However, there have been factors that seem to have adversely affected the development of economic relations between Turkey and China, which are to militate against the development of bilateral economic relations in the future if not dealt with in a proper manner.

²⁵⁰ Source: Several editions of the *Statistical Yearbook of China*, <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2006/indexeh.htm>;
<http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/statisticaldata/yearlydata/yb2004-e/indexeh.htm>;
<http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/statisticaldata/yearlydata/YB2002e/ml/indexE.htm>.

²⁵¹ “Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Ülke Bülteni Eylül 2007 [People’s Republic of China Country Bulletin, September 2007],” *Dış Ekonomik İlişkiler Kurulu [Foreign Economic Relations Board]*, September 2007, p. 19, http://www.deik.org.tr/Lists/Bulten/Attachments/61/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20bulteneylul2007_TR.pdf; Mesut Çevikalp and Osman Erol, “Çin Büyükelçisi: Türk Mallarına Öncelik Veririz [Chinese Ambassador: We would Prioritize Turkish Commodities],” p. 36. For more information on main Turkish firms operating in China and their activities in the Chinese market and on main Chinese firms operating in Turkey and their activities, see, “Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Ülke Bülteni Eylül 2007 [People’s Republic of China Country Bulletin, September 2007],” *Dış Ekonomik İlişkiler Kurulu [Foreign Economic Relations Board]*, pp. 17-20.

The first of these factors is the absence of a suitable economic environment for bilateral economic activities. Absence of Turkish construction companies in the Chinese market is an illustrative example. As early as the mid-1990s, Turkish commentators were indicating vast market opportunities in the Chinese infrastructure market for Turkish contracting firms. For instance, Mehmet Ögütçü argued that “Turkey, no matter how competitive the market will be, may step in to establish a reasonable presence in this booming infrastructure market,” and “Turkish contracting firms will enhance their prospects if they can afford to undertake a few prestigious projects in China.”²⁵²

Even though Turkish contracting companies have made a strong presence in the world contracting market thereafter²⁵³, “there is not any tender undertaken by Turkish contractors in People’s Republic of China” as of September 2006.²⁵⁴ Indeed, lucrative and booming Chinese market presents a suitable economic environment for the foreign contracting companies. However, in the context of Turkish-Chinese economic relations, it does not present a suitable economic environment for Turkish contracting companies due to several reasons. A principal reason pertains to financing. In general, foreign companies, first, have to finance their projects themselves which requires the possession of a considerable amount of capital in advance to invest. Then, they have to sell their completed constructions to make

²⁵² Mehmet Ögütçü, “Turkey and China,” p. 174.

²⁵³ In 2007, there were 22 Turkish contracting firms out of 225 in the list composed of the world’s biggest international contracting firms. The number of Turkish firms ranked the third after the US and China. See, Ercan Baysal, “Türkiye, Dünya Üçüncüsü Müteahhitlerini Alkışlıyor [Turkey is Applauding World’s Third Biggest Contractors of It],” *Zaman*, November 20, 2007, <http://zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=615488>.

²⁵⁴ “Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Müteahhitlik Hizmetleri Ülke Profili [People’s Republic of China, Contracting Services Country Profile],” *TC Başbakanlık Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı [Republic of Turkey, Prime Ministry, Undersecretariat for Foreign Trade]*, September 2006, p. 9, <http://www.dtm.gov.tr/dtmadmin/upload/ANL/YurtDisiMuteahhitDb/ulkeler/Cin-muteahhitlik-ulke-raporu.pdf>.

profit which involves financial risks.²⁵⁵ This is why, according to M. Göktuğ Bayrı, Commercial Attaché at the Shanghai Consulate of Turkey, “there are not so many opportunities for Turkish contractors [in the Chinese market].”²⁵⁶ In short, financial constraints and market risks have rendered the Chinese market unsuitable for the Turkish contracting firms.²⁵⁷

The second factor that seems to have adversely affected the development of bilateral economic relations is the existence of economic areas wherein the two sides compete. First, Turkish goods are in severe competition with the imported goods from China in the Turkish domestic market and, to the chagrin of the Turkish manufacturers, the market share of Turkish goods in several sectors have been diminished due to the exponential flow of Chinese goods into the Turkish domestic market. According to a report prepared by Ankara Chamber of Commerce that examined the market shares of imported goods from China in thirty different sectors, Chinese goods constitute 95 % of the toy sector, 90 % of the cellular phone accessories sector, 55 % of electronics sector, 55 % of medical devices sector, and 50 % of wearing glasses sector.²⁵⁸ According to the same report, which persistently refers the exponential inflow of Chinese goods as ‘the Chinese infestation’, 140 out of 160 manufacturing Turkish firms were closed down in just one year in the wearing glasses sector.²⁵⁹

Therefore, vociferous appeals for the immediate implementation of protective measures against Chinese goods that are undercutting Turkish goods and shrinking

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

²⁵⁶ Çağrı Bilgin, “Çinli Satıcıyı Ayağına İster [The Chinese Expects the Seller to be Present at His Door],” *Radikal*, April 4, 2007, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=217452>.

²⁵⁷ Likewise, the context of Turkish-Chinese economic relations does not present a suitable economic environment for the Turkish banking sector as it does not permit the Turkish banking sector to become as active as, for example, it is in Germany, where more than 2 million Turkish people have settled in.

²⁵⁸ “Çin İstilasası Yayılıyor [Chinese Infestation is Spreading],” *Ankara Ticaret Odası [Ankara Chamber of Commerce]*, December 20, 2003, <http://www.atonet.org.tr/yeni/index.php?p=137&l=1>.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

their market shares have been constantly uttered. For example, to Sinan Aygün, Chairman of Ankara Chamber of Commerce (ATO), “[Turkish] Government has to protect and look after the Turkish industrialists. Each vessel that is laden with Chinese goods and is approaching to Turkish ports closes one factory in Turkey. Turkey is exactly face to face with a Chinese infestation.”²⁶⁰

Consonant with these sorts of appeals, several reports and academic articles have meticulously examined the types of protective measures which the Turkish government can implement efficaciously against the inflow Chinese goods considered inimical to the Turkish industry. For example, a report prepared by Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodities Exchanges (TOBB) states that “it is noticed that importation from China is effecting domestic production and domestic market seriously and in significant measures. Accordingly, taking necessary measures to avert problems that this situation has yielded constitute an article of primary importance in the agenda.”²⁶¹ Subsequently, the report specifies and explains ten different types of protective measures that can be implemented by the Turkish government “to compete with Chinese goods in world markets and in the [Turkish] domestic market.”²⁶² By the same token, Rezan Tatlıdil and Keti Ventura argue that “while it is necessary to lift trade barriers in international trade and realize free competition, it is also necessary to protect domestic industry against external competition to realize economic development of countries.”²⁶³ Then, they identify

²⁶⁰ “Çin İstilasası Raporu [Report on Chinese Infestation],” *Ankara Ticaret Odası [Ankara Chamber of Commerce]*, February 23, 2003, <http://www.atonet.org.tr/yeni/index.php?p=60&l=1>.

²⁶¹ “Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti’nin Dünya Ticaret Örgütü’ne Üyeliğinin Getirdikleri [Results of the Membership of the People’s Republic of China to World Trade Organization],” *Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği [The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey]*, p. 6, <http://www.tobb.org.tr/raporlar/TOBB-CinRaporu.pdf>.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 9-17.

²⁶³ Rezan Tatlıdil and Keti Ventura, “Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti’nin Dünya Ekonomisindeki Yeri ve Dünya Ticaret Örgütü Bağlamında Türkiye-ÇHC İlişkilerinin Geliştirilmesinde Alınması Gereken Tedbirler [The Position of the People’s Republic of Turkey in World Economy and Measures to be

six types of protective measures that can be implemented by the Turkish government, mainly against “importation from China that is to bring about unfair competition.”²⁶⁴

In fact, successive Turkish governments have adopted a myriad of protective measures against imports from China. Turkish *Official Gazette* is replete with notifications from the Turkish Undersecretariat of Foreign Trade (DTM) related to implementation, prolongation, amendment, and abrogation of different sorts of protective measures against imports from China, including quotas and anti-dumping duties, and especially regarding the textile industry.²⁶⁵ Although protective measures are adopted to sustain a favorable environment for Turkish domestic industry, they are unfavorable to Turkish-Chinese commercial relations as they limit total trade volume between the two countries. Besides, and in particular, business relations of Turkish importers with China are inevitably impaired, or at least restricted. Furthermore, adoption of protective measures carries the potential of being a cause of contention between Turkey and China due to possible Chinese frustration over the effects of these protective measures.

Second, Turkish goods are in serious competition with Chinese goods in world markets. “In the international market, China is in a position of being a major rival of Turkey in textiles, food, and contraction sectors.”²⁶⁶ The underlying reason of this troubling competition in the international market is the fact that “like China, Turkey is attempting to expand its footprint in the global marketplace via a combination of

Taken to Develop Turkey-PRC Relations in the Context of World Trade Organization],” *Stratejik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, Vol. 3, No. 6 (December 2005), pp. 37-54, p. 42.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 42-45, p. 42.

²⁶⁵ See, for example, “Belirli Tekstil ve Konfeksiyon Ürünlerinin İthalatında Gözetim ve Korunma Önlemlerine İlişkin Tebliğ [Notification on the Measures of Supervision and Protection in the Importation of Certain Textile and Garment Products],” *Resmi Gazete* (December 24, 2006), <http://rega.basbakanlik.gov.tr/main.aspx?home=http://rega.basbakanlik.gov.tr/eskiler/2006/12/20061224.htm&main=http://rega.basbakanlik.gov.tr/eskiler/2006/12/20061224-3.htm>.

²⁶⁶ Rezan Tatlıdil and Ketü Ventura, “Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti’nin Dünya Ekonomisindeki Yeri ve Dünya Ticaret Örgütü Bağlamında Türkiye-ÇHC İlişkilerinin Geliştirilmesinde Alınması Gereken Tedbirler [The Position of the People’s Republic of Turkey in World Economy and Measures to be Taken to Develop Turkey-PRC Relations in the Context of World Trade Organization],” p. 50.

expertise and low labor costs.”²⁶⁷ Concurring with the existence of a competition but disagreeing with its severity, Sun Guoxiang, Chinese Ambassador to Turkey, states that “contrary to what is experienced in the world, there is an agreeable, cordial competition between us [Turkey and China]. There is an agreeable competition between Turkey and China. Indeed, competition between friendly countries is a friendly one.”²⁶⁸

Still, especially with the Chinese membership in World Trade Organization (WTO) on December 11, 2001, and the subsequent lifting of global textile quotas on January 1, 2005, the competition with Chinese goods in the international market has become more intense for Turkish manufacturers. Accordingly, against the frightful prospect of being overrun in its traditional export markets in a short period of time due to the unrestricted inflow of relatively cheaper Chinese goods, Turkey endorsed ‘Istanbul Declaration’ in March 2004 and, with other signatories, “call[ed] upon the World Trade Organization (WTO) to act immediately to extend the deadline for implementation of the final integration stage to December 31, 2007” due to “the threat of massive trade and economic disruption associated with the ending of the current textile regime on January 1, 2005.”²⁶⁹ As it is indicated, these sorts of Turkish initiatives, especially those in WTO, have had a negative impact on Turkish-Chinese relations.²⁷⁰ For instance, in July 2005, subsequent to a “proposal tabled by Turkey on establishing a work program in the Goods Council of the WTO to fully and periodically review global textile,” Chinese officials argued that the proposal

²⁶⁷ John C. K. Daly, “Sino-Turkish Relations Beyond the Silk Road,” p. 10.

²⁶⁸ Mesut Çevikalp and Osman Erol, “Çin Büyükelçisi: Türk Mallarına Öncelik Veririz [Chinese Ambassador: We would Prioritize Turkish Commodities],” p. 36.

²⁶⁹ “The Istanbul Declaration,” *Global Alliance for Fair Textile Trade*, July 1, 2004, <http://www.fairtextiletrade.org/istanbul/declaration.html>.

²⁷⁰ Atilla Sandıklı and İlhan Güllü, “Gelişen Çin Ekonomisi ve Türk Dış Ticaretine Etkileri [Developing Chinese Economy and Its Impacts on Turkish Foreign Trade],” in Atilla Sandıklı and İlhan Güllü, eds., *Geleceğin Süper Gücü Çin: Uzakdoğu’daki Entegrasyonlar ve Şangay İşbirliği Örgütü [Superpower of the Future, China: Integrations in the Far East and Shanghai Cooperation Organization]* (İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2005), pp. 289-320, p. 310.

was “one-sided and unacceptable” and “Turkey was attempting to make China a scapegoat by using dubious figures and hasty generalizations.”²⁷¹

The third factor that seems to have adversely affected the development of economic relations between Turkey and China pertains to structural problems observed in the Chinese domestic market. Principal problems militating against Turkish economic activities in the Chinese market are the violation of intellectual property rights and forgery, opaqueness of the Chinese regulations and regional variations thereof, problems related to entry into the domestic market, problems related to standardization, and problems related to commercial banking procedures.²⁷² In addition, according to Bekir Aslaner, former Commercial Attaché of Turkey at the Beijing Embassy, Turkish exportation efforts are negatively affected by additional factors, such as protectionist proclivities in the Chinese market and difficulty to obtain reliable information on the market.²⁷³

4. 3. Turkish-Chinese Social and Cultural Relations

Social and cultural relations between Turkey and China appear to be the least developed realm of bilateral relations. The first Chinese-Turkish dictionary has been published in 2007, that is, 36 years after the establishment of diplomatic relations, which is conspicuously indicative of the low level of social and cultural relations.²⁷⁴ Still, precursory developments in social and cultural relations can be discerned, especially considering educational issues and tourism.

²⁷¹ “Turkey's WTO Proposal on Textile Unacceptable: China,” *People's Daily*, July 17, 2005, http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200507/17/eng20050717_196592.html.

²⁷² “Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Ülke Bülteni Eylül 2007 [People's Republic of China Country Bulletin, September 2007],” *Dış Ekonomik İlişkiler Kurulu [Foreign Economic Relations Board]*, pp. 21-23.

²⁷³ “Türk Girişimcilerinin Çin Deneyimleri Paneli [Panel on the Experiences of Turkish Entrepreneurs in China],” *Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği [The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey]*, July 14, 2004, pp. 10-15, <http://www.tobb.org.tr/yayinlar/cinpanelrapor/Cin%20Deneyimleri%20Paneli2.pdf>.

²⁷⁴ Yusuf Kumaş and Salih Tınmaz, eds., *Çince-Türkçe Temel Sözlük [Chinese-Turkish Basic Dictionary]* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2007).

Several agreements have been signed by the Turkish and Chinese governments on issues related to social and cultural relations. As an example, on November 9, 1993, ‘Cultural Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the People’s Republic of China’ was signed according to which “The Two Contracting Parties agree, in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit, to promote exchanges and cooperation between the two countries in the fields of culture, education, science, sport, publication, the press and broadcasting.”²⁷⁵ Furthermore, several steps, which are basically of symbolic significance, have been undertaken by the two governments. For example, Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Xi'an, Rizhao, Anshan, Nanjing, Bengbu, Zhenjiang and Panjin are declared sister cities with Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Konya, Trabzon, Bursa, Mersin, Sican (?), İzmit and Yalova.²⁷⁶ In addition, state-owned China Radio International has maintained its Turkish programs for half a century since their inception on October 21, 1957.²⁷⁷

It should be underscored that the Turkish public seems to be more enthusiastic about forging and promoting relations with China than its Chinese counterpart. Several centers and associations, such as Association of Social and Economic Cooperation with Pacific Countries (PASIAD) and Turkish-Chinese Friendship and Solidarity Association (TÜÇİAD), and branches thereof have been established in

²⁷⁵ “Cultural Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the People’s Republic of China,” *Resmi Gazete*, No. 23079 (August 13, 1997), pp. 17-24, p. 23. For the list of agreements related to social and cultural relations between Turkey and China, see, Appendix I.

²⁷⁶ “Bilateral Relations,” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China*, August 25, 2003, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/xybfs/gjlb/2898/default.htm>.

²⁷⁷ “Çin FM 50 Yıldır Bize Sesleniyor [China FM is Addressing US for 50 Years],” *Yeni Şafak*, October 20, 2007, <http://www.yenisafak.com.tr/aktuel/?t=05.01.2008&c=5&i=76000>. For the web page of the Turkish Service of China Radio International, see, <http://turkish.cri.cn/index.htm>.

main Turkish cities.²⁷⁸ On the other hand, there is not any association or foundation established by Turkish people in China.²⁷⁹

Educational relations have yet to flourish because of several reasons. One of the main reasons is probably the absence of undergraduate courses on different aspects of Chinese politics in Turkish universities, which would have induced some Turkish students to embark on graduate studies or researches on China. None of the five most renowned Turkish universities, i.e., Bilkent University, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul Bilgi University, Koç University, and Middle East Technical University, offers any course on China in their undergraduate curricula. Only Boğaziçi University offers a course entitled ‘Politics in Asia and the Pacific’ and another course on Japan entitled ‘Japanese Political and Economic Dynamics’.²⁸⁰ On the other hand, three Turkish universities have departments on Chinese language and literature. Ankara University hosts the Department of Sinology, Erciyes University, located in Kayseri, hosts the Department of Chinese Language and Literature, and Fatih University, located in İstanbul, hosts the Department of Chinese Language and Literature.²⁸¹ On the

²⁷⁸ TÜÇİAD declares that its “fundamental understanding is to deepen to the extent possible the regional cooperation between Turkey and China and [to make] China perceive Turkey as the most convenient candidate in its [Turkey’s] region.” See, Korhan Karakoç, “Türkiye ile Çin, ‘Birlikte Geleceğe’ [Turkey and China, Together to the Future],” *TÜÇİAD*, No. 1 (April 2007), p. 50.

²⁷⁹ “Çin’e Yeni Gelen Türk Vatandaşları İçin Bazı Bilgiler [Some Information for the Turkish Citizens Newly Arrived in China],” *TC Pekin Büyükelçiliği [Republic of Turkey, Embassy in Beijing]*, 2007, http://www.turkey.org.cn/news/news_view.asp?newsid=398.

²⁸⁰ For the undergraduate curricula of Department of International Relations of Bilkent University, Department of Political Science and International Relations of Boğaziçi University, Department of International Relations of Koç University, Department of International Relations of İstanbul Bilgi University, and Department of International Relations of Middle East Technical University respectively, see, <http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/~ir/>; <http://www.pols.boun.edu.tr/courses.aspx?command=UnderGraduate#>; http://www.ku.edu.tr/ku/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=227&Itemid=311; <http://www.bilgi.edu.tr/pages/faculties.asp?fid=2&did=15&curri=true&mfid=1&mdid=13&r=3%2F9%2F2008+3%3A16%3A58+AM>; <http://www.ir.metu.edu.tr/v2/undergraduate-courses/index.php>. By comparison, in total, 7 courses are offered on Russia, 36 on the EU, and 13 on the US.

²⁸¹ For the abovementioned departments, see respectively, <http://www.dtcf.ankara.edu.tr/sinoloji.html>; <http://fef.erciyes.edu.tr/pxp/bolumler/dogu-dil.-ve-edb.-bolumu/cin-dili-ve-edebiyati.php>; <http://chinese.fatih.edu.tr/>.

Chinese part, Beijing Foreign Studies University has a Turkish Program under its Afro-Asian Languages Department.²⁸²

Currently, about 60 Turkish students are enrolled in Chinese universities, which constitute a very small portion of foreign students studying in China, and also a very small portion of Turkish students studying abroad.²⁸³ Chinese government has a policy of assigning annual scholarships for Turkish students. In 2007, only 5 scholarships were assigned to Turkish students.²⁸⁴ According to Zheng Jinfa, Ankara representative of the state-owned Xinhua News Agency of China, this number should have been increased as the Chinese economy was improving.²⁸⁵ In line with Zheng Jinfa's suggestion, the Chinese government has increased the number of scholarships available to Turkish students to 9 in 2008.²⁸⁶

Tourism is another area wherein bilateral relations between Turkey and China have shown some level of development. The immense number of Chinese tourists visiting abroad has already attracted the attention of Turkish policymakers and businessmen alike. In his meeting with the then Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji, Bülent Ecevit, the then Turkish Prime Minister, expressed his desire "to see...more Chinese

²⁸² See, <http://www.bfsu.edu.cn/old/english/educ/jx.htm>.

²⁸³ "Çin'e Yeni Gelen Türk Vatandaşları İçin Bazı Bilgiler [Some Information for Turkish Citizens Newly Arrived in China]," *TC Pekin Büyükelçiliği [Republic of Turkey, Embassy in Beijing]*. By the end of 2006, there were 162,695 foreign students studying in China, most of whom were from South Korea, Japan, the US, Vietnam, and Indonesia. See, "China Education: Information, Facts and Figures & News Links," *China Today*, <http://www.chinatoday.com/edu/a.htm>. According to 2007 statistics of UNESCO, 50,416 Turkish students were studying abroad in 2005, main destinations being Germany, the US, France, Austria, and the UK. See, "Global Education Digest 2007: Comparing Education Statistics Across the Globe," *UNESCO Institute for Statistics*, 2007, p. 139, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001536/153607e.pdf>.

²⁸⁴ In 2007, the Chinese Government's decision was to provide 11,000 scholarships to foreign students. It had provided 6,153 scholarships in 2003, 6,715 in 2004, and 10,000 in 2006. See, Lili Dong and David W. Chapman, "The Chinese Government Scholarship Program: An Effective Form of Foreign Assistance?" *International Review of Education*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (March 2008), pp. 155-173, p. 160.

²⁸⁵ Interview with Zheng Jinfa in Ankara, June 31, 2007.

²⁸⁶ See, "Yabancı Hükümet Bursları: Çin [Scholarships of Foreign Governments: China]," *MEB Dış İlişkiler Genel Müdürlüğü [Ministry of National Education, Directorate General of Foreign Relations]*, January 2008, http://digm.meb.gov.tr/burslar/BURS_D/cin/Burs_2008_09_cin.html. Of note, 61 Turkish students have applied for the scholarship.

tourists visiting his country [Turkey].”²⁸⁷ It is a general conviction in Turkish public that “with Chinese tourists, our [Turkey’s] tourism sector is to soar.”²⁸⁸ Even though the number of Chinese tourists visiting Turkey has steadily increased over the recent years, it has yet to reach remarkable levels.

Table X: Visitors from China to Turkey from 1999 to 2007 ²⁸⁹

<i>Year</i>	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007*
<i>Number</i>	11.047	21.570	25.295	31.951	27.557	35.339	44.077	56.323	63.353

On the other hand, the number of Turkish people visiting China was reportedly around 63.000 in 2006.²⁹⁰ That the number of Turkish tourists visiting China was higher than the number of Chinese tourists visiting Turkey is indicative of the greater interest in the Turkish public to China, given the greater number of Chinese tourists visiting abroad.²⁹¹

²⁸⁷ “Premier Zhu Rongji Holds Talks with His Turkish Counterpart Bulent Ecevit,” *Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the Republic of Turkey*.

²⁸⁸ Kemal Koçak, “132 Milyon Çinli Turist [132 Million Chinese Tourists],” *TÜÇİAD*, No. 1 (April 2007), p. 17.

²⁸⁹ Source: *Unit of Information Acquirement*, Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

* From January to November.

²⁹⁰ Uğur Gürses, “Doğu’dan Yükselen Çin-2 [China Rising from the East-2],” *China Radio International*, December 18, 2007, <http://turkish.cri.cn/281/2007/12/18/1@85223.htm>. In 2006, China, including Hong Kong and Macau but excluding Taiwan, attracted 76.105.000 international tourists. See, “UNWTO World Tourism Barometer,” *UNWTO*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (October 2007), p. 20, http://www.unwto.org/facts/eng/pdf/barometer/UNWTO_Barom07_3_en.pdf.

²⁹¹ In 2006, 8.167.369 Turkish people visited abroad. See, “Giriş Yapan Yabancı ve Vatandaşlar 2000-2006 [Incoming Foreigners and Citizens 2000-2006],” *Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu [Turkish Statistical Institute]*, http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreIstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=320. By comparison, in 2006, around 34.000.000 Chinese tourists traveled abroad. See, Jackie Lin, “Chinese Tourists Said to be Fueling Travel Price Rise,” *Taipei Times*, January 29, 2007, <http://www.taipetimes.com/News/front/archives/2007/01/29/2003346760>.

CHAPTER V

TURKISH-CHINESE MILITARY RELATIONS: AN ANALYSIS

Turkish-Chinese military relations yielded quite substantial results in the second half of the 1990s when Turkey signed million dollar agreements with China for advanced weapon systems. However, thereafter bilateral military relations between Turkey and China have not engendered additional substantial results despite several developments in other areas of military cooperation, such as signing new military cooperation agreements and several bilateral visits of high level military personnel.

Being a thorough examination of bilateral military relations between Turkey and China, this chapter is composed of two main parts. The first part employs the typology propounded in the first chapter for an analysis of bilateral military relations. Accordingly, it describes in detail the developments observed in each area of bilateral military relations between Turkey and China in order to reveal the exact nature and the precise level of these relations. The second part argues that even though the two sides have been willing to advance military cooperation, Turkish-Chinese military relations have displayed a low level of development due to several reasons. First, the factors that have induced Ankara and Beijing to sustain and to improve bilateral military relations are analyzed. Second, the factors that have precluded them from advancing their military relations are scrutinized.

5. 1. Bilateral Military Relations: The Situation

Turkey engages in a myriad of relations of military nature with other states and, also with international organizations. Viewed in their entirety, these relations constitute a state's foreign military relations. The analytical framework propounded in Chapter 1 can be employed for an analysis of bilateral military relations between Turkey and China through segregating the entirety of foreign military relations into four categories according to their distinctive subject matters. These four categories can be called as formal military relations, operational military relations, technical military relations, and organizational military relations.

5. 1. 1. Formal Military Relations

Formal military relations constitute the general foundations of bilateral military relations and determine the contours of their official conduct. First of all, the establishment of a military/defense attaché office as a part of a state's diplomatic mission abroad seems to represent a strong political will to forge bilateral military relations with another state. The mutual establishment of military/defense attaché offices appears to be an indispensable threshold for the military relations of two states below which it is rather difficult to speak of genuine bilateral military relations.

Military attachés, in general, "are responsible for representing their service with the host country and within the diplomatic corps, explaining [home country's] defense policy, gathering information on military affairs, and arranging and escorting visiting delegations."²⁹² It seems plausible to argue that the number of a particular

²⁹² Kenneth W. Allen and Eric A. McVadon, "China's Foreign Military Relations," *Henry L. Stimson Center*, No. 32 (October, 1999), p. 19, <http://www.stimson.org/china/pdf/chinmil.pdf>.

state's military attaché offices abroad demonstrates correspondingly the extent of the military relations of that particular state around the world. For example, while in 1987 China had military attaché offices in 60 countries, the number rose to 99 in 1998.²⁹³ In 2006, "China has established military ties with over 150 countries and military attaché offices in 107 countries."²⁹⁴ On the other hand, as of March 2008, Turkey has military attaché offices in 52 countries.²⁹⁵ China is evidently much more active than Turkey in its bilateral military relations around the world. In terms of Turkish-Chinese military relations, Turkey established a military attaché office at its Beijing Embassy in 1973. Currently, Staff Colonel İsmail Gürgen is serving as Turkish military attaché in Beijing.²⁹⁶ On the other hand, Chinese military attaché office at its Ankara Embassy has been active since 1977.²⁹⁷

Second, a variety of agreements between two states dealing with matters of military nature, or simply military agreements, officially define the areas of cooperation between two states, and thus, as starting points, determine main routes for the conduct of military relations in the future. Among a variety of military agreements, some are considered more significant than others for the military relations of two states. Mutual security and defense treaties are of paramount importance which formally signify an alliance. For example, today, the US-led alliance system is the predominant security architecture in the Asia-Pacific region. "This system is commonly referred to as the "hub and spokes" model, with the

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ "International Security Cooperation," *China's National Defense in 2006*, December 2006, <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/book/194468.htm>.

²⁹⁵ "Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerinin Yurt Dışındaki Askeri Ataşelikleri [Military Attaché Offices of Turkish Armed Forces Abroad]," *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Genelkurmay Başkanlığı [Chief of Staff, Turkish Armed Forces]*, March 13, 2008, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/4_ULUSLARARASI_ILISKILER/4_16_Ataselikler/Ataselikler.htm. The last Turkish military attaché office was recently opened at Baghdad Embassy of the Republic of Turkey.

²⁹⁶ Conversation via telephone with the Office of Military Attaché, Beijing Embassy of the Republic of Turkey on March 18, 2008.

²⁹⁷ Conversation via telephone with the Office of Military Attaché, Ankara Embassy of the People's Republic of China on March 21, 2008.

United States serving as the hub of a wheel with each of the five bilateral alliances (Australia, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand) serving as the spokes.”²⁹⁸ The foundations of US alliances, and thus the basis of the US-led alliance system in Asia-Pacific, are the security and defense treaties that the US signed with each of the five countries.²⁹⁹

In addition, the number of military agreements signed between two states is indicative of the level of their bilateral military relations. According to Haydar Çakmak, Turkey has signed 20 military agreements of various sorts with Germany, 14 with Pakistan, 13 with Israel, 9 with Russia, 8 with France, 7 with England.³⁰⁰ As a corollary, for example, it can be argued that Turkish-Pakistani military relations are broader in scope than Turkish-British military relations. However, the numbers given by Çakmak seem to be inconclusive since Turkey, according to the information given by Turkish General Staff, has signed 47 military agreements with Azerbaijan and 45 military agreements with Georgia.³⁰¹

Displaying a low level of bilateral military relations, Turkey has so far signed three military agreements with China. The first agreement is ‘Defense Industry Cooperation Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of People’s Republic of China’, which was signed on May 29, 1997 by

²⁹⁸ David Shambaugh, “China Engages Asia: Reshaping the Regional Order,” *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Winter 2004/05), pp. 64-99, p. 95.

²⁹⁹ For the full texts of US treaties with, for example, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, respectively see, “Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America,” *The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/q&a/ref/1.html>; “Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Korea,” *Embassy of the United States, Seoul, Korea*, http://seoul.usembassy.gov/mutual_defense_treaty.html; “Mutual Defense Treaty between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America,” *Republic of the Philippines, Department of Foreign Affairs*, <http://www.dfa.gov.ph/vfa/frame/frmmdt.htm>.

³⁰⁰ Haydar Çakmak, *Uluslararası Krizler ve Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri [International Crises and Turkish Armed Forces]* (Ankara: Platin Yayıncılık, 2004), p. 102-105. Çakmak states that, in total, Turkey has signed 437 military agreements, except the ones signed with the US, with 81 states. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

³⁰¹ Source: *Unit of Information Acquisition*, Turkish General Staff, February 11, 2008. In other words, that the number of agreements signed with the countries established only after the end of the Cold War is more than those signed with Turkey’s traditional NATO allies, that is, with which Turkey has historical military ties, is not assuring the researcher of the accuracy of data given by Çakmak.

Turkish Ministry of Defense.³⁰² The second agreement is ‘Cooperation Protocol on Military Education between the General Staff of the Republic of Turkey and People’s Liberation Army [PLA] of the People’s Republic of China’, which was signed by Turkish General Staff on May 28, 1999, and then ratified by the Turkish Cabinet on June 30, 1999.³⁰³ The third agreement is ‘Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on Turkish Naval Special Warfare Basic Training Course between the General Staff of the Republic of Turkey and the General Staff of People’s Liberation Army [PLA] of the People’s Republic of China’, which was signed by Turkish General Staff on April 30, 2003, and then ratified by the Turkish Cabinet on June 2, 2003.³⁰⁴

Contrary to the two previous agreements, the content of the last agreement on naval special warfare basic training course is made public. The agreement is composed of 22 articles and one annex.³⁰⁵ That Turkey is the side that provides the training seems to reveal the Chinese appreciation of the Turkish competency on naval special warfare and its desire to avail its armed forces of Turkish experience and training. According to the agreement, “the Chinese Trainee Personnel to attend the Course should have a good command of the written and spoken Turkish language” (Article 6) and also it is specified that “the price of the course for the per Chinese Trainee Personnel is USD 7.000” (Article 11).³⁰⁶ On the other hand, the agreement is temporarily in effect since “the duration of this MOU is as long as that

³⁰² Source: *Unit of Information Acquirement*, Turkish General Staff. The content of the Agreement was not made public.

³⁰³ Ibid. The content of the Protocol was not made public.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Genelkurmay Başkanlığı ile Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Halkın Kurtuluşu Ordusu Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Arasında Suatlı Taarruz (SAT) Özel İhtisas Kursu Mutabakat Muhtırası [Memorandum of Understanding (Mou) on Turkish Naval Special Warfare Basic Training Course between the General Staff of the Republic of Turkey and the General Staff of People’s Liberation Army of the People’s Republic of China],” *Resmi Gazete*, No. 25141, June 17, 2003, pp. 11-36.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 20, p. 22.

of the duration of the Turkish Naval Special Warfare Basic Training Course to be provided to the 11 Chinese Trainee Personnel” (Article 20).³⁰⁷ Even though the number of Chinese military personnel trained under this MOU is not officially made public, it is reported that, for example, two Chinese military personnel, along with sixteen military personnel from Turkey and one from Georgia, successfully completed their training in 2004-2005 School Year.³⁰⁸

Furthermore, deliberations between Turkey and China to sign three more military agreements are underway. The first is an agreement on mutual protection of confidential information and material exchanged within the framework of defense industry cooperation. The second is a memorandum of understanding on cooperation in the area of defense research and technology. The third is also a memorandum of understanding on mutual education of officers at Turkish War Academies and Chinese National Defense Universities.³⁰⁹

Third, reciprocal visits between two states of senior military personnel from high-ranking officer cadres of their armed forces, together with the visits of delegations of low profile from different branches of armed forces, constitute the principal conduit for military-to-military contacts. First of all, the first visit of a high ranking military personnel, mostly the chief of general staff, paid to another state is generally highlighted and considered as the advent of a new era in bilateral relations, particularly in bilateral military relations. For example, the visit of İsmail Hakkı

³⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 24.

³⁰⁸ “SAS, SAT ve Birinci Sınıf Dalgıçlar Brövelerini Taktı [UWD, UWA, and First Class Divers Have Put on Their Certificates],” *Ortadoğu*, June 19, 2005, <http://www.tumgazeteler.com/?a=847532>. China seems to be engaged in these sorts of international agreements as parts of its general plan to develop, improve, and professionalize its Special Operations Forces (SOFs) by capitalizing on the different training methods of other states. The role of Chinese Special Operations Forces would be crucial in a probable clash between China and Taiwan. For the importance of SOPs for Chinese Armed Forces, see, Michael S. Chase, “Chinese Special Operations Forces: ‘Lessons Learned’ and Potential Missions,” *China Brief*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (February 21, 2007), pp. 2-5.

³⁰⁹ Haydar Çakmak, *Uluslararası Krizler ve Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri [International Crises and Turkish Armed Forces]*, p. 105.

Karadayı to Israel in February 1997 has been frequently referred in analyses of Turkish-Israeli relations as it was the first visit of a Turkish Chief of Staff ever paid to Israel.³¹⁰

Moreover, high frequency of bilateral visits of high level military personnel between two states can possibly be considered as an indication of quite strong military relations between these states. At least, frequent bilateral visits can be considered as an indication of a strong will to develop bilateral military relations. For instance, Chinese sources specify ‘major international exchanges of the Chinese military.’ According to these sources, from 2001 to 2006, there were 10 major international exchanges between the armed forces of Turkey and China. By comparison, there were 13 major military exchanges between China and Greece, 7 between China and Syria, 5 between China and Bulgaria, 2 between China and Iran, 2 between China and Armenia, and 1 between China and Georgia.³¹¹ Accordingly, it can be concluded, China and Greece displayed stronger will to develop their bilateral military relations.

Another important point related to reciprocal military visits is the timing of their taking place. Habitual ones aside, the timing of high level military exchanges bears some significance in understanding and analyzing bilateral military relations, in particular, and bilateral relations, in general, between two states. For example, the timing of the visit of Dan Halutz, former Israeli Chief of Staff, to Turkey that took place in December 2005 has generally been called attention as the visit of Israeli Chief of Staff followed previous visits to Turkey of Robert Mueller, Director of the

³¹⁰ See, for example, Daniel Pipes, “A New Axis: An Emerging Turkish-Israeli Entente,” *The National Interest*, Vol. 50 (Winter 1997/98), pp.31-38, p. 33.

³¹¹ See, “China’s National Defense in 2006,” <http://www.china.org.cn/english/China/194339.htm>; “China’s National Defense in 2004,” <http://www.china.org.cn/e-white/20041227/AppendixIII.htm>; “China’s National Defense in 2002,” <http://www.china.org.cn/e-white/20021209/AppendixII.htm>. Likewise, displaying a higher level of development, there were 33 major military exchanges between China and Russia.

FBI, and Porter J. Ross, former Director of the CIA, and it took place at a time when there was a widespread speculation on a possible Israeli assault against Iranian nuclear facilities.³¹²

Regarding Turkish-Chinese military relations, Yang Dezgi, Chinese Chief of General Staff, visited Turkey in October 1985 and it was reciprocated by the visit of Necdet Üruğ, Turkish Chief of General Staff in November 1986. After a long interval, Turkish Chief of General Staff Doğan Güreş visited China in 1993, and it was reciprocated by the visit of Chinese Chief of General Staff in 1995. The following year Yu Zhen Wu, Commander of the People's Liberation Army Air Force (PLAAF) visited Turkey. And, in 1999, Turkish Commander of Land Forces Atilla Ateş paid a visit to China.³¹³

It is recently observed that five high level military exchanges took place in 2001, which invigorated bilateral military relation to some extent. However, the following years till 2005 were to witness a sudden decrease in the number of high level military exchanges. In three years, from 2002 to 2004, only one visit was to take place. Recent reciprocal visits of Turkish and Chinese commanders seem to have brought about a moderate dynamism to bilateral military relations between Ankara and Beijing.

³¹² See, for example, Bülent Aydemir, "İsrail'den Kritik Gezi [Critical Visit from Israel]," *Sabah*, December 22, 2005, <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2005/12/22/gnd105.html>.

³¹³ See, Barış Adıbelli, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-Çin İlişkileri [Turkish-Chinese Relations since the Ottoman Empire]* (İstanbul: 2007, IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık), p. 200, p. 222; Hasret Çomak, "2000'li Yıllara Doğru Süper Güç Konumuna Gelmesi Beklenen Çin ile Türkiye İlişkileri [Relations between Turkey and China that is Expected to Arrive at the Position of a Superpower around 2000s]," *Silahlı Kuvvetler Dergisi*, No. 348 (April 1996), pp. 95-98, p. 97; Nail Kızıllan, "'Çin Gerçeği ve Çin'in Geleceği [The Reality of China and the Future of China], *Milli Çözüm Dergisi*, May 2005, http://www.millicozum.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=578&Itemid=129.

Table XI: High Level Military Exchanges between Turkey and China from 2001 to 2008 ³¹⁴

<i>Outgoing Turkish Military Personnel</i>	<i>Incoming Chinese Military Personnel</i>
2001 April - İlhami Erdil - Commander of the Navy	2001 March - Liu Shunyao - Commander of PLA Air Force
2001 June - Hüseyin Kıvrıkoğlu - Chief of General Staff	2001 April - ...- Commander of the National Defense University
2002 April - Halil İbrahim Fırtına - Commander of Turkish War Colleges	2001 May - Shugen Quian - Deputy Chief of General Staff
2006 July - Aydoğan Babaoğlu - Commander of Turkish War Colleges	2005 May - Liang Guanglie - Chief of General Staff
2007 June - İlker Başbuğ - Commander of Land Forces	2006 October - Qiao Qingchen - Commander of PLA Air Force
	2007 December - Zhang Li - Deputy Chief of General Staff

In addition to high level military exchanges, several visits of delegations of low profile from different branches of Turkish and Chinese armed forces and their respective armed industries have been taking place. For example, in 2002, a Chinese delegation headed by Guohong Xia, President of the China Aerospace Science and

³¹⁴ See, “China’s National Defense in 2006”; “China’s National Defense in 2004”; “China’s National Defense in 2002”. Also see, “Ziyaretler Arşivi [Archive of Visits],” *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Genelkurmay Başkanlığı [Chief of Staff, Turkish Armed Forces]*, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_4_Ziyaretler/Ziyaretler_Arsiv_2008.htm; *Unit of Information Acquirement, Turkish War Colleges.*

Industry Corporation (CASIC), paid a visit to Military Electronics Industry (ASELSAN), a Turkish multi-product electronics company founded by Turkish Armed Forces Foundation in 1975.³¹⁵ Yet another recent example is the visit of a Chinese delegation in April 2007 headed by Chen Qiufa, Vice Minister of Commission of Science, Technology and Industry for National Defense (COSTIND) paid to Turkish Undersecretariat for Defense Industries (SSM).³¹⁶ Through these sorts of visits of delegations, it can be argued, Turkish and Chinese armed forces have been able to have close acquaintance with each other and to observe and to discuss possible areas of cooperation.

Fourth, student exchanges between military education institutions of two states constitute an important, if not essential, part of formal military relations.³¹⁷ Kristen Gunness, Deputy Director of the CNA Corporation's China Studies Center, argues that “professional military education exchanges through the PLA’s [People’s Liberation Army] professional military education system” constitutes an integral part of China’s military diplomacy.³¹⁸ According to Chinese sources, in 2005 and 2006,

³¹⁵ “Çin Uzay, Bilim ve Sanayi Grubu Başkanı [Chairman of China Aerospace, Science, and Industry Corporation],” *ASELSAN*, Vol. 16, No. 67 (January-April, 2003), p. 62. For similar visits, also see, “Çin Genelkurmay Askeri İşler Başkanı Tüm. Zhiqi Yang [President of Military Affairs of Chinese Chief of Staff],” *ASELSAN*, Vol. 15, No. 65 (Mayıs, 2002), p. 51; “Çin Savunma Akademisi Komutanı Korg. Xingye Zhang [Lietenant Gen. Xingye Zhang, Commander of Defense Academy of China],” *ASELSAN*, Vol. 16, No. 68 (May-August, 2003), p. 70. For respective web pages of CASIC and ASELSAN, see, <http://www.casic694.com/en/index1.asp>; <http://www.aselsan.com.tr/default.asp?lang=en>.

³¹⁶ “Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti COSTIND Başkan Yardımcısı Sn. QIUFA'nın Ziyareti (03 Nisan 2007) [Visit of Mr. Qiufa, Vice President of COSTIND of People’s Republic of China (April 3, 2007)],” *Savunma Sanayi Müsteşarlığı [Undersecretariat for Defense Industries]*, 2007, http://www.ssm.gov.tr/TR/etkinlikler/ziyaretler/Pages/COSTIND_20070403.aspx. For the respective web pages of COSTIND and SSM, see, <http://www.costind.gov.cn/n1349985/index.html>; <http://www.ssm.gov.tr/EN/Pages/default.aspx>.

³¹⁷ Even though international exchange of military students has rarely been a topic of public discussion in Turkey, a row with Greece in April 2005 over the burning of Turkish flag in Greek Military Academy and its abandonment in the room of Turkish military students, who were being trained there as exchange students at that time, made it a hot topic in Turkish public. See, for example, Stelyo Berberakis, “Atina’dan İhraç Sözü [Promise from Athens to Expel],” *Sabah*, April 18, 2005, <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2005/04/18/siy105.html>.

³¹⁸ Kristen Gunness, “China’s Military Diplomacy in an Era of Change,” Paper Prepared for the National Defense University Symposium on ‘China’s Global Activism: Implications for U.S. security Interests’, *National Defense University*, June 20, 2006, p. 6,

“over 500 military personnel have been dispatched to study in more than 20 countries, and over 2.000 military personnel from more than 140 countries have come to China to study in military schools.”³¹⁹ Turkey, on the other hand, “has hitherto trained 20.034 MAP [Visiting Military Personnel] from 49 friendly and allied states.”³²⁰ In 2007-2008 School Year, 971 visiting military personnel from 29 different states are educated and trained in Turkish military educational institutions.³²¹

With regard to bilateral military relations between Ankara and Beijing, military students have been exchanged between the military institutions of the two states in line with the provisions of the aforementioned ‘Cooperation Protocol on Military Education’ signed by Turkey and China. However, it is stated by the Turkish General Staff that the number of the students reciprocally trained at the military institutions of Turkey and China cannot be made public according to Article 15/2 of the ‘Cooperation Protocol on Military Education.’³²²

<http://www.ndu.edu/inss/symposia/pacific2006/Gunnesspaper.pdf>. According to Guinness, ‘professional military education exchanges’ of China include “sending PLA officers abroad to attend foreign institutions, bringing in foreign instructors to teach as visiting professors and hosting foreign officers at Chinese military academies.” Ibid. According to Loro Horta, China’s increasing engagement in international military educational exchanges is the result of its desire “to engage in a similar [to the US] global military education program with an aim to train and influence the leaders of the countries where it has its interests,” and also “to augment its soft power among the world’s militaries, while at the same time reducing the soft power of the United States and its allies.” See, Loro Horta, “Defense and Military Education: A Dimension of Chinese Power,” *PINR*, September 29, 2006, http://pinr.com/report.php?ac=view_report&report_id=562&language_id=1.

³¹⁹ “X. International Security Cooperation,” *China’s National Defense in 2006*, December 2006, <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/book/194468.htm>.

³²⁰ “Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerinde Eğitim Görmüş ve Halen Eğitimlerine Devam Eden Misafir Askeri Personel Bilgileri [Information on Visiting Military Personnel that have been Trained or are Continuing Their Training in the Turkish Armed Forces],” *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Genelkurmay Başkanlığı [Chief of Staff, Turkish Armed Forces]*, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/4_ULUSLARARASI_ILISKILER/4_7_TSK_Asker_Egitim_ve_Isbirligi_Faaliyetleri/konular/Misafir_Asker_Personel_Bilgileri.htm.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Source: *Unit of Information Acquirement*, Turkish General Staff, January 16, 2008. Still, it is reported that, for example, one Turkish staff officer was educated at National Defense University of People’s Liberation Army in Beijing between September 15-December 18, 1998. See, Nail Kızılkın, “Çin Gerçeği ve Çin’in Geleceği” [The Reality of China and the Future of China].”

5. 1. 2. Operational Military Relations

Cooperative or conflictual relations between two states that involve the employment of weapon systems constitute operational military relations.³²³ First of all, port visits of a state's naval warships to another state signify a certain level of cordial military relations between these two states, and thus deserve close attention. Historically speaking, for example, the foundation of the cordial relations between Turkey and Japan was cemented by a port visit of an Ottoman frigate, *Ertuğrul*, which paid a visit to the Port of Yokohama on June 7, 1890 and subsequently sunk in a storm on Japanese waters on September 16, 1890.³²⁴

Trivial as it may seem, apart from habitual ones, port visits do occasionally come to the front in international politics due to several reasons. A prominent one is the convenience of port visits to convey implicit messages to a specific audience. For example, by dispatching *the USS Missouri* to Turkey on March 22, 1946, which carried the remains of Turkish Ambassador Münir Ertegün aboard, "Washington had not so subtly reminded the Soviet Union and others that the United States was a great military power and that it could project this power abroad, even to shores far

³²³ Any discussion of conflictual military relations, or hot conflicts, between two states is beyond the extent of this work, and thus omitted.

³²⁴ Hee-Soo Lee, *İslam ve Türk Kültürünün Uzakdoğu'yaYayılmı [The Diffusion of Islamic and Turkish Culture in the Far East]* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1991), pp. 212-219. The Japanese Government organized port visits to Istanbul in response to the unfortunate naval disaster. "Deeply affected by the disaster, the Japanese government sent the survivors back to Istanbul in Japanese frigates, the *Hiei* and the *Kongo*, bearing messages of condolence from the Meiji Emperor and government." See, Selçuk Esenbel, "A 'fin de siècle' Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: The Life of Yamada Torajir and His 'Toruko Gakan'," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (1996), pp. 237-252, p. 240.

distant.”³²⁵ Another way of conveying implicit messages to international audience is a refusal of home state to grant access to the warships of a particular state for a port visit. Recently, in November 2007, in three separate occasions, Chinese authorities denied the requests of American warships, including the USS *Kitty Hawk* carrier group, to dock at the Port of Hong Kong. According to some commentators, with these events, “a precedent has been established in which Chinese authorities [had] proven themselves willing to cancel longstanding commitments to harbor and support U.S. military crafts” and “Washington's ability to project national power [had] been diminished.”³²⁶

Furthermore, the first visit of a naval warship of a state to the ports of another one is generally highlighted and considered as the advent of a new era in bilateral relations, particularly in bilateral military relations. For instance, in November 2007, Chinese “missile destroyer Shenzhen dropped anchor off Tokyo Bay... the first time a People's Liberation Army (PLA) ship has called at a Japanese port.”³²⁷ Opining on the event, Eiji Yoshikawa, Chief of the Japan Maritime Self Defense Forces, stated that Japanese looked forward to Chinese visit, “which [would] open a new page in the history of Japan-China military exchanges” and “Cui Tiankai, Chinese

³²⁵ See, Barry M. Blechman and Stephen S. Kaplan, “U.S. Military Forces as a Political Instrument since World War II,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 94, No. 2 (Summer 1979), pp. 193-209, p. 193.

³²⁶ Richard Komaiko, “China’s Decision to Deny U.S. Warships from Port of Hong Kong,” *PINR*, December 5, 2007, http://www.pinr.com/report.php?ac=view_report&report_id=730&language_id=1. Even though he does not totally agree with it, Komaiko cites the opinion of other observers: “Some observers view these events as the prelude to an era of increased friction and decreased cooperation between the two governments and their respective militaries.” Ibid. Eventually, in January 2008, China “allowed a United States warship to make a port call in Hong Kong, two months after it turned away an American aircraft carrier battle group and set off a diplomatic dispute between the countries.” David Lague, “China Allows U.S. Port Call in Hong Kong,” *The New York Times*, January 29, 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/29/world/asia/29ship.html>.

³²⁷ “In a First, PLA Ship Docks at Japan Port,” *People’s Daily*, November 29, 2007, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6311615.html>.

ambassador to Japan, also stressed the significance of the visit in bilateral relations.”

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With regard to Turkish-Chinese military relations, in total, there have been 4 unofficial port visits between the two countries all requested for the recreation of the military personnel of respective warships. Therefore, it can be argued, they are of almost no significance for bilateral military relations between Ankara and Beijing.

Table XII: Port Visits between Turkey and China ³²⁹

<i>Name of the Ship</i>	<i>Board Number</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Harbor</i>	<i>Aim of Visit</i>	<i>Date of Arrival</i>	<i>Date of Departure</i>
[Turkey] TCG Turgutreis	241	FFGH	Shanghai	Unofficial	12.06.2000	14.06.2000
[China] Taicang	575	AOR	Aksaz	Unofficial	20.06.2002	23.06.2002
[China] Qingdao	113	DDG	Aksaz	Unofficial	20.06.2002	23.06.2002
[China] Taicang	575	AOR	Bozcaada	Unofficial	23.06.2002	30.06.2002

Second, armed forces of states periodically engage in joint military exercises with the armed forces of other states. For instance, apart from national exercises, Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) conduct a range of joint military exercises including NATO exercises, NATO/PFP [Partnership for Peace] exercises, special exercises [bilateral

³²⁸ Ibid. Also see, Justin McCurry, “Chinese ‘Messenger of Peace’ Docks in Tokyo,” *Guardian*, November 28, 2007, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2007/nov/28/china.japan>. In response, on June 24, 2008, “the first Japanese warship to visit China since the Second World War docked in a southern Chinese port ...in a symbolic breakthrough in relations between East Asia’s two biggest powers.” See, Jeremy Page, “Warship’s Visit Signals Japan-China Breakthrough,” *The Times*, June 25, 2008, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/asia/article4204432.ece>.

³²⁹ Source: *Unit of Information Acquirement*, Turkish Naval Forces. FFGH is a hull classification symbol for Guided Missile Frigate. AOR is a hull classification symbol for Replenishment Oiler. DDG is a hull classification symbol for Guided Missile Destroyer. See, “Defense and Intelligence Abbreviations and Acronyms,” *Joint Military Intelligence College*, November 1997, http://www.dia.mil/publicaffairs/Foia/abbrev_acron.pdf.

and multilateral], invitation exercises (INVITEX), and passage exercises (PASSEX).³³⁰ In general, according to official sources, the rationale of conducting joint military exercises is “to determine and test the level of training which is achieved in peacetime” and “to enhance peace, friendship and cooperation” between the two states participating in the exercise.³³¹ In particular cases, however, the objectives of joint military exercises may vary. For instance, Turkish Chief of Staff declared the objective of Turkish-Rumanian Joint Commando Exercise conducted in June 2007 as “to promote relations and interoperability between the land forces of two countries and to reinforce the existing friendship and trust [between the two countries].”³³² In another example, the Chinese Navy (PLAN) declared the objective of its first joint naval exercise with the Indian Navy in 2003 as to ensure “the safety of maritime trade and improving coordination in search and rescue at sea.”³³³

There seem to be three important points regarding bilateral military exercises. First of all, the first bilateral military exercise ever held between two states is generally considered as the advent of a new era in bilateral relations, particularly in bilateral military relations, between these two states participating in the exercise, and thus it invariably attracts international attention. For instance, Russia and China conducted their first ever bilateral military exercise, dubbed *Peace Mission 2005*, between the dates of August 19-25, 2005, which was also “the largest joint exercise China has ever conducted with any foreign military.”³³⁴ This unprecedented joint

³³⁰ “General Overview of Exercises,” *Turkish General Staff*, April 28, 2008
<http://www.tsk.mil.tr/eng/tatbikatlar/tatbikatlar.htm>.

³³¹ *Ibid.*

³³² “Türkiye-Romanya Ortak Komando Tatbikatı [Turkish-Romanian Joint Commando Exercise],” *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Genelkurmay Başkanlığı [Chief of Staff, Turkish Armed Forces]*,
http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_2_Tatbikatlar/konular/2007/turkiye_romanya_ortak_tatbikati.htm.

³³³ “India, China to Hold Joint Naval Exercises,” *People’s Daily*, November 6, 2003,
http://english.people.com.cn/200311/06/eng20031106_127719.shtml.

³³⁴ Bates Gill, *Rising Star: China’s New Security Diplomacy* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2007), pp. 64-65, p. 64.

exercise between Beijing and Moscow received widespread international attention. The general consensus among the observers was that “the games [military drills] were symbolic of the growing cooperation between the two powerful states.”³³⁵ It was also interpreted as “a show of force calculated to dissuade the US from presuming a dominant role in global security,”³³⁶ as “a logical step in an attempt by the two countries to balance American ‘hegemony’ as a ‘unipolar’ world power,”³³⁷ and also as an “old fashioned power politics at work, aimed squarely at the governments in Pyongyang and Tokyo, to pressure North Korea to go back to the six party nuclear talks and Japan over its border claim to the Kurils.”³³⁸

Another important point regarding joint military exercises is the timing of their taking place. Habitual ones aside, the timing of joint military exercises between two states bears some significance in understanding and analyzing bilateral military relations, in particular, and bilateral relations, in general, between the two states. For example, Turkey launched its first naval exercise with Israel, with the participation of the US, called as *Operation Reliant Mermaid*, in January 1998 at a time when it was experiencing severe problems in its relations with its southern neighbors, especially with Syria, and its relations with Israel were advancing. Even though “the exercises...included only search-and-rescue maneuvers,” revealing a certain level of disquiet, “the Syrian Foreign Ministry spokesman characterized them as ‘war

³³⁵ Yevgeny Bendersky and Erich Marquardt, “The Significance of Sino-Russian Military Exercises,” *PINR*, September 14, 2005,

http://www.pinr.com/report.php?ac=view_report&report_id=366&language_id=1.

³³⁶ Tom Parfitt, “Russia and China Rattle Sabres with Joint War Games,” *Guardian*, August 19, 2005, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2005/aug/19/russia.china>.

³³⁷ Richard Spencer, “Former Red Armies in War Games Challenge to America,” *The Daily Telegraph*, August 19, 2005,

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2005/08/19/war19.xml&sSheet=/news/2005/08/19/ixworld.html>.

³³⁸ Martin Andrew, “Power Politics: China, Russia, and Peace Mission 2005,” *China Brief*, Vol. 5, No. 20 (September 27, 2005), pp. 8-9 p. 8.

games’.”³³⁹ Besides, according to Bolukbasi, through these naval maneuvers “a higher stage in Turco-Israeli military cooperation was reached.”³⁴⁰

Yet another important point regarding bilateral military exercises is the total number of military personnel participating in the joint exercises. The size and the scope of military exercises, it can be argued, conveys the importance the partaking countries attach to the exercises. A related point pertains to the changes in the number of military personnel taking part in successive joint exercises. As an example, the number of the US military personnel participating in the joint US-Philippine *Balikatan* [shoulder-to-shoulder] annual military exercises more than doubled between 2000 and 2006.³⁴¹ Joint exercises were officially declared as a part of the US counterterrorism policy in the region, and it is not so easy to delineate increasing US involvement as against China. However, according to Robert S. Ross, “the focus of the exercises has expanded beyond antiterrorist activities to include U.S. participation in amphibious exercises in the vicinity of the Spratly Islands,”³⁴² over which the Philippines and China have conflicting claims.³⁴³

People’s Liberation Army (PLA) of China has demonstrated a good deal of enthusiasm to conduct joint military exercises with the armed forces of other states. From 2002 to 2007, China “held 16 joint military exercises with 11 countries,” such as, Russia, Pakistan, India, Thailand, Tajikistan, and the US.³⁴⁴ In addition to

³³⁹ Suha Bolukbasi, “Behind the Turkish-Israel Alliance: A Turkish View,” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Autumn 1999), pp. 21-35, p. 33.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³⁴¹ Eyüp Ersoy, “The US Strategy of China under the Bush Administration (2000-2006),” *Review of International Law & Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 12 (2007), pp. 135-160, p. 154. The number was 2500 in 2000, and 5500 in 2006. *Ibid.*

³⁴² Robert S. Ross, “Assessing the China Threat,” *The National Interest*, No. 81 (Fall 2005), pp. 81-87, p. 83.

³⁴³ In addition, displaying the Chinese frustration, Sun Jinzhong contends that “U.S. entry in the region in the name of counter-terrorism provides a new base for alliances” and aims at transforming related countries into its “de facto military bases.” Sun Jinzhong, “Return to Southeast Asia,” *Beijing Review*, Vol. 47, No. 28 (July 2004), p. 13.

³⁴⁴ “X. International Security Cooperation,” *China’s National Defense in 2006*, December 2006, <http://english.people.com.cn/whitepaper/defense2006/defense2006.html>.

multilateral ones, bilateral military exercises continued in 2007 with the joint exercises between the different branches of the PLA and the armed forces of India, Thailand, Russia, Britain, France, Spain, Australia, and New Zealand.³⁴⁵

Turkey, on the other hand, has been an active participant of joint military exercises. In 2007, for example, Turkey conducted and participated in 27 joint bilateral and multilateral military exercises.³⁴⁶ From 2004 to 2008, in addition to a host of multilateral military exercises, Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) conducted several bilateral military exercises with the armies of many countries including Georgia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Britain, and Pakistan. However, despite the high level of involvement of Turkey and China in joint international military exercises, “the two countries have yet to hold any bilateral joint military exercises.”³⁴⁷

Third, military bases are a constant characteristic of the global power politics and they are considered quite indispensable for the implementation of regional and international policies of great powers. For example, today, the US sustains a global network of military bases. The number of the US military bases of varying sizes was 725 in 2002, 702 in 2003, 860 in 2004, and 737 in 2005.³⁴⁸ According to the latest

³⁴⁵ For more information on China’s joint military exercises in 2007, see, “China-Related Joint Military Exercises in 2007,” <http://english.chinamil.com.cn/site2/special-reports/2007zgjsyx/index1.htm>.

³⁴⁶ For information on military exercises that Turkish Armed Forces have participated, see, “Tatbikat ve Gösteriler [Exercises and Parades],” *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Genelkurmay Başkanlığı [Chief of Staff, Turkish Armed Forces]*, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/6_TATBIKATLAR/6_2_Tatbikatlar_ve_Gosteriler/Tatbikatlar_ve_Gosteriler.htm. Also see, “Uluslararası Tatbikatlar [International Exercises],” *Türk Hava Kuvvetleri [Turkish Air Forces]*, <http://www.hvkk.mil.tr/PageSub/Calismalarimiz/Faaliyetler/Faaliyetler.aspx?pid=130319839>; “Tatbikatlar [Exercises],” *Türk Deniz Kuvvetleri [Turkish Naval Forces]*, <http://www.dzkk.tsk.mil.tr/turkce/tatbikatlar.asp>.

³⁴⁷ John C. K. Daly, “Sino-Turkish Relations Beyond the Silk Road,” *China Brief*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (February 21, 2007), pp. 10-13, p. 12.

³⁴⁸ Chalmers Johnson, *Nemesis: The Last Days of the American Republic* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006), p. 139.

version of the *Base Structure Report* of the US Department of Defense, there are 823 US military ‘sites’ overseas.³⁴⁹

In terms of bilateral military relations, a military base or bases located in the territory of the home state and allocated for the use of the host state have always constituted an essential part of the military relations between these two states.³⁵⁰ The presence of a military base or bases can become a concrete symbol of geostrategic alignment and military cooperation between the home and host states. Yet, it is not unlikely that different problems concerning the presence of the military bases in the host state become a source of friction and disturb the relations between the two states. Most recently, for example, the US had to evict all its military personnel from the Karsh-Khanabad air base in Uzbekistan in July 2005, “which Washington had used as a staging ground for combat, reconnaissance, and humanitarian missions in Afghanistan since late 2001.”³⁵¹

China neither has any military base outside its frontiers nor hosts any military base of another state on its territory. Turkey, on the other hand, hosts several military installations appropriated for the use of the US military, exclusively or partially, the

³⁴⁹ “Base Structure Report: Fiscal Year 2007 Baseline,” *The US Department of Defense*, September 30, 2006, p. 22, http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/BSR_2007_Baseline.pdf.

³⁵⁰ Any attempt to investigate several aspects of ‘base politics’ would be beyond the scope of our inquiry. Several scholarly studies have examined different aspects of the establishment, maintenance, and termination of military bases worldwide. For the historical development of the US global basing structure, see, Anni P. Baker, *American Soldiers Overseas: The Global Military Presence* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2004). For the current American basing strategy and current situation of the US military bases overseas, see, Alexander Cooley, *Base Politics: Democratic Change and the U.S. Military Overseas* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2008). For an examination of the US/NATO and Russian military bases in Eurasia, see, Zdzislaw Lachowski, “Foreign Military Bases in Eurasia,” *SIPRI Policy Paper*, No. 18 (June 2007), <http://books.sipri.org/files/PP/SIPRIPP18.pdf>.

³⁵¹ Alexander Cooley, “Base Politics,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 6 (November/December 2005), pp. 79-92, p. 79. “The government in Tashkent gave no official reason for the expulsion, but the order was issued soon after the UN airlifted 439 Uzbek refugees from Kyrgyzstan to Romania a move that Washington supported and Tashkent opposed... The showdown was the latest in a series of confrontations since a much-criticized crackdown on antigovernment demonstrators in the eastern city of Andijon last May.” Ibid. Likewise, there have been deliberations between Russia and Georgia to reach an agreement on the closure of two Russian bases in Georgia. See, for example, Nikolai Sokov, “The Withdrawal of Russian Military Bases from Georgia: Not Solving Anything,” *PONARS Policy Memo*, No. 363 (June 2005), http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/pm_0363.pdf.

paramount of which is Incirlik Air Base.³⁵² Being active since 1955, the current legal status of the base was determined by the Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement signed in 1980 between the governments of Turkey and the US.³⁵³ Even though “Incirlik Air Base is under the command of the 10th Tanker Base Command of Turkish Air Forces,”³⁵⁴ it has been exclusively assigned by Turkish authorities to the use of the US military. In 2007, 1565 US Air Force personnel including 1444 military members, 121 civilian employees were active at Incirlik Air Base.³⁵⁵ In addition to Incirlik Air Base, the US Air Force has been active at Batman, Çiğli, and Muş Air Bases, without permanent military and civilian personnel though.³⁵⁶

Besides, Turkey has maintained its 11th Army Corps, which consists of more than 40000 military personnel including two mechanized infantry divisions and one armored brigade, in various military compounds and installations in Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC).³⁵⁷ General Yaşar Büyükanıt, Turkish Chief of the General Staff, has recently reaffirmed the Turkish policy of maintaining Turkish troops in TRNC and dismissed any withdrawal thereof.³⁵⁸

³⁵² For the official web page of the base, see, <http://www.incirlik.af.mil/>.

³⁵³ Çağrı Erhan, “ABD ve NATO’yla İlişkiler [Relations with the USA and NATO],” in Baskın Oran, ed., *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar [Turkish Foreign Policy: Facts, Documents, Observations since the War of Liberation]*, Vol. 1 (İstanbul: 2005, İletişim Yayınları), pp. 711-714.

³⁵⁴ Selin M. Bölme, “The Politics of Incirlik Air Base,” *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (2007), pp. 82-91, p. 87. “The 39th Air Base Wing, as an installation of USAFE [US Air Forces in Europe], has been active in Incirlik since March 2004. The wing has no permanent US Air Force aircraft but it provides facilities and supports for operations and trainings.” Ibid.

³⁵⁵ “Base Structure Report: Fiscal Year 2007 Baseline,” *The US Department of Defense*.

³⁵⁶ Ibid. As of 2007, among other US Air Force military installations located in Turkey are Ankara Administration Office (39 American personnel in total) and Izmir Air Station (162 American personnel in total). Ibid.

³⁵⁷ “Letter dated 21 February 2007 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General,” *Press and Information Office, Republic of Cyprus*, February 28, 2007, <http://www.cyprus.gov.cy/MOI/pio/pio.nsf/All/4FC90989378EAD00C225729000290986?OpenDocument>.

³⁵⁸ Gareth Jenkins, “Turkish Chief of Staff Rules Out Troop Withdrawal from Cyprus,” *Eurasian Daily Monitor*, Vol. 5, No. 60 (March 31, 2008), http://www.jamestown.org/edm/article.php?article_id=2372931.

In terms of bilateral military relations between Ankara and Beijing, any sort of cooperation in this particular realm of operational military relations seems extremely unlikely, even in the long run.

5. 1. 3. Technical Military Relations

Bilateral military relations between two states that pertain to the military modernization of the armed forces of at least one of the two states constitute technical military relations. First of all, for the purposes of their military modernizations, states may opt for direct procurement of military equipment from foreign sources, unless they indigenously or collaboratively manufacture it. As a notable example, Chinese military modernization hinges on securing constant procurement of advanced weapon systems and technologies from external sources in addition to indigenous research and development. This seems to be the prime reason behind China's insistence on the cancellation of arms embargo applied by the member states of the then European Community (EC) as a protest against the suppressive measures of the Chinese government taken in the Tiananmen Square Incident of June 1989.³⁵⁹

Interestingly enough, China was only the third largest arms importer in 2007, after Greece and South Korea, with an expenditure of \$ 1424 million.³⁶⁰ Yet, in retrospect, Chinese military spending on arms imports surpasses all the largest arms importers in the world. The military expenditure of Beijing on arms imports in the 2000 to 2007

³⁵⁹ For a succinct review of converging positions of China and the EU, at least some EU member states, on lifting the arms embargo, see, Terry Narramore, "China and Europe: Engagement, Multipolarity and Strategy," *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (March 2008), pp. 87-108, p. 89. Also see, Ezio Bonsignore and Eugene Kogan, "Fatal Attraction: The EU Defense Industry and China," *Military Technology*, Vol. 29, No. 6 (June 2005), pp. 8-15.

³⁶⁰ Source: *SIPRI Arms Transfers Database*. To generate and view the results, see, "Top List TIV Tables," http://armstrade.sipri.org/arms_trade/toplist.php. The figures that are expressed are in \$ US million at constant 1990 prices. Greece's arms imports valued \$ 2089 million, and those of South Korea valued \$ 1807 million. Ibid. The following figures, unless otherwise stated, are from the same source, *SIPRI Arms Transfers Database*.

time period nearly doubled the second largest importer, India, with a total expenditure of \$ 21207 million.³⁶¹ The principal supplier of Chinese imports has been Russia as the imports from Russia constituted 93, 5 % of Chinese arms imports in 2000-2007.³⁶² The other main suppliers are, in declining order of the value of imports, Ukraine, France, the United Kingdom, Germany, Uzbekistan, Switzerland, Israel, and Italy. Moreover, the bulk of the Chinese expenditure on imports is allocated to aircraft (53, 5 %) and ships (17, 2 %), again in 2000-2007.³⁶³

More specifically, China has imported an array of advanced weapon systems from Russia. Russian weaponry whose delivery to the service of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) of China was completed in 2007 include, for example, beyond-visual-range-air-to-air-missiles (BVRAAM) (600 in total), Fregat air surface radars (6 in total), 30N6E1 multifunction radars (2 in total), 3M-54E1 Klub antiship missiles (90 in total), 48N6 surface-to-air missiles (SAM) (150 in total), AL-31FN turbofans (90 in total), FR-90 fire control radars (4 in total), RD-33 turbofans (45 in total), 48N6E2 SAMs (80 in total), Mi-17 helicopters (24 in total), and Su-27SK FGA aircrafts (105).³⁶⁴

Turkey, on the other hand, was the 7th largest arms importer in 2007 with a military expenditure of \$ 944 million.³⁶⁵ Turkey's rank slightly decreases in the 2000 to 2007 time period as Turkey ranks 8th with a total military expenditure of \$ 5212

³⁶¹ Indian spending was \$ 12468 million in total in that period. The first ten states were, in descending order, China, India, Greece, United Arab Emirates, South Korea, Egypt, Australia, Turkey, Israel, and the United Kingdom.

³⁶² Chinese expenditure on Russian weaponry is \$ 19833 million in that period.

³⁶³ The figures are in total: Aircraft - \$ 11341 million, Ships - \$ 3645 million, Missiles - \$ 3466 million, Sensors - \$ 1621 million, Engines - \$ 1021 million, and Artillery - \$ 113 million.

³⁶⁴ Source: *SIPRI Arms Transfers Database*. To generate and view the results, see, "Trade Registers," http://armstrade.sipri.org/arms_trade/trade_register.php. For Sino-Russian cooperation on military modernization see, for example, Ming-Yen Tsai, *From Adversaries to Partners?: Chinese and Russian Military Cooperation after the Cold War* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2003); Michael J. Barron, "China's Strategic Modernization: The Russian Connection," *Parameters*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Winter 2001/2002), pp. 72-86.

³⁶⁵ The first ten countries, in descending order, were Greece, South Korea, China, India, United Arab Emirates, Poland, Turkey, Israel, Venezuela, and South Africa.

million. Among Turkey's neighbors, only the spending of Greece on arms imports exceeds that of Turkey in 2000-2007. Greek military expenditure on imports is 72, 7 % higher than that of Turkey.³⁶⁶ The principal supplier of Turkish imports has been Germany as the imports from Germany constituted 36, 4 % of Turkish arms imports in 2000-2007.³⁶⁷ The other main suppliers are, in declining order of the value of imports, the US, France, Israel, Spain, Italy, South Korea, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, China, and Norway. Furthermore, the bulk of the Turkish expenditure on imports is allocated to ships (38, 2 %), missiles (16, 7 %), and aircraft (14, 5 %).³⁶⁸

More specifically, Turkey has imported a range of advanced weapon systems from the US. The US weaponry whose delivery to the service of the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) was completed between 2004 and 2007 include, for example, Mk-46 Mod-5 NEARTIP antisubmarine warfare (ASW) torpedoes (750 in total), Dragoon armored personnel carriers (APC) (140 in total), AGM-114K HELLFIRE antitank missiles (144 in total), AN/MPQ-64 air surface radars (8 in total), I-HAWK surface-to-air missile (SAM) systems (8 in total), S-70/UH-60L Blackhawk helicopters (2 in total), and Perry/FFG-7 frigate (1 only).³⁶⁹

Regarding bilateral military relations between Ankara and Beijing, there has not been any officially registered instance of direct procurement of weaponry between the two countries. However, Salih Şarman, former governor of Batman that is a prefecture in southeastern Turkey, asserts that, in order to arm the paramilitary force

³⁶⁶ Greek spending on arms exports is \$ 9000 million in this period. Among Ankara's other neighbors, only Iran occupies a place in the list of the top 50 largest arms importers in 2000-2007, and ranks 17th with a total expenditure of \$ 2397 million.

³⁶⁷ Turkish expenditure on German weaponry is \$ 1895 million in that period.

³⁶⁸ The figures are in total: Ships - \$ 1990 million, Missiles - \$ 870 million, Aircraft - \$ 779 million, Armored Vehicles - \$ 747 million, Sensors - \$ 511 million, Artillery - \$ 146 million, and Engines - \$ 55 million.

³⁶⁹ Source: *SIPRI Arms Transfers Database*. To generate and view the results, see, "Trade Registers," http://armstrade.sipri.org/arms_trade/trade_register.php.

he was trying to establish at that time with appropriate weapons and equipments in its fight against the PKK, some of the essential weapons, ammunition, and [military] material were unofficially imported from China within the knowledge of the Turkish Chief of Staff.³⁷⁰

Second, apart from direct procurement, states may prefer establishing due mechanisms to manufacture military hardware of common or individual need through cooperative projects with one another. To Ethan B. Kapstein, “collaborative arrangements for the production of complex weapons systems represent a second-best solution to the problem of defense acquisition.”³⁷¹ It is worth underlining that there are multiple types of international cooperation in the production of weapon systems including licensed production, codevelopment, and coproduction.³⁷²

Chinese defense industry has also preferred establishing joint ventures with other defense industries for the manufacturing of various weapon systems. For instance, in 1986, China National Aero-Technology Import and Export Corporation (CATIC) “signed an agreement with Pakistan to jointly develop the K-8 [Karakorum-8] trainer, an aircraft model designed for training missions, such as take-offs, landings, acrobatics, night flying and spin flights, as well as armament operations training.”³⁷³ The collaboration has yielded considerable success for China since, as of 2005, 249

³⁷⁰ Salih Şarman, *Rutin Dışı: Jitem-Kayıp Silahlar ve Harcanan Hayatlar [Out of Routine: JITEM-Missing Weapons and Lives Wasted]* (İstanbul: Pozitif Yayınları, 2007), pp. 51-52.

³⁷¹ Ethan Barnaby Kapstein, “International Collaboration in Armaments Production: A Second-Best Solution,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 106, No. 4 (Winter 1991/1992), pp. 657-675, p. 657. According to Kapstein, “such arrangements reflect the desire of states to maintain domestic military-industrial capacity on the one hand, while incorporating capital and technology from abroad on the other.” Ibid.

³⁷² For more information, see, for example, Richard A. Bitzinger, “The Globalization of the Arms Industry: The Next Proliferation Challenge,” *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Autumn 1994), pp. 170-198.

³⁷³ “China, Pakistan Reaffirm Air Links,” *China Daily*, October 9 2003, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/en/doc/2003-09/10/content_262814.htm.

K-8 trainers have been sold by CATIC to the armed forces of several states, notably that of Egypt.³⁷⁴

Another important codevelopment and coproduction project between Beijing and Islamabad is the production of JF-17 (Joint Fighter-17) Thunder combat aircraft. It is reported that “with its advanced design, state-of-the-art manufacturing technology, Mach 1.6 speed, advanced avionics and excellent handling capabilities, the JF-17 is on a par with the world's most advanced light fighter jets.”³⁷⁵ Most recently, after making its first public appearance in Islamabad on March 23, 2007, during a National Day Joint Services Parade flyover³⁷⁶, “[serial] production of the JF-17 Thunder combat aircraft started on 22 January [2008] at the Pakistan Aeronautical Complex (PAC) at Kamra near Islamabad.”³⁷⁷

Turkey has also engaged in collaborative projects with some states to manufacture weapon systems critical to the modernization objectives of Turkish Armed Forces (TAF). A prominent recent example is the Turkish participation in the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) program led by the US. Signing the memorandum of understanding (MOU), Turkey has joined the production, sustainment, and follow-on development (PSFD) phase of the JSF program as a full partner on January 25, 2007.³⁷⁸ Accordingly, “Turkey pledged \$175 million toward this phase, and also promised to eventually 100 F-35A fighters. The deal could cost Turkey more than \$10 billion over 20 years, the largest defence project in Turkish history.”³⁷⁹ On the

³⁷⁴ “Chinese Company to Sell 250 More K-8 Aircraft in Next Decade,” *People’s Daily*, December 1, 2005, http://english.people.com.cn/200512/01/eng20051201_224748.html.

³⁷⁵ Syed Fazl-e-Haider, “China Rises to Pakistan’s Defense,” *Asia Times*, July 11, 2007, http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/IG11Df02.html.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁷ Gareth Jennings, “JF-17 Production Commences,” *Jane’s Air Forces News*, January 24, 2008, http://www.janes.com/news/defence/air/jdw/jdw080124_2_n.shtml.

³⁷⁸ “Turkey Joins the Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) Program Production Phase,” *Undersecretariat for Defense Industries*, 2007,

http://www.ssm.gov.tr/EN/etkinlikler/imzatorenerleri/Pages/20070130_jsf.aspx.

³⁷⁹ “JSF Programme Gains Further Participants” *Military Technology*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (2007), p.111.

other hand, several Turkish defense companies, such as Alp Aviation, Aselsan, Ayesaş, Havelsan, Kale Kalıp, Mikes, Milsoft, TEI, and TAI, have secured contracts to manufacture components, hardware and software, for the aircraft.³⁸⁰ For instance, in line with the agreement signed with Northrop Grumman on February 6, 2007, TAI (Turkish Aerospace Industries, Inc.) has become a second source for the F-35 centre fuselage, which TAI is expected to produce a minimum of 400. The deal represents a potential value of around \$ 3 billion.³⁸¹

Another example is the Turkish participation in the Airbus A400M military transport consortium which signifies a growing Turkish interest in the European aerospace sector. Turkey is among the launch nations of the project along with Germany, Belgium, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, and Luxembourg, and has ordered 10 of this tactical and strategic airlifter.³⁸² “Turkey’s participation is worth 5.56% of the program,” and Turkey’s main aerospace firm, Tusaş Aerospace Industries, Inc. (TAI), “will be given a production work share of around 7.15%” as the development and production of “the forward center fuselage, hatches, tail cone, ailerons, spoilers, lighting, and water/wastewater systems” is assigned to TAI.³⁸³

³⁸⁰ “Ulusal Savunma Sanayinin Geleceğini Şekillendirmek [Shaping the Future of National Defense Industry],” *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol. 21, No. 122 (2007), pp. 38-52, p. 46, p. 50.

³⁸¹ İbrahim Sünnetçi, “TAI, JSF Programında Kendisine Ön Sıralarda Bir Yer Tuttu [TAI has Secured for Itself a Leading Place in JSF Program],” *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol. 20, No. 117-118 (2006), pp. 87-93, pp. 89-90.

³⁸² “TAI İlk A400M Komponentini Bremen’e Gönderdi [TAI has Sent the First A400M Component to Bremen],” *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol. 20, No. 113 (2006), pp. 129-131, p. 129. Italy withdrew from the project in October 2001. For an examination of Italy’s decision and an elaborate analysis of the A400M program, see, Katia Vlachos-Dengler, “Carry That Weight: Improving European Strategic Airlift Capabilities,” *RAND*, 2007, pp. 174-220, http://www.rand.org/pubs/rgs_dissertations/2007/RAND_RGSD219.pdf.

³⁸³ “Turkish engine manufacturer Tusaş Motor Sanayi (TEI) will also have a share of the Euro- Prop International 400-D6 engine for the A400M. TEI has an agreement with ITP (Industria de Turbo Propulsores) of Spain to cooperate in the production of the three-shaft turboprop engines.” See, Philip Butterworth-Hayes, “Turkey-An Aerospace Player to Watch,” *Aerospace America*, Vol. 42, No. 7 (July 2004), pp. 4-6, p. 5. Also see, “TAI İlk A400M Kanatçık ve Sürat Freni Parçalarını Teslim Etti [TAI has Delivered the First A400M Aileron and Spoiler Parts],” *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol. 20, No. 116 (2006), p. 85.

Turkey has hitherto concluded two joint defense industry projects with China, both of which pertained to the development and production of Chinese missile systems in Turkey under license. The contracts of these projects were signed in the second half of the 1990s. According to Major General Armağan Kuloğlu (Ret.), there were two main reasons for the Turkish involvement in these two collaborative projects with China on missile systems.³⁸⁴ The first reason was the increasing missile threat around Turkey in the mid-1990s and the realization of the Turkish authorities that Turkey had severe deficiencies in missile defense systems. However, instead of developing anti-missile systems, Turkish authorities opted to develop indigenous missile systems so as to reinforce the deterrent capability of the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF). The second reason was the favorable response of the Chinese authorities. Turkey held consultations with several states about missile systems, and got a convenient response to its propositions from China, especially on the development of missile technology in Turkey through technology transfer.³⁸⁵

The first project was signed in 1997 for the WS-1 unguided multiple launch rocket system (MLRS). The deal was an important leap for both Turkey and China in their military relations as it marked their first cooperation in defense industry. Besides, it was an additional important step for the Chinese military-industrial complex as “this deal represents China’s first known export of this artillery system.”³⁸⁶ According to the agreement, “China [was to] supply Turkey with one battery of complete missiles and the materials, equipment, and technology to produce

³⁸⁴ Armağan Kuloğlu is currently the Principal Advisor to Ankara-based Turkish think-tank Global Strategy Institute.

³⁸⁵ Interview with Major General Armağan Kuloğlu (Ret.) in Ankara on July 24, 2007. For the full text of the interview, see, Eyüp Ersoy, “Armağan Kuloğlu: ‘Şanghay İşbirliği Örgütü’ne Gözlemci Üye Olarak Girmesi Türkiye’nin Menfaatine’ [Armağan Kuloğlu: ‘It is in Turkey’s Interest to Join Shanghai Cooperation Organization as Observer Member],” *USAK*, <http://www.stratejigundem.com/haber.php?id=13547>.

³⁸⁶ Evan S. Medeiros and Bates Gill, “Chinese Arms Exports: Policy, Players, and Process,” *Strategic Studies Institute of the US Army War College*, August 2000, p. 13, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB68.pdf>.

five more batteries.”³⁸⁷ The first battery of WS-1 MLRS was delivered to the Turkish Land Forces (TLF) in December 1998 by the Chinese defense company Sichuan Aerospace Industry Corporation (SCAIC), which, according to Chinese sources, “is not only a key base for China’s launching rocket and missile but also one of the most important designers and manufacturers for Multiple Launch Rocket Weapon System.”³⁸⁸ The remaining five batteries, “after nationalization efforts, have been manufactured by Roketsan [Roketsan Missile Industries Inc.] through technology transfer” under the Turkish designation of *Kasirga* (Hurricane).³⁸⁹ The total cost of the project is reportedly around \$ 250 million.³⁹⁰ The system was revealed to the Turkish public for the first time on August 30, 2006 in Ankara during the military parade at the Atatürk Cultural Center, and received widespread public attention.³⁹¹ As of October 2007, Turkey is in possession of 54 *Kasirga* launchers and more than 1500 missiles.³⁹²

A single “*Kasirga* MLRS Battery comprises nine Rocket Launch Trucks [F-302T], nine Transport and Loading Trucks and one Firing Command Truck,” and thus is composed of 19 trucks in total.³⁹³ One *Kasirga* battery can deliver four

³⁸⁷ “Turkey Gets Chinese Help with Artillery System,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, February 2, 1998, p. 50 quoted in Evan S. Medeiros and Bates Gill, “Chinese Arms Exports: Policy, Players, and Process.”

³⁸⁸ “TAF Unveils Yıldırım,” *Mönch Türkiye*, http://www.monch.com.tr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=7. “About SCAIC,” *Sichuan Aerospace Industry Corporation*, 2007, <http://www.scaic.com.cn/index.asp?modelName=E-index>.

³⁸⁹ İbrahim Sünnetçi, “TSK ve Füze Programları: Dün, Bugün ve Gelecek-II, [TAF and Missile Programs: Yesterday, Today, and the Future-II]” *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol.21, No. 124 (2007), pp. 133-137, p. 134.

³⁹⁰ “TAF Unveils Yıldırım,” *Mönch Türkiye*.

³⁹¹ “Milli Kasirga ile Geçiş Töreni [Parade with National *Hurricane*],” *Hürriyet*, August 31, 2006, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/5006601.asp?gid=0&srld=0&oid=0&l=1>.

³⁹² İbrahim Sünnetçi, “Kara Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı Füze Envanteri [Missile Inventory of Land Forces Command],” *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol. 21, No. 124 (2007), p. 137.

³⁹³ İbrahim Sünnetçi, “TSK ve Füze Programları: Dün, Bugün ve Gelecek-II [TAF and Missile Programs: Yesterday, Today, and the Future-II],” p. 134.

302mm unguided rockets, in salvo or single, over a distance of 100 km.³⁹⁴ A single rocket is powered by a solid propellant rocket motor, is tipped with a conventional steel ball warhead, and it has a length of 4,7 m and a total weight of 524 kg.³⁹⁵ In addition, Roketsan reportedly possesses the technological infrastructure to improve the current system to manufacture more advanced models of *Kasirga* MLRS.³⁹⁶

The second joint defense industry project between Turkey and China was signed in 1999 for B611 short range ballistic missile (SRBM). The deal was the second, and thus far the last, important step for Turkey and China in their defense industry cooperation. According to the agreement, one B611 battery and over 200 missiles were to be customized and manufactured by Roketsan in Turkey under the Turkish designation *Yıldırım* (Lightning) in cooperation with the Chinese defense company China Precision Machinery Import-Export Corporation (CPMIEC).³⁹⁷ The total cost of the project is reportedly around \$ 300 million.³⁹⁸ When the first battery of B611 SRBM was delivered to TAF is not known for certain but it is most probably in the late 2001.³⁹⁹ As of March 2007, according to 2006 UN Register of Conventional Arms, Turkey is in possession of six *Yıldırım* launchers and 97 missiles.⁴⁰⁰ The system was revealed to the Turkish public for the first time on August 30, 2007 in Ankara during the military parade at the Atatürk Cultural Center, and received

³⁹⁴ “WS-1 Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS),” *Sichuan Aerospace Industry Corporation*, 2007, <http://www.scaic.com.cn/index.asp?modelname=e%2Dproducts%2Ddetail&FractionNo=&titleno=PROENG00&recno=2>.

³⁹⁵ İbrahim Sünnetçi, “TSK ve Füze Programları: Dün, Bugün ve Gelecek-I [TAF and Missile Programs: Yesterday, Today, and the Future-I],” *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol.21, No. 123 (2007), pp. 126-133, p. 132.

³⁹⁶ İbrahim Sünnetçi, “TSK ve Füze Programları: Dün, Bugün ve Gelecek-II, [TAF and Missile Programs: Yesterday, Today, and the Future-II]” p. 135. On the other hand, SCAIC of China has already manufactured three new models of WS-1 MLRS, which are respectively called WS-1B MLRS, WS-1E MLRS, and WS-2 Guided MLRS (GMLRS). See, “Our Products,” *Sichuan Aerospace Industry Corporation*, 2007, <http://www.scaic.com.cn/index.asp?modelname=e-products>.

³⁹⁷ İbrahim Sünnetçi, “TSK ve Füze Programları: Dün, Bugün ve Gelecek-II [TAF and Missile Programs: Yesterday, Today, and the Future-II],” p. 135. CPMIEC is a subsidiary of SCAIC.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Source: *United Nations Register of Conventional Arms*, http://disarmament.un.org/UN_REGISTER.NSF.

widespread public attention.⁴⁰¹ On the other hand, China revealed its own system of B611 at Zhuhai Airshow three years earlier, in 2004.⁴⁰²

A single *Yıldırım* battery comprises six rocket launch trucks (F-600T), six transport and loading trucks and one battery command-post vehicle, and thus is composed of 13 vehicles in total.⁴⁰³ One *Yıldırım* battery can deliver one 600mm guided missile over a distance of 152 km.⁴⁰⁴ A single missile is powered by a solid propellant motor, can be tipped with a conventional high-explosive (HE) or cluster warhead, and it has a length of 6.1 m and a total weight of 480 kg.⁴⁰⁵

WS-1 unguided multiple launch rocket system (MLRS) or *Kasırga* and B611 short range ballistic missile system (SRBM) or *Yıldırım* are not so advanced military systems compared to, for example, Shahab-3 medium range ballistic missiles (MRBM) developed by Iranian defense company Shahid Hammat Industrial Group.⁴⁰⁶ Nonetheless, operational missile systems appear to be important military assets for the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) as they boosts, albeit slightly, the deterrent capability of TAF. It is reported that during a meeting on the sidelines of the NATO Istanbul Summit of 2004, Spilios Spiliotopoulos, the then Greek Minister of National Defense, asked Vecdi Gönül, Turkish Minister of National Defense, for the removal of *Kasırga* systems from the Turkish Aegean island of Gökçeada/Imbros where they were previously located on.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰¹ İbrahim Sünnetçi, “30 Ağustos Zafer Bayramı ve Yıldırım Füzesi [August 30 Victory Day and *Yıldırım* Missile],” *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol. 21, No. 122 (2007), pp. 141-143.

⁴⁰² Anthony H. Cordesman and Martin Kleiber, “Chinese Military Modernization and Force Development,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, September 7, 2006, p. 89, http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/060907_chinesemilitary.pdf.

⁴⁰³ İbrahim Sünnetçi, “30 Ağustos Zafer Bayramı ve Yıldırım Füzesi [August 30 Victory Day and *Yıldırım* Missile],” p. 143.

⁴⁰⁴ İbrahim Sünnetçi, “TSK ve Füze Programları: Dün, Bugün ve Gelecek-I [TAF and Missile Programs: Yesterday, Today, and the Future-I],” p. 133.

⁴⁰⁵ “TAF Unveils *Yıldırım*,” *Mönch Türkiye*.

⁴⁰⁶ On Shahab-3, see, for example, “Shahab-3 / Zelzal-3,” *Federation of American Scientists*, 2008, <http://www.fas.org/programs/ssp/man/militarysumfolder/shahab-3.html>.

⁴⁰⁷ İbrahim Sünnetçi, “TSK ve Füze Programları: Dün, Bugün ve Gelecek-II [TAF and Missile Programs: Yesterday, Today, and the Future-II],” p. 135. At present, *Kasırga* and *Yıldırım* systems are

In addition to these two completed projects, there are three potential defense industry projects between Turkey and China. Undersecretariat for Defense Industry (SSM), Turkey's procurement agency, has recently announced three international tenders on three separate air defense missile systems, and the Chinese defense company China Precision Machinery Import-Export Corporation (CPMIEC) has received and responded to the Request for Information (RFI) on all three projects.⁴⁰⁸

The first project is the Turkish Low Altitude Air Defense Missile System (T-LALADMIS) project. Turkey intends to procure 45 systems and 45 launchers together with missiles for the Turkish Land Forces (TLF) and 12 systems together with missiles for the Turkish Naval Forces (TNF).⁴⁰⁹ RFI was issued on April 18, 2007 and CPMIEC responded to it on August 31, 2007.⁴¹⁰ The Chinese defense company is contending with 17 companies for the project including Roketsan (Turkey), Raytheon (the US), Doosan (South Korea), Diehl (Germany), Denel (South Africa), and Thales (France).⁴¹¹

The second project is the Turkish Medium Altitude Air Defense Missile System (T-MALADMIS) project. Turkey intends to procure three systems for TLF and stipulates 50 % offset commitment.⁴¹² RFI was issued on March 21, 2007 and

located within the compound of 58th Artillery Brigade of Turkish Land Forces (TLF) in Polatlı, Ankara. Ibid. Also see, Takis Berberakis, "Yunanistan'da Türk Füzeleri Korkusu [Fear of Turkish Missiles in Greece]," *Milliyet*, July 15, 2008, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/default.aspx?aType=HaberDetay&Kategori=dunya&ArticleID=893495&Date=15.07.2008>.

⁴⁰⁸ Source: *Unit of Information Acquirement*, Undersecretariat for Defense Industries.

⁴⁰⁹ "Low Altitude Air and Missile Defence System Project," *Undersecretariat for Defense Industries*, January 31, 2008, http://www.ssm.gov.tr/EN/Projeler/roketfuzemuhimmat/prjgrphavasvunma/Pages/AIHSFS_KD.aspx.

⁴¹⁰ Source: *Unit of Information Acquirement*, Undersecretariat for Defense Industries.

⁴¹¹ Sıtkı Sunday Örün, "Türk Savunma Sanayi Meclisi Toplantısı ve Bazı Savunma Sanayi Projeleri [Meeting of the Assembly of Turkish Defense Industry and Some Defense Industry Projects]," *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol. 21, No. 123 (2007), pp. 136-137, p. 137.

⁴¹² İbrahim Sünnetçi, "Türkiye'nin Hava Savunma Operasyonu [Turkey's Air Defense Operation]," *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol. 21, No. 119 (2007), pp. 90-91.

CPMIEC responded to it on June 31, 2007.⁴¹³ The Chinese defense company is contending with 15 companies for the project including Aselsan (Turkey), Denel (South Africa), IAI (Israel), Rafael (Israel), Raytheon (the US), and Saab Bofors (Sweden).⁴¹⁴

The third project is the Turkish Long Range Air and Missile Defence System (T-LORAMIDS) project. Turkey intends to buy 4 (+4 optional) systems for the Turkish Air Force (TuAF).⁴¹⁵ Request for Information (RFI) was issued on March 1, 2007 and China Precision Machinery Import-Export Corporation (CPMIEC) responded to it on June 2, 2007.⁴¹⁶ On April 18, 2008, Undersecretariat for Defense Industries (SSM) “released the names of the 13 companies that have declared their intention to respond” to RFI including Boeing (the US), Lockheed Martin (the US), Raytheon (the US), Israel Aerospace Industries (Israel), and Roketsan (Turkey).⁴¹⁷ Still, it is generally acknowledged that the Chinese company is contending in the tender with its HQ-9 medium to long range, semi-active radar homing air defence missile mainly against Lockheed Martin’s (the US) Patriot PAC-3, Almaz Scientific Industrial Corporation’s (Russia) S-300PMU1/PMU2, and Israel Aerospace Industries’ (Israel) Arrow II.⁴¹⁸

5. 1. 4. Organizational Military Relations

⁴¹³ Source: *Unit of Information Acquisition*, Undersecretariat for Defense Industries.

⁴¹⁴ “Medium Altitude Air Defence Missile System Project,” *Undersecretariat for Defense Industries*, January 31, 2008,

http://www.ssm.gov.tr/EN/Projeler/roketfuzemuhimmat/prjgrphavasvunma/Pages/OIHSFS__K.aspx.

⁴¹⁵ İbrahim Sünnetçi, “Türkiye’de Hava Savunma [Air Defense in Turkey],” *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol. 21, No. 120 (2007), pp. 62-82, p. 78.

⁴¹⁶ Source: *Unit of Information Acquisition*, Undersecretariat for Defense Industries.

⁴¹⁷ Lale Sariibrahimoğlu, “Turkey Boosting Its Defense Systems,” *Today’s Zaman*, March 9, 2008, <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=109279&bolum=102>.

⁴¹⁸ See, for example, Giray Sadik, “Turkey Considers Several Missile Defense Systems,” *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 5, No. 87, (May 7, 2008), http://jamestown.org/edm/article.php?article_id=2373039. For an informative comparative examination of the contending missile systems in the tender, see, İbrahim Sünnetçi, “Türkiye’de Hava Savunma [Air Defense in Turkey],” pp. 78-82.

Organizational military relations have two aspects. There are relations of states with international organizations in military matters that are directly related to the states' internal or external military affairs. In terms of internal military affairs, for example, integrated military structure of NATO has entailed considerable changes in the defense structures of new member states. So as to articulate prospective transformations in their armed forces in accordance with the requirements of NATO standards, the Bulgarian government endorsed in 2001 'Updated Plan for Organizational Structuring of the Bulgarian Armed Forces by the end of 2004', while the Romanian government endorsed in 2000 a new 'Military Strategy,' which clearly states that "to be credible, the [Romanian] Armed Forces must become interoperable with NATO Armed Forces and have smaller, mobile, efficient and modern structures."⁴¹⁹

In terms of external military affairs, for example, NATO membership has paved the way for many member states to actively involve in NATO operations in several parts of the world, and thus engage in, and if possible reinforce, military relations with some states. For instance, Norway is currently an active participant of NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan and according to Norwegian State Secretary Espen Barth Eide "participation in ISAF is Norway's primary international military commitment."⁴²⁰ However, the Norwegian government considers its military presence in Afghanistan not only as a part of its relations with

⁴¹⁹ "The Path of Bulgarian Defense Reforms," *Military Technology*, Vol. 28, No. 5 (May 2004), pp. 12-16, p. 13. "Military Strategy of Romania," *Ministry of Defense*, <http://english.mapn.ro/>. For a comparative review of the Bulgarian and Romanian NATO membership processes, see, Tom Gallagher, "Balkan but Different: Romania and Bulgaria's Contrasting Paths to NATO Membership 1994-2002," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (December 2004), pp. 1-19.

⁴²⁰ Espen Barth Eide, "Why is Norway in Afghanistan? How can we best complete our mission?" *Ministry of Defense*, February 5, 2007, <http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/fd/The-Ministry/Other-political-staff/State-Secretary-Espen-Barth-Eide/Speeches-and-articles/2007/Why-is-Norway-in-Afghanistan-How-can-we-.html?id=456378>.

NATO but also as a part of its relations with the Afghani government.⁴²¹ Accordingly, even though Norwegian troops are under NATO command, their presence in Afghanistan can be regarded as a part of bilateral military relations between Norway and Afghanistan.⁴²² In short, relations of a state with a specific international organization in military matters, which may have repercussions for the internal and external military affairs of that state, constitute organizational military relations of that state.

In terms of bilateral military relations, there are relations of states with other states in military matters under the aegis or within the framework of international organizations. With respect to the common membership of two states whose bilateral military relations are examined, international organizations taken into consideration may change. In other words, while for an analysis of Greek-Bulgarian military relations NATO can be taken into account, for Greek-Italian military relations Western European Union (WEU) can be taken into account in addition to NATO.

Common membership to an international organization has several implications for the military relations of two states. First of all, common membership could facilitate the dialogue between the two governments on military matters. For example, it provides the two states with an opportunity to discuss contentious issues within the framework of the organization. NATO officially proclaims that “a key function of NATO is to provide a forum in which member countries can consult together on security issues and mutual concerns and the Alliance will continue to assist member

⁴²¹ In the words of Mr. Eide: “Our presence in Afghanistan is based both on the solidarity with the Afghan people and on our international responsibility [NATO commitment]. Norway remains committed to assisting the government and the people of Afghanistan in building a better future.” Ibid.

⁴²² As of April 2008, there are 540 Norwegian military personnel in Afghanistan under ISAF command. “International Security Assistance Force,” *International Security Assistance Force*, April 1, 2008, p. 2, http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/isaf_placemat.pdf.

countries in any such discussions.”⁴²³ In fact, the confidence building measures (CBM) process between Turkey and Greece from 2000 to 2003 was carried out in two separate tracks, and one was the meetings within NATO.⁴²⁴ Three out of eleven CBMs were agreed upon between Ankara and Athens during the meetings at the NATO.⁴²⁵ The first one was about military exercise planning, the second one was about cooperation on military education, and the third one was about exchange of military personnel in the Partnership for Peace (PfP) training centers.⁴²⁶

Second, common membership to an international organization ensures regular continuation of military contacts between two states, which could diminish the likelihood of inadvertent conflicts due to misinformation, misperception, or misinterpretation. From 2000 to 2008, there have been 23 NATO ministerial meetings for the Ministers of Defense of member states during which they have found an opportunity to hold consultations with each other.⁴²⁷ Furthermore, two states could transcend regular military contacts and could engage in more substantive relations with each other within the framework of the international organization they are members of. For instance, China and Kyrgyzstan conducted an antiterrorism exercise in October 2002, which was the first bilateral joint military exercise within the framework of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).⁴²⁸

Turkey’s membership to NATO and China’s membership to SCO seem to be the main determinants of their organizational military relations. Still, since Turkey and China are not common members of any international organization, which is engaged

⁴²³ “Greece and Turkey Agree Confidence-Building Measures,” *NATO*, July 23, 2003, <http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2003/07-july/e0723d.htm>.

⁴²⁴ See, “The Confidence Building Measures Process between Turkey and Greece,” *SIPRI*, 2003, http://www.sipri.org/contents/worldsec/nk/2000_2003_CBMs_Greece_Turkey.pdf.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.1-2.

⁴²⁷ 15 of the meetings were informal. See, “Summits & Ministerial Meetings,” *NATO*, March 4, 2008, <http://www.nato.int/docu/comm.htm#min>.

⁴²⁸ Yan Wei, “Partnership in Security,” *Beijing Review*, Vol. 50, No. 32 (September 8, 2007), pp. 18-19, p. 18.

in military matters, apart from the UN, common membership to same international organizations have no effects on the bilateral military relations between Ankara and Beijing.⁴²⁹

Table XIII: Turkish-Chinese Military Relations: A Typological Synopsis

Formal Military Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Military/Defense Attaché Offices (DAO) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Turkish DAO in Beijing since 1973 Chinese DAO in Ankara since 1977 ➤ Military Agreements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3 Agreements Signed 3 Agreements Under Discussion ➤ Visits of Military Personnel <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moderate Level ➤ Exchanges between Military Education Institutions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Low Level
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⁴²⁹ On the other hand, Turkey's NATO membership has the potential to affect its military relations with China and China's SCO membership has the potential to affect its military relations with Turkey. Yet, these sorts of indirect effects of organizational military relations are beyond the scope of our discussion here.

Operational Military Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Port Visits Low Level ➤ Joint Military Exercises N/A ➤ Military Bases N/A
Technical Military Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Direct Supply/Procurement of Weaponry N/A ➤ Cooperation in Armaments Production Two Projects Completed No Continuing Project Three Turkish Tenders
Organizational Military Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ UN

5. 2. Bilateral Military Relations: The Analysis

Even though Turkey and China have been willing to advance military cooperation, Turkish-Chinese military relations have displayed a low level of

development due to several reasons. In this part, first, the factors that have induced Ankara and Beijing to sustain and to improve bilateral military relations are analyzed. Second, the factors that have precluded them from advancing their military relations are scrutinized.

Turkish and Chinese policymakers have understandably refrained from commenting on bilateral military relations between Turkey and China. On the other hand, on several occasions, high level military personnel from the two sides have repeatedly expressed their intention and eagerness to improve existing military relations and to forge additional ones. Most recently, for example, General Faruk Cömert, Commander of the Turkish Air Force, met with General Qiao Qingchen, Commander of the People's Liberation Army Air Force (PLAAF) in Ankara on September 17-21, 2006.⁴³⁰ At the press conference before the formal meeting, General Cömert stated that continuation of existing relations were to be beneficial to both states. According to General Cömert, "through these [military] relations, the existing friendship, affection, and brotherhood between the two nations" will be consolidated.⁴³¹ The objective of the Turkish side, added General Cömert, was to further bilateral military relations to levels "congruous with existing affinity and interest between the two nations."⁴³²

By the same token, Xu Caihou, vice chairman of the Central Military Commission (CMC) of the Communist Party of China (CPC), met with a Turkish delegation headed by Aydoğan Babaoğlu, the then Commander of the Turkish War Colleges, in

⁴³⁰ İbrahim Sünnetçi, "Çin Hava Kuvvetleri Komutanının Ankara Temasları [Contacts of the Commander of Chinese Air Forces in Ankara]," *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol. 20, No. 116 (2006), p. 35.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Ibid.

Beijing on July 12, 2006.⁴³³ At the press conference after the formal meeting, displaying an interest to expand Turkish-Chinese military relations, Xu Caihou stated that “the Chinese armed forces value[d] its friendship with the Turkish army, and [was] ready to further expand channels and fields for bilateral military exchanges.”⁴³⁴

There seem to be two main motives behind Turkish interest to sustain and, if possible, to improve its military relations with China. The first is the ongoing inclination, if not policy, of Turkish authorities to diversify the countries with which Turkey establish military industrial relations. For instance, in its *2007-2011 Strategic Plan* Turkish Undersecretariat for Defense Industries (SSM) proclaims that one of the four strategic goals is “to participate actively in multinational defense and security projects that promote the international cooperation.”⁴³⁵ Diversification of sources of supply for weapon systems is arguably an enduring concern for the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) since every now and then Turkey faces restrictions on the supply of weapon systems. For instance, “in 1994 [the US] Congress decided to withhold sales of military equipment for Black Hawk helicopters (on the basis that they were used in operations against the Kurds) until Turkey showed progress concerning respect for human rights and Cyprus.”⁴³⁶ Another illustrative example is the Germany’s decision to refuse the complete delivery of Leopard tanks to Turkey in 1999 due to the resistance of the Green Party of the German coalition government.⁴³⁷ Because of the allegedly poor human rights record of Turkey, the

⁴³³ “China, Turkey Vow to Further Military Exchanges,” *PLA Daily*, July 12, 2006, http://english.chinamil.com.cn/site2/militarydatabase/2006-07/14/content_526432.htm.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁵ “2007-2011 Strategic Plan,” *Undersecretariat for Defense Industries*, p. 4, <http://www.ssm.gov.tr/EN/kurumsal/Documents/sp2007.pdf>. Also see, Bora Kutluhan, “Savunma Sanayi Müsteşarlığı’nın Stratejik Hedef Planı [Strategic Objective Plan of Undersecretariat of Defense Industries],” *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol. 21, No. 119 (2007), pp. 74-76.

⁴³⁶ Ekavi Athanassopoulou, “American-Turkish Relations since the End of the Cold War,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 2001), pp. 144-164, p. 150.

⁴³⁷ Eliot Hen-Tov, “The Political Economy of Turkish Military Modernization,” *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (December 2004), pp. 49-59, p. 53.

German government “eventually approved a smaller scale while tabling the larger contract.”⁴³⁸

Another cause that has induced the Turkish governments to seek new sources of supply is the reluctance, and sometimes refusal, of its traditional western sources to engage in joint projects which require military technology transfer to Turkey. The most recent example is the abstention of the US defense companies in the Turkish international tender for attack helicopters. “For the first time since they [Turkey and the US] began cooperating in arms sales, no U.S. companies bid for the contract because of strict Turkish regulations” which “stipulate that Turkey be given full access to the aircraft's specific software codes-which the U.S. considers a security risk.”⁴³⁹ As far as Turkish-Chinese military relations are concerned, the first joint project between Turkey and China on the WS-1 unguided multiple launch rocket system (MLRS) was in part the consequence of the indisposition of the US, France, and Israel to transfer missile technology to Turkey.⁴⁴⁰ In other words, the refusal of Turkey’s traditional partners in defense industry cooperation in part paved the way for the advent of Turkish-Chinese cooperation in defense industry. In short, sustaining, and if possible, improving military cooperation with China evidently adds an additional option for the Turkish military modernization and serves the inclination, if not policy, of Turkish authorities to diversify the countries with which Turkey establish military industrial relations.

The second motive behind Turkish interest to sustain and, if possible, to improve its military relations with China is the Turkish desire to capitalize on the rapid

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ “Italy's Agusta Aerospace Wins Turkish Attack Helicopter Contract,” *International Herald Tribune*, March 30, 2007, <http://www.iht.com/articles/ap/2007/03/30/business/EU-GEN-Turkey-Attack-Helicopter.php>. Also see, Ufuk Şanlı, “Kartellerden Helikopterde Son ATAK [The Last ATTACK from the Cartels on Helicopter],” *Aksiyon*, No. 617, October 2, 2006, <http://www.aksiyon.com.tr/detay.php?id=25471>.

⁴⁴⁰ İbrahim Sünnetçi, “TSK ve Füze Programları: Dün, Bugün ve Gelecek-II [TAF and Missile Programs: Yesterday, Today, and the Future-II],” p. 134.

developments in Chinese military modernization. Implicitly belittling the level of Chinese military modernization, Hasret Çomak stated in 1996 that in order to improve military relations between Turkey and China “Turkey could sell advanced defense systems to China as well as it could buy light weapon systems and ammunition from China.”⁴⁴¹ However, it is evident that thenceforth Chinese military modernization program has far surpassed that of Turkey in manufacturing advanced weapon systems. For example, while Turkey has been able to produce short range ballistic missiles (SRBM) with a range of around 150 km, “China has been one of very few nations to produce a full range of indigenously designed ballistic missiles, including ICBMs [Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles].”⁴⁴² Most recently, on January 11, 2007, displaying another breakthrough in its military modernization, “China became the third country, after the United States and Russia, to have performed an anti-satellite (ASAT) operation successfully by destroying an aging low-earth orbiting weather satellite through the launching of a ballistic missile into orbit.”⁴⁴³

Turkish military authorities on several occasions expressed the desire to capitalize on the developments in Chinese military modernization. For instance, before the meeting with General Qiao Qingchen, Commander of the People’s Liberation Army Air Force (PLAAF), in Ankara on September 18, 2006, General Faruk Cömert, Commander of the Turkish Air Force, stated at the press conference: “We all know that China has realized significant advances in some areas [wherein] especially our

⁴⁴¹ Hasret Çomak, “2000’li Yıllara Doğru Süper Güç Konumuna Gelmesi Beklenen Çin ile Türkiye İlişkileri [Relations between Turkey and China that is Expected to Arrive at the Position of a Superpower around 2000s],” p. 97.

⁴⁴² Roger Cliff, *et al.*, *A New Direction for China’s Defense Industry* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2005), p. 78.

⁴⁴³ Guizeppe Anzera, “China’s ASAT Test and Its Impact on the United States,” *PINR*, January 29, 2007, http://www.pinr.com/report.php?ac=view_report&report_id=609&language_id=1. Also see, Bates Gill and Martin Kleiber, “China’s Space Odyssey,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 3 (May/June 2007), pp. 2-6.

Air Force is incompetent.”⁴⁴⁴ What General Cömert meant by ‘some areas wherein Turkish Air Force (TuAF) is incompetent’ was ‘space’ as he elaborated on his statement: “As you know, China is one of the rare countries of the world in the realm of space. In this regard, I believe that Turkey could get important benefits from any cooperation with China in this area.”⁴⁴⁵

On the other hand, there seem to be one main motive behind Chinese interest to sustain and, if possible, to improve its military relations with Turkey. Arms sales serve a broad range Chinese foreign policy purposes including strengthening states against other states that are China’s adversaries, improving relations with specific countries or regions, or maintaining close and cordial relations with particular states, such as those exporting oil.⁴⁴⁶ China’s arms sales may also reflect commercial interests including generating additional revenues for Chinese defense industry, or augmenting foreign exchange earnings.⁴⁴⁷ Still, it can be argued, the endeavors of Chinese authorities to realize China’s political and commercial objectives have been hampered by the declining level of Chinese arms sales. Chinese activism in international arms market witnessed in the 1990s has gradually subsided. While China was the 6th largest arms exporter in 1990-2000, it ranked 9th in 2000-2007, and it was just the 10th largest arms exporter in 2007.⁴⁴⁸

Turkey is another market for the Chinese defense industry products. Accordingly, the Chinese defense company China Precision Machinery Import-Export Corporation (CPMIEC) has received and responded to the Request for Information (RFI) in three international tenders of the Turkey’s Undersecretariat for Defense Industries (SSM)

⁴⁴⁴ İbrahim Sünnetçi, “Çin Hava Kuvvetleri Komutanının Ankara Temasları [Contacts of the Commander of Chinese Air Forces in Ankara],” p. 35.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Daniel L. Byman and Roger Cliff, *China’s Arms Sales: Motivations and Implications* (Santa Monica: RAND, 1999), pp. 27-28.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 28-30.

⁴⁴⁸ Source: *SIPRI Arms Transfers Database*. In 2007, China exported military equipment worth of \$ 355 million. Ibid.

in 2007.⁴⁴⁹ Apparently, the Chinese defense industry intends to prolong its existence in the Turkish arms market which has recently ended with the completion of joint project between China and Turkey on B611 short range ballistic missile systems (SRBM) or *Yıldırım* in 2007. Furthermore, so as to seek new partnerships and also to promote their products, Chinese defense companies and high level military officers have participated in Turkish International Defense Industry Fair (IDEF).

In 2005, 6 Chinese officials were participants of IDEF including Lieutenant General Chu Hongyan, Vice Director of General Armaments Department (GAD) of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), and Major General Lu Dingwen, Director of Armaments of Guangzhou Military Region of the PLA.⁴⁵⁰ Besides, revealing a strong Chinese interest, the number of visitors from China was the second highest after Germany.⁴⁵¹ In 2007, with a perceptible increase, 18 Chinese officials were participants of IDEF including Guo Yanyan, Deputy Chief of Commission of Science, Technology and Industry for National Defense (COSTIND), and Colonel Wang Shuming, Chief of Land Vehicles Department. Yet, the number of visitors from China declined to 55.⁴⁵²

Aforementioned factors that have induced Turkey and China to forge, to sustain and to improve their military relations notwithstanding, there seem to be three main countervailing factors that have precluded Turkey and China from advancing their military relations to higher levels. It should be stressed here that these factors are not peculiar to bilateral military relations between Turkey and China. Rather, they are structural factors that will most probably disrupt Turkey's attempts to diversify its

⁴⁴⁹ See the section above entitled "IV. I. III. Technical Military Relations".

⁴⁵⁰ "Fuar İçin Davet Edilen Hükümet ve Ordu Delegasyonları [Government and Army Delegations Invited for the Fair]," *IDEF' 07*, <http://tuyap.com.tr/webpages/idef07.com/idef.php?main=delegasyon>.

⁴⁵¹ "İstatistikler [Statistics]," *IDEF' 07*, <http://tuyap.com.tr/webpages/idef07.com/idef.php?main=ist>. There were 112 visitors from Germany and 106 visitors from China.

⁴⁵² "IDEF' 07 Fuar Etkinlikleri ve İstatistikleri [IDEF' 07 Fair Events and Statistics]," *IDEF' 09*, <http://www.idef07.com/idef.php?main=ist07>.

defense industrial relations and to establish new military relations with states other than its traditional Western partners.

The first factor pertains to the vigorous domestic military modernization programs of Turkey and China. Through immense investments to bolster its military industrial complex, China is today capable of indigenously manufacturing sophisticated weapons systems, such as DF-31 intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM), Type 093 nuclear powered attack submarines (SSN), Type 094 second generation ballistic missile nuclear powered submarines (SSBN), Type 052C guided missile destroyers, Type 054 frigates, J-10 fourth generation fighter aircrafts, JH-7 fighter bombers, and Z-10 attack helicopters.⁴⁵³ Turkey, on the other hand, has embarked on several defense industrial projects for the indigenous production of advanced weapon systems. For instance, Turkey's Undersecretariat for Defense Industries launched 'Patrol and Anti-Submarine Warfare Ship Project' (MİLGEM) in June 2004 to construct this sort of surface combatants "with maximum Turkish content."⁴⁵⁴ In addition, Turkey initiated 'Turkish National Main Battle Tank Project' (MİMTÜ) in July 2004 to design, develop, and manufacture main battle tanks indigenously.⁴⁵⁵ Turkey also has programs underway for the domestic development and production of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV).⁴⁵⁶ It can be argued that extensive military modernization programs of Turkey and China focusing on developing and manufacturing modern weapon systems with the utmost indigenous contribution

⁴⁵³ Roger Cliff, *et al.*, *A New Direction for China's Defense Industry*.

⁴⁵⁴ "Patrol and Anti-Submarine Warfare Ship Project," *Undersecretariat for Defense Industries*, January 18, 2007, http://www.ssm.gov.tr/EN/Projeler/denizaraclari/prjgrpharpgemisi/Pages/milgem_D.aspx. Also see, M. Savaş Onur, "MilGem Projesi, TCG Heybeliada ve STM [MilGem Project, TCG Heybeliada, and STM]," *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol. 20, No. 114 (2006), pp. 61-63.

⁴⁵⁵ İbrahim Sünnetçi, "Türkiye'nin Ana Muharebe Tankı Programlarına Bir Bakış [A Glimpse at the Main Battle Tank Programs of Turkey]," *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol. 20, No. 115 (2006), pp. 42-52, pp. 50-52.

⁴⁵⁶ İbrahim Sünnetçi, "Türkiye'nin İHA Yol Haritası ve Projelerde Son Durum [Turkey's UAV Roadmap and the Final Status of the Projects]," *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol. 21, No. 121 (2007), pp. 97-101.

have restricted the areas they could have cooperated in, and have limited their options to establish new links in these areas.

The second factor pertains to the fact that neither Turkey nor China is capable of manufacturing state-of-the-art weapon systems. Chinese military modernization is to a considerable extent dependent on Russia for a wide array of military weapons, equipment, and technology. For instance, the largest surface combatants of the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) are the four *Sovremenny* class destroyers purchased from Russia.⁴⁵⁷ Moreover, "China continues to rely most heavily on foreign technologies includ[ing] guidance and control systems, turbine engine technology, and enabling technologies such as precision machine tools and advanced diagnostic and forensic equipment..."⁴⁵⁸ Turkey, on the other hand, despite its incipient programs for domestic development and production of sophisticated weapon systems, is to a great extent dependent on foreign acquisitions almost exclusively from its traditional NATO partners. For instance, Turkey has purchased multiple weapon systems from Italy including beyond visual range air to air missiles (BVRAAM), close in weapon systems (CIWS), fire control radars, different sorts of naval guns, armored personnel carriers (APC), light helicopters, air surveillance radars, anti submarine warfare (ASW) aircrafts, and helicopters.⁴⁵⁹ In short, since neither Turkey nor China have been capable of manufacturing cutting-the-edge weapon systems both have been compelled to turn to those states capable of providing cutting-the-edge weapon systems. In other words, since both have been followers and none is a leading state in defense industry, there has been no

⁴⁵⁷ J. Marshall Beier, "Bear Facts and Dragon Boats: Rethinking the Modernization of Chinese Naval Power," *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (August 2005), pp. 287-316, p. 292; James H. Nolt, "The Pentagon Plays Its China Card," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Fall 2005), pp. 25-33, p. 30.

⁴⁵⁸ "Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2008," *U.S. Department of Defense*, p. 37, http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/China_Military_Report_08.pdf.

⁴⁵⁹ Source: *SIPRI Arms Transfers Database*.

complementarity between their military modernization programs, and thus they have not been able to respond to the necessities of each other for state-of-the art weapon systems.⁴⁶⁰

Related to the second factor, the third factor pertains to the excessive dominance of weapon systems that have been procured from the Western sources, mainly the US, in the Turkish armed forces. Colonel (Ret.) Atilla Sandıklı points out that military relations between Turkey and China are not at desired levels. According to Sandıklı, one of the reasons of this situation is the fact that Turkey's current military systems are favorable to promote relations for the most part with the West.⁴⁶¹ Therefore, it seems to be no coincidence that one of the two completed joint projects between Turkey and China has been on the realm of ballistic missile development. In other words, in the realm of ballistic missile development Turkey had no cooperation with the West, and thus Western weapons systems had not prevailed this realm, and in turn Turkey could start military cooperation with China *ex nihilo*.

⁴⁶⁰ Armağan Kuloğlu, "Geleceğin Güç Odağı Çin ve Bu Ülkenin Türkiye İle Olan İlişkileri [China, the Power Center of the Future, and the Relations of This Country with Turkey]," *Global Strateji*, Vol. 3, No. 11 (Sonbahar 2007), pp. 49-57, p. 54. One of the reasons, for example, of Turkey being able to establish close cooperation in defense industry with Israel in the mid 1990s was the fact that "the reliability, the technology and the capacity to cover almost all needs of defense has made the Israeli military industry a unique partner for the Turkish armed forces." See, Dietrich Jung and Wolfango Piccoli, "The Turkish-Israeli Alignment: Paranoia or Pragmatism?" *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (March 2000), pp. 91-104, p. 97. Obviously, this has not been the case in Turkish-Chinese military relations.

⁴⁶¹ Interview with Colonel (Ret.) Atilla Sandıklı, who was the General Director of Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TASAM) located in İstanbul, July 14, 2007. For the full text of the interview, see, Eyüp Ersoy, "Atilla Sandıklı: Türkiye ile Çin'in Dış Politika İlkeleri Örtüşüyor [Atilla Sandıklı: Foreign Policy Principles of Turkey and China are Overlapping]," *USAK*, <http://www.usakgundem.com/uamakale.php?id=299>.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Bilateral military relations between two states are in general examined in two different ways; either an exclusive analysis directly related to military relations between two states is set forth or bilateral military relations is examined within a general framework employed to examine bilateral relations between two states. This analytical framework is composed of, and implicitly or explicitly divided into, four categories, i.e. political relations, economic relations, military relations, and social and cultural relations. In most of the studies, military relations between Turkey and China are examined within this analytical framework.

There are two main advantages of the traditional analytical framework for analyses of bilateral military relations. First, since it is composed of all realms of bilateral relations, the traditional analytical framework is appropriate to indicate the interplay among these realms, which is frequently influential in bilateral military relations between two states. Second, since it is composed of all realms of bilateral relations, the traditional analytical framework is suitable to reveal the imbalances between the levels of different sorts of relations.

On the other hand, in general, a state engages in a myriad of relations of military nature with other states and, also with international organizations. Viewed in their entirety, these relations constitute a state's foreign military relations. Another analytical framework for analyses of bilateral military relations can be devised by segregating the entirety of a state's foreign military relations into four categories according to their distinctive subject matters. These four categories can be called as formal military relations, operational military relations, technical military relations, and organizational military relations.

Formal military relations constitute the general foundations of bilateral military relations and determine the contours of their official conduct. Defense attaché offices, military agreements, reciprocal visits of senior military personnel and military student exchanges can be considered as main constituents of formal military relations. Relations between two states that involve the employment of weapon systems constitute operational military relations. Port visits, joint military exercises, and military installations in each other's territory can be considered as main constituents of operational military relations. Bilateral military relations between two states that pertain to the military modernization of the armed forces of at least one of the two states constitute technical military relations. Direct supply/procurement of weaponry, and cooperation in armaments production can be considered as main constituents of technical military relations. Finally, relations of states with international organizations in military matters that are directly related to the states' internal or external military affairs constitute organizational military relations.

It is worth propounding this framework for analyses of bilateral military relations for three primary reasons. First, by segregating the entirety of a state's foreign military relations and plainly identifying each and every possible realm of its

bilateral military relations with another state, this analytical framework enables the researcher to define and describe each sort of existing military relations between two states, and thereby expose *the exact nature* of their bilateral military relations. Second, situating bilateral military relations in a state's foreign military relations, this analytical framework provides the opportunity to discern *the precise level* of bilateral military relations of a state. Third, this analytical framework incorporates relations of a state in military matters with international organizations to analyses of a state's foreign military relations. Therefore, it paves the way for detecting the effects of these relations on bilateral military relations between two states.

Since foreign military relations of a state are essentially embedded in its foreign policy, an analysis of Turkey's military relations with China calls for an elucidation of the basic characteristics of Turkish foreign policy. First of all, although there are some harbingers of an assertive foreign policy seeking more than security, the ultimate objective of Turkish foreign policy, it seems, is the preservation of security through peace and stability both at home and in its vicinity. Second, the referent points of security, to which official Turkish documents and declarations of Turkish policymakers refer, are mainly the indivisible integrity of the country, national unity and integrity, unitary nature of the state, and independence. Turkey seems to consider regional and ethnic conflicts, religious fundamentalism, international terrorism, and political and economic instabilities as the principal threats to its security. Third, in general, geographic location, historical experiences, and dominant ideology among policy makers are considered as the basic parameters of Turkish foreign policy. Fourth, the Government, the President, the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Security Council/Military, and the Turkish Assembly are the primary players in the Turkish foreign policy making and implementation.

On the other hand, political relations between Turkey and China, which date back to the times of Ottoman and Qing Empires, 'have spun more but moved less'. Relatively low level of interest to bilateral relations on both sides notwithstanding, there are mainly two factors that have facilitated the continuation of bilateral relations, that is, 'spinning more', between Ankara and Beijing since the inception of diplomatic relations on August 4, 1971. First, foreign policy principles endorsed by China in its relations with other states are almost identical to those of Turkey and, it can be argued, it is difficult to consider them inimical to Turkey's security. Second, successive Turkish governments and Turkish statesmen have never expressed any desire or intention to recognize or support 'Taiwanese independence,' and announced on every occasion that they espouse one-China policy.

These two main factors that have facilitated the smooth continuation of Turkish-Chinese relations notwithstanding, there are mainly three factors that seem to have hindered the development of bilateral relations to higher levels, that is, have caused relations 'to move less'. First, the issue of East Turkestan/Xinjiang is so delicate a common concern between Ankara and Beijing that different approaches to the issue have caused complications in bilateral relations especially in the first half of the 1990s. Despite the two governments' efforts and declarations to prevent the East Turkestan/Xinjiang issue from impairing bilateral relations, this issue of common concern, it seems, will possibly continue to be a complicating factor in relations between Turkey and China. The second main factor that seems to have hindered the development of bilateral relations to higher levels pertains to history as diplomatic relations between Ankara and Beijing were established belatedly, history of the Turkish-Chinese relations has suffered from multiple setbacks, and historical

experiences of Turkey itself have a restraining effect on bilateral relations between Turkey and China.

The third main factor that seems to have hindered the development of bilateral relations to higher levels pertains to geography as due to the sheer geographical distance between Turkey and China, coupled with the relative inability or deliberate inaction of the two states to exert influence beyond their immediate vicinities, areas wherein the two states have been traditionally active have yet to intersect, and Turkey's geographical location has been influential in shaping its foreign policy and causing Turkey to focus on its relations mainly with the West, not just because of Turkey's own geopolitical calculations but also because of the geopolitical calculations of other states.

Economic relations between Turkey and China have developed to a considerable degree especially in the realm of trade. Still, bilateral commercial relations between the two countries have constantly been associated with a growing trade deficit for Turkey since 1995. Besides, despite unprecedented, albeit uneven, development of bilateral commercial relations, meager increase has been observed in bilateral direct investments. Then again, as a matter of fact, Turkish-Chinese economic relations have been characterized by a steady, modest development. However, there have been factors that seem to have adversely affected the development of economic relations between Turkey and China, which are to militate against the development of bilateral economic relations in the future if not dealt with in a proper manner. The first of these factors is the absence of a suitable economic environment for bilateral economic activities. The second factor is the existence of economic areas wherein the two sides compete. Turkish goods are in severe competition with the imported goods from China in the Turkish domestic market, and Turkish goods are in serious

competition with Chinese goods in world markets. The third factor pertains to structural problems observed in the Chinese domestic market.

Social and cultural relations between Turkey and China appear to be the least developed realm of bilateral relations. Still, precursory developments in social and cultural relations can be discerned, especially considering educational issues and tourism.

Military relations between Turkey and China yielded quite substantial results in the second half of the 1990s when Turkey signed million dollar agreements with China for advanced weapon systems. However, thereafter bilateral military relations between Turkey and China have not engendered additional substantial results despite several developments in other areas of military cooperation, such as signing new military cooperation agreements and several bilateral visits of high level military personnel.

Formal military relations between Turkey and China have displayed a good deal activism. Turkey established a military attaché office at its Beijing Embassy in 1973, and Chinese military attaché office at its Ankara Embassy has been active since 1977. Turkey has so far signed three military agreements with China on defense industry cooperation in 1997, on military education in 1999, and on naval special warfare basic training in 2003. In addition, deliberations between Turkey and China to sign three more military agreements are underway. High level military visits between Ankara and Beijing have been sustained and recent reciprocal visits of Turkish and Chinese commanders seem to have brought about a moderate dynamism to bilateral military relations. With regard to bilateral military relations military students have been exchanged between the military institutions of the two states in line with the provisions of the aforesaid agreement signed in 1999.

Operational military relations between Turkey and China have displayed almost no activism. There have been only 4 unofficial port visits in total between the two countries all requested for the recreation of the military personnel of respective warships. Besides, Turkey and China have not held any bilateral joint military exercises. And any sort of cooperation between the two states on military bases seems extremely unlikely, even in the long run.

Technical military relations between Turkey and China are another realm that has displayed some activism. There has not been any officially registered instance of direct procurement of weaponry between the two countries. Nonetheless, Turkey has hitherto concluded two joint defense industry projects with China, both of which pertained to the development and production of Chinese missile systems in Turkey under license. The first project joint industry project between Turkey and China was signed in 1997 for the WS-1 unguided multiple launch rocket system (MLRS). The second joint project was signed in 1999 for B611 short range ballistic missile (SRBM). The deal was thus far the last important step for Turkey and China in their defense industry cooperation. In addition to these two completed projects, there are three potential defense industry projects between Turkey and China as a Chinese defense company has received and responded to the Request for Information (RFI) on all three Turkish international tenders about air defense missile systems.

Organizational military relations of Turkey and China have no effects on their bilateral military relations since Turkey and China are not common members of any international organization that is deeply involved in military matters.

Even though Turkey and China have been willing to advance military cooperation, Turkish-Chinese military relations have displayed a low level of development due to several reasons. There seem to be two main motives behind

Turkish interest to sustain and, if possible, to improve its military relations with China. The first is the ongoing inclination, if not policy, of Turkish authorities to diversify the countries with which Turkey establish defense industrial relations. The second is the Turkish desire to capitalize on the rapid developments in Chinese military modernization. On the other hand, there seem to be one main motive behind Chinese interest to sustain and, if possible, to improve its military relations with Turkey. To put it simply, Turkey is another market for the Chinese defense industry products.

Aforementioned factors that have induced Turkey and China to forge, to sustain and to improve their military relations notwithstanding, there seem to be three main countervailing factors that have precluded Turkey and China from advancing their military relations to higher levels. It should be stressed that these factors are not peculiar to bilateral military relations between Turkey and China. Rather, they are structural factors that will most probably disrupt Turkey's attempts to diversify its defense industrial relations and to establish new military relations with states other than its traditional Western partners.

The first factor pertains to the vigorous domestic military modernization programs of Turkey and China which have arguably restricted the areas they could have cooperated in, and have limited their options to establish new links in these areas. The second factor pertains to the fact that neither Turkey nor China is capable of manufacturing state-of-the-art weapon systems. Since both Turkey and China have been followers and none is a leading state in defense industry, there has been no complementarity between their military modernization programs, and thus they have not been able to respond the necessities of each other for state-of-the art weapon systems. The third factor pertains to the excessive dominance of weapon systems that

have been procured from the Western sources, mainly the US, in the Turkish armed forces. These systems are favorable to promote relations for the most part with the West.

Two general conclusions can be inferred from the preceding discussion. First, contrary to the inculpatory arguments of some commentators, mainly adherents of the conservative school of thought in the US foreign policy, that Chinese military modernization is precarious, at the very least ominous, for not only the American foreign policy interests but also for international peace, stability, and order, the transformation of the Chinese military industrial complex could be beneficial for the developing countries that are in the pursuit of more and varying options for their military modernization programs.⁴⁶² Needless to say, sustaining, and if possible, improving military cooperation with China evidently adds an additional option for the Turkish military modernization and could serve diversification efforts of the Turkish authorities when necessities arise.

Second, through the discussion of Turkish-Chinese political, economic, social and cultural, and military relations in separate and successive sections, this study reveals the fact that the dynamics of these four distinct realms of bilateral relations are independent from each other. The motives of the Turkish and Chinese policy makers to establish, to sustain, and to take initiatives to improve their relations in each realm of bilateral relations are different. More to the point, the setbacks they have encountered in each realm of their bilateral relations are also different. Accordingly, this study can plausibly challenge the arguments which presume that developments in one realm of relations inevitably engender positive developments in another realm.

⁴⁶² It appears that Chinese military modernization is advantageous for two sorts of states. First, there are developed countries which have advanced military industrial complexes and they are eager to *sell* their top-of-the-line military products *to* China. Second, there are developing countries which are trying to modernize their armed forces and they are eager to *buy* relatively sophisticated military products *from* China.

Political, economic, military, and social and cultural relations between two states are quite independent from each other. Therefore, instead of devising general strategies for their relations, Turkish and Chinese policymakers can concentrate on formulating particular strategies for each realm of bilateral relations between Turkey and China.

It is a general conviction among Turkish scholars and commentators that Turkey's relations with the Rest, specifically with China, should not be held hostage to its relations with the West. However, Westernization, as embodied by the prospective membership of Turkey to the EU, could be considered as one of the basic parameters of Turkish foreign policy explained in the second chapter as, for example, it is officially proclaimed on several occasions that "the pioneering project of European integration would be incomplete without Turkey's membership."⁴⁶³ Which of the main actors of foreign policy described in the second chapter will 'liberate' Turkish foreign policy is a crucial issue that is waiting to be clarified by Turkish scholars and policymakers.

It is a general tendency among some Turkish scholars and commentators, even some policymakers, to see geopolitics as 'will and representation'. In other words, possessing the desire to be proactive and viewing Turkey and the world around it susceptible to the realization of certain foreign policy objectives is adequate to render Turkey a potent actor of geopolitics. It is today commonly conceded that this fallacious understanding of world politics was responsible for the failures observed in Turkish foreign policy towards the Central Asia in the 1990s, and for 'thwarting ambitions' of Turkish policy makers to make Turkey an influential player in regional

⁴⁶³ "Synopsis of the Turkish Foreign Policy," *Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, April 2008, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/synopsis-of-the-turkish-foreign-policy.en.mfa>. The statement explicitly says that EU would be incomplete without Turkey. Yet, it implicitly says that Turkey would be incomplete without the EU.

politics.⁴⁶⁴ Geopolitics instead can be considered as ‘will, representation, *and* capability’. Will with zeal, and representation with expectation are not sufficient to effectively realize the foreign policy objectives of a country without ample capability. Accordingly, the future of Turkey’s relations with China seems to be inauspicious. First, Turkey is not in possession of adequate capability to be active, in cooperation with China or otherwise, in the vicinity of China. Second, Chinese inclination to employ its capabilities in the vicinity of Turkey is not encouraging for the future of bilateral relations between Ankara and Beijing.

Related to that point, diverging positions and policies of Turkey and China on issues of common concern could probably bedevil their relations in the future. For instance, Turkey is one of the first states that have officially recognized the independence of Kosovo while China continues to refuse to do so. China’s improving relations with Iraq, Armenia, Iran, Greek Cypriot Administration, and Greece have already attracted the attention of Turkish observers as they could easily be sources of intractable friction in Turkish-Chinese relations.⁴⁶⁵ Bearing in mind that states pursue their own interests and are not diffident to advance their interests to the detriment of other states if they are not restrained to do so, it would be in the interest of Turkey to observe vigilantly the relations of China with other states in the vicinity of Turkey while striving to develop its own relations with China.

Finally, it could be emphasized that states conduct their relations with specific states within their general regional strategies. In other words, the Chinese governments most probably formulate the relations of China with Turkey within the contours of their Middle East policies, the Central Asia policies, or East

⁴⁶⁴ Simon V. Mayall, *Turkey: Thwarted Ambition* (Washington, DC: Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1997).

⁴⁶⁵ See, for example, R. Kutay Karaca, *Güç Olma Stratejisi Çin: Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Türkiye-Çin İlişkileri [China, The Strategy of Being A Power: Turkey-China Relations after the Cold War]* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2008).

Mediterranean policies. Likewise, it would be in the interest of Turkey to devise an East Asian policy, and to envisage and conduct its relations with China within Turkey's East Asian policy. To that end, it would be vital for Turkey to bolster its somewhat dormant relations with South Korea and Japan with which Turkey has enjoyed traditional cordial relations. China, on the other hand, has intermittently experienced severe problems especially with Japan. Close relations with South Korea and Japan could strengthen the position of Turkey in its relations with China on the condition that Turkey does not alienate China. In short, Turkey's future strategy in its relations with China could have three aspects. First, Turkey could strive to develop its relations with China. Second, Turkey could tackle the activities of China in Turkey's vicinity that Turkey considers inimical to its interests. Third, Turkey could give an additional impetus to its relations with countries surrounding China.

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Interview with David F. Helvey, Director for China, Taiwan and Mongolia, Office of Secretary of Defense, the US Department of Defense, in Ankara, May 12, 2008.

APPENDIX 1

List of the Main Bilateral Agreements between Turkey and China⁴⁶⁶

04 August 1971	Joint Declaration on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations
14 September 1972	Civil Air Transport Agreement (amended in December 1986)
16 July 1974	Trade Agreement
18 May 1981	Trade Protocol
19 December 1981	Agreement on Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation
11 January 1984	Protocol on Cooperation between the Turkish Radio and Television Administration (TRT) and the PRC Ministry of Radio and Television
04 June 1985	Protocol on Cooperation between Anatolian News Agency and Xinhua News Agency
26 April 1988	Cultural Exchange Program for 1988-1990
06 March 1989	Consular Agreement
24 December 1989	Agreement on Visa Exemption of Official Passports Holders
19 March 1990	Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Standardization
14 October 1990	Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Health
30 October 1990	Agreement on Cooperation in the Scientific and Technological Fields
13 November 1990	Agreement on Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of

⁴⁶⁶ “List of the Main Bilateral Agreements,” *Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Beijing*, April 18, 2007, http://www.turkey.org.cn/news/news_view.asp?newsid=275.

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09 May 1991	Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Tourism
28 September 1992	Agreement on Judicial Assistance in Civil, Commercial and Penal Matters
10 October 1992	Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Health
23 October 1992	Maritime Agreement
09 November 1993	Cultural Agreement
23 May 1995	Agreement on Avoidance of Double Taxation and Prevention of Fiscal Evasion With Respect to Taxes on Income
15 April 1997	Protocol on Cooperation on the Development of Water Resources
13 November 1997	Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of Political Consultation Mechanism Between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs
08 November 1998	Cultural Exchange Programme for 1998-2001
14 February 2000	Agreement on Cooperation in Combating Trans-National Crimes
4 April 2000	Agreement on Inspection Cooperation
19 April 2000	The Joint Communiqué signed on the occasion of the visit of H.E. Mr. Jiang Zemin to Turkey
19 April 2000	Framework Protocol on Cooperation in the Field of Energy
14 December 2001	Memorandum of Understanding on the Implementation Plan for Organized Outbound Travel by Chinese Citizens to Turkey
18 March 2002	Cultural Exchange Programme for 2002-2005
16 April 2002	Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in the Agricultural Field
16 April 2002	Agreement on Cooperation and Mutual Assistance in Custom Matters
16 April 2002	Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in the Field of Information Technology
13 June 2002	Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in the Fields

of Public Administration and Human Resources Development

- 27 June 2005 Protocol on the Establishment of the Consultation and Cooperation Mechanism on Quality and Safety of Industrial Products
- 24 January 2006 Agreement on Cooperation in Animal Health and Quarantine

APPENDIX 2

Turkish Ambassadors to Beijing since 1990⁴⁶⁷

1. Osman Reşat ARIM	30.11.1990 - 01.06.1994
2. Berhan EKİNCİ	01.06.1994 - 01.10.1996
3. Ünal ÜNSAL	01.10.1996 - 16.11.1998
4. Daryal BATIBAY	17.11.1998 - 01.08.2000
5. Rafet AKGÜNAY	01.08.2000 - 01.12.2004
6. Oktay ÖZÜYE	01.12.2004 -

⁴⁶⁷ Source: *Unit of Information Acquirement*, Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

APPENDIX 3

Main Data on Bilateral Trade between Turkey and China from 1996 to 2000 (1.000 \$)⁴⁶⁸

Year	Exports	Imports	Trade Volume	Trade Deficit	Ratio (%) (Trade Deficit / Trade Volume)
1996	65.115	556.492	621.607	-491.377	79,05
1997	44.375	787.457	831.832	-743.082	89,33
1998	38.447	846.134	884.581	-807.687	91,31
1999	36.649	894.813	931.462	-858.164	92,13
2000	96.010	1.344.731	1.440.741	-1.248.721	86,67
2001	199.373	925.620	1.124.993	-726.247	64,56
2002	268.229	1.368.317	1.636.546	-1.100.088	67,22
2003	504.626	2.610.298	3.114.924	-2.105.672	67,60
2004	391.585	4.476.077	4.867.662	-4.084.492	83,91
2005	549.764	6.885.400	7.435.164	-6.335.636	85,21
2006	693.038	9.669.110	10.362.148	-8.976.072	86,62

⁴⁶⁸ Source: "Ülkelere Göre İhracat," and "Ülkelere Göre İthalat," *Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu*.

APPENDIX 4

The First Ten Countries in Turkish Foreign Trade (Million \$)⁴⁶⁹

2001						
Exports				Imports		
Rank	Country	Volume	Portion (%)	Country	Volume	Portion (%)
1	Germany	5.367	17,1	Germany	5.335	12,9
2	The U.S.	3.126	10,0	Italy	3.484	8,4
3	Italy	2.342	7,5	Russian Federation	3.436	8,3
4	England	2.175	6,9	The U.S.	3.261	7,9
5	France	1.895	6,0	France	2.284	5,5
6	Spain	950	3,0	England	1.914	4,6
7	Russian Federation	924	2,9	<i>Japan</i>	1.307	3,2
8	The Netherlands	892	2,8	Switzerland	1.227	3,0
9	N/A	851	2,7	Spain	1.066	2,6
10	Israel	805	2,6	<i>Algeria</i>	1.064	2,6
	Total	19.328	61,7	Total	24.379	58,9
	Total in General	31.342	100,0	Total in General	41.399	100,0

2006						
Exports				Imports		
Rank	Country	Volume	Portion (%)	Country	Volume	Portion (%)

⁴⁶⁹ Source: *Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı*,
<http://www.dtm.gov.tr/dtmweb/index.cfm?action=detayrk&yayinID=1116&icerikID=1225&dil=TR>.

1	Germany	9.673	11,4	Russian Federation	17.493	12,8
2	England	6.811	8,0	Germany	14.554	10,6
3	Italy	6.748	7,9	<i>China</i>	9.553	7,0
4	The U.S.	4.995	5,9	Italy	8.568	6,3
5	France	4.602	5,4	France	6.601	4,8
6	Spain	3.679	4,3	The U.S.	5.920	4,3
7	Russian Federation	3.226	3,8	<i>Iran</i>	5.623	4,1
8	Iraq	2.567	3,0	England	5.081	3,7
9	The Netherlands	2.536	3,0	Switzerland	3.997	2,9
10	Romania	2.341	2,7	Spain	3.789	2,8
	Total	47.178	55,4	Total	81.179	59,2
	Total in General	85.141	100,0	Total in General	137.032	100,0

APPENDIX 5

Kasirga Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS)



APPENDIX 6

Yıldırım Short Range Ballistic Missile (SRBM)

