G-5

AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASI TƏHSİL NAZİRLİYİ

BAKI SLAVYAN UNİVERSİTETİ

HUMANİTAR ELMLƏRİN ÖYRƏNİLMƏSİNİN AKTUAL PROBLEMLƏRİ

Ali məktəblərarası
elmi məqalələr məcmuəsi

АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ ИЗУЧЕНИЯ ГУМАНИТАРНЫХ НАУК

Межвузовский сборник
научных статей

THE ACTUAL PROBLEMS OF STUDY OF HUMANITIES

Interuniversity collection
of scientific articles

Bakı
2008

AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASI TƏHSİL NAZİRLİYİ
BAKI SLAVYAN UNİVERSİTETİ

HUMANİTAR ELMLƏRİN ÖYRƏNİLMƏSİNİN AKTUAL PROBLEMLƏRİ

Ali məktəblərarası
elmi məqalələr məcmuəsi

АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ ИЗУЧЕНИЯ ГУМАНИТАРНЫХ НАУК

Межвузовский сборник
научных статей

THE ACTUAL PROBLEMS OF STUDY OF HUMANITIES

Interuniversity collection
of scientific articles

4

Bakı
2008

Redaksiya heyəti:
ped. elm. dok., prof. Abbasov A.N., filol. elm. dok., prof. Ağayev Z.A., tarix elm. dok., prof. İbrahimli F.F., filol. elm. dok., prof. Hacıyev A.A., filol. elm. dok., prof. Məmmədli A.M., filol. elm. dok., prof. Qocayev M.Q., fəlsəfə elm. dok., prof. Məmmədov C.R., psixol. elm. dok., prof. Novruzlu İ.M., filol. elm. nam. Carçıyeva İ.M., ped. elm. nam., dos. Alxasov Y.K., filol. elm. nam., dos. Məmmədov N.Ş., ped. elm. nam., dos. Səmədov O.Ə.

Buraxılışa məsul: filologiya elmləri doktoru, prof. Cəfərov T.H.

Humanitar elmlərin öyrənilməsinin aktual problemləri. Ali məktəblərarası elmi məqalələr məcmuəsi. IV buraxılış. – Bakı: Mütərcim, 2008. – 324 səh.

Elmi məqalələr məcmuəsi 1997-ci ildən nəşr olunur.Məcmuəyə dilçilik, ədəbiyyatşünaslıq, psixologiya, fəlsəfə, pedaqogika və ictimai elmlərin aktual problemlərinə dair məqalələr daxil edilmişdir.

Редакционная коллегия:
док. пед. н., проф. Аббасов А.Н., док. филол. н., проф. Агаев З.А., док. ист. н., проф. Ибрагимли Ф.Ф., док. филол. н., проф. Гаджиев А.А., док. филол. н., проф. Мамедли А.М., док. филол. н., проф. Коджаев М.К., док. филос. н., проф. Мамедов Дж.Р., док. психол. н., проф. Новрузлу И.М., канд. фил. н. Джарчиева И.М., канд. пед. н., доц. Алхасов Я.К., канд. филол. н., доц. Мамедов Н.Ш., канд. пед. н., доц. Самедов О.А.

Ответственный за выпуск: доктор филологических наук, проф. Джафаров Т.Г.

Актуальные проблемы изучения гуманитарных наук. Межвузовский сборник научных статей. IV выпуск. - Баку: Мутарджим, 2008. - 324 стр.

Данный сборник научных статей издается с 1997 года. В сборник входят статьи по актуальным проблемам языкознания, литературоведения, психологии, философии, педагогики и общественных наук.

Editorial board:
Doc. of ped. sciences, prof. Abbasov A.N., doc. of philol. sciences, prof. Agayev Z.A., doc. of hist. sciences, prof. Ibrahimli F.F., doc. of philol. sciences, prof. Hadjiyev A.A., doc. of philol. sciences, prof. Mamedli A.M., doc. of philol. sciences, prof. Godjayev M.G., doc. of philos. sciences, prof. Mammadov J.R., doc. of psychol. sciences, prof. Novruzlu I.M., cand. of philol. sciences Jarchieva I.M., cand. of ped. sciences, senior lecturer Alxasov Y.K., cand. of philol. sciences, senior lecturer Mamedov N.Sh., cand. of ped. sciences, senior lecturer Samedov O.A.

Responsible for the issue: doctor of philological sciences, prof. Jafarov T.H.

The actual problems of study of humanities. Interuniversity collection of scientific articles. IV issue. - Baku: Mutardjim, 2008. – 324 p.

Interuniversity collection of scientific articles is puplished from 1997. There are included the articles about actual problems of linguistics, history of literature, psychology, pedagogic,philosophy and social sciences in the collection.

H $\frac{5000000000}{026}$ 2008 / 4

© Mütərcim, 2008

BSU Elmi Şurasının qərarı ilə nəşr olunur.

RAHMAN NURDUN,
Senior Expert
Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency
HAKAN UZUN
Ahi Evran University

REACTIONS OF CHINESE AND OTTOMAN INTELLECTUALS AGAINST WESTERN INFLUENCE IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Introduction

In the period between the 19th and early 20th centuries, Chinese intellectuals and statesmen attempted three important movements to save Manchurian China. These were the Self-Strengthening Movement (Ziqiang Yundong)[1] (1860-1894), the "100-Year Reform Movement" (1895-1898) and the "Constitutional Movement" (1905-1911). The most noteworthy of them was the "Self-Strengthening Movement". This 30-year movement occupies a significant place in the early modernization process of China. A similar process aimed at strengthening the Empire and preventing its disintegration was also experienced in the Ottoman Empire: *Nizam-I Cedid* (Regular Troops) (1789-1807), *Tanzimat* (Reform Period) New Ottomans (1865-1876), and Young Turks (1889-1908).

Chinese and Ottoman intellectuals tried to carry out the reform movements by maintaining the fundamental values, practices and institutions included in the local culture of the society. As can easily be understood, this has led to the creation of popular slogans among the anti-Western elite. For instance; the "*Zhongxue Weiti, Xixue Weiyong*" philosophy (Chinese science must be protected primarily and Western science must be learnt for practical purposes) in China.[2] Similar Japanese thinking is "Japanese spirit, but Western technique".[3] The same applied to the Ottoman Empire, too. Earlier reforms in the Ottoman

---

[1] This reform movement which is hereafter referred to as the "Self-Strengthening Movement" is also known as "Yangwu Yundong "(Foreign Affairs Movement) in China..

[2] For further information on this subject, see; Qi Qi Zhang: 戚其章, Cong Zhongben Dao Zhongti Xiyong (Transition from the Understanding of "Chinese Science for Fundamental Principles, Western Science for Ancillary Purposes" to "Chinese Science Must Fundamental and Western Science Must be Learnt for Practical Purposes"), 『从中本西末到中体西用』, *Social Sciences in China*, Issue 1, 《中国社会科学》第一期, 1995, pp. 186-198; also see Guo Yin, 郭莹, 精英人物与中国近代化进程, 《学术月刊》第一期, "*The Elites and the Process of Chinese Modernization*", Xue Shu Yue Kan, No.I, 1994, p. 67; Sun Guang De; 孙广德, *Disputes on Manchu Qing Dynasty and Westernization*, *晚清传统与西化的争论*, Tayvan Shangwu Yinshuguan, 台湾商务印书馆, 1982, New York, pp. 160-172; also see; Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*, University of California Press, 1968, pp. 59-78

[3] Eda Kie, 依田憙家, *Rizhong Liangguo Xiandaihua De Bijiao Yanjiu* (Comparison of Japanese and Chinese Modernization), 日中两国现代化比较研究, Translated by: Bian Li-qiang, 卞立强等译, Bejing Daxue Chubanshe, 北京大学出版社, 1997, p. 39

Empire had been imposed as return to the old, rather than something new. According to a remark attributed to the Prophet Mohammed, "evilest things are new things; every innovation is uncanonical, a sin; and every sin paves the way leading to the hell fire."[4] The Political Reform Edict (*Tanzimat Fermanı*) begins with as respectful reference to the powerful and vivid past and goes on by expressing explicitly the requirement to establish new institutions in order to ensure the benefits of good governance in the Empire.[5]

In order to make an accurate comparison, this section will include only the Reformative statesmen and the New Ottomans who pioneered the First Constitutional Period and Chinese intellectuals who executed the "Self-Strengthening Movement". The reason for this is the fact that both movements were undertaken in the same period of time and that they exhibit parallels.

1) Self-Strengthening Movement

The Self-Strengthening Movement started in 1860[6] and continued until 1894 almost covering the majority of the late period of Manchurian China. Statesmen and intellectuals played a key role in this 30-year movement which focused on innovations in the military and political areas[7]. These statesmen and intellectuals include among others, Feng Gui-Fen[8], Guo Song-tao[9], Prince Yi Xin[10], Zeng Guo-Fan[11], Li Hong-zhang[12] and Ding Ri-chang[13].

---

[4] Bernard Lewis, " Some Observations on the Significance of Heresy in the History of Islam ", *Studia Islamica, I,* 1953, p. 52d

[5] Bernard Lewis, ibid. , p. 108

[6] Ting-Yee Kuo & Kwang-Ching Liu, "Self – Strengthening: the Pursuit of Western Technology " in John King Fairbank (ed.) *The Cambridge History of China,* vol 10, " Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911, Part I, Cambridge University Press, *p.*491

[7] Qi Qi-zhang, 戚其章, " Jiawu War and the Development of Chinese Modern Era Social Perspectives ", 『甲午战争与中国近代社会思潮的发展』, 《东岳论从》第四期, *Dong Yue Lun Cong,* No. 4, 1994, p. 8

[8] Chinese statesman and scientist who laid the foundations of the Self-Strengthening Movement with his ideas, 冯桂芬, For further information about Feng Gui-fen, see;: Ana Britannica: *Genel Kültür Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 8, Istanbul, 1987, p. 501.

[9] Guo Song-tao, 郭嵩涛 (1818-1891), A Chinese intellectual who knows the West well and who served as teh first ambassador of Manchurian Dynasty to London.

[10] Prince Yi Xin, 弈忻 (1833-1898), sixth son of Emperor Dao Guang; an important figure who revitalized the power of the Manchurian dynasty and re-gained the dynasty's honor against the assaults of foreigners. In 1860, he was called on to negotiate the Beijing Convention with the invading British forces on behalf of his exiled brother Emperor Xian feng. In 1861, he was appointed as the advisor of the widow wife of the Emperor and the Head of the newly established Department Responsible for Relations with All Foreign Countries. He served in the latter position until 1884 and between 1894 and 1898.

[11] Zeng Guo-fan, 曾国藩 (1811-1872), Chinese statesman and military leader. He played an important role in suppressing the Taiping Revolt. For further information, see; Ana Britannica: Genel Kültür Ansikklopedisi, Vol. 22, Istanbul, 1987, p. 558

[12] Li Hong-zhang, 李鸿章 (1823-1901), Provincial governor and most famous diplomat in the late Manchurian period. He became reputable in the operations for suppressing the Taiping revolt led by Zeng Guo-fan in the 1860s, and then played major roles in China's railway, telegram, marine transportation and weapon purchase initiatives in 1870s and 1880s.

Chinese statesmen and intellectuals were trying to strengthen the position of China by imitating Western mechanisms. The philosophy underlying the reform movement called the Self-Strengthening Movement was to adopt Western science, steam-ships, arms and technology, without destroying Confucian values and to make use of this change. In other words, this philosophy was based on the "adoption of Chinese science in principle and fundamental matters and Western science and technology in practical matters".

The leaders of the Self-Strengthening Movement were people like Zeng Guo-fan who was one of the literate-civil servants that suppressed the Taiping Revolt and Li Hong-zhang, one of his young assistants. They constructed Western-style arsenals and dockyards to construct Western-style artilleries and war-ships. They have supported the translation of Western technical books into Chinese and the adoption of Western methods for defending the country. In a report Li Hong-zhang sent to Beijing in 1864, he expressed that the influence of the West on China depended upon the superiority of Western arms, that China was facing the most important and most threatening crisis in its history and that if China failed to keep up with the West in this regard, it would not be possible to drive the Westerns out of the country and that this would be just a dream. According to Li, Chinese personnel had to be trained in order for China to be able to benefit from western machinery. When the said movement is analyzed, it would be beneficial to understand the ideas of Feng Gui-fen, the leader of this movement and to find answers to the question of why such a movement was deemed necessary.

Feng Gui-fen (1809-1874) worked as seventh-grade secretary and editor at *Han Lin Yuan*'[14] and drafted the first extensive plan for the self-Strengthening Movement.[15] the ideas and comments of Feng regarding the Movement have been explained in 50 articles contained in his book titled *Jiaobinlu Kangyi* (Protest from the Jiaobin Hall).[16] According to Feng, who was frustrated by the deteriorating situation China was facing,[17] there are

[13] Ding Ri-chang 丁日昌 (1823-1882), a senior bureaucrat who knew the West well and who contributed substantially to the establishment of China's first naval forces.

[14] Han Lin Yuan is the academy responsible for executing literary affairs on behalf of the court.

[15] Paul Cohen, "*Ch'ing China: Confrontation with the West 1850-1900* ", in James B. Crowley (ed.), Modern East Asia: Essays in Interpretation, New York: Harcourt, Brace &World, Inc., 1970, p. 45; Kwang-Ching Liu, "Nineteenth-Century China: The Disintegration of the Old Order and the Impact of the West ", in *China's Heritage and the Communist Political System*, book one, *China in Crisis*, volume I, edited by Ping-ti Ho and Tang Tsou, University of Chicago Press, 1968, p. 128

[16] Immanuel C.Y.Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 4.edition, Oxford Univ.Press, 1990, pp. 276-277

[17] Feng said the following when voicing his anger for the position of China: "*At present, there are more than 100 states in the world and Russia, England, France and USA are the most powerful ones of them. However, China is eight times bigger than Russia, ten times bigger than USA 100 times bigger than France and 200 times bigger than England in terms of territorial area. China is the only state among them which is self-sufficient with respect to food and other materials. While this is the case, why has China recognized their superiority? We are not less intelligent than them, but our people have failed to strengthen themselves. What is more shameful is to have noticed this but failed to do anything... We can defeat the West only when*

two ways of strengthening the state: one is to review the status of other states in the world, and the other to adopt foreigners as a teacher. Feng warned that the powerful states in the world had to be taken as a model, otherwise, China would risk lagging far behind the West[18].

In addition, by commenting on the military aspect; Feng believed that the Westerners' success on the battle field could be largely attributed to their superb military technologies. [19] to sum up his arguments, Feng emphasized the point that the only way out for the state was to learn the new from the West or be inspired by the West as far as both internal affairs and military issues were concerned. In other words, self-strengthening was the only way out for China.

To voice another aspect of China's weakness, Feng contended that China was in a critical position and that Russia, England, France and the USA would agree sooner or later against China or any of them could cause troubles for China alone when becoming more powerful. He added: "*As long as we do not strengthen ourselves, we will be at risk any time, but when we strengthen ourselves, we will be capable of keeping up with such threats.*"[20]. While explaining what should be done for self-strengthening, Feng stressed that the Chinese had to interrogate themselves first and that they had to be brave enough to be inspired by others (the West) without any hesitation. According to him, "*no matter however much the methods are deep-rooted, they must be abandoned when they are no more valid and when good methods are found, they must be benefited from even though they are created by barbarians.*"[21] When the conditions of China at that time are considered, it can be observed that Feng was a very courageous man in making such statements. As can be seen, Feng recognized the superiority of the West in terms of both the utilization of human and natural resources and the emperor-subject relations and management understanding and practices. He

---

we can make use of their superior technique." Feng Gui-fen, 冯桂芬, Jiaobinlu Kangyi (Protest from Jiaobin Chamber), 校邠庐抗议, Ju Feng Fang, 1897 version,, pp. 70-71.

[18] Feng argues, "*every state in the world is connected to each other. The reason why some of them have become rich and powerful is that they have done the best. Would it not be better for China if it made use of the techniques of powerful states while taking its own traditional structure of thinking as a basis?*" "*We are really not in a position comparable to the West. Although they are small in terms of state, they are powerful. However, we are weak as a giant state, which stems from many reasons: we have lagged well behind the West in terms of technique, fertile lands, emperor-people relations and accountability. If the emperor reforms the old traditions and customs, we won't be lagging behind the West.*" See Feng Gui-fen, 冯桂芬, ibid, p. 69-71; For his views about taking the West as a model, see Wang Shou-nan, 王寿南, *Zhongguo Lidai Sixiangjia* (Old Chinese Intellectuals), 中国历代思想家, Vol. 42, Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, 台湾商务印书馆, 1987, pp.28-35

[19] Feng points out, "*The physical condition of the Chinese is not weaker than that of the Westerners, however, we are defeated because our artillery, war-ships and maneuvering capabilities are not as strong as those of the West*", see Feng Gui-fen, 冯桂芬, ibid., p. 71

[20] Teng & Jong King Fairbak; *China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey*, pp. 54-55

[21] Feng Gui-fen, 冯桂芬, Jiaobinlu Kangyi (Protest from Jiaobin Chamber), 校邠庐抗议, Vol. II, 1898 version, p.10

underlined the requirement to take the West as a model to close this gap. Feng criticized the centuries-old "Keju Kaoshi" (*imperial examination system)* [22] and suggested the system had to be reformed and that extraordinarily successful people be entitled to take higher level exams. Nevertheless, Feng, like the other conservative intellectuals, believed that Western science had its roots in China as he knew little about the West and his traditional ideas overweighed. But, despite all, Feng's idea of "controlling the west by making use of their techniques" was an inspiration for the Self-Strengthening Movement.

In the early periods of the Self-Strengthening Movement, he had close relations with the strong leaders of the movement such as Guo Song-tao, Zeng Guo-fen and Li Hong-zhang who were extraordinarily knowledgeable about the West. Guo Song-tao, who started investigating the reasons for the superiority of the west as early as the Opium War, claimed that the superiority of the West relied on the strength of naval forces.[23] Guo Song-tao, who was strictly bound to Confucian philosophy although he knew much about the West, put forward when evaluating the educational system in the west that intellectuals used to live on farming fishery and butchery during the glorious days of China two thousand years ago, but had been isolated from actual life during the tang and Song dynasties. He said: "*...our two-thousand-year old educational system is far away from its golden times and has been degenerated... Nevertheless, the educational system at Western schools is similar to our traditional system.*" [24]. Praising the pragmatic education system in the West, Guo Song-tao searched for its roots in China. With respect to education, unlike Zeng Guo-fan, Guo Song-tao argued that every kind of book had to be read and Western-style schools had to be opened in the contracted-harbor regions.[25] in his letter dated 1859, he stated that in order to control the Westerners, information had to be obtained about the West and their languages had to be learnt well.[26]

As for relations with the West, Guo Song-tao's stance was similar to that of Li Hong-zhang. Contrary to his contemporary counterparts, Guo Song-tao regarded war as a last-resort solution[27] and thought that it would

---

[22] Public servant selection examination held in China for thousands of years. Anyone who successfully passes from all phases of this examination is appointed as "Xianling", a position similiar to the "district governor" in Turkey.

[23] Guo Ting-yi(ed.), 郭廷以, *Guo Song-tao Xiansheng Nianpu* (Bay Guo Song-tao Chronicle), 郭嵩焘先生年谱, vol. I, Zhongyang Yanjiu Yuan, Taipei, 1921, pp. 37-38

[24] ibid. ,vol.XI, pp.12-13

[25] ibid., p.13

[26] Guo Ting-yi (ed.), *Guo Song- tao Nianpu...*, pp. 133-134

[27] Ting-Yee Kuo & Kwang-Ching Liu, ibid, p.501; Paul Cohen, ibid., p. 50; Wang Shou-nan, ibid. Vol. 44, pp.17-18; Wu Peng-yi, 吴鹏翼, *Zhongguo Xinadaihua Yundong De Yishi-Guo Song-tao De Yanwuguan* (Various Figures who Played a Role in the Chinese Modernization Movement -Guo Song-tao's Views on Westernization), 中国现代化运动的异士一郭嵩焘的洋务观, Zhou Yang-shan, Yang Su-xian(eds.), 周阳山, 杨肃献, *Jindai Zhongguo Sixiang*

be more reasonable to maintain relations with the West in accordance with the treaties signed with them.[28] After he went to England as an ambassador, he admired the educational system there and advised the government to send students abroad to learn about blacksmithing, railways and electricity. To summarise Guo Song-tao's knowledge about the West is more profound than that of Prince Yi Xin and Li Hong-zhang. He attributed the position of the West at that time not only to their accurate artillery and war ships but also to their educational system.[29]

The key role in the Self-Strengthening Movement was played by Prince Yi Xin (1833-1898) in the capital city.[30] Prince Yin Xin claimed until 1860 that Manchurian China was a state in heaven, and scorned the West by saying "*Trade bears great importance for Western barbarians. They are very confident about their war ships, but when their ships run aground, they definitely panic and their artilleries do not work.*" [31] Afterwards, when his contacts with the West were intensified due to peace negotiations, he noticed the real power of the West and exhibited a more realistic approach.[32] In order to regulate relations with the West, he wrote a letter to Emperor and suggested the establishment of a Directorate responsible for Relations with Foreign States and the South and North Pacific Trade Ministry, and furthermore, sending young students abroad to learn about the languages of the West.[33]

Prince Yi Xin instructed the bureaucrats responsible for the harbours open to trade that news items published in foreign press regarding China be compiled and translated into Chinese every month. As a result of his efforts, "Tong Wen Guan" (Foreign Languages School) was established in 1862.[34]

After China received many military attacks from England and France, Prince Yi Xin recognized the importance of the West's war ships and artilleries and fully supported the idea of "hitting the West with their own weapons". He adopted the advice of the British and established a military

---

Renwulun-Wanqing Sixiang(Near Age Chinese Scholars–Views on the Late Manchurian Dynasty, 近代中国思想人物论一晚清思想，时报公司，Taipei, p. 281

[28] Li Guo-qi, 李国祁, *Jindai Zhongguo Zhengzhi Sixiang Lunwenji* (A Collection of Theses on the Near Age Chinese Political Views), 近代中国政治思想论文集，Guoli Bianyi Guan,Taipei,1999, p.25

[29] ibid., p. 29

[30] Ting-Yee Kuo & Kwang-Ching Liu, ibid., p. 492

[31] 近代中国对西方及列强认识资料汇编，第一辑，*Jindai Zhongguo Dui Xifang Ji Lieqiang Renshi Ziliao Huibian* (Collection of Sources on the Views of Near Age China Regarding the West and Big Powers), Vol. I. Pp. 600-601

[32] Guo Ting-yi, 郭廷以, *Jindai Zhongguo Shigang* (Summary of Near Age Chinese History), 近代中国史纲，Vol I, Hong Kong Zhongwen Daxue Chubanshe, 香港中文大学出版社, 1980, pp. 190-191

[33] 近代中国对西方及列强认识资料汇编，第一辑，*Jindai Zhongguo Dui Xifang Ji Lieqiang Renshi Ziliao Huibian*…, pp.609-612

[34] Hu Sheng, ibid. p. 333; For information about the encouragement of foreign language learning in China in the late Manchurian Dynasty period,see; Sun Guang-de, ibid. , pp. 58-60

training centre in Tianjin and instructed for the establishment of similar centres in coastal cities. According to Prince Yi Xin, training of officers was much more important than the training of infantries. Therefore he wrote "*It is necessary to bring in Western experts the get them to both teach how to use guns to soldiers and to train officers.*" In his letter to the Emperor.[35]

In his letter to the Emperor dated April 1864, Prince Yi Xin underscored the requirement to put in practice the theory of "Hitting the West with their own weapons" and said "*when governing a state, it is conditional to strengthen it constantly. This should begin with the training of soldiers, but before that, weapon production techniques have to be acquired.*"[36] As may be understood, Prince Yi Xin believed that self-strengthening should begin with the military area, which is contradictory to the traditional Chinese understanding of Government which attaches importance to domestic politics and regulates bureaucracy.

One of the most important figures of the Self-Strengthening Movement at the provincial governor level was Zeng Guo-fan. Strictly tied to confucian doctrine, Zeng was always in favour of maintaining a respectful, trustworthy and loyal attitude towards Westerners. Unlike other Chinese bureaucrats, he refrained from an over-the-top attitude.[37] Therefore, he tried to look equally and objectively to the West. When suppressing the Taiping Revolt, he had the opportunity to learn closely about the weapons of the West, and he was much impressed.[38] When mentioning the war techniques of the West in a letter he wrote to the Emperor, Zeng recommended that such techniques had to be benefited from by saying: "*When we will be able to produce war ships and artilleries like the West in the future, everything will be to our benefit in the long run.*" [39]. Within the scope of the efforts launched by Prince Yin Xin two or three years beforehand with respect to the production of western-origin weapons, Zeng Guo-fan sent an expert to the USA and established *Jiangnan Production General Directorate*[40] in cooperation with General Governor Li Hong-zhang in 1865[41]. However, unlike Prince Yin, Zeng did not fully support the idea of "hitting the West with its own weapons". Besides saying that he did not have much information about the West, Zeng

---

[35] Hu Sheng, ibid., pp. 379-380

[36] Tongzhi Chao Chouban Yiwu Shimo, 同治朝筹办夷务始末 (*Documents Regarding Relations with Barbarians During the Period of Emperor Tongzhi*), Vol. 25, p. 1

[37] For Zeng Guo-fan's efforts in the "self-strengthening movement", see; Zeng Guo-fan, 曾国藩, *Neijing* (Self-Development Philosophy), 内经, (translated into modern Chinese with interpretations by Sima Lieren, 司马烈人, Zhongguo Huaqiao Chubanshe, 中国华侨出版社, Beijing, 2000, pp. 187-194

[38] Manchurian Dynasty received assistance from British, French and US legionnaire-style forces in suppressing the Taiping Revolt.

[39] *Zeng Guo-fen Quanji*, 曾国藩全集, Yuelu Shuju chuban, 岳麓书局出版, 1987, second letter, p. 1272

[40] This directorate in Shanghai was a big establishment producing any kind of weapon.

[41] Immanuel C.Y.Hsü, ibid., p. 279

believed that the favours of the Westerners to China were greater than their bad actions and therefore it would be in the best interests of China to get along well with them.[42] To summarise, it is understood that Zeng did not know much about the West early in the Self-Strengthening Movement. This is because Zeng assessed every matter with Confucian philosophy[43], which prevented him from learning about the West in real terms.

Undoubtedly, it was nobody other than General Governor Li Hong-zhang who defended the Self-Strengthening Movement most strongly and most successfully.[44] Li Hong-zhang, too, contacted more frequently with the Westerners when he came to Shanghai to suppress the Taiping Revolt in 1862, and the revolt was suppressed with the help of the British and French forces. Within this process, the ideas of Li Hong-zhang about the West started maturing. Unlike the reformists like Feng Gui-fen and Zeng Guo-fan, he took on an attitude which was entirely in favour of Westernization. In a letter he presented to the Emperor in 1865, he expressed that he believed it would be of benefit for China if the Government pursued consistent and progressive policies and criticized the anti-Western attitude of conservative intellectuals.[45]

Unlike Zeng Guo-fen, Li Hong-zhang argued that every method had to be resorted to in line with the interests of China in foreign politics and he even ventured full Westernization of China if necessary. The views of Li Hong-zhang about the West resemble those of Feng Gui-fen. However, in contrast to Feng Gui-fen, Li Hong-zhang complained that many Chinese intellectuals did not have an insistent spirit against Westerners and criticized them for not doing anything other than speaking.[46] Li Hong-zhang, who closely followed the scientific and technical advances in the West, recommended people to read the books written by missionaries regarding science and urged his citizens to go to the West and learn about the new technologies. On the other hand, Li Hong-zhang saw the solution as bringing in Western experts to carry out machinery manufacturing and having the Chinese masters learn production techniques from these experts.

The traditionalist views of Li Hong-zhang in the military area changed entirely during the suppression of Taiping Revolt. He was impressed by the

---

[42] *Zeng Wen Zheng Gong Quan Ji: Qiu Que Zhai Lei Cao,* 曾文正公全集：求阙斋日记类钞 (All Books of Zeng Guo-fen: His Diray Written in Qiuque Hall),Vol. I, p. 55

[43] See footnote 133.

[44] Immanuel C.Y.Hsü, ibid., p. 279; Guo Yin, ibid. , p. 69-70

[45] Li says, "as *I am responsible for naval forces and marine trade, I can say that the West is superior in terms of both military allocation and weapon power. They attain success through their welfare and power. The reason why China is in this position is that our intellectuals are extremely tied to obsolete traditions, that they confuse the right and the wrong, that they fail to see the real aspects of events..., and even that they freeze in astonishment when something happens ... such a situation leads to great concern.*" see *Li Hong-zhang Zouyi,* 李肃毅伯（鸿章）奏议 Li Hong-zhang's Letter), Vol.II, Fourth Year of Emperor Tongzhi, June 1.

[46] *Li Wen Zhong Gong Quanji: Pengliao Hangao* 李文忠公全集：朋僚函稿 (All Books of Li Hong-zhang: Correspondences with Friends and Colleagues), Vol I. p. 20

fast war ships and strong artilleries of the Westerns, which he saw during the suppression of the revolt in Shanghai and which scattered the rebels.[47] However, unlike other intellectuals, Li Hong-zhang put forward the idea that the Chinese had to be able to produce their own weapons[48]. Therefore, Li Hong-zhang emphasized the importance of learning the techniques and secrets of producing weapons from the West rather than importing weapons from them. Although Li Hong-zhang was a provincial governor, he undertook many duties of the central government and exerted efforts as the coordinator of the "Self-Strengthening Movement" all around China.[49]

Li Hong-zhang, who is also known as the greatest diplomat of Manchurian China, gradually abandoned the Confucian doctrine of his master Zeng Guo-fen in relations between China and the West and was admired by the Westerners for his adoption of the practical rules of the West. According to Li Hong-zhang, as long as China complied with the agreements signed with the Westerners, Western powers could not assault China.[50] In summary, we can say that li hong-zhang had more realistic views about the westerners through contacting with them: the Western powers assaulting China from the sea were entirely different from the nomadic tribes which had threatened the Great Wall in the past, and they were the hardest rivals of China in the last thousand years with their terrifying weapons. China became one of the numerous countries in the world which were exposed to colonization. In a period when naval dominance was ruling, the only way out for china was to abandon the old radical ideas and strengthen itself.[51]

Also known as the person who knew the West well early in the Self-Strengthening Movement, Ding Ri-Chang served at the level of governor and always assisted Li Hong-zhang as his right arm. It is known that Li Hong-zhang developed his ideas about weapon production, diplomatic convention and establishment of new style naval forces under the influence of Ding Ri-chang.[52] as an expert on the west, Ding Ri-chang attached

---

[47] Sun Guang-de, ibid., p. 51

[48] Li argues, "*in my opinion, things progress as follows in the world: when one becomes poor, his thought chances and ways for solution can be found when the thought is changed. Our intellectuals are busy with writing something everyday and the soldiers do not care about scientific matters adequately as they rely on force... In times of peace, they put forward that Western weapons look nice, but are not worth learning about and are concocted devices. But when the Western weapons explode, they say that they are hard to learn about... The Japanese too were attacked much by the Western powers like us. But, both Japanese emperor and ministers worked hard in cooperation to keep up with the West, and they are now about to produce their own weapons. If Japan manages to do it although it is a very small country, there is no reason not to accomplish this as a nation which knows very well the philosophy of change.*" See *Tongzhi Chao Chouban Yiwu Shimo,* 同治朝筹办夷务始末 (Documents Regarding Relations with Barbarians During the Period of Emperor Tongzhi), Vol. 25, pp. 9-10

[49] K.C.Liu, "Li Hung-chang in Chili: The Emergence of a Policy, 1870-1875." in Feuerwerker, Murphey and Wright (eds.), *Approaches to Modern Chinese History*, pp. 68-104

[50] Tong Zhi Chao Chou Ban Yiwu Shimo..., Vol. 41, pp. 30-35

[51] Li Su Yi Bo Zhouyi..., vol. 4, p. 126

[52] Li Guoqi, ibid., p. 48

importance to the issue of education. According to him, education was one of the most important factors in political modernization. Ding Ri-chang suggested the modification of the centuries-old static imperial examination system.[53] Just like Li Hong-zhang, Ding Richang too argued that compliance with the signed agreements was to the benefit of China. When assessing the gap between china and the West, ding stressed difference in mindset was the reasons for China's lagging behind.[54] Ding was given the name "Devil's Slave" by the conservatives because he defended the requirement to benefit from the advanced technology of the West.[55]

Although the summary of developments above seem quite impressive at first sight, they are regarded as superficial initiatives taken by Chinese intellectuals towards modernization, since the Self-Strengthening Movement aiming at saving the manchurian dynasty[56] was limited to the areas of fired-weaponry, shipping, machinery, transportation, communication, mining and light industry. With the Self-Strengthening Movement, Chinese statesmen tried to strengthen the position of China by imitating Western mechanisms. According to Fairbank, the philosophy underlying the Self-Strengthening Movement seemed to be an attractive but vague philosophy in that it argued that the Western science, steam-ships, weapons and technology would help protect confucian values rather than destroy them.[57] The philosophy, which was called "中学为体，西学为用" in Chinese, was a philosophy supporting "Chinese science in fundamental and principle matters and Western science and techniques in practical matters". Nevertheless, it was understood in time that after war ships and weaving machines were introduced somewhere and showed their influence, such influence not only stayed in the practical areas, but also brought along and settled its philosophy and had other effects.

Having had the Chinese statesmen and intellectuals in the period between 1860 and 1900 could not reverse its fate of sticking to a vague and pitiful thought while it was possible to both ensure the modernization of China and to preserve their traditional aspects. Thus, although they set out with the philosophy of "self-strengthening without resembling others" and launched the change by importing only the weapons and machines of the

---

[53] Tong Zhi Chao Chou Ban Yiwu Shimo..., vol. 55, pp. 15-20

[54] Ding argues, "*the Westerners developed their techniques to go beyond their ancestors in every field, whereas we wanted to do what our ancestors did in every field. Therefore, while we discussed much, our performance remained static...*" see Lü Shi -qiang, 吕实强, *Zhiqiang Yundong Yu Ding Richang* (Ding Richang and Self-Strengthening Movement), 丁日昌与自强运动, *Zhongyanyuan Jinshisuo*, 中研院近史所, Taipei, 1972, p.240

[55] Li Guo-qi, ibid., p. 51; Zhou Ji Ming; 周积明, 『中国早期现代化进程的文化阻力』 *Zhongguo Zaoqi Xiandaihua Jincheng de Wenhua Zuli* (Cultural Obstacles in Early Chinese Modernization ", Jiang Han Review, Issue 2, 《江汉论坛》第二期, 1996, p. 50

[56] Wang Er-min, 王尔敏, *Wanqing Xinzheng De Xin Pingjia* (Assessment of the New Policy Implemented in the Late Manchurian Dynasty Period), 晚清新政的新评价, Lishi Yuekan, 历史月刊, Issue 10, Taipei, 台北 , 1995 10 月号, pp. 57, 59

[57] J.K. Fairbank, *Çağdaş Çin'in Temelleri...*, p. 170

West, they soon found themselves on a no-return route: everything imported from the West required the import of something else thereafter; the Western machines had to be followed by Western technology, the Western technology by Western techniques and science and Western social sciences. New ideas imported from the West had started with changing the traditional institutions in China and eventually prepared the grounds for the "Constitutional Monarchy" which meant changing the establishment of the state through reforms. Afterwards, the process leading up to the 1911 coupe which paved the way for the republican regime was accelerated through a radical change of institutions.

2) Leaders of the Reform Period and the New Ottomans

If a state or society cannot change or solve the its prevailing negative conditions and problems through its own institutions, it will either enable these institutions to produce solutions for problems based on their own resources or will radically or partially change these institutions in light of experience elsewhere. Otherwise, it will be very difficult or impossible for the state or society to survive. Having realized this fact, the Ottoman State had been driven to reform by this fact but as it could not catch up with the constantly developing West through its traditional structure, the statesmen and intellectuals of the Ottoman State had started to search for an answer to the question "how can we recover this state?".

They first sought a solution within the framework of the classical structure of the state and had introduced a series of reforms to recover and restore the state's power, with a yearning for the past. The rationale of reforms undertaken in this period, which was called the "traditionalist period", was that the actual government system was in fact perfect but the problem stemmed from the failure to properly run this system. For this reason, all the reforms were intended to restore the state to its former powerful style.[58] In the stagnation period however, an original system could not be created using the internal dynamics and the state could not be recovered from the prevailing bad condition.

After this unsuccessful attempt, the best solution was taking the West as a model. This attempt for introducing a series of reforms by taking the West as a model has been defined as the modernization, westernization and reformation process. Parallel to and concurrent with the initiatives for achieving a state ruled by the power of law and establishing democracy, this new process had some political and intellectual implications on Ottoman modernization and has been determining in the progress of democracy in Turkey.[59]

Although the Reform Period, which is regarded as an expression of change in mentality in the Ottoman modernization history, was in the form of an extension or a consequence of the previous reform initiatives[60], it has certain

[58] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, C.III, I. Kısım, 3. Baskı, Ankara, 1983.
[59] Mustafa Yılmaz, "Siyaset ve Demokrasi", *KÖK Araştırmalar*, C.II, Sayı: 1, Ankara, Bahar 2000, pp.73–87, p. 73.
[60] Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Fikir Hareketleri ", *Tanzimat II*, Istanbul, 1999, p.757

peculiarities as well. As a matter of fact, during this period, Westernization became a multi-faceted movement, rather than a single-faceted movement.[61]

As known, the *Tanzimat* (reform) Movement started with the proclamation of the *Gülhane Hatt-i Hümayunu* in 1839[62], and this movement was led by statesmen such as Mustafa Reşit Pasha, Âlî Pasha and Fuat Pasha. However, by the *Tanzimat* period, reforms were pioneered by sultans. This started to change after the 1860s and Westernization movement was started to be led by intellectuals. In order to compare the reform movement in China, only the practices of reformists and reformist ideas of New Ottomans will be addressed here.

The architect of the reform movement, Mustafa Reşit Pasha, who was involved in all the events that took place during reigns of Mahmut II and Sultan Abdülmecid and who served as ambassador, foreign minister and prime minister for six terms, [63] compared the Reform Movement to a dockyard in which big ships can be built in the future.[64] pointing out the difference between Turkey and the Great Powers, Reşit Pasha claimed that great changes had taken place in the West while the Ottoman Empire's weak situation remained almost unchanged, serious measures must be taken to

---

[61] Şerif Mardin, "Yenileşme Dinamiğinin Temelleri ve Atatürk", *Türkiye'de Toplum ve Siyaset (Makaleler I)*, 6. Baskı, Istanbul., 1997, p.211-212; A. H. Ongunsu, "Tanzimat ve Amillerine Umumi Bakış", *Tanzimat I*, Istanbul., 1940, pp.7-9; Kemal Karpat, *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1996, p.34; Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1979, p.36; Niyazi Berkes, *Teokrasi ve Laiklik*, 2. Basım, Istanbul, 1997, p.94; Ercüment Kuran, "*Türk Çağdaşlaşma Tarihinde Tanzimat'ın Yeri*", *Türk Çağdaşlaşması*, Ankara, 1997, p.136.

[62] Before the promulgation of *Tanzimat Decree*, the Ottoman State was faced with big problems. The problem caused by Mehmet Ali Pasha, Egyptian Governor of the Ottoman State, as an internal issue of the state, turned into a big international problem all of a sudden, involving Russia and the European states as well. During this event, the Ottoman State, which could not receive the necessary support from Europe and which therefore did not trust them, resorted to the Russians and signed the Treaty of Hunkar Iskelesi with them. However, the signing of this treaty which granted certain privileges to the Russians regarding the straits bothered Britain and France. Furthermore, the British were also concerned about a strong administration to be established by Mehmet Ali Pasha in Egypt. However, the core issue for all states that were involved in this event was that Mehmet Ali Pasha could have eliminated the Ottoman State, which would result in significant issues. In order to obtain the support of European States in the resolution of Mehmet Ali Pasha issue, which it could not keep up with in any case, the Ottoman State proclaimed the *Tanzimat Decree* right at this time. In other words, *Tanzimat Decree* was promulgated as a way out of this bad situation. It was considered as a rescue move. [62] Fahir Armağolu, 19. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997, p.200-218. According to Ülken, *Tanzimat* is a consequence of the attempts aimed at giving an end to a series of military defeats of the Ottoman State after the Karlofça Treaty. See; Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Fikir Hareketleri ", *Tanzimat II*, İstanbul, 1999, p. 757

[63] Cavit Baysun, " *Mustafa Reşit Paşa* ", Tanzimat II, İstanbul, 1999, pp.723-746

[64] Reşit Pasha wrote: "*Tanzimat –ı Hayriyye (Beneficial Reforms) is a modest dockyard the foundation of which was laid on the foots of Sarayburnu...It is doubtful whether we can build even a fishing ship. However, the dockyard is a necessity. We have felt the need for this. Our successors will supply the iron, wood and cloth for the ship and will train the masters...* ". see Ahmed Turan Alkan, " *Röportaj: Reşid Pasha Savunuyo,* ", Türkiye Günlüğü, Sayı VIII, Kasım 1989, p. 16

catch up with the west.[65] In addition, he explained why the reform movement was necessary and voiced in sadness the increasingly widening gap between Turkey and Europe. In the context of foreign relations, Reşid Pasha stressed that *navy, military forces, economic power and science* were the determinant factors rather than good-speaking, and suggested the solution as the establishment of a modern army equipped with modern schools and Western science.[66]

While Âlî Pasha, one of the leaders of the reform movement, was doing his best to avoid the disintegration of the Ottoman State,[67] he was against the capitulations to which his country was exposed[68]. When preparing the imperial reform decree in 1856, he annulled the requirement of Ottoman citizens and foreign citizens to be subject to separate laws and regulations as property owners, in order to remove the concessions granted to europeans one by one."[69] Although the reform was not applied fully, Âlî Pasha insisted on this and requested during the Paris Conference that foreigners living in the empire be subject to Turkish courts. The European states that accepted this signed a protocol in 1868, which was one of the greatest diplomatic victories of Âlî Pasha.[70] Having learnt French through his own efforts, Âlî Pasha was well aware of the developments in Europe, [71] unlike his

---

[65] Reşit Pasha argues, "*the situation of Europe and the world indicates that the world will get very much smaller in the near future; the scientific and industrial discoveries and inventions, the first examples of which we have started seeing in various areas, will lead to major changes in both social life and military and political areas. If I may be so presumptuous, on the brink of such remarkable revolutions, the view of the supreme state, and its social, military, scientific and political level is worrying... To the extent my capacity allowed... we attempted for some measures and reforms to be at least a modest member of the European family: it is obvious that they cannot be adequate and satisfactory... Today, the destinies of nations are drawn up on the seas... The status of our navy is apparent... And look at the navies of non-Muslim British Kingdom, France and Russia: They are patrolling all around the world. Our imperial navy is incapable of ensuring security in even the Marmara Sea, let alone Black Sea... It is possible to comprehend the width of gap only by looking at the navies.*" see Ahmet Turan Alkan, ibid. , p. 16.

[66] ibid., pp. 16-17; According to Ercüment Kuran, the weakest point n te performance of Reşid Pasha was the negligence of education. See; Ercüment Kuran, " Türk Çağdaşlaşma Tarihinde Tanzimat'ın Yeri ", *Türkiye Günlüğü*, Issue VIII, November1989, p. 66

[67] Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, Burhaneddin Matbaası, 1942, p. 109

[68] Fuat Andıç & Süphan Andıç (ed.), *Sadrazam Âlî Pasha: Hayatı, Zamanı ve Siyasi Vasiyetnamesi*, Eren Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2000, p. 64

[69] Fuat Andıç & Süphan Andıç, ibid. , pp. 45-46

[70] ibid. , pp. 46-47

[71] Ali Pasha argues, "*the bloody period which ended with Waterloo has been followed by years of peace. Many European states ... have become stronger and they had more passion to enlarge their borders. From now onwards, these states will either search for diplomatic ways by signing trade agreements in order to both satisfy the personal desires of their emperors and find markets for their industrial goods, or increase their influence through wars.*" Fuat Andıç & Süphan Andıç, ibid., p.59; For the summary of the political testament of Âlî Pasha, see;: Roderic H. Davison, *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Diplomacy and Reforms*, the Isis Press, Istanbul, 1999, pp. 57-58

contemporary counterparts in China. Fuat pasha, one of the leading figures of the reform movement, has made remarkable contributions in the subsequent phases of the reform movement and strongly believed in Westernization. Having acted more bravely than Âlî Pasha in reforms, Fuat Pasha's sole purpose was to keep the Ottoman State standing through diplomacy and reforms.[72] Sadik rifat pasha was one of the most important figures in the reform movement. According to Ercüment Kuran, Sadik Rifat Pasha has been the main source of inspiration for the Gülhane Imperial Decree through a treatise he wrote during his office of ambassador in Vienna.[73] In his 121-page treatise regarding Europe included in his book titled *Müntehabati Âsâr* (Anthology of Traditions), Sâdik Rifat Pasha compared the fundamental differences between Europe and Turkey: [74] According to him, the Europeans concluded an international project of assurance which allowed their countries to progress and their arts and science to develop. If Turkey adopted the core of this system, the dispute could be resolved peacefully.[75]

Although neither the Reform Declaration nor other documents involved a sanction, a series of rules have been set forth to prevent discretional acts by officials. Furthermore, the efforts to put in place the requirement for administrators to abide by laws, the mention to individual rights and freedoms, their immunity against the government, then equality of all subjects, which are rules included among the rules of positive law, irrespective of whatever their intended goals are, are interpreted as big steps towards the settlement of the principles of "*rule of law and state governed by the force of law*" in the Ottoman State.[76]

---

[72] Roderic H. Davison, *Nineteenth Century Ottoman...*, p. 15

[73] Ercüment Kuran, *Türkiye'nin Batılılaşması...*, p. 144; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, ibid, p. 35.

[74] Rifat pasha argues, "*the current civilization of Europe is superior to others thanks to the improvement of the factors contributing to the settlement of civilization; participation of individuals; reconstruction of the country; increased production; and facilitated execution and production by the state. Since the core of this requirement depends on ensuring the security of life, property and honour of every individual and the application of the necessary legal freedom, this rational issue is respected by even European states with respect to security and legal freedom. That is, inventions are made in so many countries solely for their own states and nations and the nations have let their emperors govern and protect their countries with the will of God. And the emperors have, in return, never resorted to force in ensuring the legal rights of their citizens.*" see Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, ibid, p. 77.

[75] Mehmed Sadık Rifat, *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr*, İstanbul: Tatyos Divitçiyan, 1873-1874, VII, p. 67, VIII, p. 38, 44, 58, quoted by: Şerif Mardin, *Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesinin...*, pp. 209-210.

[76] Sıddık Sami Onar, *İdare Hukukumuzun Umumi Esasları*, İstanbul, 1952, p.130; Hüseyin Nail Kubalı, *Türk Esas Teşkilât Hukuku Dersleri*, İstanbul, 1960, pp. 58-65; Orhan Aldıkaçtı, *Anayasa Hukukumuzun Gelişmesi ve 1961 Anayasası*, 3.Baskı, İstanbul, 1978, p. 46; Coşkun Üçok-Ahmet Mumcu, *Türk Hukuk Tarihi*, 5. Baskı, Ankara, 1985, s.342-343; Ongunsu, ibid., p.9; Mümtaz Turhan, *Kültür Değişmeleri*, 3. Baskı, İstanbul, 1997, p.176; Ali Gevgilili, *Türkiye'de Yenileşme Düşüncesi, Sivil Toplum, Basın ve Atatürk*, 2. Baskı, İstanbul, 1990, p.33, Tayyip Gökbilgin, "*Tanzimat Hareketinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine ve Teşkilâtına Etkileri*", *Belleten*, Cilt XXXI, Sayı 121, (Ocak 1967)'den ayrı basım, Ankara, 1967, p.105; İhsan Güneş, *II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Hükümet Programları (1908-1918)*, Ankara, 1990, p.175.

Through the establishment of local councils in the Ottoman State during the Reform Period, the concept of "representation" emerged and thus the religious and traditional rules in administration started to be replaced by written rules, and the first secular practices were introduced during the Reform Period through the laws imported from the West.[77] Furthermore, some sections of the society was included in politics. This was one of the most important political consequences of modernization.[78]

The reforms introduced by the Reformists had driven a constant transformation in the Ottoman administration, judicial and educational systems[79] and the innovations in these areas had represented the starting point of many reforms that was carried through the republican period. For this reason, the Reform Period may be described as a preparatory phase for the republican period.

The Reformists had two key objectives: to attain the level of western civilization and to find a formula to keep the people living in the boundaries of the state together the prevent the dissolution of the Ottoman State.[80] To achieve this, they tried to adhere various subjects under the Empire to each other via the idea of "*Ottomanism*". For example, the efforts exerted to introduce a legal unity from a multi-legal system were a policy considered against the nationalist ideas that emerged among the Christians.[81] However, they could not achieve their objectives despite all efforts.[82]

The Reform Declaration announced to stop the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the modernization efforts undertaken in the Reform Period (1839-1876) did not yield the desired outcomes. Non-Muslim subjects were not satisfied with the obligations introduced by the Reform Period and through the broader rights provided by the 1856 *Islahat Fermanı* (Reform Edict) they became stronger and continued the revolt for independence.[83] Furthermore, because newer and broader privileges were given to the European states, the high amounts of debt borrowed from them could not enable industrial and commercial development and these debts rendered the state open to economic exploitation by the West. In addition, the economic aspects of Westernization during the Reform

---

[77] Erik Jan Zürcher, *Millî Mücadelede İttihatçılık*, 2. Basım, translated by Nüzhet Salihoğlu, İstanbul, 1995, p.28; Mardin, *"Yenileşme Dinamiğinin..."*, p.212; Halil İnalcık, "*Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hûmayunu*", *Belleten*, C.XXVIII, Ankara, 1964, Sayı: 112, p.621; Berkes, *Teokrasi...*, pp.66-67; Ergün Aybars, *Atatürk, Çağdaşlaşma ve Laik Demokrasi*, İzmir, 1994, p.37; İlber Ortaylı, "*Osmanlı Devleti'nde Laiklik Hareketleri*", Türk Siyasal Hayatının Gelişimi, İstanbul, 1986, p.168; Ersin Kalaycıoğlu-Ali Yaşar Sarıbay, "*Tanzimat: Modernleşme Arayışı ve Siyasal Değişme*", Türk Siyasal Hayatının Gelişimi, İstanbul, 1986, pp.9-27.

[78] Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin - Sarıbay, Ali Yaşar; "*Tanzimat: Modernleşme Arayışı ve Siyasal Değişme*", Türk Siyasal Hayatının Gelişimi, İstanbul, 1986, pp.9-27.

[79] Zürcher, ibid., p.28.

[80] Mümtaz'er Türköne, *Siyasî İdeoloji Olarak İslâmcılığın Doğuşu*, İstanbul, 1991, p.52.

[81] Taha Akyol, *Medine'den Lozan'a*, 4. Baskı, İst., 1996, p.26.

[82] Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi...*, pp. 12-13

[83] Yaşar Özüçetin, "Türkçülük", *Türk Yurdu*, C.22, Sayı.: 173, s.s.(6-13), Ankara, 2002, p.6.

Period worked in the interest of the minorities benefiting from the foreigner's interventions and the Ottoman State and society became prone to Western imperialism as from the Reform Period. Together, with the extravagance of the court, some sections of society started to react to these developments.[84]

As a matter of fact, the strong opposition movement in that period was launched by the intellectuals known as the Young and the New Ottomans. The New Ottomans was organized secretly in Istanbul in 1865. This organization was regarded as the "*first opposition party*"[85] by Enver Ziya Karal. This society[86], which represented the first intellectual movement of the Ottoman State and was comprised completely of journalists, included, among others, Ayetullah Mehmed, Nuri, Şinasi, Ziya, Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi, Reşad and Agah. These people who had to flee to Europe later on, established a society named New Ottomans in 1867, under the leadership and protection of Mustafa Fazıl Pasha.[87]

The New Ottomans, who are regarded as the "*beginning of intellectual tradition*[88] in Turkey, in fact introduced a new dimension in Westernization and added a new ring to the idea of the need to introduce reforms in order to rescue the state, which had emerged in the *Tanzimat* Period.[89] Although they gathered around a common idea, the only ideological basis keeping them together was democracy. [90] Furthermore, they developed a shared attitude against the administrators of *Tanzimat* and the Ottoman modernization during the *Tanzimat* period, which they admitted superficially. [91] They targeted a constitutional government, whereby the executive organ would be responsible to the parliament.[92] According to the New Ottomans, this new system would be an assurance for intellectuals and people against the discretional and oppressive acts of the Emperor and administrators.[93]

Arguing that the economic policies pursued in the Reform Period made the Ottoman State financially reliant on the Europeans, the New Ottomans urged for the lifting of capitulations.[94] New Ottomans also criticized the foreign policies of

---

[84] Bayram Kodaman, "Avrupa Emperyalizminin Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna Giriş Vasıtaları", *Millî Kültür*, Haziran 1980, pp.24-28. Niyazi Berkes, *Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu*, İstanbul, 1975, p.31. Yusuf Kemal Tengirşek, "Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Devleti'nin Harici Siyaseti", *Tanzimat I*, 1940, pp.296-298

[85] Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, C.VII, 2. Baskı, Ankara, 1977, p.313.

[86] Türköne, *İslamcılığın Doğuşu*..., pp.93–95.

[87] Turhan, ibid, p.170.

[88] İlber Ortaylı, "*Bir Aydın Grubu: Yeni Osmanlılar*", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, C.VI, pp.1702–1703, p.1703

[89] Kubalı, ibid, p.67.

[90] Türköne, *İslâmcılığın*..., p.95.

[91] Şerif Mardin, "Yeni Osmanlılar ve Siyasî Fikirleri", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, C.VI, pp.1698-1701, p.1700; İhsan Sungu, "Tanzimat ve Yeni Osmanlılar", *Tanzimat I*, İstanbul, 1940, pp.777-857.

[92] Erdoğan Teziç, *100 Soruda Siyasî Partiler*, İstanbul, 1976, p.174.

[93] Sina Akşin, "*Siyasal Tarih (1789–1908)*", *Türkiye Tarihi*, C.III, 5. Basım, İstanbul, 1997, pp.77–188, p.146.

[94] Şerif Mardin, "19. Yüzyılda Düşünce Akımları ve Osmanlı Devleti", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedis*, C.II, pp.342-351, p.345.

the Reformists and called for the adoption of independent foreign policies as the Ottoman State had become politically dependent on Europeans.[95]

Undertaking the mission of rescuing the state, the New Ottomans expressed their opinions in an Islamic discourse. Islam, which they originally used as an opposition tool, formed the basis of their ideas in time. New Ottomans used Islamic discourse to grasp political power, to express their opinions most efficiently and as the basis of their opinions, and meanwhile searched for an Islamic counterpart for the Western system of values.[96] By expressing and interpreting western values through an Islamic discourse, they tried to ensure easier adoption of these values by the Muslims.[97]

The society, which aimed at establishing a contemporary political order without deviating from Islamic principles, was criticized by some authors. However, the society included members who adopted contemporary political views. The desire for Westernization to go beyond legal formality and influence thoughts and spirits came out this way. The figures who have played major roles in this area have been Ziya Pasha and Namik Kemal after şinasi.[98] The articles of Namik Kemal, one of the leaders of this idea, in the "*Hürriyet*" (Liberty) newspaper published in london and in the "*Ibret*" (Lesson) newspaper published in istanbul were marked by the influence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideas[99] and the French Revolution. According to him, the 1839 Gülhane Imperial Decree had nothing to do with personal liberty. The edicts of the reform period were, according to him, "*covering a series of arrangements ignoring the freedom of people*".[100] Namik Kemal followed şinasi with his articles published in the *ibret* newspaper and encouraged the Westernization movement. He managed to convey his ideas to a larger mass.[101] When mentioning the European civilization in the *ibret* newspaper, namik kemal wrote, "*We don't have a factory. How far can we progress in arts? We haven't been able to establish a company, how can we do trade? Do we have an islamic bank? How can we create mental wealth*?" And stressed that it was obligatory to develop the state in economic terms and to take the necessary measures leading up to wealth.[102] Perceiving the European civilization as a civilization involving many institutions which were originally invented by the Islamic world and then developed by the Europeans, namik

[95] Teziç, ibid, p.174.
[96] Türköne, *İslamcılığın...*, pp.63–102
[97] Zürcher, ibid., p.34.
[98] Hilmi Ziya Ülken, ibid. , p. 758
[99] ibid., pp. 368-369; Ercümend Kuran, *Türk Dünyası El Kitabı*, Vol. I, 2.Ed., Ankara, 1992, p.499; Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu...*, p.142; Şerif Mardin, *Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesinin...*, p. 369.
[100] Recai Galip Okandan, *Amme Hukukumuzun Anahtarları*, Book I, İstanbul, Hukuk Fakültesi yayını, 1971, p. 120.
[101] Ülken, ibid. , p. 760
[102] ibid. p. 761

kemal[103] interpreted the European civilization as innovations in the fields of technology, economy, industry, education and press[104], and pointed out the difficulty for Turkey to keep standing against the superior civilization of Europe.[105] He stressed that Turkey had to learn science and make inventions in order to be able to catch up with the constantly developing technology in the West,[106] and expressed that Turks would be successful once they took the West as a model.[107] As can be seen, Namik Kemal supported taking the technology and science of the West but opposed to simple imitation of the west. [108] According to Namik Kemal, who was against cultural Westernization[109] and therefore was in favour of limited Westernization, Westernization should be made without breaking the traditional ties and should be to the extent required for development.[110]

Namık Kemal prescribed the remedy for the rescuing the Ottoman State as the establishment of a "homeland" that will be defended by everyone. Citizens would take a role in this homeland through the parliament to be established. However, there was uncertainty over how Christian citizens would adopt Islamic law as the basic element. Namık Kemal's ideas reveal a reaction to the emerging Western imperialism as well as cultural imperialism.[111]

Ziya Pasha, who is another member of the society and who adopted the philosophical and political ideas of the 18th century, dwelled upon the concept of "Republic" and explained the differences between autocratic and democratic regimes. According to him, the republican administration did not have any administrators like Sultan, Emperor, *Sadrazam* (Prime Minister equivalent) and *Hariciye Naziri* (Foreign Minister equivalent). The Sultan, Emperor, *Sadrazam* and *Hariciye Naziri* of the country are the nation. On the other hand, one million people as members of the Republican[112] administration are not subject to the ruling and arbitrary acts of a few people pursuing their own interests, and the legal liberty of everyone are

[103] Şerif Mardin, *Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesinin...*, p. 356
[104] Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma...*, p. 297
[105] Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Namık Kemal ve İbret Gazetesi*, Ankara, 1938, p. 74
[106] Namık Kemal, *Makalat-ı Siyasiye ve Edebiyye*, İstanbul, 1327, p. 264
[107] Cemil Meiç, " Batılılaşma ", *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. I, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1983, p. 237
[108] Hilmi Ziya Ülken, ibid. , p. 762; Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, İstanbul, 1979, p. 107;
[109] Seyit Kemal Karaalioğlu, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Vol. II, İstanbul, 1978, p. 259; Şerif Mardin, *Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesinin...*, p. 132
[110] Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, ibid. , p. 240; Birol Emil, "Tanzimatın Büyük İdealisti: Namık Kemal-Eserinde ve Aksiyonunda Üç Temel Kavram: Hürriyet-Medeniyet-İrade ", *Türkiye Günlüğü*, Issue VIII, November 1989, p. 33
[111] Şerif Mardin, "Tanzimat ve Aydınlar", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, C.I, İstanbul, p.50.
[112] Here, the word 'republic" means democratic regime.

under protection.[113] While stressing the importance of learning Western languages, Ziya Pasha was against the imitation of Western literary works; therefore Ziya Pasha cannot be regarded as a decisive westerniser.[114] However, although Ziya Pasha was conservative in cultural and religious matters, he continued following Western ideas. In even 1869, Ziya Pasha criticized the reformists saying that "*They wasted their time by theatres, balls, not getting jealous of their wives and staying without canonical purification*", although there were more important things to adopt such as "*the award and punishment provisions applied in Europe, compliance with laws, industrial development, enlargement of trade, ensuring legal order and sticking to national traditions*"[115] in a dream he had, in reply to the accusations of the Sultan, Ziya Pasha defends the view of taking Turkey to the level of civilized states by establishing a national assembly without destroying the legitimate rights of the Sultan[116]

Mustafa Fazil Pasha, who contributed much to the dissemination of the constitution idea in the Ottoman Empire, put forward the incapacity of the Government in the meetings he attended and expressed that personal protection and favouring was prevalent in the administration. The presence of such thinking intellectuals in Istanbul was perceived as a threat by Government and while Ali Suavi was exiled to Kastamonu, Mustafa Fazil Pasha was expelled. Upon this, other members of the society went abroad having seen that they couldn't work in Istanbul. Mustafa Fazil Pasha who settled in Paris invited the leading New Ottomans such as Ziya Pasha, Namik Kemal, Ali Suavi, Mehmet, Nuri as well as Agah, the owner of "*Tercüman-i Ahval*", to paris and contributed to their political efforts through supporting them financially.[117] It is possible to depend the source of the political views of Mustafa Fazil Pasha to his respect for the sultan and his desire for seeing the sultan as if ruling a constitutional state.[118]

---

[113] Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiyenin Siyasi Hayatında Batılılaşma Hareketleri*, Yedigün Matbaası, İstanbul, 1960, p. 66; Recai Galip Okandan, *Amme Hukukumuzun Anahtarları*, Book 1, Istanbul, Hukuk Fakültesi yayını, 1971, pp. 118-120

[114] Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiyenin...* , p. 138; İ. Ye. Petrosyan, "XIX. Asır Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Reform Hareketi: Gelenek ve Yenilik ", *Tanzimat'ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu*, Ankara, 31 Ekim- 3 kasım 1989, p. 23

[115] Muzaffer Tufan, "Sosyolojinin Fransa'da Doğuşu Döneminde Osmanlı Toplumundaki Çağdaşlaşma Hareketi", *Tanzimat'ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslar arası Sempozyumu*, Ankara, 31 Ekim- 3 kasım 1989, p. 155

[116] Ziya argues, "*Now, have a look at the states on the European continent. Is there any more absolute government other than Russia? Isn't even Russia trying to imitate the order in various European states through gradual advancements? Are the grandeur and majesty of French and Austrian Emperors, Italian and Prussian Kings and the British Queen less than Russia?..... If even our supreme state is regarded as a member of the European family, it is impossible for us carry on like this against the opposition of the entire world.*". Ziya Paşa, Türk Klâs. , p. 115 quoted by Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin...*, p. 139

[117] Ahmet Bedevi Turan, *İnkılap Tarihimiz ve İttihad ve Terakki*, İstanbul , Tan Matbaası , 1948 , pp. 25-26

[118] Şerif Mardin, *Yeni Osmanlı...*, p. 312

When Namik Kemal and Ziya Pasha started to publish the "*Hürriyet*" (Liberty) and "*Muhbir*" (Informer) newspapers in paris, Ali Suavi published the "*Ulum*" (Science) newspaper and tried to express their displeasure with the autocratic administration in the Ottoman State. Although Ali Suavi maintains, until the end of his life, the idea that administration must not be discretional that they must be based on consultation and that administrations must be responsible for what they do, and argues that there should be a national assembly, he wrote that a parliamentary system in the modern sense would not be a remedy for the state, considering the different ethnic and religious structures in the state.[119]

Nevertheless, upon Sultan Abdülaziz's visit to Paris in 1867, the French Government did not allow such activities against the Sultan, and while Namik Kemal and Ziya Pasha had to move to London, some of the other members in Paris had to move to Brussels.[120]

It is quite astonishing that the purpose of these activities of the New Ottomans was not against the Sultan in person or against the monarchy. As a matter of fact, the New Ottomans always had a deep respect for the Sultan.[121] the target of the critics of the New Ottomans was *Bab-i Âli* (the Supreme State), especially Fuad Pasha and Âlî Pasha who were two pillars of the Ottoman administration. They were regarded as the pioneers of imperial reform in Turkey and were reputable as "good men" that have laid the foundation of modern Turkish administration.[122] In determining the state policies, the Sultan almost became the servant of Fuad Pasha and Âlî' Pasha.[123] The extreme admiration of the West by Reformists drew a harsh reaction from the New Ottomans, especially Ziya Pasha and Namik Kemal. They saw the reform movement as a revolt against both islam and Turks.[124]

In their activities in Europe, the new ottomans could not ensure a unity of thought. Therefore, they dissolved in 1872 and returned to Istanbul.[125] The only common idea among the members was to turn down the absolute rule. Although the New Ottomans played an important role in overthrowing Sultan Abdülaziz first and then carrying Abdülhamid II to the throne possibly for this reason, they could not establish an efficient organization. However, they had been influential figures of the movement and managed to attract many Ottoman intellectuals to their ranks. In this regard, the proclamation of the First Constitutional Period in the Ottoman Empire on 23 December 1876 and the opening of the First National Assembly on 19 March 1877 were the achievements of the New Ottoman movement.

Namik Kemal and Ziya Pasha argued that "*they had to take the science and technology of the West, but they should carefully preserve our Islamic*

[119] Hüseyin Çelik, *Ali Suâvi*, Ankara, 1993, p.76
[120] Ahmet Bedevi Turan, ibid., p. 29
[121] Şerif Mardin, *Yeni Osmanlı...*, p. 124
[122] ibid., p. 124
[123] ibid., p. 125
[124] Fazlur Rahman, ibid., p.106
[125] Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, ibid., p. 30

traditions. The own institutions of the Ottoman society had to be created and developed."[126] New Ottomans seem to have adopted modern thinking with respect to some ideas which they have put forward. Although they had many subjects in common, the fact that they did not have a common doctrine has led to approaches qualifying this movement as an "act without ideology".[127] People like Namik Kemal, Şinasi, Ziya Pasha and Ali Suavi found the reforms and modernization practices introduced by the Reform Movement inadequate. According to them, freedoms had to be introduced in the Ottoman political system, a constitutional regime had to be introduced and an assembly which would restrict the authority of the Sultan and supervise execution had to be established.

As explained above, Reformists have broken the centuries-old traditional structure and moved to solve social problems. The Reform Movement has brought along some inevitable innovations. The reforms were carried out under the leadership of senior statesmen also including the Sultans. Therefore, it can be said that reforms performed in the Reform Period in the areas of law, administrative system and education[128] did not stem from the bottom, at least as a result of intensive requests of wide social sectors. In other words, the Reform Movement can regarded as a new social phenomenon which did not occur as a result of pressure for change from the bottom, but as a state restoration and reformation effort exerted under the leadership of senior statesmen.[129] All the innovations introduced by the Reform Movement have led to the emergence of new institutions beside the old institutions as unfamiliar with and isolated from each other.[130] However, despite all, although they were superficial, the reforms introduced by the Reformists have formed the basis of the subsequent reforms in the areas of law and education.

Conclusion

When the views and acts of the Chinese and Ottoman intellectuals and statesmen regarding the West and Westernization are analyzed, there are many comparable issues. In the comparison, while statesmen like Zeng Guo-fan, Li Hong-zhang, Yi Xin, Ding Ri-chang, Mustafa Reşit Pasha, Âlî Pasha, fuat Pasha and Sadik Rifat Pasha are included in the same group,

---

[126] Halil İnalcık, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ve Osmanlı", *Doğu Batı*, Issue 5, 1998, p. 14

[127] Emre Kongar, *Türkiye'nin Toplumsal Yapısı*, Vol. I, Remzi Kitabevi, 5.baskı, İstanbul,1985 p.69

[128] Ekrem Üçyiğit, "Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Tarihinde Tanzimat ", *Tanzimat'ın 150.Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu*, Ankara, 31 Ekim- 3 Kasım 1989, p. 11; Muzaffer Tufan, "Sosyolojinin Fransa'da Doğuşu Döneminde Osmanlı Toplumdaki Çağdaşlama Hareketi ", *Tanzimat'ın 150.Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu*, Ankara, 31 Ekim- 3 Kasım 1989, pp. 155-156

[129] İlyas Doğan, "Tanzimat Sonrası Osmanlı Aydınlarında Çağdaşlaşma Sorunu ve Arayışlar", *Uluslararası Kuruluşunun 700. Yıl Dönümünde Bütün Yönleriyle Osmanlı Devleti Kongresi*, 7-9 Nisan 1999, Bildiriler, (Edited by: Alaaddin Aköz, Bayram Ürekli, Ruhi Özcan), Konya, 2000, p. 489

[130] Ülken, ibid. p. 761

Feng Gui-fen, Guo Song-tao, Namik Kemal and Ziya Pasha are included in the intellectuals group.

In general terms, the common goal of both the Chinese intellectuals and statesmen and the Ottoman intellectuals and statesmen in their efforts for Westernization was to prevent their collapsing empires from dissolving. When viewed from this perspective, they have been successful, even though partially. They have delayed the dissolution of their own empires and more importantly, have unintentionally laid the foundations of their republics to be founded later on.

If the statesmen of both countries are to be matched up in terms of the roles they have played, while Yi Xin-Mustafa Reşit Pasha were traditionalists and Zeng Guo-fan, Li Hong-zhang, Ding Ri-chang and Âlî[131] and Fuat Pashas were modern moderates. As for the intellectuals; while Feng Gui-fen-Namik Kemal and Ziya Pasha were traditionalists, Guo Song-tao and sadik rifat pasha were modern moderates.

While Prince Yi Xin actually triggered the "Self-Strengthening Movement", Mustafa Reşit Pasha was the chief architect of the Reform Movement. Both were impressed by the naval forces of the West at those times and exerted efforts to close the gap. They also attached importance to education: Prince Yi Xin requested his Emperor to send young students abroad to learn the position and languages of the West while Mustafa Reşit Pasha underscored the requirement to establish modern schools for saving the empire. As for the differences between them, while Prince Yi Xin was the brother of the manchurian Chinese Emperor who was brought up in the court, Mustafa Reşit Pasha was an Ottoman bureaucrat and ambassador who was promoted gradually. Therefore, he approached the West with awareness whereas Prince Yi Xin underestimated the West. While Mustafa Reşit Pasha had sympathy towards France, Prince Yi Xin was close to Britain.

When Zeng Guo-fan and Li Hong-zhang, the leaders of the Self-Strengthening Movement", and Âlî Pasha and Fuat Pasha, the leaders of the Reform Movement, are compared, some striking points emerged. First of all, they are all statesmen of prime minister level who executed reforms. While Zeng and Li were powerful provincial governors holding armies, Âlî Pasha and Fuat Pasha were the statesmen who actually ruled the Ottoman Empire despite the Emperor. Zeng and Li, who were strictly tied to the Confucian doctrine, have tried to look objectively to the west like Âlî Pasha and Fuat Pasha. However, since he assessed every issue based on the Confucian philosophy and he did not speak any European language, Zeng did not know well enough about the West. Li Hong-zhang, who was brought up under the patronage of Zeng, was always in touch with the Westerners, knew much about the West and desired full Westernization (of course,

[131] According to İlber Ortaylı, although Âlî Pasha is known to be conservative, he occupies a place in the revolutionist Ottoman ideology as he was in favor of the adoption of the civil law, see İlber Ortaylı, *Gelenekten Geleceğe*, Hil Yayın, İstanbul, 1982, p. 20

Westernization in areas excluding political issues; Westernization in military, science and economy!). He, too, was supporting Britain like Âlî Pasha and Fuat Pasha. However, Âlî Pasha and Fuat Pasha, who spoke french well and were brought up under the patronage of mustafa Reşit Pasha, followed the advancements in Europe very closely. While Âlî Pasha and Fuat Pasha tried to create an "Ottoman" spirit by bringing together the cosmopolitan Ottoman subjects with the Reform Movement, Zeng and Li aimed only at preventing the collapse of the Manchurian dynasty and driving Western forces out of China through the Self-Strengthening Movement which they led.

While Âlî Pasha and Fuat Pasha introduced equality for non-muslims by issuing the imperial Reform Edict imposed by the West, Zeng and Li have not introduced any reform in the political area. Undoubtedly, this difference stems from the fact that the Ottioman State and China are located in different geographies, that they have different relations with the West, their demographic structures and the rates of pressure inflicted by the West on the Ottoman State and China.. While a large portion of the Ottoman territories was in Europe, China was very far away from Europe and there was no Christian population which Europe could exploit it as a trump against itself. On the other hand, even if Zeng and Li had wanted to do political reforms, they wouldn't have been able to do that as the position of the then Manchurian Chinese Emperor or Queen was not as weak as the position of Sultan Abdulmecid or Sultan Abdulaziz, and Zeng and Li were nobody other than servants under their rule. Nevertheless, as they were governors of Chinese-origin, they were always suspected by the Manchurian dynasty; whenever they took wrong steps, their lives could be at stake. However, Âlî Pasha and Fuat Pasha did not have such worries as the Reform Edict annulled the arbitrary practices of the Sultan such as "confiscation and prohibition from politics". Furthermore, they were also supported by the foreign Embassies in Istanbul. Zeng favored the USA and Li Hong-zhang Russia. Âlî Pasha and Fuat Pasha had empathy towards Britain.

As for the similarities and differences between the Chinese and Ottoman intellectuals, the views of the intellectuals of both countries regarding the West must be addressed first. The views of Feng Gui-fen, the leader of the Self-Strengthening Movement, and of Guo Song-tao, the Ambassador to London, were not different from those of Namik Kemal and Ziya Pasha with respect to taking the West as a model. While feng emphasized that China could achieve a Westernization based on Chinese tradition as long as it was supported by the Emperor, Namik Kemal expressed that the European civilization was a civilization which covered many institutions of the Islamic world, and stated that Turkey could achieve the same success if Europe was taken as a model. In this respect, both Namik Kemal and Feng Gui-fen emphasized that Westernization should take place without breaking traditional ties. While Feng Gui-fen was working for the Highest Science Academy of China, Namik Kemal worked for the Translation Committee which was the window of the Ottoman State opening

to the outside world. Therefore, although they were working at similarly high levels, while one was learning about the West through books, the other had the chance to go to Europe and learn about Western science, as he knew a Western language.

Like Sadik Rifat Pasha, Guo Song-tao too worked as an Ambassador in Europe. Therefore, they both Knew Europe well. While Sadik Rifat Pasha argued that Turkey could peacefully resolve her conflicts with Europe provided that she adopt the European system which assured the development of science and arts, Guo Song-tao who attached importance to Western style education and Western languages argued that it would be wiser for China to comply with the agreements signed with the West. Undoubtedly, the fact that they worked as ambassadors in the West was underlying their common interpretation. However, the point neglected by both of them here is that in the 19th century international relations, the Great Powers established normative relations only with countries of equal power. For instance, while the European states tried to get lands from the Ottoman Empire through capitulations on the grounds that the minorities in the Ottoman Empire were badly treated (of course, this process progressed slowly due to disputes among themselves); they formed concessionary regions in China by imposing unequal agreements. Having noticed that the stay of the Manchurian Chinese Government in power would be in their favour, they obtained concession after concession by threatening them forcefully. As a matter of fact, the weak states had little bargaining power in the international arena, which was the case for China and the Ottoman State at that time. It was even observed that the balance policy pursued in the Ottoman State, which tried to survive by applying balance policy in foreign relations, had some effects on the reforms. As a matter of fact, while the reform activities developed as a consequence of the need for reform within the state, they were also attempted to be used in the solution for a series of foreign policy issues. This fact is more explicitly observed in the *islahat Firman*, which resulted in significant reactions.

While China was also described as barbarian by Western intellectuals, similar approach was also adopted for the Ottoman State as well. However, although both states acknowledged the technical superiority of the West, their cultural values were disapproved and emphasis was put on the requirement to stick to their own values constantly. This approach, observed among the intellectuals of both states, may have originated from the fact that they had seen themselves superior to the West in the past and were still underestimating the West. It may also be viewed as a reaction to Western imperialism by the intellectuals of both states.

Overall, both the Chinese and Ottoman intellectuals and statesmen were endeavoring for westernization, but their common goal was to prevent the dissolution of their weakening states. As a matter of fact, it is possible to state that they have been partially successful in their efforts, as they managed to delay the dissolution of their states. However, more importantly, the most

significant consequence of their efforts has been their contribution to the foundation of their prospective republics.

KAYNAKÇA

1. Akyol, Taha, **Medine'den Lozan'a**, 4. Baskı, İstanbul, 1996.
2. Aldıkaçtı, Orhan, Anayasa Hukukumuzun Gelişmesi ve 1961 Anayasası, 3.Baskı, İstanbul, 1978.
3. Andıç Fuat, & Süphan Andıç (ed.), **Sadrazam Âlî Pasha: Hayatı, Zamanı ve Siyasi Vasiyetnamesi**, İstanbul, 2000.
4. Armağolu, Fahir, **19. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi**, Ankara, 1997.
5. Aybars, Ergün, **Atatürk, Çağdaşlaşma ve Laik Demokrasi**, İzmir, 1994.
6. Berkes, Niyazi, **Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu**, İstanbul, 1975.
7. ----------, **Teokrasi ve Laiklik**, 2. Basım, Istanbul, 1997.
8. Davison, Roderic H., **Nineteenth Century Ottoman Diplomacy and Reforms**, the Isis Press, Istanbul, 1999.
9. Eda Kie, 依田憙家, *Rizhong Liangguo Xiandaihua De Bijiao Yanjiu* (Comparison of Japanese and Chinese Modernization), 日中两国现代化比较研究, Translated by: Bian Li-qiang, 卞立强等译, Bejing Daxue Chubanshe, 北京大学出版社, 1997.
10. Gevgilili, Ali, **Türkiye'de Yenileşme Düşüncesi, Sivil Toplum, Basın ve Atatürk**, 2. Baskı, İstanbul, 1990.
11. Guo, Ting-yi(ed.), 郭廷以, *Guo Song-tao Xiansheng Nianpu* (Bay Guo Song-tao Chronicle), 郭嵩焘先生年谱, vol. I, vol.XI, Zhongyang Yanjiu Yuan, Taipei, 1921
12. ----------, *Jindai Zhongguo Shigang (Summary of Near Age Chinese History)*, 近代中国史纲, Vol I, Hong Kong Zhongwen Daxue Chubanshe, 香港中文大学出版社, 1980.
13. Hsü, Immanuel C.Y., *The Rise of Modern China*, 4.edition, Oxford Univ.Press, 1990.
14. İlber, Ortaylı, **Gelenekten Geleceğe**, İstanbul, 1982.
15. İhsan, Güneş, II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Hükümet Programları (1908–1918), Ankara, 1990.
16. Karaalioğlu, Seyit Kemal, **Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi**, İstanbul, 1978.
17. Karal, Enver Ziya, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, C.VII, 2. Baskı, Ankara, 1977.
18. Karpat, Kemal, **Türk Demokrasi Tarihi**, İstanbul, 1996.
19. Kemal, Namık, **Makalat-ı Siyasiye ve Edebiyye**, İstanbul, 1327.
20. Kongar, Emre, **Türkiye'nin Toplumsal Yapısı**, Vol. I, 5.baskı, İstanbul, 1985.
21. Kubalı, Hüseyin Nail, **Türk Esas Teşkilât Hukuku Dersleri**, İstanbul, 1960.
22. Kuran, Ercümend, **Türk Dünyası El Kitabı**, Ankara, 1992.
23. Levenson, Joseph R., **Confucian China and Its Modern Fate**, University of California Press, 1968.
24. Lewis, Bernard, **Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu**, Çev: Metin Kıratlı, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1996.
25. Li, Guo-qi, 李国祁, *Jindai Zhongguo Zhengzhi Sixiang Lunwenji* (A Collection of Theses on the Near Age Chinese Political Views), 近代中国政治思想论文集, Guoli Bianyi Guan,Taipei,1999.
26. **Jindai Zhongguo Dui Xifang Ji Lieqiang Renshi Ziliao Huibian** 近代中国对西方及列强认识资料汇编, 第一辑, **(Collection of Sources on the Views of Near Age China Regarding the West and Big Powers), Vol. I.**
27. Li Hong-zhang Zouyi, 李肃毅伯（鸿章）奏议 **Li Hong-zhang's Letter)**, Vol.II, Fourth Year of Emperor Tongzhi, June 1.
28. Li Wen Zhong Gong Quanji: **Pengliao** Hangao 李文忠公全集：朋僚函稿 **(All Books of Li Hong-zhang: Correspondences with Friends and Colleagues)**, Vol I.

29. Lü, Shi-qiang, 吕实强, **Zhiqiang Yundong Yu Ding Richang (Ding Richang and Self-Strengthening Movement)**, 丁日昌与自强运动, *Zhongyanyuan Jinshisuo*, 中研院近史所, Taipei, 1972.
30. Onar, Sıddık Sami, **İdare Hukukumuzun Umumi Esasları**, İstanbul, 1952.
31. Özön, Mustafa Nihat, **Namık Kemal ve İbret Gazetesi**, Ankara, 1938.
32. Okandan, Recai Galip, **Amme Hukukumuzun Anahtarları**, İstanbul, Hukuk Fakültesi Yay., 1971.
33. Sun Guang De; 孙广德, **Disputes on Manchu Qing Dynasty and Westernization,** 晚清传统与西化的争论 Tayvan Shangwu Yinshuguan, 台湾商务印书馆, 1982, New York, pp. 160-172; also see; Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate,* University of California Press, 1968.
34. Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi, **Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi**, İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1942.
35. Tongzhi Chao Chouban Yiwu Shimo, 同治朝筹办夷务始末 (Documents Regarding Relations with Barbarians During the Period of Emperor Tongzhi), Vol. 25.
36. Turhan, Mümtaz, **Kültür Değişmeleri**, 3. Baskı, İstanbul, 1997.
37. Türköne, Mümtaz'er, **Siyasî İdeoloji Olarak İslâmcılığın Doğuşu**, İstanbul, 1991.
38. Erdoğan Teziç, **100 Soruda Siyasî Partiler**, İstanbul, 1976.
39. Turan, Ahmet Bedevi, **İnkılap Tarihimiz ve İttihad ve Terakki**, İstanbul, 1948.
40. Tunaya, Tarık Zafer, **Türkiyenin Siyasi Hayatında Batılılaşma Hareketleri**, İstanbul, 1960.
41. Üçok, Coşkun -Ahmet Mumcu, **Türk Hukuk Tarihi**, 5. Baskı, Ankara, 1985.
42. Ülken, Hilmi Ziya, **Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi**, İstanbul, 1979.
43. Wang Shou-nan, 王寿南, *Zhongguo Lidai Sixiangjia* (Old Chinese Intellectuals), 中国历代思想家, Vol. 42, Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, 台湾商务印书馆, 1987.
44. Wu Peng-yi, 吴鹏翼, Zhongguo Xinadaihua Yundong De Yishi-Guo Song-tao De Yanwuguan (Various Figures who Played a Role in the Chinese Modernization Movement -Guo Song-tao's Views on Westernization), 中国现代化运动的异士一郭嵩焘的洋务观, Zhou Yang-shan, Yang Su-xian(eds.), 周阳山, 杨肃献, *Jindai Zhongguo Sixiang Renwulun-Wanqing Sixiang(Near Age Chinese Scholars–Views on the Late Manchurian Dynasty,* 近代中国思想人物论一晚清思想, 时报公司, Taipei.
45. Zeng Guo-fan, 曾国藩, *Neijing* **(Self-Development Philosophy)**, 内经, (translated into modern Chinese with interpretations by Sima Lieren, 司马烈人, Zhongguo Huaqiao Chubanshe, 中国华侨出版社, Beijing, 2000.
46. Zeng Guo-fen Quanji, 曾国藩全集, Yuelu Shuju chuban, 岳麓书局出版, 1987.
47. Zeng Wen Zheng Gong Quan Ji: **Qiu Que Zhai Lei Cao**, 曾文正公全集: 求阙斋日记类钞 (All Books of Zeng Guo-fen: His Diray Written in Qiuque Hall),Vol. I.
48. Zürcher, Erik Jan, **Millî Mücadelede İttihatçılık**, 2. Basım, translated by Nüzhet Salihoğlu, İstanbul, 1995.
49. Alkan, Ahmed Turan, "*Röportaj: Reşid Pasha Savunuyo,* ", **Türkiye Günlüğü**, Sa:VIII, Kasım 1989.
50. Akşin, Sina, *"Siyasal Tarih (1789–1908)"*, **Türkiye Tarihi**, C.III, 5. Basım, İstanbul, 1997.
51. Baysun, Cavit, " *Mustafa Reşit Paşa* ", **Tanzimat II**, İstanbul, 1999.
52. Cohen, Paul, *"Ch'ing China: Confrontation with the West 1850-1900* ", **in James B. Crowley (ed.), Modern East Asia: Essays in Interpretation**, New York: Harcourt, Brace &World, Inc., 1970.
53. Doğan, İlyas, *"Tanzimat Sonrası Osmanlı Aydınlarında Çağdaşlaşma Sorunu ve Arayışlar"*, **Uluslararası Kuruluşunun 700. Yıl Dönümünde Bütün Yönleriyle**

Osmanlı Devleti Kongresi, 7–9 Nisan 1999, Bildiriler, (Edited by: Alaaddin Aköz, Bayram Ürekli, Ruhi Özcan), Konya, 2000.
54. Emil, Birol, " *Tanzimatın Büyük İdealisti: Namık Kemal-Eserinde ve Aksiyonunda Üç Temel Kavram: Hürriyet-Medeniyet-İrade* ", **Türkiye Günlüğü**, Issue VIII, November 1989.
55. Feng Gui-fen, *冯桂芬*, **Jiaobinlu Kangyi (Protest from Jiaobin Chamber)**, 校邠庐抗议, Vol. II, 1898 version.
56. ----------, Jiaobinlu Kangyi (Protest from Jiaobin Chamber), 校邠庐抗议, Ju Feng Fang, 1897 version.
57. Gökbilgin, Tayip, "*Tanzimat Hareketinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine ve Teşkilâtına Etkileri*", **Belleten**, Cilt XXXI, Sayı 121, (Ocak 1967)'den ayrı basım, Ankara, 1967.
58. Guo, Yin, 郭莹, 精英人物与中国近代化进程, 《学术月刊》第一期, "The Elites and the Process of Chinese Modernization", Xue Shu Yue Kan, No.I, 1994.
59. İnalcık, Halil, "*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ve Osmanlı*", **Doğu Batı**, Issue 5, 1998.
60. ----------, "*Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hûmayunu*", **Belleten**, C.XXVIII, Ankara, 1964, Sayı: 112.
61. Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin-Ali Yaşar Sarıbay, "*Tanzimat: Modernleşme Arayışı ve Siyasal Değişme*", **Türk Siyasal Hayatının Gelişimi**, İstanbul, 1986.
62. Kuran, Ercüment, "*Türk Çağdaşlaşma Tarihinde Tanzimat'ın Yeri*", **Türkiye Günlüğü**, Issue VIII, November,1989.
63. ----------, "*Türk Çağdaşlaşma Tarihinde Tanzimat'ın Yeri*", **Türk Çağdaşlaşması**, Ankara, 1997.
64. Kodaman, Bayram, "Avrupa Emperyalizminin Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna Giriş Vasıtaları", **Millî Kültür**, Haziran 1980.
65. Lewis, Bernard, " *Some Observations on the Significance of Heresy in the History of Islam* ", **Studia Islamica I**, 1953.
66. Liu, K.C., "*Li Hung-chang in Chili: The Emergence of a Policy, 1870-1875*", in Feuerwerker, Murphey and Wright (eds.), **Approaches to Modern Chinese History**.
67. Liu, Kwang-Ching, "*Nineteeth-Century China: The Disintegration of the Old Order and the Impact of the West* ", **in *China's Heritage and the Communist Political System*, book one, *China in Crisis***, volume I, edited by Ping-ti Ho and Tang Tsou, University of Chicago Press, 1968.
68. Mardin, Şerif, "*Yeni Osmanlılar ve Siyasî Fikirleri*", **Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi**, C.VI.
69. ----------, "*19. Yüzyılda Düşünce Akımları ve Osmanlı Devleti*", **Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi**, C.II, İstanbul.
70. ----------, "*Yenileşme Dinamiğinin Temelleri ve Atatürk*", **Türkiye'de Toplum ve Siyaset (Makaleler I)**, 6. Baskı, Istanbul., 1997.
71. ----------, "*Tanzimat ve Aydınlar*", **Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi**, C.I, İstanbul.
72. Meiç, Cemil, "*Batılılaşma*", **Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi**, İstanbul, 1983.
73. Ongunsu, A. H., "*Tanzimat ve Amillerine Umumi Bakış*", **Tanzimat I**, İstanbul, 1940.
74. Ortaylı, İlber, "*Bir Aydın Grubu: Yeni Osmanlılar*", **Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi**, C.VI, İstanbul.
75. ----------, "*Osmanlı Devleti'nde Laiklik Hareketleri*", **Türk Siyasal Hayatının Gelişimi**, İstanbul, 1986.
76. Özüçetin, Yaşar, "*Türkçülük*", **Türk Yurdu**, C.22, Sayı.: 173, s.s.(6-13), Ankara, 2002.
77. Petrosyan, İ. Ye., "*XIX. Asır Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Reform Hareketi: Gelenek ve Yenilik*", **Tanzimat'ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu**, Ankara, 31 Ekim-3 Kasım 1989.

78. Qi, Qi Zhang: 戚其章, Cong Zhongben Dao Zhongti Xiyong (Transition from the Understanding of "Chinese Science for Fundamental Principles, Western Science for Ancillary Purposes" to "Chinese Science Must Fundamental and Western Science Must be Learnt for Practical Purposes"), 『从中本西末到中体西用』, *Social Sciences in China*, Issue 1, 《中国社会科学》第一期, 1995.
79. ----------, "*Jiawu War and the Development of Chinese Modern Era Social Perspectives* ", 『甲午战争与中国近代社会思潮的发展』, 《东岳论从》第四期, *Dong Yue Lun Cong*, No. 4, 1994
80. Sungu, İhsan, "*Tanzimat ve Yeni Osmanlılar*", **Tanzimat I**, İstanbul, 1940.
81. Kuo, Ting-Yee & Kwang-Ching Liu, "*Self – Strengthening: the Pursuit of Western Technology* " in John King Fairbank (ed.) **The Cambridge History of China**, vol 10, " Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911, Part I, Cambridge University Pres.
82. Tengirşek, Yusuf Kemal, "*Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Devleti'nin Harici Siyaseti*", **Tanzimat I**, 1940.
83. Tufan, Muzaffer, "*Sosyolojinin Fransa'da Doğuşu Döneminde Osmanlı Toplumdaki Çağdaşlaşma Hareketi*", **Tanzimat'ın 150.Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu**, Ankara, 31 Ekim- 3 Kasım 1989.
84. Üçyiğit, Ekrem, "*Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Tarihinde Tanzimat*", **Tanzimat'ın 150.Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu**, Ankara, 31 Ekim-3 Kasım 1989.
85. Ülken, Hilmi Ziya, "*Tanzimat'tan Sonra Fikir Hareketleri* ", **Tanzimat II**, İstanbul, 1999.
86. Wang, Er-min, 王尔敏, *Wanqing Xinzheng De Xin Pingjia* (Assessment of the New Policy Implemented in the Late Manchurian Dynasty Period), 晚清新政的新评价, Lishi Yuekan, 历史月刊, Issue 10, Taipei, 台北 , 1995 10月号.
87. Yılmaz, Mustafa, "*Siyaset ve Demokrasi*", **KÖK Araştırmalar**, C.II, Sayı: 1, Ankara, Bahar 2000.
88. Zhou, Ji Ming; 周积明, 『中国早期现代化进程的文化阻力』 *Zhongguo Zaoqi Xiandaihua Jincheng de Wenhua Zuli (Cultural Obstacles in Early Chinese Modernization* ", Jiang Han Review, Issue 2, 江汉论坛》第二期, 1996.

RAHMAN NURDUN,
HAKAN UZUN

XIX YÜZYILDA BATI ETKİSİNE KARŞI ÇİNLİ VE OSMANLI AYDINLARIN TEPKİLERİ VE ÇÖZÜM ARAYIŞLARI

ÖZET

Kendi iç dinamiklerine dayalı bir gelişme modeli yaratamayan ve Batı'yı örnek almak zorunda kalan Osmanlı Devleti ile Çin aynı dönemde bir modernleşme süreci yaşamışlardır. Her iki devletin yönetici ve aydınlarının ortak amaçları çökmekte olan devletlerinin dağılmasını önlemek olmuştur. Çinli ve Osmanlı aydın ve devlet adamlarının Batı ve Batılılaşma hakkındaki düşünceleri ve faaliyetleri incelendiği zaman, karşılaştırmaya değer birçok husus ortaya çıkmaktadır. Özellikle Batı'nın bir gelişme modeli olarak benimsenmesinin bir takım sorunları da beraberinde getirdiği tespit edilmiştir. Her iki devlette de yaşanan kaygıların başında Batı'nın teknik olarak üstünlüğünün kabul edilmesine karşın, kültürel değerlerine soğuk bakılması, kendi değerlerine bağlı kalmak gerekliliğinin sürekli vurgulanması dikkat çekmektedir. Bir başka deyişle ne toplumu kendine yabancılaştıracak bir değimi istemişler nede onu dünyadan soyutlamak. Ayrıca her iki devlette yaşanan modernleşme süreci siyasi ve kültürel önemli bir birikim oluşturmuştur. Çinli ve Osmanlı aydın ve devlet adamlarının, düşündükleri ve yaptıklarıyla ileride kurulacak olan cumhuriyetlerinin temelini bilinçsiz de olsa atmış olmaları ortaya çıkabilecek en önemli sonuçlardan biri olmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Modernleşme, Türkiye'de Modernleşme, Çin'de Modernleşme, Tanzimat, Kendini Güçlendirme Hareketi