

is inherently unstable. It is produced and reproduced again and again¹.

It is observed that post-structuralists' inside-outside dichotomy is not working neatly the way they demonstrate. A number of states do not follow the description of inside as one of progress, reason and justice in domestic politics. In spite of that, the national-international dichotomy still manages to govern much of world politics. For example, this dichotomy performs when states decide and opt not to intervene in other states that are prosecuting their 'own' citizens. Poststructuralists hold that state sovereignty is often not only questioned but also supported. For example, attacks of 9/11 on twin tower and war against terrorism. America was attacked and Afghanistan government was held responsible for these attacks.

Poststructuralists hold deconstruction of state sovereignty does not mean that it can easily be transcended or replaced by a global community. R. B. J. Walker and Ashely² note that state is a different kind of political category from the world, globe, planet, or community. Poststructuralists object and criticize liberal school of thought because for of latters support for universal principles as well as neglect for power involved in determining what is universally good and right. They do this because they are fully aware that universal discourse or universal principles are always determined from a particular power position. R. B. J. Walker argues that it is possible for a state's sovereignty acting autonomously within its own fixed borders to decline to some extent but it does not mean that state sovereignty will perish eventually. For instance, in European Union, sovereignty of various states is decreasing but it still resists to exist.

Poststructuralists do not deal only with state sovereignty but they also explain the ways to formulate and understand foreign policy. According to David Campbell, foreign policy is an ongoing process of creating boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. It is not a given activity. Poststructuralists opine that in the formulation of foreign policy there are no constant objects. Foreign policies are formulated and then reformulated by the state by keeping in view the domestic and international environment. Michael J. Shapiro is of the view that "politics of representation is absolutely crucial" and it plays an important role in defining foreign policies. Foreign policies are never given once and for all. Contrary to this, sometimes, identity is already given but most of the times it is created. Foreign policies do not protect an identity, however, it is discourses through which identities are produced and reproduced³.

According to poststructuralists, identity is relational and per-formative. They hold there are no natural or objective identities. These only are produced through discourses. It is no denying the fact that these identities are socially 'real'. However, if they are not reproduced, their 'realness' perishes. The relationship between identity and foreign policy is per-formative, relational and mutually constitutive rather than causal. Both identities and foreign policies do not exist independently. That's why we cannot say that identities cause foreign policies or foreign policies cause identities. However, identities are to some extent already in place.

When poststructuralists argue that identities are produced through discourses, they refer to the term subjectivities or subjects' positions. It means that someone does not have identity but it is one's position which determines one's identity. Power is an important element which plays vital role in constructing subject positions. For example, the subject position of 'the Muslims' has come to be used in Western Europe. Subject positions are also constituted through images, passports biometric systems, restrictions on visa and the methods to regulate entry at the airports, the incorporation of chips into passports, and online application for entry into a country.

In human sciences all kind of marginalization of rogue subjectivities, the will to truth, power and identity are subjects or fields of study for poststructuralists. In IR, their research agenda is more specific than generic. It emphasizes at state sovereignty; anarchy; bio-power; a codified, universal and de-politicising international ethics; and the will to improve underdeveloped or post-conflict societies.

From the above debate, it may be concluded that post-structuralism invests more time on criticizing others that is why it is dubbed as cannibalistic. It spends very little time coming up with its own analysis of IR and world politics. Another important question which is being put by the critics to the poststructuralists is that they are unable to highlight important issues in international politics. Moreover, Thomas Biersteker holds that poststructuralists are unable to provide an alternative to avoid legitimizing ignorance and intolerance, thus, we cannot ensure post-positivist pluralism. Definitely, they are leading to blind alleys. Post-structuralists reject this critique on the grounds that they are emphasizing on substantial analysis of international affairs. They will analyze theories candidly regardless of favouring one over the other and they will promote the culture of plurality of theories because it is always important to ask critical questions about the assumptions made by any theory⁴.

¹ Robert Jackson and George Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, 5th Ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 2013), 236.

² Richard Ashley, and R. B. J. Walker, "Conclusion: Reading Dissidence/Writing the Discipline: Crisis and the Question of Sovereignty in International Studies," *International Studies Quarterly* 34(1990): 367–416.

³ Baylis, *The Globalization of World Politics*, 176.

⁴ Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations*, 238.

Sino-Turkish Strategic Economic Relationship in the 21st Century

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Abstract

China and Turkey, two emerging powers, share similar ambitious goals and developing targets; common interests of the two are increasing and the demands for strategic and economic cooperation are also growing. This article argues that the dynamic development of Sino-Turkish economic relations has got new strategic significance amid rising of the two countries in the 21st century. The strategic significance of Turkey's economy to China lies in the following aspects: there is great economically cooperative potential between the two countries in view of economic power and momentum; as the principle members of emerging powers, both of them have growing common interests in global economic transformation and governance reform; Turkey plays an increasingly important role in the evolution of Eurasian geo-economic structure as well as the construction of Silk Road Economic Belt. There are fruitful strategic contents for Sino-Turkish economic relationship; bright prospects can be predicted in bilateral cooperation in aspects including trade, investment, finance and global economic governance. Looking ahead, China should pay more attention to Turkey's importance and make great efforts to build bilateral strategic economic relationship.

Keywords: China, Turkey, Rise, Strategic Economic Relationship

1. Introduction

Turkey locates at the geopolitical and enlightened intersection in Eurasia. Multiple historical heritage of Ottoman Empire can be found throughout the rising process of Turkey. Turkey's multiple identities, as a member of OECD and NOTO, a Middle East and Islamic power, a Turkic power as well as an emerging power, have inspired it to rise. Meanwhile, the continuing economic prosperity and political stability as well as its rising status internationally have enhanced its confidence of rising. The level of its land area, population size and economic scale is as big as a large and medium-sized country (CIA, 2015). The degree of Turkey's modernization is quite advanced, the speed of its economic growth is fast, and its development is promising. Turkish economy is market-oriented and outward. Its pursuit of joining in the European Union has greatly improved its market-oriented and outward degree, making it an important gathering place for global capital. Turkey has long been among the regional countries with representativeness and influence in the Middle East region and the Islamic world, making it have a strong position in many regions such as the Middle East, the Balkans and Central Asia. In present day, the global economic pattern and economic governance are undergoing continuous and deep transition; Turkey has shown its global influence and systemic importance in this process. Since the financial crisis, the importance of G20 in global economic governance has also promoted Turkey to stand on the front of the global economic governance. Turkey has taken the presidency of the G20 since the end of last year, The G20 summit will be held in November in Antalya. Turkey will hand over the presidency of G20 to China in 2016.

In recent years, the relationship between China and Turkey has drawn attention and hot discussion from the academic circles in both countries, for the reason that both China and Turkey have raised rapidly on regional and global level, and both of them would like to hear from the other (Zan Tao, 2013). It is of great practical significance to understand the peaceful development and rise of Turkey and China. However, there is certain gap and dislocation on their strategic cognition on the other. China attaches more importance to Turkey's strategic value on security level while China's importance is economic from Turkish perspective (Zan Tao, 2010). Just like China's rise, many scholars and research fruits have also focused Turkey's rise in this regard, but there's still lack of the analysis on the connections of the rises between the two. Against the transition era of global economic pattern and the Eurasian geo-economic pattern, both China and Turkey are in the rising process in which their foreign economic relationships are also undergoing great changes. Their strategic and economic importance is increasing to each other, and their cognition and policies toward each other are also adjusting and

repositioning. As a member of G20 and a rapid emerging power, Turkey's advantage in its strategic economic position is very outstanding. It is an important cooperative partner to China. In the 21st century, there is huge potential in strategic content of the economic relationship between China and Turkey. In the future, Turkey will play an outstanding role in China's foreign economic relationships. Sino-Turkish strategic economic relationship is worth deep and systematic analysis.

2. Sino-Turkish Economic Relations in the 21st Century

While Turkey has undergone tremendously domestic change in the past decades, an arguably more significant shift is its emergence as an economic power (Svante E. Cornell, 2012). Since Turkish Justice and Development Party took power, Turkish economy has made the "miracle" of continuing economic development. The growth rate of its economy has kept in high level and has even exceed 8 percent, marking Turkey as the country with fastest growing and strongest momentum in Europe and the Middle East (Ding Gong, 2013). The rank of the total economy of Turkey has move forward from 26 to 17. Its economic development has attracted worldwide attention, and its international economic position has also been dramatically improved. Turkey's role can be seen and even become more obvious in economic cooperation, coordination and governance on regional and global stage. Turkey's GDP has increased from \$ 230.5 billion in 2002 to \$ 821.9 billion in 2013. Over the same period, per capital GDP of it has soared from \$ 3,492 to \$ 10,782. The scale of Turkey's foreign trade has also increased. Foreign trade volume has increased from \$ 87.6 billion in 2002 to \$ 403.5 billion in 2013(Turkish Statistical Institute, 2014). Meanwhile, Turkey also faces continuing trade deficit and growing foreign trade frictions. Observed from the geographical distribution of Turkey's foreign economic relationship, European countries were the main economic and trade partners of Turkey, but their importance is declining; Asia Pacific and other emerging countries are new economic partners of Turkey and their importance is increasing. The development of economic strength also improves Turkish people's national pride and self-confidence, letting them to have more awareness as a power and global ambitions. At the same time, Turkey's economic demands have also been expanded and its international economic position has been enhanced. Its membership in G20 highlights its international status as a power.

The trade and economic bilateral relationship between China and Turkey have been on the rapid-developing track. Turkey has been among China's important economic partners. Since 2005, Turkey has promoted its economic development policies toward China in full fields. Turkish Ministry of Economy has carried out programs targeting to promote Chinese market (Wang Zhen, 2008). Turkey and China have been viewed as the two most rapid growing economies in G20. The development momentum of bilateral economic and trade relationship is quite strong. In 2010, Wen Jiabao, the Chinese premier, visited Turkey, during which China and Turkey announced to establish strategic cooperative relationship. Chinese leaders expressed that they have already realized Turkey's strength and its influence in international community and its surrounding regions. Both sides have signed many agreements and decided to settle the trade by currency of the two countries. They planned to increase bilateral trade volume from \$ 17 billion in 2010 to \$ 50 billion in 2015, and to 100 billion in 2020. In February 2012, then vice president Xi Jinping visited Turkey. During his visit, central banks of the two formally signed the currency swap agreement. Turkey became the 16th country that has signed currency swap agreement with China. In April 2012, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan led a delegation with 300 businessmen to visit China, aiming to promote economic and trade cooperation. Both sides have signed a serious of economic and trade cooperative agreements covering fields including nuclear energy.

The interaction between China and Turkey is growing close. China has already been an important trade partner of Turkey. The data of China Customs shows that from 2001 to 2013, the trade volume between China and Turkey has jumped from \$900 million to \$22.2 billion; China has maintained the trade surplus. According to the data of Turkish Statistical Institute, from 2004 to 2013, bilateral trade volume has increased from \$4.8 billion to \$28.3 billion; Turkey has kept the trade deficit. The proportion of Turkey's trade deficit to China in its total deficit increased from 11.8 percent in 2004 to 21.1 percent in 2013. In 2009, this proportion was as high as 28.5 percent. China is the third trade partner of Turkey (following Germany and Russia) and the 11th biggest exporting market as well as the second source of imports (after Russia); China's proportion in Turkish total export volume has increased gradually from 0.6 percent in 2004 to 2.4 percent in 2013. During the same period, China's proportion in Turkish total import volume has also increased rapidly from 4.6 percent to 9.8 percent (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2014). However, due to the limited trade volume, Turkey ranks more than 30 in China's trade partners.

In recent years, mutual investment between China and Turkey is not very huge, and the speed of growing is not very stable. China's investment to Turkey covers transportation, shipping, energy, communication, trade, travel and so on. Two sides have already made some achievements in project contracting, which has become the highlights of the economic and trade cooperation between the two. China's non-financial investment to Turkey has increased from \$5.31 million in 2008 to \$194 million in 2013. During the same period, Turkey's investment to China has increased from \$7.29 million to \$40.04 million. Completed project contracting

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