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土耳其蓝皮书

BLUE BOOK OF TURKEY

土耳其发展报告

(2015)

主编 / 郭长刚 刘义
副主编 / 王三义 杨晨

ANNUAL REPORT ON TURKEY'S NATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT (2015)



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摘 要

2014年是土耳其政治非常重要的一年。2014年3月举行的土耳其地方选举对于土耳其的政治发展具有重要的意义。它不仅是对正义与发展党的一次民意测试，也是对埃尔多安本人的信任公投。《2014年土耳其地方选举观察》一文认为，从2013年开始的一系列事件，如伽齐公园示威事件、埃尔多安政府的腐败案、正义与发展党与居伦运动之间的冲突等，都为土耳其的地方选举、总统选举，乃至2015年的议会选举带来了不确定因素。但2014年地方选举的最终结果表明，正义与发展党仍然具有强大的民意基础，而埃尔多安本人更是凭借超高的选票成为土耳其历史上第一位直选总统。正义与发展党的“选举霸权”地位，预示着该党在接下来的议会选举中仍有可能取得胜利，正义与发展党12年来的稳定统治仍将得以延续。

不过，埃尔多安在地方选举和总统选举中的成功，并不能掩饰土耳其社会所呈现的持续性分裂特征，《土耳其的伊斯兰教苏非派》一文所述的居伦运动即可作为一个例证。作为世俗化改革的重要举措，凯末尔政权于1925年发布第667号法令，取缔苏非教团的合法地位。尽管以贝克塔什教团、麦乌莱维教团、纳克什班迪教团、素莱曼尼教团、卡迪里教团、里法伊教团、提加尼教团为代表的伊斯兰教苏非派处于非法地位，但借助民主化的政治环境，这些社团仍得以迅速发展，其对土耳其政治、社会、文化等产生了重要影响。土耳其苏非导师和伊斯兰思想家通过对伊斯兰教的时代解读，突破苏非教团的框架，形成新苏非主义运动——努尔库运动和居伦运动。作为宗教意义的公民社会运动，新苏非主义运动通过发展教育和媒体宣传等，参与政党政治和经济建设，俨然已成为一支重要的社会力量，但它却与执政的正义与发展党不断发生矛盾，埃尔多安就曾因政府腐败案等公开指责居伦运动。



正义与发展党的稳定执政与埃尔多安的成功，与土耳其良好的经济形势密切相关。土耳其目前是世界第 16 大经济体，但经济的发展似乎已不再是土耳其的一个明显优势，《2014 年土耳其宏观经济形势》一文指出，2013 年甚至可以看作土耳其经济发展的分水岭。在艰难度过 2013 年的社会及政治危机之后，土耳其经济在 2014 年发展缓慢，GDP 增长率为 -2.7%（现价美元）。根据世界银行公布的营商环境报告，土耳其 2014 年的营商环境较 2013 年上升 3 位，排在世界第 69 位。但是，在良好的营商环境下，依然有大量的外资抽逃，这主要是由其经济发展方式导致的。土耳其的经济发展过于依赖信贷消费和房地产业，在全球经济萎靡的情况下，土耳其的经济存在一定程度的危险。

《土耳其工商业协会及其对土耳其内政外交的影响》一文着重介绍了土耳其的工商业协会。该组织自 1971 年成立以来发展迅速，经济独立性逐渐增强，在促进政府民主化的同时也影响土耳其的外交走向。2014 年，该协会参与了多项重要活动，要求政府厉行改革，推动民主化发展。随着中土经贸关系的进一步发展，加强对该组织的了解是十分必要的。

全球化时代的一个显著特征是资讯的即时性。海量的信息通过高科技的媒体手段得以迅即传播，形成强大的舆论环境，从而影响人们的价值判断。就中土关系而言，媒体同样发挥着至关重要的作用。本报告收入了《土耳其的传媒问题及 2014 年的传媒事件》和《中国媒体对土耳其的社会表征》。《土耳其的传媒问题及 2014 年的传媒事件》一文梳理了土耳其的广播、电视、网络等大众传媒状况，并对 2014 年的几件有影响力的媒体事件进行了分析，有助于我们对土耳其媒体状况及传媒政策的了解，对如何与土耳其媒体进行沟通也具有参考价值。

《中国媒体对土耳其的社会表征》一文从社会表征视角，基于“土耳其”“中土”检索词，对《人民日报》《中国青年报》《新疆日报》《新民晚报》四大报纸 2013、2014 年度有关土耳其的新闻报道进行标题和正文检索，并以此为语料探讨中国媒体对土耳其的社会表征。从报道内容看，中国媒体对土耳其的关注比较广泛，政治、经济、文化、边境冲突等维度的表征较

多，并且立场一致，呈现了土耳其积极、正面的形象，但从总体上看，这些媒体都忽视了受众关切的问题，对民生问题、个体形象等表征不足，而且因目标取向不同而呈现差异化表征。为此，该文试图为我国媒体重新审视和调整对土耳其的报道提供若干建议与思考，为相关职能部门提供有益的借鉴和参考。

中土关系还可以从更广的视角去拓宽和发展。《中国—土耳其关系的新路径与机制》一文做出了可贵的尝试。中国和土耳其作为新兴国家，在国际舞台上都扮演着重要角色。丝绸之路经济带、上海合作组织和亚信会议等，从不同层面体现了中国的新外交战略。中土关系自2010年提升为战略合作关系后，两国关系进入全面快速发展的新时期，中国和土耳其在外交、经济、能源、反恐等领域有着诸多交集，包括竞争与合作。该文从后冷战时期的国际格局出发，以丝绸之路经济带、上合组织和亚信会议为例，从全球—地域政治的视角考察21世纪以来中国和土耳其外交关系的最新发展。

2014年对土耳其国际事务的一项重大挑战是叙利亚难民问题。国际难民是重要的国际性问题，对接收国的经济、社会和外交都会产生重大的影响，需要国际社会的合作来共同解决。叙利亚危机已持续4年之久，产生了近400万难民，绝大多数的难民逃到了叙利亚的邻国，土耳其首当其冲。《2014年土耳其的叙利亚难民问题及其对土耳其外交的影响》一文详细展示了土耳其在解决叙利亚难民问题方面所做出的重要努力，如对叙利亚难民采取开放边境政策、建立了24个难民营以安置叙利亚难民等。但是，冲突的持续和难民数量的增加，也使土耳其面临着经济、社会稳定和国家安全等一系列问题，对土耳其与中东地区国家、西方国家及国际组织的关系也产生了重要的影响。

Abstract

The year of 2014 is very critical for Turkish politics. The local election of March 30th had a great significance for the development of Turkish politics. It is not only an opinion poll for the ruling Justice and Development Party (AK Party), but also a vote of confidence for Recep Tayyip Erdogan himself. In the article “*Turkey’s Local Election Observation Report in 2014*”, the writer argues that a series of events happened in 2013 such as the Gezi Park Protests, the Corruption Case of Erdogan Government and the Conflicts between AK Party and Gülen Movement has brought many uncertainties for the local election, presidential election and parliamentary election. However, the final result of local election reaffirmed the powerful support base of AK Party and also provided a solid foundation for Recep Tayyip Erdogan to win the first direct presidential election by virtue of high votes in the history of the Republic of Turkey. Therefore, AK Party has yielded the so called “electoral hegemony” party. This does not only mean that the AK Party will most likely win the coming parliamentary election, but also maintain the party’s stable domination in Turkish politics.

However, Erdogan’s success in the local and presidential elections could not cover the sustained division of the Turkish society. Gülen Movement described in the article *Islamic Sufi in Turkey* is a good example. As one of the major steps of Turkish secular reforms, Kemal regime enacted the No. 667 decree which banned all Sufi orders in 1925. From then on, Sufi orders such as Bektaşî, Mevlevî, Nakşibendi, Süleymancı, Kadiri, Tijani, and Rufai lost their legitimacy, but they developed rapidly in the process of democracy. Their religion, politics, economy and cultural activities have had an important influence on Turkish modernization. Turkish Sufi tutors and Islamic thinkers interpreted Islam according to the needs of time. They broke through the framework of traditional Sufi orders and formed new Sufi movements such as Nurcu Movement and Gülen Movement. As a civil

social movement in the religious sense, these new Sufi movements develop education and media business, take part in party politics and facilitate economic construction, which leads to the rise of a vital social power in Turkey. Nevertheless, these movements have conflict with the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP), and Erdogan once denounced Gülen Movement for the cases of the government corruption.

The stable ruling of AKP and Erdogan's success are closely related to the favorable economic situation in Turkey. Even though Turkey is the 16th largest economy in the world, its economic development is no longer an apparent advantage. The article *Turkey's Macroeconomic Situation in 2014* pointed out that 2013 could even be seen as a watershed in Turkey's economic development. After the social and political crises in 2013, the Turkish economy developed slowly and its GDP growth declined to -2.7% (current US \$) in 2014. According to the World Bank's Doing Business Report, Turkey's business environment in 2014 ranked No. 69 in the world, increasing by 3 places compared with that of 2013. However, there is still a lot of foreign capital flight in the good business environment mainly because of its economic development pattern. As Turkey's economic development depends too much on credit consumption and real estate, it has been on the edge of the bubble burst in the global economic malaise.

The article *TUSIAD and Its Influence on Turkey's Domestic and Foreign Affairs* mainly introduced the Turkish Industry and Business Association. Since its foundation in 1971, this organization has developed fast, increased its economic independence gradually and promoted the governmental democracy as well as Turkish diplomacy. In 2014, this association took part in many important activities, requiring the government to enforce reforms and promoting the development of democratization. With the development of relationship between China and Turkey in economy and trade, it is highly necessary to enhance the understanding of this organization.

The immediacy of information is a remarkable feature of globalization. Innumerable information can be spread immediately by hi-tech media and builds a strong public opinion environment, as a result, influences people's value judgment. For the China-Turkey relationship, the media also play a key role.



This report includes two articles about Chinese and Turkish media. *Mass Media in Turkey and 2014 Turkish Media Events* sketched the general situation of Turkish broadcast, television, Internet and the other mass media, and also several important media events in 2014 such as the prohibition of Twitter. This article is conducive for us to understand the situation and policies of Turkish media and provides us with a reference for the communication with media in Turkey. *Social Representations of Turkey on Chinese Media* focused on the social representations of four Chinese newspapers about Turkey. It used “Turkey” and “China – Turkey” as key search words in the titles and body news texts from the four Chinese media—*People’s Daily*, *China Youth Daily*, *Xinjiang Daily* and *Xinmin Evening News* from 2013 to 2014. The study demonstrated that Chinese media covered a wide range such as Turkish politics, economy, culture, border conflicts and so on and shared the same position, and that the reports presented a positive image of Turkey to the public. However, these media generally neglected the public concerns, lacked the representations on people’s livelihood and the common concerns of both countries and were marked by a differential representations due to the varied orientations. Therefore, this article intends to offer some suggestions for Chinese media to rethink and adjust the reports about Turkey.

China – Turkey relations can be developed and deepened from a broader perspective. *New Initiatives and Mechanisms on China – Turkey Relations* is a pious attempt. As new rising countries, both China and Turkey are going to play more important roles in the international stage. The Silk Road Economic Belt, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and Conference on Interaction and Confidence – Building Measure in Asia (CICA) all represent China’s new diplomatic strategy of different levels. Since China – Turkey relations has been upgraded to the level of strategic partnership in 2010, the bilateral relationship of China and Turkey has entered a period of comprehensive and rapid development. In reality, the two countries has many convergences of interests in the fields of diplomacy, economy, energy and fighting for terrorism and so on. Based on the post – Cold War international system, this article aims to examine the new developments of China – Turkey relations since the beginning of 21st century from the perspective of global – local politics.

In 2014, Turkey faces a serious challenge of an international affair, which is the so called Syrian refugee problem. As one of the most important international problems, international refugee will have a significant impact on the receiving country's economy, society and diplomacy, and the problem – solving needs the committed efforts of international community. Up until now, the 4 year – long Syrian crisis has resulted in nearly 4 million refugees, most of which have fled to its neighboring countries while Turkey top the list. In the article *Turkey's Syrian Refugee Problem in 2014 and Its Influence on Turkey's Foreign Policy*, the author gives a detailed description of the important attempts Turkey has made to solve the Syrian refugee problem, such as formulating the policy of opening borders to Syrian refugees, establishing 24 refugee camps and so on. However, the continuation of conflicts and the increasing of refugee's number will also bring a series of problems related to economy development, social stability and national security to Turkey. Apart from that, this situation will also exert great influence on Turkey's relationships with Middle Eastern region, Western countries as well as international organizations.

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总 报 告



General Report

B. 1

2014年土耳其的政治、社会 及外交

刘 义*

摘 要: 2014年是土耳其政治非常重要的一年。埃尔多安在地方选举和总统选举中的成功,延续了正义与发展党12年来的稳定统治。“新土耳其”作为一个目标,体现了历史性的转折,也面临诸多的争议。土耳其社会持续呈现分裂的特征,特别是围绕埃尔多安本人的争论。当经济的发展不再是一个明显的优势,社会抗议将更突出地成为表达不满的重要方式。网络媒体作为一个新型工具和平台,在很大程度上也成了政治争议的一个焦点。在外交方面,土耳其与西方盟友越来越不一致,同时与俄罗斯、中国和非洲的关系有

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