土耳其发展报告

(2014)

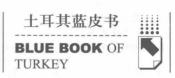
ANNUAL REPORT ON TURKEY'S NATIONAL

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主 编/郭长刚 刘 义







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近年来,中国与土耳其的关系越来越密切,几个数据可以说明问题。经贸方面,2005年中土贸易总额为48.7亿美元,2012年达到190.95亿美元,增长了292.09%。旅游观光方面,2005年中国赴土耳其旅游的人数为44077人次,2012年达到114582人次,增长了159.96%。政治上,双方的高层互访也非常频繁:2009年6月,阿卜杜拉·居尔总统应国家主席胡锦涛邀请访华,其间分别会见了胡锦涛、温家宝、吴邦国;2010年4月,中共中央政治局常委李长春访问土耳其,会见了土耳其总统阿卜杜拉·居尔和总理埃尔多安;2010年10月,国务院总理温家宝访问土耳其,会见了土耳其总理埃尔多安;2012年2月,国家副主席习近平访问土耳其,会见了土耳其总理埃尔多安;2012年4月,土耳其总理埃尔多安访华,国家主席胡锦涛、国务院总理温家宝及国家副主席习近平会见了埃尔多安。

对于中土关系的日渐密切,人们一般都从政治上予以解读,因为 2009 年新疆乌鲁木齐 "7·5"事件后,土耳其方面曾做出了异乎寻常的激烈反应,使中国方面认识到,土耳其对中国的国家安全和社会稳定有着非常重要的影响。毕竟,在土耳其生活着超过 4万名中国新疆维吾尔族人; 1992 年 12 月, "东突"分裂组织在土耳其的伊斯坦布尔召开"东突厥斯坦民族代表大会",成立了"东突厥斯坦国际民族联合委员会"。因此,发展与土耳其的友好关系,是中国的重大政治需求。

应当承认,政治上的需要固然是非常重要的,但中土关系的发展,包括中国学术界对土耳其的兴趣,绝不仅止于政治上的考量,而且有着更为广泛而深邃的视角。

第一,作为新兴国家中的两大经济体,中国和土耳其在经贸领域有着诸多的合作需求与发展潜力。土耳其目前是世界上第16大经济体,截至2013年



12 月,中国为土耳其的第三大贸易伙伴(位于德国和俄罗斯之后)、第十一大 出口市场和第二大进口来源地。2008 年全球金融危机以来,中国超越美国, 成为土耳其大理石出口第一大买家。中国南车集团、华为集团等在土耳其高铁 建设、电子通信等方面都取得了大额的合同。中土贸易论坛的召开也增进了双 方的交流和了解。经济增长和相互往来成为中土关系的关键词。

第二,吸引中国学术界对土耳其产生兴趣的是土耳其与中国近代历史发展的相似性。在近代历史上,处于亚洲大陆东西两端的两个庞大帝国——大清帝国和奥斯曼帝国,面对强势的西方文明,都曾竭力效仿西方,经历了艰难的社会转型:土耳其在穆斯塔法·凯末尔·阿塔图尔克(Mustafa Kemal Atatürk)的领导下强力推行全盘西化政策,在社会各个方面,以西方文明为蓝本进行激进的政教分离和世俗化运动,如废除伊斯兰教长制(Shaykh al Islam),撤销沙里亚法(Seriat),推行西服和便服,禁止妇女戴面纱、头巾等;中国则有五四新文化运动、"打倒孔家店"等。但是,到了全球化时代的今天,无论是土耳其还是中国,都在重新审视自己的文化传统,重新思考传统与现代之间的张力。因此,当今土耳其社会对宗教的回归趋势,对研究中国传统文化的中国学者而言,无疑是非常具有启发意义的。

第三,土耳其和中国都是由传统的"帝国"嬗变或转型而来,都承载了帝国时代的"多民族"遗产,在现代民族国家的建构过程中,西方的"民族"及"民族国家"意识都对两国产生了直接的影响。但在当前,两国都面临着民族认同与政治认同、国家认同之间的张力问题,而这个问题在一定程度上是与西方的民族和民族国家观念密切相关的。建构于西方语境之上的许多理论与观念,如政教分离的世俗化理论、单一民族国家等,是否能够作为普世价值直接应用到其他社会,已经引起了中国学术界的反思。

第四,就地缘政治与中国的发展战略而言,随着美国"重返亚太",中国提出了"新丝绸之路"战略。这一战略不但能够强化中国与广阔的富产能源、矿产的中亚国家的合作,开辟保障中国经济持续发展的新的、更为安全的能源通道,更可以开拓沿线中亚、中东以及欧洲等地区的新的国际市场,降低中国中西部地区商品进入国际市场的流通成本。同时,实施"新丝绸之路"战略,还可以彻底改变中国东西部地区和城乡间发展不平衡的格局,从内外两方面消

解中国未来经济社会发展中的不利因素,增强西部民族地区的社会稳定和国家 认同。毫无疑问,中国的这一"西进"战略需要对中亚、西亚有深入的研究, 土耳其就是其中重要的一部分。

总之,在如今的全球化时代,处于社会转型之中的发展中国家在发展道路上的确存在太多的相似性,有太多的共同问题需要探讨和面对,土耳其对中国学术界的吸引力也正在于两国近代历史发展的惊人相似。但是,到目前为止,土耳其和中国之间直接的了解还非常少,双方基本都是通过第三方来了解对方,如土耳其主要是通过英美或者说是英文媒介来了解中国,中国则从埃及或其他途径了解土耳其,双方之间需要建立起直接的交流与沟通。对于这一现状,两国政府都已有了共同认识,也都致力于建立两国之间的自然的、正确的、直接的沟通,2012年在土耳其举办的"中国文化年"以及2013年在中国举办的"土耳其文化年"就是一种很好的尝试。

基于上述思考,上海大学全球学研究中心、土耳其研究中心整合校内外力量,并协同土耳其海峡大学孔子学院、亚洲研究中心,着手撰写土耳其年度发展报告——《土耳其发展报告(2014)》。本报告共分四部分。第一部分为总报告,总揽2013年土耳其的政治、社会与外交;第二部分为专题篇,分别阐述2013年土耳其的经济形势、政治问题,以及长期困扰土耳其的库尔德问题、毒品问题等;第三部分为外交篇,分析土耳其与西方世界的关系、"阿拉伯之春"以来的中东政策,以及土耳其外交的亚洲转向等;第四部分是中土关系篇,着力于2013年中土两国在经贸及人文领域的关系发展;第五部分是附录,收录了2013年中土关系大事记及土耳其大事记。

Abstract

In recent years, Sino-Turkish relations have grown increasingly close. Sino-Turkish trade, for instance, saw a sharp rise from MYM 4. 87 billion in 2005 to MYM 19 billion in 2012, a rise of 292. 09 percent. In 2005, 44077 Chinese citizens traveled to Turkey, and this number rose to 114582 in 2012—a 159. 96 percent increase. Diplomatic meetings also reflect the growing importance of Sino-Turkish relations. Highlights from the past five years include the 2009 meeting in China between Turkish President Abdullah Gül and Chinese President Hu Jintao, Premier Wen Jiabao, and Chair of the National People's Congress Wu Bangguo; the 2010 trip of Li Changchun, Member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Politburo, to Turkey to meet with Gül and Prime Minister Erdoğan; and the April 2012 visit of Erdoğan in China, where he had an audience with Hu, Wen, and Vice-Premier Xi Jinping.

These deepening relations have political implications. In the northwest Chinese province of Xinjiang, a separatist movement calls for an independent "East Turkestan" for the Turkic peoples who live there, including the Muslim Uighur people. Over 40000 Uigurs live in Turkey. In December 1992, the East Turkestan National Conference was held in Istanbul, and the East Turkestan International Union Committee was subsequently established. On July 5 2009, violence hit Xinjiang and more than 150 people were killed. The event provoked intense reactions from Turkey, such as Mr. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, then the Turkish Prime Minister, described the July 5 riots in Urumqi of Xinjiang as "a kind of genocide". This in turn made China aware that Turkey is of great significance to China's security and stability.

Turkey's growing importance for China can also be examined from other perspectives.

Firstly, there exist great needs and potentials for cooperation in the economic field between these two emerging economies. Turkey ranks as the 16th economy in the world and, by December 2013, China has grown as the Turkey's 3rd trade

partner (right after Germany and Russia), 11th export market and 2nd import source. Since the 2008 global financial crisis, China has replaced America as the biggest buyer of Turkish marble. Lucrative contracts have also been secured in telecommunications and high-speed railway constructions by Huawei and China Southern Locomotive and Rolling Stock Industry Group (CRS). Against the very background, the Sino-Turkish Forum is held to promote exchange and understanding between two countries. Economic growth and mutual exchange come to the fore in Sino-Turkish relations.

Secondly, the historic relations focus on the similarities between the two countries. Located on the east and the west ends of the Asian continent, the Qing (1644 – 1911) and Ottoman (1301 – 1922) Empires underwent a dramatic political and social transformation in response to Western culture at the beginning of the 20th century. Both tried simulating the West; in Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk carried out wholesale Westernization and launched a radical secularist campaign that abolished the system of Shaykh al-Islam, revoked the Shariah, promoted the wearing of suits, and prohibited the hijab. In the 1920s China, the May Fourth New Culture Movement, with the slogan of "Down with Confucianism", attempted to shake off the fetters of traditionalism. For Chinese scholars, the religious turn in contemporary Turkish society provides inspiration for research of traditional Chinese culture.

Thirdly, both Turkey and China were also affected by the Western concept of the "nation" or "nation state". Atatürk was intent on building Turkey into a state in accordance with strict notions of the Western ideal. Similarly, Chinese revolutionary Sun Yat-sen had once tried to pursue almost the same goal. Today, both Turkey and China are confronted with ethno-national identity issues that are often faced by countries that have emulated the Western "nation". Chinese academics are currently taking up questions that concern whether Western theories are universal and if they can be transplanted easily to other countries. As Turkey is often considered an example of a successful national transformation patterned after the West, Chinese academics are investigating how Turkish academics are handling theoretical questions related to this transformation.

Fourthly, as the United States readjusts its strategic focus to the Asia "pivot", China launches the New Silk Road Strategy. This project will not only enhance China's cooperation with the vast energy and mineral-rich Central Asian countries,



opening up a new, more secure energy transportation route for China's sustainable economic growth, but will create a new global market linking Central Asia, the Middle East, and Europe, reducing China's costs for transportation of its goods. Meanwhile, the implementation of the project may revolutionize the imbalance between eastern and western regions and urban and rural areas, develop a larger domestic market for the products, and provide more impetus to China's economy in the future. With a more urbanized and developed vast western region and the elimination of poverty, a more stable society there can be visioned, the sense of national/state identity in the western minority regions, in turn, will also be strengthened. Turkey is a vital part of this "Go Westward" project, and Chinese academics are beginning to study its role in it.

The lure of Turkey for Chinese academics is the striking similarities between the two nations' development. But, up to the twenty-first century, there is little direct contact between the two peoples. Both nations know each other primarily through a third party. Turkey receives news and information about China from British or other English media, and China knows Turkey also through international English news agency. Now, both governments have committed to building direct communications between them. Turkey's "2012 Chinese Culture Year" and China's "2013 Turkish Culture Year" are good attempts. However, further mutual trust must be built around more sophisticated mutual understanding.

Given the above-mentioned, the Center for Global Studies and the Center for Turkish Studies in Shanghai University have integrated the resources at home and abroad, together with Asia Research Center and Confucius Institute at Bogazici University. We are currently engaged in writing a report on the annual development of Turkey—the Turkey's Development in 2014. The report consists of four parts: Part I serves as an overview of Turkey's politics, society and diplomacy in 2013; Part II elaborates on Turkey's economic situation, political issues, drug problem, and Kurdish problem, etc; Part III focuses on the Turkey's diplomacy concerning Turkey's diplomatic relations with the West, Turkey's Middle East policy since the Arab Spring, and Turkey's pivot- to-Asia foreign policy, etc; Part IV deals with the Sino-Turkish relations, mainly concerning the development in the humanities and economic trade. Appendices are included at the end covering the 2013 Sino-Turkish Relations Development and Chronicle of Events in Turkey.

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总 报 告



General Report

Bune Book

2013 年土耳其的政治、社会与外交

刘义*

摘 要:

对于土耳其来说,2013年像是一个过渡,是对2011年选举成果的巩固以及2014年选举的预备。从6月的伽齐公园示威到12月的腐败案,埃尔多安领导的正义与发展党面临信誉的危机,这也引起了土耳其经济和社会的系列反应。然而,自2002年以来,正义与发展党的统治整体上来说是稳定且发展的。土耳其经济的持续增长是最大的例证,教育及其他社会政策的改善则是佐证。当然,在妇女和宗教等问题上,土耳其社会则因为不同的立场而发生了分裂。在外交方面,达乌特奥卢形成了一个综合性的理论。土耳其依旧是亲西方,但同时希望同中国和俄罗斯等国家发展多元外交。土耳其外交的目的在于增强国家自主性、地区影响力和全球参与。随着中国和土耳其关系的日益

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加强,一方面我们需要抓住历史的机遇,另一方面则需要警惕 土耳其政治和社会的不稳定性。

关键词:

土耳其 埃尔多安 正义与发展党 内政外交 社会政策

2013 年是土耳其共和国建立 90 周年。总理埃尔多安(Recep Tayyip Erdoğan)提出了 2023 年土耳其共和国建立一百周年的宏伟战略目标:土耳其成为全球十大经济体之一;伊斯坦布尔成为全球金融中心之一;成为在医疗服务方面全球领先的国家之一;发展至少 10 种全球认可的土耳其品牌;成为地区能源枢纽;等等。①

然而,相对于这一宏大的理想,在 2014 年选举之前,2013 年却显得尤为动荡。继 2008 年金融危机之后,土耳其的经济再次陷入低谷,通货膨胀率开始上升。特别是 6 月因伽齐公园(Gezi Park)改建而发生的游行和年底的腐败案,可以说让正义与发展党(Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi,简称 AK Parti 或 AKP)的国内和国际形象都大受影响。但同样,在媒体夸大其词的背后,我们必须客观地看待埃尔多安和正义与发展党的统治。下文笔者就从政治、社会和外交三个方面对 2013 年的情况做一个总体概述,在总结与分析部分就中土关系的发展提出建议。

一 政治篇

2013年土耳其的政治很大程度上集中在埃尔多安个人身上。随着 2011年以 50%的支持率第三次当选总理,埃尔多安的影响力可以说达到顶峰;很多媒体直接将他与国父凯末尔(Mustafa Kemal Atatürk)做比较。^②特别是

Nigar Göksel, "From the Desk of the Editor: Can Turkey Rebound to Achieve its 2023 Targets?" Turkish Policy Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 2 (2013), pp. 5-13.

② Simon Cameron-Moore and Daren Butler, "Special Report: Erdogan: The Strongest Man in Turkey," http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/08/08/us - turkey - erdogan - idUSTRE7773X420110808; Soner Cagaptay, "From Ataturk to Erdogan, Reshaping Turkey," The Washington Post, August 15, 2011.