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——Modern relations between China and Iran——

杨兴礼 冀开运 陈俊华 杨珊珊 ◎ 著

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前言

《现代中国与伊朗关系》(以下称为“本书”)中的“现代”指的是 21 世纪初期。21 世纪初期对于中国的发展至关重要,但是中国面临着日益严峻的能源、资源等问题的挑战。^① 世界石油价格的剧烈变化是世界金融危机—经济危机爆发的前兆和结果,也反映出世界资源、能源日渐短缺而需求却日益旺盛的现实,对中国经济持续健康发展、人民生活质量稳定提高造成了严重的威胁。2003 年以来,愈演愈烈的伊朗核问题对世界政治格局、中东格局的冲击一波高过一波,新世纪初期国际经济政治形势的这种重大变化考验着具有传统友好往来的中国和伊朗关系,也影响和改变着两个文明古国的内外战略。

中国是世界大国,正在向着世界强国的目标前进;伊朗是中东大国,其对中东和世界的影响力都在前所未有地提高。当今伊朗是世界第四大石油生产国、欧佩克第二大石油生产国和出口国、世界

^① 2008 年 6 月 26 日纽约轻质原油期货价格一度达到 140.39 美元/桶,收于 139.64 美元/桶,2008 年 10 月更达到 147 美元/桶以上,欧佩克、俄罗斯能源巨头等曾预言 2008 年夏季油价还将上涨至 150—250 美元/桶之间。但是受金融危机—经济危机的影响,2008 年 11 月以后油价迅速跌落,到 2008 年 12 月,已经降到不足 40 美元/桶,直到 2009 年 3 月,油价仍然在 45 美元/桶左右徘徊。以后油价回升,纽约轻质低硫原油期货价格,2010 年 5 月一直在 86 美元/桶左右波动,到 2011 年 6 月 17 日,纽约 7 月交货的轻质油大跌 1.94 美元/桶,也仍然收于 93.01 美元/桶,当天伦敦市场 8 月交货的布伦特原油期货油价虽然下跌 81 美分/桶,却高达 113.21 美元/桶。参见路透社纽约 2008 年 6 月 26 日电,埃菲社巴黎 2008 年 6 月 26 日电,新华网,2011 年 6 月 18 日。

石油和天然气资源第二大储藏国，也是目前中国进口石油的主要来源国之一。关注、研究现代中国与伊朗关系，具有重要的现实意义和明显的学术意义。

中伊关系研究在国内外学术界已经有一定的基础。在中国的中东学术界内，1911—2007 年之间关于伊朗的研究成果包括学术论文、著述、译著等共有 1599 部（篇）之多，其中关于中国—伊朗关系的专著有 20 本、论文 151 篇、译著 6 部，其中 20 世纪 90 年代以来发表的专著占到总量的 70%、论文占 84%、译著占 83%（其中 2000 年以来发表的专著 8 部、论文 81 篇、译著 2 部），^① 说明中国的中伊关系研究主要是在 20 世纪 90 年代获得迅速发展的，21 世纪初以来学术界对中—伊关系的研究更加重视，取得的研究成果也更多。但是，迄今为止，站在全球和历史的视角，采用定性方法与定量方法相结合，系统、全面地研究新中国建立以来的中伊关系的著述未曾见到，更没有发现关于 21 世纪初期中伊关系的评估、定位、演变的系统研究成果。

国外学术界关于中伊关系的研究成果并不多见，但是有着自己的特色，值得一提的是美国得克萨斯州的得克萨斯基督教大学的政治学教授曼诺切尔·多拉吉（Manochehr Dorraj）和加里·库里尔（Carrie L. Currier）两位博士 2008 年发表的论文《以石油为润滑剂：变化世界中的伊朗—中国关系》。^② 该文介绍了中伊交往的古今历史，重点叙述了中伊的商品贸易和能源（石油、天然气）贸易与开发合作、伊朗—中国—美国—俄罗斯四方关系问题，探讨伊朗—中国关系的历史根源、演变和发展，特别是 1979 年伊斯兰革命以来的中伊关系特征；考察军火贸易、技术转让等各种因素在中伊关系中的作用，认为在目前的经济和政治形势下，追求能源安全和供给越来越

^① 杨兴礼：“中国的伊朗研究六十年”，《西亚非洲》2010 年第 4 期，第 64 页。

^② 曼诺切尔·多拉吉、加里·库里尔：“以石油为润滑剂：变化世界中的伊朗—中国关系”，《中东政策》2008 年夏季刊，第 66—80 页。

成为中伊关系中的头等大事。两位博士希望解答三个问题：一是促成中伊这两个意识形态对立的国家发展真诚友好的国际关系的动因和收获是什么？二是中伊贸易，尤其是能源贸易带来的经济利益对中伊关系有多大的影响，什么是两国关系中的石油政治动力？三是中伊各自与美国的双边关系（美国与中国是日益扩大的贸易和政治关系，美国与伊朗则是尖锐的敌对关系）对中伊关系的局限性。面对不同的环境，中国可能把发展与伊朗的关系视为政治责任和义务；伊朗也可能被迫放弃自己的“东方战略”，从中国抽身离开。伊朗和中国的地区和全球目标对它们的双边关系构成了挑战——不同环境下，双方利益会冲突，合作的战略目标也会互相对立。但是文章并没有能够对以上问题给出明确的、客观的答案。例如：中伊各自的利益与战略目标的异同点在哪里？什么情况下，中国将坚定不移地发展中伊友好合作关系？什么情况下，伊朗将疏远中国“抽身离去”？

伊朗克尔曼沙希德巴霍纳尔大学政治学助理教授迈哈迈迪·贾福里（Mahmoud Ghafouri）博士 2009 年发表了《中国的波斯湾政策》的文章，^① 也涉及到中伊关系问题，但是中伊关系只是文章的众多内容之一，因此只是简略地谈到 20 世纪 70 年代至 2006 年期间中国与伊朗的军售、石油贸易和开展非石油领域的交往状况以及伊朗核问题。

本书借鉴、吸取了上述国内外的研究成果的相关内容，全面深入地分析 21 世纪初期的中国与伊朗关系，得到的结论是：当代中伊关系是古老历史文明国家之间的新关系、是一种非对称性友好依存关系，其主要特征是在“中、美、伊飞地型三角战略”地缘政治关系框架之中形成的，当代中伊关系积极稳健发展的势头不会改变。特别指出：中、美、伊文明“大三角”中，冲突多于融合、竞争胜

^① 哈迈迪·贾福里：“中国的波斯湾政策”，《中东政策》2009 年夏季刊，第 80—92 页。

过合作，依然呈现出不对称、不稳定、高关联的状态。从现实和未来的国家核心利益出发，定位伊朗在中国的对外战略格局中处于第三至第四层级、中国在伊朗对外战略格局中处于第三层级的结论是合适的；今后的目标可以定位为建立和发展全方位的中伊友好国家战略合作关系，努力将两国关系提升到各自国家的全球战略中的第二层级。尽力维护和保持中、美、伊战略大三角的稳定性格局，是目前中国对伊朗战略的合理选择。

因此，本书的特色主要体现在：第一，将20世纪50—90年代中伊关系的发展划分为五个时期：冷淡时期（20世纪50年代）、转折时期（20世纪60年代）、正常化和偶然性失误时期（20世纪70年代）、调整和发展时期（20世纪80年代）、持续发展时期（20世纪90年代）。21世纪初期则进入了风险发展时期。这个分期结论有别于“中伊关系一直友好发展”的传统观点。第二，关于中伊关系的结论有所突破：一是古老历史文明国家之间的新关系、非对称性友好依存关系、“中、美、伊飞地型三角战略”地缘政治框架之中的互动性关系，明确提出维系中国与伊朗关系最根本的目标是追求国家利益的双赢；二是找出了当前和未来时期中伊关系的主要影响因素是经济因素（能源、贸易和投资）和外交因素（当前是伊朗核危机）；三是初步获得了中国与伊朗现实关系的评价结果——目前中伊关系处于中国对外关系中的第三至四层级、伊朗对外关系中的第三层级状态，认为拖延伊朗核危机的解决时间对中国实质性损害较小，预测了未来（后核危机时期）中伊关系将会总体发展，但是可能出现曲折的趋势；四是分析了两国在发展双边关系中的相对优势和劣势因素，指出了中国在处理现实和未来中伊关系中应当注意的问题，提出了“中国对伊朗战略”框架的八点内容、中伊关系中的十点问题及对策，以及在伊朗的中资企业的八个注意事项。第三，探索研究方法的创新：提出了衡量国家关系的“友好度”概念，尝试性地采用定量、定性研究相结合的方法（采用问卷调查法，见附录一），从横向（主要影响因子）和纵向（时间）的尺度来研究中国与伊朗

关系，并且在全面对比分析两国国情的基础上初步研究了影响两国关系的机制，这在中伊关系研究中是第一次。第四，全书贯穿了历史唯物主义和辩证唯物主义的观点——注重分析在不同时空尺度范围内，影响因素、机制的双重性作用，以及中伊关系的双向性及多向性演变、核危机的不确定性影响与结局；采用宏观与微观相结合的案例式研究，将对在伊朗的中资企业的实地调研成果，与对中伊关系的全局性研究结合起来分析、论述，提出意见和建议，使研究结论具有现实的参考价值，并将伊朗国情简洁地反映在专题地图上，以便不太熟悉伊朗的读者增加对伊朗的直观了解；在资料的采用上力求系统、新颖——2011年7月之前能够收集到的资料都纳入本书作为分析之用。第五，突出了重点——加强第三章、第四章、第五章和第七章，并且重点分析了中伊能源贸易、投资和伊朗核问题对中伊关系的影响，笔者还提出了针对性的应对措施。

本书的主要内容由七章组成：

第一章简要论述中国与伊朗关系发展的历程。在归纳了20世纪50年代以前的中伊关系特征之后，把20世纪50—90年代的中伊关系发展划分为五个阶段。

第二章从历史的角度论述了伊朗与中国伊斯兰教的关系及中伊文化的共性，是对分析现代中伊关系的新的重点领域打下的理论铺垫。

第三章以因素归类分析为主，归纳并分析了九大类影响因素在特定空间和时间内，可能对21世纪初中伊关系产生的影响；在对比中国、伊朗国情的基础上，对两国的优势和劣势进行比较，客观地论述它们的现实影响和潜在意义，分析这些因素具有的双重作用，认为影响当前中国—伊朗关系的主要因素是经济因素（能源、贸易和投资因素）和国际政治因素（伊朗核危机），维护双方的国家利益是中伊关系构建机制和调整机制的核心目标，并指出：石油—天然气（能源）和资源依然是未来中伊关系中核心的影响因素；伊斯兰因素可能对中国西部地区（例如新疆等地）的社会稳定具有潜在的

破坏作用。

第四章论述 21 世纪初中伊关系的现状。是 21 世纪初中伊关系的风险发展时期和本书的重点论述时期，对于 21 世纪初中伊关系在各个领域中的发展状况和特征，本章从贸易、投资、服务、政治、外交、防务、文化等诸领域予以了全面的分析；指出目前中伊关系发展良好的表现是：中国已经是伊朗最大的贸易伙伴之一、伊朗成为了中国在中东的战略性贸易对象国，伊朗的能源基础设施领域是现在和将来中国的主要投资领域（将来还可以向加工业、农业、旅游业等领域纵深拓展），在伊朗的中资企业对中伊关系的发展起着不可替代的作用，未来的作用将更加重要。

第五章分析 21 世纪初中伊的外交环境及决策机制。从比较两国各自的国际环境和地位、优势与劣势入手，为分析两国对对方的战略打下基础；对中伊关系的现状特征进行了划分层级研究。相互尊重各自的政治—社会制度，伊朗不附和“中国威胁论”，中国支持采取外交谈判、政治磋商等和平手段来解决伊朗核问题等是中伊关系的政治共识。

第六章主要是分析 21 世纪初中伊各自的外交战略布局。本章分别论述了中国的对外战略布局和伊朗的对外战略布局，为审视中伊关系提供更加广阔而深刻的世界背景。

第七章有两个重点：一是尝试对中伊关系进行定位，将中伊关系纳入世界、地区的局势和中伊两国各自的对外总战略，结合第六章的评估结论，初步确定 21 世纪初中伊关系在两国的战略地位。二是讨论在伊朗核危机影响下 21 世纪初中伊关系的发展趋势，指出：核危机是影响当前中伊关系的关键性因素，未来中伊关系将保持总体向上的发展趋势，但是隐藏着风险，可能出现曲折，中国应当未雨绸缪，做好因应准备。

全书最后进行了简短精炼的总结。

书末用附录的形式列出了收集到的与本研究有关的研究方法、事件、协议，中国对伊朗投资项目、图件资料等，作为本书的辅助

内容，供读者参考。

21 世纪初期的中伊关系将出现新特点、新领域、新思路，也会产生新现象、新问题、新矛盾，需要提出新理论和新方法，来充实和发展中伊关系研究的实践与理论。笔者希望通过本书捋出一个尽量完整、清晰的中伊关系演变脉络，并留下思考的余地。但是限于获取资料的有限性，更限于笔者自身的学识、理论水平和研究手段，本书难免存在各种不足，有些结论和观点仅是笔者一家之言，有待时间的验证，此处意在抛砖引玉，与学界交流，期待专家学者的批评指正。

中伊关系是一个有趣、重要、宏大、持久的研究领域，需要进行持续的跟踪观察和研究才能得到更加客观、有用的研究成果，笔者仍然在进行着这种努力。

Preface

The “new period” in *Study on the Sino-Iranian Relations in the New Period* refers to the beginning of the 21st century. This period was of vital importance to the development of China, but during this period China was facing the increasingly severe challenges of energy and resource problems^①The acute fluctuation of the world’s oil prices is a portent and the outcome of the outbreak of the world-wide financial and economic crisis, which reflects the fact that the shortage of resources and energy is expanding throughout the world while the demands for these vitals are increasing. It will greatly threaten the sustainable development of the

① On June 26, 2008, the forward price of light crude in New York once reached \$140.39 a barrel, with the closing price \$139.64 a barrel, and it was even inflated to \$147 a barrel in October, 2008. The magnates in OPEC and Russia made a forecast that in the summer of 2008 the oil prices would soar to \$150—250, but in fact they slumped after November, 2008 due to the financial and economic crisis in the world, and dropped to less than \$40 in December of the same year. The oil prices had remained around \$45 a barrel until March, 2009. Then they rose again and the forward price of light, sweet crude in New York fluctuated around \$86 a barrel in May, 2010. In June 17, 2011, the light crude in New York with the delivery month in July had the closing price of \$93.01, reducing \$1.94 a barrel. On the same day, the forward price of Brent Crude in London was as high as \$113.21, even after a shrinkage of 81c a barrel. Source: Reuters, New York, June 26, 2008; La Agencia EFE, S. A., Paris, June 26, 2008; Xinhua Net, June 18, 2011.

Chinese economy and the steady improvement of the Chinese People's life quality. Since 2003, the snowballing Iran nuclear crisis has been striking more and more fiercely the political patterns in the Middle East and the world, and these tremendous changes in the international economic-political situation is testing the traditionally cordial relationship between China and Iran, as well as influencing and altering the domestic and foreign strategies of the two countries with great ancient civilizations.

China is a big nation in the world, and is progressing to be one of the world's great powers. Iran is a big nation in the Middle East, whose impact on both the Middle East and the world has been enlarged unprecedentedly. At present, Iran is the world's fourth largest oil producer, OPEC's second largest oil producer and exporter, a country with the world's second largest storage of oil and natural gas resources, and one of the main sources of China's oil import. It bears great practical value and salient academic significance to be concerned with and make a close study of the Sino-Iranian relations in the new period.

The studies on the Sino-Iranian relations have already had some fruits in the academic world both home and abroad. In China, the sum of published research findings on Iran by scholars who study the Middle-East issues between 1911 and 2007 has reached as many as 1599, in forms such as academic papers, monographs, translated books, and so on. Among these works there are 20 academic books, 151 papers and 6 translated books that study the Sino-Iranian relations, and 70% of the 20 academic books have been published since the 1990s. Similarly, the percentage is 84% for academic papers and 83% for translated books (in particular, 8 academic books, 81 papers and 2 translated books

have been published since 2000)^①. The statistics do show that researches on the Sino-Iranian relations were rapidly developed in China in the 1990s, and more attention has been attached to this area since the beginning of the 21st century, with more findings attained. However, there is hitherto no academic book that bears a global and historical view, integrates the qualitative methods with the quantitative ones, and studies the Sino-Iranian relations since the establishment of PRC in a systematic and comprehensive manner, and there are still no research findings that focus on the evaluation, positioning and evolution of the Sino-Iranian relations at the beginning of the 21st century.

Researches on the Sino-Iranian relationship are not commonly seen in the academic circles abroad, but they have their distinguishing features. It is worth mentioning that Dr. Manochehr Dorraj and Carrie L. Currier, professors of political science at Texas Christian University in Texas, the US, published a paper entitled “Lubricated with Oil: Iran-China Relations in a Changing World”^② in 2008. The paper introduces the history of the Sino-Iranian communication, illustrates the commercial trade, energy trade (oil and natural gas), exploitation and cooperation between China and Iran, and the Iran-China-US-Russia relations, explores the historical roots, evolution and development of Iran-China relations with a particular emphasis on the period since the Islamic revolution in 1979, examines the role of factors such as arms trade and technology transfers in the Sino-Iranian relations, and asserts that in

① Yang, Xingli. 2010. “Sixty Years of China’s Researches on Iran”. *West Asia and Africa*, Issue 4 of 2010: 64.

② Dorraj, Manochehr and Carrie Liu Currier. 2008. “Lubricated with Oil: Iran-China Relations in a Changing World”. *Middle East Policy* 15 (2): 66–80.

light of present economic and political trends, it is the pursuit of energy security and supply that becomes more and more critical in the bilateral relationship between Iran and China. The two PhDs intend to answer three questions. First, what are the incentives for these two otherwise ideologically opposed regimes to forge an increasingly expanding and cordial relationship and what does each side gain from this relationship? Second, how much weight can be given to economic interests brought about by Sino-Iranian trade, especially the energy trade, in facilitating closer relations between the two states? What are the dynamics of petropolitics in this relationship? Finally, in light of the different bilateral relationships the two countries have with the United States—China's expanding trade and political relations versus Iran's acrimonious relations—what are the limitations of their partnership? Faced with the different circumstances, China might perceive its relations with Iran as a political responsibility and obligation; Iran, on the other hand, would be compelled to abandon its "Eastern strategy" and pull away from China. Both Iran and China's regional as well as global political ambitions pose a challenge to their bilateral relationship—under a variety of circumstances their interests may clash, and opposition may appear in the strategic goals motivating their cooperation. However, in this paper no definite or objective answers have been provided to issues such as what differences and similarities lie in the profits and strategic goals of China and Iran respectively, under what circumstances China will firmly develop cordial and cooperative relations with Iran, or Iran will alienate and "pull away from" China.

Dr. Mahmoud Ghafouri, assistant professor of political science at Shahid Bahonar University of Kerman, Iran, published his pa-

per “China’s Policy in the Persian Gulf”^① in 2009, which also refers to the Sino-Iranian relationship. However, the relationship is only part of the massive contents of the paper, so it only briefly touches the Sino-Iranian arms trade, oil trade and exploitation, communication in areas other than oil trade and Iran nuclear issues between the 1970s and 2006.

This book uses all the research achievements mentioned above for reference in the hope of analyzing the Sino-Iranian relations at the beginning of the 21st century thoroughly and completely. The conclusion can be arrived at that the current Sino-Iranian relationship is of a new form between these two ancient civilized countries, that the relationship is asymmetric, friendly and interdependent, that its main features emerge within the geopolitical framework of “China-US-Iran enclave strategic triangle” and that the tendency will remain unchangeable that the relations between China and Iran will keep developing in an active and moderate manner in the contemporary era. It is highlighted that within the big “triangle” among the Chinese, the American and the Iranian cultures, conflicts overwhelm assimilation and competitions surpass cooperation, and the state relations remain to be asymmetric, unsteady and highly interdependent. Based on the realistic and potential core national interest, it is appropriate to conclude that Iran is in between the third and the fourth layer in China’s foreign strategic structure and China is in the third layer of Iran’s corresponding strategic pattern. The future goals can be identified as establishing and developing a comprehensive Sino-Iranian strategic cooper-

① Ghafouri, Mahmoud. 2009. “China’s Policy in the Persian Gulf”. Middle East Policy 16 (2): 80—92.

ative relationship for the friendly states and attempting to improve the bilateral relations to the second layer in their global strategic structures respectively. A reasonable choice for China in its current strategy to Iran is to maintain the steady pattern in the big strategic triangle among China, the US and Iran.

Therefore, the unique features of this book are mainly embodied in the following aspects. First, it divides the development of the Sino-Iranian relations from the 1950s to the 1990s into five periods, i. e. the period of stagnation (1950s), the period of favorable turn (1960s), the period of normalization and accidental lapse (1970s), the period of adjustment and development (1980s), and the period of sustained development (1990s). The beginning of the 21st century is regarded as the period of risky development. This conclusion is different from the traditional view that “the Sino-Iranian relationship is always developing smoothly and amicably”. Second, the research conclusion has made a breakthrough that goes as follows: (1) it illustrates the three key relations in the Sino-Iranian relationship, namely the new relation between two ancient civilized countries, the asymmetric, friendly and interdependent relation, and the interactive relation within the geopolitical framework of “China-US-Iran enclave strategic triangle”, and proposes that the ultimate goal that holds China and Iran together is to pursue a win-win situation that maximize both nations’ interests; (2) it finds out that the key influential factors of the current and the future Sino-Iranian relationship are the economic (energy, trade and investment) and the diplomatic (currently the Iran nuclear crisis) ones; (3) it primarily obtains the evaluation outcome of the practical Sino-Iranian relationship, i. e. the current Sino-Iranian relationship is situated between the

third and the fourth layers of China's foreign relations and at the third layer of Iran's foreign relations, and it believes that the substantial harm to China is relatively small if the Iran nuclear crisis is still hanging to be solved; it also predicts that the future (the post-nuclear-crisis period) Sino-Iranian relationship tends to develop in general but with possible twists and turns; (4) it analyzes the relative advantages and disadvantages in developing the two country's bilateral relations, points out problems that call for attention when China deals with the current and the future Sino-Iranian relations, and puts forward eight ingredients of the framework of "China's strategy to Iran" and ten countermeasures in China's contacts with Iran. Third, the research method is innovative, i. e. it proposes the concept of "degree of friendliness" to measure the international relations, employs the method that combines quantitative research with qualitative research (using questionnaires, see Appendix I) tentatively, studies the Sino-Iranian relations in two directions (horizontally, the main influential factors; vertically, time), and primarily examines the mechanism that affects the relations between the two countries on the basis of a comprehensive analysis of their actual national conditions, which is an inaugural attempt in the studies on the relations between China and Iran. Fourth, the viewpoint of historical materialism and dialectical materialism runs through the whole book, i. e. it lays emphasis on analyzing the double influences of the influential factors and the mechanism in different time scopes, the bi-directional and multi-directional evolution of the Sino-Iranian relations, and the uncertain influence and outcome of the nuclear crisis; it applies case studies that integrate macroscopic and microscopic views to the combination of field study results of Chinese-