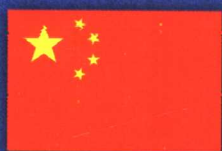




# 新世纪的 中俄关系



NEW ERA SINO-RUSSIA RELATIONS

● 姜毅 主编



世界知识出版社

国家哲学社会科学基金项目

National Philosophy and Social Science Funds Project

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New Era Sino-Russia Relations

主 编 姜 毅



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责任编辑:柏 英  
责任出版:林 琦  
责任校对:李 琴  
封面设计:信宏博图文

**图书在版编目(CIP)数据**

新世纪的中俄关系/姜毅著. —北京:世界知识出版社,2007.8  
ISBN 978-7-5012-3019-8

I. 新… II. 姜… III. 中俄关系—研究 IV. D822.351.2

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2007)第 087822 号

**新世纪的中俄关系**

Xin Shiji de Zhong E Guanxi

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**世界知识出版社出版发行**

(北京市东城区干面胡同 51 号 邮政编码:100010)

网址:<http://www.wap1934.com>

北京景山教育印刷厂照排印刷 新华书店经销

880×1230 毫米 1/32 印张:12 1/8 字数:315 千

2007 年 8 月第一版 2007 年 8 月第一次印刷

标准书号 ISBN 978-7-5012-3019-8

定价:30.00 元

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## 前 言

《新世纪的中俄关系》一书是国家哲学社会科学基金项目,是中国国内从事中俄问题研究的部分知名学者集体劳动的成果。项目完成时间恰好在中俄确立战略协作伙伴关系十周年、《中俄睦邻友好条约》签订五周年和上海合作组织成立五周年,也是在中俄开展“国家年”双边活动的第一年。

中国和俄罗斯均是在世界上发挥重要影响的国家,又互为最大的邻国。两国关系的状况和性质,不仅对它们的安全和发展是至关重要的,而且对亚洲乃至世界的和平与稳定也有着决定性影响。正因为此,中俄关系发展的每一步都引起了广泛的关注,也是包括中俄两国学术界在内的国际学术界研究的重点所在。

按照充分利用未来 20 年战略机遇期的国家发展总要求,中国外交提出了“大国是关键、周边是重点”的基本工作指针。而俄罗斯同时具备这两重身份——大国和周边,中俄关系无疑是中国外交活动中最重要的双边关系之一。因此,在我国国际问题研究中,研究中俄关系的现状与发展前景问题更是有着极其特殊的意义,其重要性是毋庸置疑的。

冷战结束后,中俄关系在适应新形势、满足两国外交战略需求、重视双方利益关切方面,走在了大国关系调整的前面。两国早在 1996 年就建立了战略协作伙伴关系,此后,这一战略协作关系在内容上不断得到充实,两国关系始终沿着上升的曲线向前发展

并越来越好,正如两国领导人所指出的,两国关系目前已处在历史的最好时期。

中俄两国吸取了过去的经验和教训,在冷战结束后的十多年里,为适应世界多极化趋势和经济全球化潮流,致力于建立一种新型关系。这种新型关系的性质和基本原则已多次体现在两国政治和法律文件之中,简单说,这就是“三好、三不”:好邻居、好朋友、好伙伴;不结盟、不对抗、不针对第三方。两国在这方面的共同努力及所取得的实质性成果,完全可以视为冷战后国家关系调整的典范。

推动中俄两国关系不断向前发展的动力源自内外两个方面,既有两国经济社会发展和对外战略需求等自身的“内力”因素,也有国际和地区局势变化的“外力”因素。这些因素包括:(1)两国都把发展经济视为当前和今后很长一个时期的“中心工作”,都把为国内发展创造良好的外部环境当作外交的基本战略任务;(2)两国对当代世界形势和地区局势有着相近的看法,对当代国际关系体系及中俄在这一体系中的作用持有基本相同的立场;(3)两国经济有着高度的互补性,在经济全球化条件下这种互补性促进了两国的互利双赢、共同发展;(4)两国都面临着恐怖主义、分裂主义和极端主义“三股势力”的威胁,面临着霸权主义、强权政治干涉内政的压力,都把维护国家统一和主权作为基本任务;(5)两国在所在地区有着各自和共同的利益关切,如俄罗斯对独联体地区的关切,中国对亚太地区的关切,以及中俄对中亚和东亚地区形势的共同关切,这些关切推动了两国的相互合作。

正是有了这些相同或相近的利益基础,中俄关系得到快速发展,从最初的“互视为友好国家”迅速过渡到“建设性伙伴关系”,后又迅速升格为“战略协作伙伴关系”。两国在各个领域、各个级别开始建立起合作的制度性框架,并在一系列双边和国际问题上进行了密切的交流、协商与合作。

正如本书所指出的,在1992—2000年的九年里,两国的合作

还处在打基础、搭框架的磨合过程中,即还处于合作的起步阶段,同时为两国的长期合作做好了准备。进入新世纪后,中俄伙伴关系愈加务实、互利、健康和有前瞻性,两国战略协作在合作的机制化建设和合作领域的扩展等方面都取得了很大的成绩。2001年的《中俄睦邻友好合作条约》的签订,标志着两国为建立新型关系打基础、搭框架的探索阶段的结束,两国关系开始步入一个新的发展阶段,即:一方面,把落实两国政府业已达成的协议和声明、把充分挖掘两国战略协作伙伴关系的巨大潜力、把深化各个领域务实合作的愿望转变为现实行动,作为发展两国关系的基本任务;另一方面,依据两国务实互利合作的不断深入和取得实质性绩效,把两国战略合作提高到新的水平。如何使两国战略合作伙伴框架更有效率、更具有可操作性并取得更多的合作成果,如何进一步夯实两国关系的物质基础(经济合作)与人文基础(相互充分了解与信任),已成为新阶段两国关系的首要课题。

概括而言,中俄战略协作伙伴关系涵盖了三个层次的内容:一是深入发展双边合作,保持长久的睦邻友好,促进共同发展与繁荣,造福于两国人民;二是密切双方在国际事务中的磋商与协调,维护各自的独立、主权和民族尊严,维护各自在国际上应有的地位和正当权益;三是通过双方合作和共同努力,促进国际局势的缓和与稳定,推动世界多极化趋势的发展和公正合理的国际新秩序的建立。

尽管中俄关系已得到快速发展,但它还不是一个自动的或自然而然的顺利过程,仍然存在着制约两国关系发展的某些因素。在两国新型关系的庞大“建筑”内的许多具体部分、包括其运作机制,都还需要一个在未来的合作实践中逐步细化的过程。而且,两国合作越深入、交往越频繁,在处理具体问题过程中,在两国战略利益、民族特点、文化背景和历史渊源等因素的作用下,双方利益差异和观念分歧将会经常地表露出来。对此,两国都应该有清醒的认识。一方面,对这些分歧、矛盾无需过分紧张、过度渲染,这在

两个大国之间当属“平常”之事。关键不是两国是否存在矛盾和不一致之处,而在于两国是否能秉承求同存异的态度,进一步推动合作,是否能争取更加积极务实的措施去化解分歧。另一方面,也需要注意到,某些差异和分歧如不能得到很好的处理,有可能加深矛盾,破坏相互信任,进而使两国的战略协作仅仅停留在官方的声明中。事实上,“官热民冷”是中俄关系中长期存在的问题,近些年来才有所改善。也就是说,装修两国关系大厦的工程也许不会比搭建这一大厦的框架来得轻松,同样需要两国的共同智慧与努力。更重要的是,要使两国关系保持长久稳定,就要在两国民众中培养相互了解和信任的良好氛围,这也需要一个长期细致的过程。

本书探讨了中俄关系的几乎所有重要方面,并对两国关系的未来抱有信心。关于未来,本书的主要看法是:首先,两国面临的复杂的国际环境使它们的相互借重关系具有稳定性和长期性,战略协作领域将会进一步扩大,合作进一步加深;其次,随着经济合作的迅速深化,两国的相互依存程度将会不断提高,这将与双方之间的安全依赖一道,加强中俄长期友好关系的不可逆性,并使战略协作关系具有更强的双边互利性;第三,两国间的相互信任程度将在根本上决定两国战略协作伙伴关系的发展广度与深度。

2005年俄罗斯科学院远东问题研究所出版了关于中俄关系研究的一本论文集。在结构安排上,该书把俄罗斯学者对中国内外政策走向的研究放在第一部分。这说明,俄罗斯学者认为中国政策的走向是影响俄中关系的重要因素,并构成了研究未来两国关系的基础。本书在结构设置上也参考了这种做法,即在对中俄关系做出总体评价后,把解读俄罗斯内政外交政策作为进一步分析两国各领域战略合作的基本条件,以中国人的视角研判合作对象的总体政策,以及在这些政策背景影响下的中俄关系。

参与本书写作的大部分是中国社会科学院俄罗斯东欧中亚研究所的学者,另有一部分是长期工作在与俄罗斯合作一线的同志。无论是在学术方面,还是在具体问题的把握方面,这两部分作者的

合作无疑保证了本项研究的理论深度和实用价值。

本书写作具体分工如下：

姜毅：前言，第一章第一节，第四、十二章，并负责课题规划、组织，以及全书的统稿和定稿工作；

许志新：第一章第三节，第二、三章，并负责全书的统稿和定稿工作；

吴大辉：第一章第二节，第十一章；

王玉红：第五章；

孙壮志：第六章；

李建民：第七章第一、三、四、五节；

庞昌伟：第七章第二节；

张红侠：第八章；

李俊雄：第九章；

王伟：第十章。

老青：目录及前言翻译。

中俄关系研究是一个十分复杂的系统工程。这项研究不仅难在覆盖领域多、涉及面广，而且难在两国关系还处于不断调整、迅速深化的进程中。加之写作时间仓促，对一些新问题的研究尚处于初始阶段。同时，本书在写作过程中还面临一些不易解决的问题，如在边境小额贸易中普遍存在着“边贸无边”现象，以致具体情况很难核实。因此，本书难免有所疏漏甚至不当之处。本书作者衷心希望专家及读者批评指正。

姜毅

2006年4月于北京



## Preface

“New Era Sino-Russia Relations” funded by National Philosophy and Social Science Funds is a joint piece of work by well-known researchers in this area in China. It’s completed to celebrate great occasions of the 10th anniversary of establishment of strategic cooperative partnership between China and Russia, the 5th anniversary of Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation Between China and Russia, SCO and also the beginning of China-Russia Year.

Sino-Russia relations between the two big and important neighboring countries have played such a significant role in their own security and development, also in Asia and the world affairs, that any progress in their relations catches the eyes of academic researchers throughout the world.

In the light of China’s development in 20 years, China has begun carrying out a sort of “power or border-oriented” diplomatic policy. And since Russia has been both a power and a border country, China pays close attention to China-Russia ties, one of the most important bilateral relations, both at the present and in the future.

After the Cold War, these two countries took the lead in making progress in their relations, to come to terms with the new situation and the diplomatic needs. And beginning from the strategic partnership in 1996, as the two country leaders once said, Sino-Russia relations has got from good to better, and now

are at their best throughout history.

Past lessons and present conditions of multi-sides and economic globalization have imposed the two countries into practicing a new mechanism for mutual-relations, the essence and principles of which have been time and again put in many political and law documents: “Three Goods” (Good-neighborliness, friendship and cooperation) and “Three Nones” (None alignment, opposition, and directing against any third country). These are essential achievements of their co-efforts and model patterns of relations between countries after the Cold War.

This progress, on the one hand, has come from the need for self-economic development and diplomatic strategies—their inner drive; and on the other hand, has resulted from the global and regional development and changes—the outside conditions. More specific factors are: (1) Economic development is the No. 1 mission for both countries in the long run, thus both countries have made diplomatic strategies and tasks aiming at keeping a favorable external surroundings; (2) Similar views about world situation and regional affairs on both sides, so they stand together in terms of Russia’s function in global relations; (3) Economic globalization and mutual complement have brought them mutual benefits and prosperity; (4) With three forces still in existence—terrorism, disunion and extremism, as well as the peril of West hegemony, power-politics and interferences, both Russia and China have regarded state sovereignty and territorial integrity as their basic goals; (5) Common concerns for the Central and East Asia and their individual concerns, such as Russia’s concerns for the CIS and China’s concerns for Asia-Pacific, have improved their mutual cooperation.

Based on all these similarities in interests, China and Russia firstly became “Friendly Neighbors”, later turned to be “Constructive Partners”, and soon “upgraded” to “Strategic Co-operative Partners”. Within the established cooperative mechanism, they have made a series of discussions, negotiations and co-operation in terms of mutual and global issues at different levels in all walks of life.

As mentioned in this Book, the year of 1992—2000 witnessed the first stage of their going-together, which has served for their further and longer symbiosis in the new century. Great achievements have been made in their cooperation patterns and fields, esp. after the year 2000, mainly due to their more practical, prescient, sound and mutual beneficial cooperation. 2001 Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation between China and Russia marked the end of the first stage and declared a new era of their further cooperation; a turning point from words into deeds and a transfer from expectancies to actions. Both sides have taken it as an assignment, which involves letting the bi-governmental negotiations and announcements go down to practical level with all potentialities to improve strategic cooperative partnership, on the grounds of which China and Russia are now heading for the efficiency, feasibilities, fruitfulness in economic fields and cultural areas; either for material purposes or for mutual understanding and trust.

Generally, China-Russia strategic cooperative partnership can be rephrased this way: within the further cooperation frame, (1) both sides will keep the promise of long-term friendly neighborliness for co-development and co-prosperity and for the peoples of the two countries; (2) both sides will applaud discussions and negotiations in

coping with international issues, making efforts to maintain and respect each other's independence, sovereignty, dignity, status and proper rights; (3) both sides will work harder together to make world peace and maintain global stability, bringing the multi-world a New Order of justice and reason.

Any step forward in Sino-Russia relations occurs not at all automatically, spontaneously or smoothly. In fact, there are still some limitations and unfavorable factors, which need our attention as stated in this Book. Quite a few details, including operating system, need specifying in the course of implementation and practice within the "big building framework" (of strategic cooperative partnership). In this case, problems from different strategic interests, peoples' characteristics, cultural and historic backgrounds will emerge, which has become "commonplace" and settled by down-to-earth measures instead of over-tension or overemphasis. And any poor solutions to them may lead to conflict and distrust, leaving the "strategic cooperation" an official paper only for both sides. Traditionally, this has been the case with Sino-Russia relations: "active authority and inactive public". Actually, to furnish the "big building" of the two country relations is more difficult than to construct a framework for this big building. Intelligence and efforts are still necessary. What's more, long-term stability comes from understanding and trust between the two peoples, and this takes time to achieve.

Writers of this Book have touches all areas in Sino-Russia relations, and hold confidence for the future. Firstly, faced with sophisticated global situation, both China and Russia will expand and develop their cooperation on the base of their stable and long-term relations; Secondly, with further economic cooperation, both China and Russia will become more mutual-dependent and mutual-

beneficial, which will, together with their security, not stop them from maintaining their strategic partnership; and thirdly, mutual trust will be the key for the depth and width in their future strategic partnership.

The first part of a dissertation book about Sino-Russia Relations composed by the Far East Studies of Russia Science Academy in 2005 had a lot focus on China's policies at home and abroad by Russian researchers, who also thought that China policies had played an important role in Sino-Russia relations and constituted a foundation for the study of Sino-Russia relations in the future. Such is the case in regard of our work. Based upon general study of Sino-Russia relations, we focus on Russia domestic and diplomatic policies and dwell upon conditions for Sino-Russia strategic cooperation in various phases in view of Chinese scholars. We step into further analysis of Russia policies and Sino-Russia relations under such background.

Writers of this Book are from Russia, East Europe and Central Asia Studies of Chinese Academy of Social Science and from practical cooperative project workers with Russia (Their names and contributions are listed in the Chinese preface, also attached to the chapters or sections). Their analysis on both general and specific issues are of theoretic and practical value.

The study of Sino-Russia relations is rather complicated. It involves constant adjusting and progressing at a wide range of fields and aspects. Also, some newly born issues are still at its early stage and some specific cases at border are to be investigated, such as "small none-border business at the border". So we sincerely expect comments from other researchers and readers.

Jiang Yi

April, 2006, Beijing

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