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中东地区发展报告

“一带一路”建设与中东

[2015—2016]

刘中民 朱威烈 孙德刚◎主编

Reports on Middle East Development
“One Belt and One Road” Construction and the Middle East

时事出版社

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主编的话

2015年是中东形势持续调整变化的一年，也是“一带一路”倡议提出后中国与中东国家全面推进政策沟通、设施联通、贸易畅通、资金融通和民心相通的一年。因此，《中东地区发展报告（2015—2016）》主要以2015年中东地区形势和中国与中东关系作为分析的主要对象。本书的主题报告为“‘一带一路’视野下的中国与中东”，报告既有宏观战略研究，也有具体领域的研究，还有双边关系领域的研究，力图全面认识中国与中东共建“一带一路”的战略构想、现状与趋势、机遇与挑战、问题与对策。

本书有三个专题报告。专题报告“中东地区形势的新发展”，主要分析了2015年中东形势的新发展，对认识转型国家发展态势、地区格局重组、伊核协议的深刻影响、域内外大国中东政策有重要意义。专题报告“教派问题与宗教极端主义”，对2015年中东教派矛盾加剧、“伊斯兰国”恐怖主义扩张两大问题进行了深入分析，有利于客观认识教派矛盾的实质，揭示以“伊斯兰国”为核心的极端主义的本质。专题报告“中国中东外交”主要结合中国特色的大国外交的推进，对如何构建中国特色的中东外交、中国参与中东地区安全治理的理论与实践等问题进行了重点探讨，力图全面理解中国特色中东外交的内涵和实质。

《中东地区发展报告（2015—2016）》的主题和编写大纲由上海外国语大学中东研究所刘中民教授、朱威烈教授、孙德刚教授商议拟定，刘中民教授、孙德刚教授负责通读、修改了全书，同时根据形势变化增删了各报告的部分内容。中东研究所余泳副教授承担了与作者的联系工作。

本书的撰写继续秉承跨行业、跨部门、跨机构合作的原则，继续突出基础性、应用性和政策性相结合的特点，而这一切都需仰仗国内专家学者的倾力支持。这里谨对参与本书撰写的校内外专家学者的辛勤劳动和精诚协作表示衷心感谢！

2016年3月于上海

Table of Contents

Abstract

Session One: China and the Middle East within the Framework of “One Belt and One Road” Initiative

“One Belt and One Road” Initiative and the New Development of China’s Economic Diplomacy

SONG Guoyou

The Strategic Docking between China and Middle East Countries under “One Belt and One Road” Framework

WU Sike

Opportunities, Challenges, and Countermeasures in China’s Implementation of “One Belt and One Road” Initiative

WANG Lincong

Opportunities and Challenges in China – Middle East Industrial Capacity Cooperation

YAO Kuangyi

On the Implementation of China’s Beidou Satellite Navigation System in the Arab World

SUN Degang

Promoting Understanding between Chinese and the Middle East People within the Context of “One Belt and One Road” Initiative

DING Jun

On the New Development of China – Arab Relations in the Context of “One Belt

and One Road” Initiative

QIAN Xuming

Strategic Link between Egyptian Revitalization Plan and “One Belt and Road” Initiative

ZHAO Jun

China – Israel Relations in the Context of “One Belt and One Road” Initiative

MIN Jie

Session Two: The New Development of the Middle East Situation

The New Stage of the Egyptian Situation

YANG Fuchang

The New Outlook of the Middle East Pattern

AN Huihou

On the Implication of the Overall Agreement of the Iranian Nuclear Issue

LI Shaoxian

On the New Round of the Middle East Turmoil

TIAN Wenlin

Analysis of the G20 Antalya Summit in Turkey

ZOU Zhiqiang

Evolution and Implications of Russian Middle East Policy

BI Hongye and SA Sha

Session Three: Sectarian Issue and the Religious Extremism

A Multi – Dimensional Analysis of the Middle East Sectarianism

BAO Chenzhang and LIU Zhongmin

On Iran – Arab Shiite Relations

LI Fuquan

| | |
|--|----------------------------|
| The “Islamic State” and the Variation of Terrorism | WANG Jin |
| International Rivalry in Striking the “Islamic State” | NIU Song and LU Lu |
| The US and the Middle East Countries’ Perceptions of the “Islamic State” | YU Yong and ZHANG Fangyuan |
| The Essence and Internal Structure of European Islamic Extremism | WANG Bo |

**Session Four: China’s Middle
East Diplomacy**

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Constructing a China – styled Middle East Diplomatic Strategy | LI Weijian |
| The Mode and Attributes of China’s Participation in the Middle East Security Governance | SUN Degang |
| The Reality and Prospect of China – Arab Think – tank Exchanges | LI Yi |
| Historical Evolution of Relationship between China and the Gulf Region | LIU Zhongmin |

目 录

内容提要 (1)

Abstract (4)

主题报告

“一带一路”视野下的中国与中东

- “一带一路”战略构想与中国经济外交新发展 宋国友 (11)
- “一带一路”框架下中国与中东国家的战略对接 吴思科 (26)
- 中国在中东推进“一带一路”建设的机遇、
挑战及应对 王林聪 (34)
- 中国与中东国家产能合作的机遇和挑战 姚匡乙 (40)
- 中国北斗卫星导航系统在阿拉伯世界推广的前景 孙德刚 (50)
- “一带一路”背景下中国与中东国家间的“民心相通” 丁俊 (67)
- “一带一路”背景下中阿关系的新发展 潜旭明 (84)
- 埃及“振兴计划”与“一带一路”倡议的战略对接 赵军 (98)
- “一带一路”背景下中国与以色列的关系 闵捷 (115)

专题报告一

中东地区形势的新发展

- 埃及形势的新发展及其评估 杨福昌 (133)
- 中东地区格局的新变化 安惠侯 (143)

| | |
|------------------------|---------------|
| 伊核全面协议的影响评估····· | 李绍先 (153) |
| 新一轮中东动荡期形势评估····· | 田文林 (168) |
| 土耳其 G20 安塔利亚峰会评估 ····· | 邹志强 (183) |
| 俄罗斯中东政策的演变及其评析····· | 毕洪业 萨 莎 (200) |

专题报告二

教派问题与宗教极端主义

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| 对中东教派主义的多维思考····· | 包澄章 刘中民 (221) |
| 伊朗与阿拉伯什叶派关系述评····· | 李福泉 (240) |
| “伊斯兰国”与恐怖主义的变形 ····· | 王 晋 (257) |
| 美俄围绕打击“伊斯兰国”的国际博弈 ····· | 钮 松 路 璐 (274) |
| 中东国家和美国对“伊斯兰国”的认知 ····· | 余 泳 张方圆 (288) |
| 欧洲伊斯兰极端主义的性质和结构分析····· | 汪 波 (297) |

专题报告三

中国中东外交

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| 构建中国特色的中东外交战略····· | 李伟建 (319) |
| 中国参与中东安全治理的特点与模式····· | 孙德刚 (336) |
| 中阿智库交流的现状与前景····· | 李 意 (352) |
| 中国与海湾地区关系的历史演变及其特点····· | 刘中民 (364) |

内容提要

2015年是中东形势持续动荡、地区格局继续重组的一年，也是“一带一路”倡议提出后中国与中东关系深入发展的一年。因此，《中东地区发展报告（2015—2016）》主要以2015年中东地区形势和中国与中东关系作为分析的主要对象。本书的主题报告为“‘一带一路’视野下的中国与中东”，专题报告包括“中东地区形势的新发展”、“教派问题与宗教极端主义”和“中国中东外交”三部分。

1. 主题报告：“一带一路”视野下的中国与中东

中东地区是“一带一路”的交汇地带，具有联通欧亚非的重要枢纽地位。在“一带一路”沿线60多个国家中，有超过四分之一的国家属于中东国家。因此，做好在中东地区推进“一带一路”建设的工作，对实现“一带一路”建设总体目标有十分重要的意义。近两年来，在中东推进“一带一路”建设的工作已经取得了不小的成就，其表现具体有三：第一，内容清晰的顶层设计已经成型，战略引领作用显著。第二，中东国家反应热烈、参与积极。第三，各种机制建设为“一带一路”提供了重要平台。当然，中国在中东推进“一带一路”面临的最大挑战是安全风险，但中国并不会因畏惧安全风险而止步不前，而是要根据中东国家风险程度的差异精准施策，继续在中东推进“一带一路”建设。基于以上认识，本书编写组织专家撰写了9篇分报告，具体问题包括：“一带一路”战略构想与中国经济外交新发展，“一带一路”框架下中国与中东国家的战略对接，中国在中东地区推进“一带一路”建设的机遇、挑战及应对，中国与中东国家产能合作的机遇和挑战，中国北斗卫星导航系统落户阿拉伯世界的机遇与风险，“一带一路”建设中的“民心相通”，“一带一路”背景下的中阿关系，埃及经济振兴计划与“一带一路”战略对接，“一带一路”背景

下的中国与以色列关系。这些报告既有宏观战略研究，也有具体领域的研究，还有双边关系领域的研究，比较全面地分析了中国与中东共建“一带一路”涉及的主要问题，有助于全面认识中国与中东共建“一带一路”的战略构想、现状与趋势、机遇与挑战、问题与对策。

2. 专题报告一：中东地区形势的新发展

动荡与混乱依旧是2015年中东地区形势的常态，甚至其程度和烈度都远超过以往。但是，2015年的中东形势也呈现出了乱中有治的迹象。《伊核协议》的签署无疑是中东形势变化的最大亮点，创造了政治解决中东热点问题的伊核模式；转型阿拉伯国家已经分化为趋于稳定（如突尼斯、埃及）与继续动荡（如也门、利比亚）两种类型，呈现出治乱并存的两种趋势；“伊斯兰国”（IS）等极端恐怖势力继续肆虐，难民问题不断发酵，都强烈冲击全球安全和全球治理，但也直接推动了国际社会围绕反恐、难民治理的国际合作；在叙利亚、伊拉克、也门、巴以等地区新老热点问题持续紧张的同时，叙利亚问题在2015年年底出现了重回政治轨道的可能。但是，中东地区格局的结构性矛盾依然存在，并表现为美俄战略博弈和地区大国争夺地区主导权的斗争同时加剧。因此，本书撰写了6个分报告，分别就埃及形势的新发展、中东地区格局的新变化、伊核全面协议的影响评估、新一轮中东动荡期形势评估、土耳其G20安塔利亚峰会评估、俄罗斯中东政策等问题进行了分析，对认识转型国家发展态势、地区格局重组、伊核协议的深刻影响、域内外大国中东政策有重要意义。

3. 专题报告二：教派问题与宗教极端主义

在2015年，以沙特与伊朗为核心的两大阵营的地缘政治、民族和教派对抗日趋固化。过去几年来，沙特与伊朗围绕巴林、叙利亚、伊拉克和也门展开了持续的代理人竞争。2016年伊始，沙特与伊朗断交危机导致双方的对抗公开化、阵营化，双方的矛盾并非简单的教派矛盾，而是争夺地区主导权的地缘政治矛盾、阿拉伯民族与波斯民族矛盾、逊尼派与什叶派矛

盾这三大矛盾的叠加。双方对抗的态势将呈现龃龉不断但又不会走向战争的“新常态”，中东国家日渐分化成沙特阵营、伊朗阵营和中间阵营。基于此，本书组织撰写了“对中东教派主义的多维透视”“伊朗与阿拉伯什叶派关系”两篇分报告，力图客观认识教派矛盾的实质。

在2015年，中东地区的极端主义和恐怖主义持续泛滥。具有实体化、准国家化特点的“伊斯兰国”已取代“基地”组织成为国际恐怖主义的核心，即大规模恐怖袭击的主要发起者，极端主义和恐怖主义意识形态的生产者和传播者，以及世界各地恐怖极端组织的效忠对象。打击“伊斯兰国”的恐怖主义，弱化和根除宗教极端主义已构成全球治理的难题。基于此，本书组织撰写了4篇分报告：“伊斯兰国”与恐怖主义的变形、美俄围绕打击“伊斯兰国”的国际博弈、美国和中东国家对“伊斯兰国”的认知、欧洲伊斯兰极端主义的性质和内在结构。这些报告对认识以“伊斯兰国”为核心的极端主义的本质大有裨益，也有助于认识国际社会打击“伊斯兰国”斗争的复杂性。

4. 专题报告三：中国中东外交

全面推进中国特色的大国外交构成了2015年中国外交的重点。中国特色大国外交突出表现为“六个坚持”，即坚持中国共产党领导和中国特色社会主义，坚持独立自主的和平外交方针，坚持国际关系民主化，坚持合作共赢，坚持正确义利观，坚持不干涉别国内政原则。中东地区是当今世界最复杂、最动荡的地区，也是近年来中国外交面临机遇和挑战最多的地区之一。在2015年的中国中东外交中，中国紧密结合中东地区的实际，已初步形成既具有鲜明的中国特色，又符合中东实际情况的外交理念、外交政策和外交机制。2016年1月，《中国对阿拉伯国家政策文件》的发布，习近平主席访问沙特、埃及、伊朗三国，都标志着中国特色的中东外交正在成形。本书组织撰写的“中国中东外交战略构建研究”，“中国参与中东地区冲突治理的理论与实践”，“中阿智库交流的意义、现状及政策建议”，“中国与海湾国家关系的历史变迁”都有助于全面理解中国特色中东外交的内涵和实质。

Abstract

The year 2015 was characterized by a political turmoil prevailing in the Middle East and regional pattern continuing to restructure. It was also a time when relations between China and the Middle East witnessed further development following the “One Belt and One Road” Initiative. Therefore, the Middle East Development Report (2015—2016) chooses the situation in the Middle East in 2015 as well as the relationship between China and the Middle East as the main objects of analysis. The theme of this volume is “China and the Middle East within the Framework of the ‘One Belt and One Road’ Initiative,” while special reports consist of three parts: “the New Development in the Middle East Situation,” “Sectarian Issues and Religious Extremism” and “Chinese Diplomacy in the Middle East” .

Session One: China and the Middle East within the Framework of the “One Belt and One Road” Initiative

The Middle East is the intersection of the “One Belt and One Road” and a hub connecting Europe, Asia, and Africa. Among the over 60 countries along the “One Belt and One Road”, more than a quarter are Middle Eastern countries. Therefore, promoting the “One Belt and One Road” construction in the Middle East is crucial to achieve the overall goal of the “One Belt and One Road” Initiative. In recent years, promotion of the “One Belt and One Road” Initiative in the Middle East has made significant headway that manifests itself in three different aspects. First, a clear top – level design has formed and taken up strategic leading roles. Second, countries in the Middle East have responded enthusiastically and participated actively. Finally, various mechanisms have provid-

ed an important platform for construction of the “One Belt and One Road”. Needless to say, the biggest challenge to China’s promotion of the “One Belt and One Road” in the Middle East is security, but China’s ambition will not be stalled by fear of such risks. Instead, it tailors specific policies according to countries’ different levels of risk and continues to promote the construction of the “One Belt and One Road” in the Middle East. Based on the above considerations, this *Development Report* compilation group organized experts to contribute nine reports, drawing on specific issues including: Strategic planning of the “One Belt and One Road” Initiative and new developments in Chinese economic diplomacy; Strategic docking between China and the Middle Eastern countries within the framework of the “One Belt and One Road” Initiative; Opportunities, challenges and countermeasures in China’s promotion of the “One Belt and One Road” in the Middle East; Opportunities and challenges of production capacity cooperation between China and the Middle East; The implementation of China’s Beidou Satellite Navigation System in the Arab world; People – to – people contacts in the construction of the “One Belt and One Road”; Sino – Arab relations against the background of the “One Belt and One Road”; Egypt’s economic revitalization plan and strategic docking with the “One Belt and One Road” Initiative; and Sino – Israeli relations against the background of the “One Belt and One Road” Initiative.

These reports include macro strategic research as well as researches in specific fields and bilateral relations. They not only aim to analyze major problems concerning the “One Belt and One Road” Initiative between China and the Middle East, but the reports also contribute to the understanding of the strategic planning, current situation and trends, opportunities and challenges, as well as problems and countermeasures in building the “One Belt and One Road” Initiative between China and the Middle East.

Session Two: The New Development of the Middle East Situation

Turbulence and chaos remained the norm of the Middle East in 2015, the extent and intensity of which might have even exceeded those in the

past. However, the Middle East in 2015 also showed signs of mixture of order amid chaos. The Iranian nuclear deal is undoubtedly the biggest highlight of the changing situation, ushering in a path of political solution to Middle Eastern issues. Transforming Arab states have divided themselves into stabilizing ones (e. g. Tunisia and Egypt) and those with prolonged unrest (e. g. Yemen and Libya), showing two coexisting trends. ISIS and other extremist groups remained rampant while the refugee crisis continued to escalate, exerting a strong impact on global security and global governance, though they also directly promoted the international cooperation on terrorism and refugee governance. As old and new tensions in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, and Israel – Palestine continued, the Syrian crisis took a turn to the possibility of a political solution at the end of the year. However, structural contradictions persisted in the Middle East and manifested itself in the form of US – Russia strategic power game as well as intensified competition for dominance among regional powers. Therefore, this book includes six sub – reports analyzing the new development of the Egyptian situation, new changes in the regional pattern of the Middle East, comprehensive assessment of the impact of the Iranian nuclear deal, assessment of a new round of turmoil in the region, assessment of the G20 summit in Antalya, and Russia’s Middle East Policy. The reports contribute to deeper understanding of the development trends in transitional states, reorganization of regional patterns, impact of the Iranian nuclear deal, and Middle East policies of major powers in and outside the region.

Session Three: Sectarian Issue and the Religious Extremism

In 2015, the geopolitical, ethnic and sectarian rivalry centered on Saudi Arabia and Iran, and was increasingly solidified. Over the past few years, Saudi Arabia and Iran have initiated proxy wars and competition in Bahrain, Syria, Iraq and Yemen respectively. Beginning in 2016, the breaking off of diplomatic ties between the two regional powers led to their open confrontation. Their conflict is not merely sectarian; it is a combination of geopolitical struggle for regional dominance, Arab – Persian ethnic conflict, and the Sunni – Shiite religious tension. The competition between Saudi Arabia and Iran will likely show a “new

norm” consisting of prolonged discord without major wars, and Middle Eastern states are grouping themselves into the Saudi camp, the Iranian camp, and the middle ground. Based on such assumptions, this book volume includes two sub reports: “Multidimensional Perspective on Sectarianism in the Middle East” and “The Relationship between Iran and Arab Shiites”, attempting to present an objective view of the essence of sectarian conflict.

In 2015, religious extremism and terrorism continued to spread across the Middle East. The “Islamic State”, with its many characteristics similar to those of nation states, has replaced Al – Qaeda as the core of global terrorism. It has become the main organizer of large – scale terrorist attacks, the producer and disseminator of extremist and terrorist ideologies, and the target of allegiance among extremist groups around the world. The fight against the “Islamic State”, as well as weakening and eradication of religious extremism, is a question of global governance. As a result, this book has four relevant sub reports: “The Deformation of ISIS and Terrorism,” “US – Russia Power Game through the Fight against ISIS,” “The Perceptions of ISIS in the United States and the Middle East” and “The Nature and Internal Structure of Islamic Extremism in Europe”. These reports assist readers in understanding the nature of extremism with ISIS as its core as well as the complexity of global combat against ISIS.

Session Four: China’s Middle East Diplomacy

The comprehensive promotion of great power diplomacy with Chinese characteristics constitutes the focus of China’s diplomacy in 2015. Diplomacy with Chinese characteristics consists of “Six Adherences”: adhering to the leadership of the Communist Party of China and socialism with Chinese characteristics, adhering to the independent foreign policy of peace, adhering to the democratization of international relations, adhering to the win – win cooperation, adhering to the correct concept of justice and benefit, and adhering to the principle of non – interference in the internal affairs of others. The Middle East is one of the world’s most complex, most volatile regions that has presented numerous opportunities and challenges for Chinese diplomacy in recent years. In 2015, China closely ex-

amined the ground situation in the Middle East, through which its diplomatic concept, policy and mechanism formed combining Chinese characteristics with the reality on the ground in the Middle East. In January 2016, the release of *China's Arab Policy Paper* and President Xi Jinping's visit to Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Iran both signified that its Middle East diplomacy with Chinese characteristics was taking shape. This book volume includes reports such as "the Construction of China's Middle East Diplomatic Strategy," "The Mode and attributes of China's Participation in the Security Governance in the Middle East," "Significance, Current Situation and Policy Implications Regarding the Exchange between Chinese and Arab Think - tanks" and "the Historical Evolution of the Relationship between China and Gulf States". They will help readers fully understand the connotation and essence of China's Middle East diplomacy with Chinese characteristics.