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## **THE ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE OF RUSSIA IN SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION**

**ŞANGHAY İŞBİRLİĞİ ÖRGÜTÜ'NDE RUSYA'NIN İKTİSADİ  
PERFORMANSI**

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### **Abstract**

The Shanghai Five has been created in 26 April 1996 with the participation of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan when the USA wanted to establish a single-pole world order risking the presence of Russia in the Central Asia and Russia collaborated by delaying the problems with China and Iran. It has been named as Shanghai Cooperation Organization upon inclusion of Uzbekistan in 2001. The organization's objective was to create a harmonious society, achieve the highest level of economic improvement in the region, establish an effective platform for the accelerated international transformation and chose security, regional energy network, transportation, financial cooperation and communication as key words. The article named 'Russia's Economic Performance in Shanghai Cooperation Organization' analysed the economic performance of Russia within the organization as one of the most important members. Part I of the present study is focused on historical development of Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Part II is about Russia's economic performance and Part III is about future of Shanghai Organization. In conclusion, it is understood that Russia has certain characteristics such as the important position drawing attention as centre of energy and economy that is substantially dependent on oil and natural gas exports, etc. As China is the biggest trade partner contributing to Russia's economic performance, Russia became dependent on China economically. Apart from such dependency of Russia, energy is highly important for Chinese economy and this importance forces Russia towards a mechanism dependent on China about the energy.

**Keywords:** Security, regional energy network, transportation, financial cooperation and communication.

### **Özet**

Orta Asya'da ABD'nin Rusya'nın varlığını riske atarak tek kutuplu dünya düzeni istemesiyle ve Rusya'nın Çin ve İran'la olan sorunlarını erteleyerek işbirliğine gitmesiyle 26 Nisan 1996'da Çin, Rusya, Kazakistan, Kırgızistan, Tacikistan'ın da katılımıyla Şanghay Beşlisi kurulmuştur. 2001 de ise Özbekistan'ın katılımıyla Şanghay İşbirliği Örgütü adını almıştır. Örgüt yapılarını ahenkli bir toplum haline açmayı, bölgede ekonomik gelişmeyi zirveye çıkarmayı, artan uluslararası değişim için etkili bir platform kurulması olarak amaçlarken anahtar kelimeler olarak da güvenlik, bölgesel enerji bağlantısı, ulaşım, finansal işbirliği ve haberleşmeyi tercih etmiştir. 'Şanghay İşbirliği Örgütü'nde Rusya'nın İktisadi Performansı' adlı makale çalışmasında örgütün en önemli üyelerinden biri olan Rusya'nın örgüt içerisindeki iktisadi performansının nasıl olduğu ele alınmıştır. Çalışmanın I. bölümünde Şanghay İşbirliği Örgütü'nün tarihsel süreci, II. bölümünde Rusya'nın iktisadi performansı, III. bölümde gelecekte Şanghay Örgütü ve konu değerlendirmesiyle çalışma tamamlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda sonuç olarak Rusya'nın enerji merkezi olarak dikkat çeken önemli bir konumda olduğu, ekonomisini büyük ölçüde petrol ve doğalgaz ihracatına bağlı olduğu vb. özellikleri bünyesinde barındırdığı görülmektedir. Örgüt içerisinde Rusya'nın iktisadi performansı açısından en büyük ticari ortağının Çin olması ve Rusya'nın da bu bağlamda Çin'e bağımlı olmasını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Rusya'nın dışında Çin ekonomisi açısından da enerji oldukça büyük bir öneme sahip olup, enerji alanında Rusya'yı Çin'e bağımlı bir mekanizmaya zorlamaktadır.

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Russia delayed the existing problems and cooperated with China and Iran acting as both collaborators and competitors as a result of the USA's intent to create a single-pole system and attempt to risk the presence of Russia in the Central Asia. China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan signed a treaty and formed Shanghai Five in 25 April 1996 in order to provide mutual assurance deploying military power in the border areas. It has been given the name Shanghai Cooperation Organization in 2001 upon inclusion of Uzbekistan. The key words were security, regional energy network, financial cooperation and communication. In the beginning, 5 countries set off to solve the problems encountered in the borders; however, their duties changed in time. In addition to the initial goals, the organization's structure evolved into political, security, intelligence, economic and trade, and public safety cooperation with the involvement of the ministers of defence and foreign affairs.

The article named 'Russia's Economic Performance in Shanghai Cooperation Organization' described the economic performance of Russia within SCO and historical development process. The study showed that Russia and China are the most important trade partners for each other but they also act as economic competitors despite the consensus. In economic terms, China is the biggest trade partner of Russia within SCO. Therefore, different structures emerge for China and Russia with respect to economic power as well as economic and trade affairs between China and Russia. If Russia and China can overcome differences in the future, they will play relatively constructive and effective roles within SCO.

## **2. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION**

USA's attempts to push Russia to the background and jeopardize its presence in the Central Asia have led to cooperation with China and Iran by postponing the problems despite the conflicts encountered time by time. The first meeting was held in Shanghai in 23 April 1996. In this meeting, the goals were set as security of border regions in China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan and it has been named Shanghai Cooperation Organization with the inclusion of Uzbekistan in 2001. In time, the initial goals have been extended and institutionalization efforts have been accelerated in addition to being an international organization (Akgur & Cakiroglu, 2008: 1).

The intent of Russia and China- major actors of the formation stage- to change the world ordered managed centrally assembled the Central Asia countries under the same roof. Perceiving attempts of the USA for creating a new world order as a threat following the disintegration of USSR, China laid foundations of SCO.

### **2.1 Russia-China Affairs Before Shanghai Cooperation Organization**

It is possible to study Russia-China affairs in two main phases- before and after the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. In these phases, there has always been conflict between Russia and China and they tested working and decision-making mechanisms (Akman, 2015: 311). Border problems between Russia and China have always existed. The border between two countries is 4300 km long. The eastern part of this border extends from the eastern border of Mongolia to Tumen River in the North Korea and the western border of 3200 km extends from the western border of Mongolia to Tajikistan-Afghanistan border and it is suggested that substantial part of this border was drawn by Russian Empire and Qing Dynasty in the 19th century (Yardimcioglu & Kocarlan, 2012: 165). The negotiations about this border started in 1985-1990. Following the disintegration of USSR, China had border to four countries- Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan- in the north and north-west (Denker & Karakurt, 2002: 2).

It was observed that ideological factors shaped with the ideas of Marxism and Leninism had great effect in the formation of this multifaceted cooperation between China and USSR. In this process, China and USSR signed a “treaty of amity” in 14 February 1950. Subsequently, USSR sent experts to China to build an economic, industrial and technical infrastructure; thus, transferred the technology to build nuclear weapons. People’s Republic of China suffered major losses in the Korean War in 1950-1953; subsequently, interests of China and USSR in internal and external politics changed in the post-1959 period as a result of different interpretation of the sociologist ideology and substantial decline was encountered in good relations that had maintained in a certain equilibrium (Gunes, 2015: 840).

Following the decline in affairs with the Soviet Union, China built close relations with the USA and took a stance against the USSR in 1970s. This approach of China established external security against both the USA and USSR and laid foundations for the internal welfare and economic growth. Russia and China that maintained relations until 1980s entered into a period of building amicable relations following the first visit paid to China in 1989 by Gorbachev as a part of his expansion policy (Akman, 2015: 311-315). The pick-up in relations between China and Russia continued in 1991 in the period of Russian Federation. Such close affairs take root from three main factors which also have led to the formation of SCO. First factor is the desire of Russia and China for cooperation in order to establish border security. Border problems between China, Russia and Central Asia played a major role. The second factor is the economic interests between China and Russia. Recently, China became an important market for Russian goods and Russia showed interest for production surplus of China. The third factor is the hostility against the USA which has an important contribution in close relations between China and Russia. Particularly after the disintegration of USSR, China felt the need to build close relations with the USA but the unwillingness to leave the single-pole world order to the control of the USA made China to reach to an agreement with Russia (Colakoglu, 2004: 173-197).

Central Asian republics taking a role in the arena of international politics wanted real independence on one hand, but on the other hand, they sought a fundamental strategy that would maintain their existence. In the historical process, new states in the region that are stuck between Russia and China aimed to pursue balancing politics between Moscow and Beijing. Most of their concerns were about China. Losing its influence in the region after disintegration of USSR, Moscow left its position to Beijing. Having concerns about this situation, Central Asian countries chose to come together under the umbrella of SCO (Yardimcioglu & Kocaslan, 2012: 165-166). In the meantime, attempting to interfere with the internal affairs of the Central Asian Republics, the USA disrupted the authoritarian regime of this country and caused some problems. The region is rich in nuclear energy resources and valuable mines such as gold. China cooperated with the Central Asia and Russia to build roads and railways and remove the blocks before regional commercial activities for the purpose of stopping the structure in the region that is described as ‘big game’. China required oil imports due to increased economic activities and made an agreement with Russia and Kazakhstan for oil pipeline. After security was recovered in the region, the organization was made functional with the first Shanghai meetings held in 1992 based on “good neighbourhood” policy. The Shanghai Five mechanism has been established in 1996. This mechanism is aimed at improving the security between states in the region, disarming the border regions and encouraging the cooperation. The Shanghai Five has been initiated as a cooperation project against a central system controlled by the USA (Politik Akademi, 2013). The second summit organized in Moscow in 24 April 1997 was focused decisions to be taken about military affairs, reduction of the military

forces in the border regions and information exchange about matters related with the military.

In the third summit, the organization has been converted into an international organization for economic cooperation in addition to matters related with the military forces, borders and security affairs. In the third summit, parties decided to adopt policies aimed at avoiding attempts to interfere with each other's internal affairs, solving problems in amicable ways, combating jointly against ethnic discrimination, terrorism, drug and weapon smuggling, improving economic affairs (Cogal, 2015).

The fourth summit strengthened the decisions taken in the previous two meetings and the name of the organization was changed as Shanghai Forum in the fifth summit. In the meeting, countries agreed to respect each other's sovereignty, not to interfere with each other's internal affairs and to support East Turkestan policies of China and Chechenia policies of Russia (Cogal, 2015).

The number of members increased to six with the inclusion of Uzbekistan in 2001 after the 5th meeting. Considering the regional equilibrium, Uzbekistan is important by reasons such as the size of population, sensitivity of the public about independence, religion and language and degree of relations with the USA. Shanghai Cooperation Organization turned into a regional economic and security cooperation organization consisting of 10 countries upon giving observer status to Pakistan, India and Iran in 2005. Shanghai Cooperation Organization has been accepted as "NATO of the East" in the meetings held. Missile shield system Japan and the USA attempted to create has been considered as a reason to see matters brought forward by multi-pole system in the world as an alternative of NATO (Akal & Dogruyol & Bilisli, 2011: 4). In time, the organization drew attention as a new power against the USA and West Block and it resembled the Warsaw Treaty Organization and COMECON (Serenli, 2014). The policy pursued against the USA in 2005 by Shanghai Cooperation Organization has been adopted in the Presidents' Summit of the organization. In the summit organized in Astana on 5th July, a decision was made to remove the United States of America from military basis created in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan following the attacks in 11 September 2001.

## **2.2. The Motives of Russia and China for Forming the Shanghai Five**

Fundamental factor that lead to close relations between China and Russia and development of common policies was the fact that they saw the USA as a common threat. China-Russia relations have been shaped within this structure and they tried to reflect the military and strategic cooperation within a dynamism accommodating both competition and conflict potential. Therefore, as two important powers of Shanghai Five, Russia and China had different expectations from this treaty. China wanted to see Shanghai not only as a platform where measures improving the security but it also saw it as a multilateral cooperation organization where they are more active with respect to economics and politics. In addition, China solved border problems with the countries in the region and gained trust of these countries by dropping its expansionist policy. For this reason, Beijing sees Shanghai as a power to increase its influence in the region. Russia saw Shanghai as a mechanism that allows control of the affairs between China and Central Asian Republics considered as its backyard. The most important reason for Russia and China to embrace Shanghai is the fact that they saw this partnership as a tool that would destroy the American power. Other members of Shanghai, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan that had limited infrastructure and field of application saw this organization as a platform to improve the dialogue with China (Ozdasli, 2012: 109-112).

Countries noted Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty of 1972 and stated that they are against the inclusion of Taiwan to the missile shield system. In addition, stating their concerns about political developments in Afghanistan, member states emphasized the importance of immediate commencement of a dialogue between all members (Yener, 2013: 75-77).

Shanghai Cooperation Organization will grow taking firm steps and increase its sphere of influence thanks to China and Russia. At present, it may not be possible to claim that the organization balances the West and particularly the United States of America but Shanghai Cooperation Organization shows a substantial potential as it has leading members like China and Russia that are one of the permanent members with veto power in the United Nations Security Council, accommodates countries with strategic nuclear weapons and the biggest army of the world (Politik Akademi, 2001).

The following are the reasons for the cooperation of the members under the umbrella of SCO:

### **Russia**

- It considered as a power to control relations between China and Central Asian Republics in parallel with its foreign policy reshaped based on the near abroad doctrine.
- It wanted to become the sole power in the transport of Kazakhstan's oil and Turkmenistan's natural gas to the international markets.
- It considered the organization as a mechanism improving the regional security and cooperation (Ozdasli, 2002: 119-120).
- Russia sees China as an important partner with respect to economic and commercial activities and Russia is behind China in these areas. This situation creates a structure against Russia with respect to energy, economy, trade affairs and economic equilibrium between China and Russia (Gunes, 2015: 851).

### **China**

- Beijing sees the influence of Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a power to increase its influence in the region.
- It desires a versatile organization involving military and political activities rather than mere economic activities.
- Its desire to reduce its dependence to oil of the Middle East comes to the forefront.
- One of the most important reasons is the important role of the East Turkistan's natural gas for China.
- It described the organization as an effective and multilateral cooperation organization with economic and political influence and a platform where security measures are taken.
- China wanted to prevent nationalist movements that may emerge in the East Turkistan.
- It pursues a statist and nationalist foreign policy with the military aid treaties signed with countries in the region and builds its policy on this military power (Denker, 2002: 3).
- As the biggest importer of hydrocarbon within SCO, China aims to make bilateral energy agreements within SCO, draw energy flow in the region to its

territories and prevent problems that may arise with Russia (Comak & Gokalp, 2014: 339).

➤ China built close relations particularly with the East Turkistan. Such close relations were built because of two reasons: first, East Turkistan is a gate opening to the Middle East and the gulf region, and second, it is of essential importance because of rich oil, gas and mine reserves; third, China will be able to have influence on population of the related and neighbouring Central Asian countries through its Uyghur, Tajik, Kazak and Kyrgyz citizens (Denker & Karakurt, 2002: 6).

➤ China aims to create an energy map and reach to alternative energy resources by using Russia and Turkmenistan. Therefore, China builds close relations with Russia controlling 26.3% of the world's gas reserves and 6.6% of oil reserves as the 8th biggest power controlling the oil (Gunes, 2015: 846).

In addition, the only common aspect of two major powers is to reduce the influence of the USA in the region and act as a catalyst by eliminating this monopoly (Ozdasli, 2012: 110).

#### **Kazakhstan**

➤ Kazakhstan considered it as a platform where concealed dialogue can be established.

➤ Increasing importance attached to Kazakhstan by China is one of the most important factors.

➤ Its rich oil reserves compared to other Central Asian countries and the desire to use such reserves represent one of the most important reasons.

➤ Energy agreements, energy investments and the loan granted for the energy sector of Kazakhstan by China helped inclusion of Kazakhstan.

➤ Nazarbayev said 'we found a solution to border conflicts that lasted for centuries so the future generations do not deal with such problems' and displayed a behaviour model explaining the objectives of Kazakhstan in joining SCO (Duran & Yilmaz, 2015).

#### **Kyrgyzstan**

➤ It shaped in parallel with the policies of the USA about the region.

➤ They perceived it as a platform where concealed dialogue can be established.

➤ Combating the illegal trafficking has always been one of the most important topics on the agenda of organization's members. Assignment of the duty to draw up an agreement for this purpose confirms this situation.

#### **Tajikistan**

➤ They perceived SCO as a platform where concealed dialogue can be established.

➤ Trade, energy and anti-terror organization pay an important role in the relations between Tajikistan and India.

➤ Works commenced to build the biggest hydroelectric power plant of the world (Tasam, 2005).

In addition, common point of these 3 countries is the fact that they saw the organization as a power to create national security as they had concerns about spreading of the internal war of 1992-97 to their own countries.

**Table 1: Overview Shanghai Cooperation Organization**

<b>Reason- Objective</b>	<b>Achieved Objectives</b>	<b>Expectations- Probabilities</b>
Creating power against the USA.	Political power has been converted in the regional power.	It is considered as a substitute for Warsaw Treaty Organization.
Strengthening the trust, friendship and neighbourhood between members.	It acquired power to represent the entire Asian continent.	Secondary expectation is to maintain the effective cooperation with respect to politics, economy and trade.
Reacting against terrorism, discrimination and extremism.	The organization's motto is "a single-pole world is unacceptable".	Welfare level of the Central Asian countries is expected to increase.
Combating against crimes such as drug, weapon smuggling, and illegal immigration collectively.	2 strategic weapons of Russia- natural gas and oil- strengthened the opportunity to use them in the important trade relations with the Central Asian countries.	Establishing and improving the relations with global organizations and improving the cooperation in solving the problems.
Reducing the power of NATO and the USA in the Central Asia.		General expectation is the institutionalization of the organization to intensify regional integration efforts.

\* Created by us using the following sources:

**Source:** (Akgur & CakiroGlu, 2008: 1-5) & (Taskin, 2013: 219-222)

New states founded in the Central Asia after disintegration of the Soviet Union displayed a low performance about integration efforts in the region in addition to the economic insufficiency. Attempts were made to eliminate these problems by building relations between Russia and China. Having the biggest trade market of the world, the organization aimed to improve security of the countries and created a new system tailored for fundamental principles and responsibilities of the organization. The organization increased the initial objectives and its activities and turned into a regional power having political power to represent Asia in entirety.

### **3. ECONOMIC AFFAIRS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND CENTRAL ASIAN COUNTRIES**

At present, the surface area of SCO is 37 million km<sup>2</sup> which corresponds to 40% of the Eurasia and 7% of the world's surface area. SCO accommodates 40% of the world population with 2.7 million. GNP of the organization's members for the year 2010 is USD 7.67 trillion and this figure corresponds to 1/8 of the global economy. 2010 figures show that member states' total foreign trade volume reached to USD 3 trillion 176 billion. These figures indicate that SCO achieved a substantial growth both in economy and politics from 2011 to date (Ozdasli, 2012: 116-120).

Borders of SCO extended to Indian Ocean and surrounded the Middle East with the inclusion of the observer states. Member and observer states of SCO have 175% of the known oil reserves, 45-50% of natural gas reserves in the world and 45% of the world's population. SCO has an important strategic superiority as it holds substantial part of the oil and natural gas reserves around the world (Isik, 2016: 156).

### 3.1. Russia's Economic Policies in the Organization

Unstable trend of the post-1990 Russian economy has been improved. Energy sector, oil reserves and natural gas reserves play an important role in the growth of Russian economy and 65% of the exports are made by energy sector (Akman, 2015). Based on this power, it conflicts with China, other major member of the Shanghai organization, and aims to maintain dependence of the Central Asian countries to Russian natural gas. Active economic role of Russia within Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Putin's statements as well as original objectives of the organization shows that circulation of American Dollar is minimized in the region. Nazarbayev, President of Kazakhstan says "we must use our own currencies, in other words Kazakhstan Tenge, Ruble and Belarus Ruble in the sales of major goods" to indicate the obligation of using local currencies of countries in the region in commercial and economic activities in order to reduce its circulation in the region. (Ozturk, 2013: 232-233).

In 2003, SCO adopted a multilateral commercial and economic cooperation program involving more than 100 projects about finance, trade, transportation infrastructure, telecommunication, agriculture and energy. SCO announced plans to establish an interbank organization and SCO business council in order to implement this program. Subsequently, a proposal was made to create a SCO energy club in 2006 summit of Putin. This energy club was about regulation of domestic energy market between members of SCO and potentially the observer states and development of energy resources and pipelines of these states (Aris, 2013: 6-7).

In general, programs of the organization are mainly focused on China and Russia and 24% of the organization budget is funded equally by Russia and China. The remaining budget of the organization is funded by Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan by 21%, 15% and 10%, respectively (Aris, 2013: 9). Based on this equal allocation, Russia played an active role in building close relations between China and Central Asia; it had permanent effect on problems of Central Asia about natural gas trade (Ward, 2015: 223-224).

In 2006, Russian President Vladimir Putin made a proposal to form an "energy club" to coordinate energy policies within SCO and strengthen the cooperation in the region and this caused major debates in the USA. This idea can be defined as origination of a gas organization like OPEC (Comak, H. & Gökalp, A. 2014).

**Figure 1: Central Asia Natural Gas Pipeline Based in Russia**



Source: [http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/diae2014d3\\_en.pdf](http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/diae2014d3_en.pdf)



As an oil producer, Russia does not need the energy resources in the Central Asia. Russia pursues a strategic goal and desires to maintain its controlling power using the existing pipelines, become the major player in carrying oil and natural gas of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan to the international market and sustain its economic performance in the Central Asia (Ozdasli, 2012: 118-120). Strategies developed by Russia for maintaining this special position in the energy markets can be classified in 3 categories:

1. Maintaining the monopoly on energy supply in Central Asia and prevent transmission of these energy resources to the global markets over alternative transmission lines beyond its control;
2. Building new pipelines and transmitting energy to the European importers without needing transit countries;
3. Preventing the use of European energy transmission systems by Gazprom (Yanarisik, 2015: 13) has been elected as Board Member.

**Table 2: Foreign Trade of Russian Federation with Central Asian Countries (Million \$)**

Countries	2000	2005	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014 (January-October)
<b>Exports</b>										
<b>Afghanistan</b>	11,2	104	125	172	337	549	954	938	942	764
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	2247	6524	11920	13299	9147	10690	14099	14558	17460	11708
<b>Kyrgyzstan</b>	103	398	879	1308	916	991	1159	1634	2030	1403
<b>Tajikistan</b>	55,9	240	607	794	573	673	722	678	724	742
<b>Türkmenistan</b>	130	224	384	808	992	757	1155	1251	1430	806
<b>Uzbekistan</b>	274	861	1729	2038	1694	1889	2106	2325	28004	2579
<b>Total</b>	2821,1	8351	15644	18419	13659	15549	20195	21384	25390	18002
<b>Imports</b>										
<b>Afghanistan</b>	5,4	3,9	9,0	45,1	15,3	22,0	11,2	11,2	9,6	6,1
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	2200	3225	4623	6380	3697	4449	6579	7870	9010	6087
<b>Kyrgyzstan</b>	88,6	146	291	491	367	393	293	195	110	55
<b>Tajikistan</b>	237	95,0	162	213	213	214	88,6	67,2	38	29
<b>Türkmenistan</b>	473	77,2	69,1	100	45,1	148	143	183	1398	86
<b>Uzbekistan</b>	663	904	171	1300	847	1557	1856	1390	1258	767
<b>Total</b>	3667	4451,1	6625,1	8499,1	5184,4	8783	8970,8	9716,4	11823,6	7030,1

**Source:** (Gamarli, 2015: 28)

The highest volume of foreign trade among Shanghai Cooperation Organization is with Kazakhstan and the lowest volume is with Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Creating the economic relations network, the energy is one of the new foreign policy tools of Russia. Capacity of Russia that was not very active in the region in 1990s started changing in 2000s and companies such as Gazprom, Lukoil and Rosneft started to play an active role in the region.

### **3.2. Energy Use of Countries Member to Shanghai Cooperation Organization Through Russia**

#### **3.2.1. Kazakhstan**

Among BDT countries, Kazakhstan is the most important trade partner of Russia. Russia opened pipelines to Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan exports its oil to EU states using Atyrau-Samara pipeline. Inadequate capacity of pipelines cause problems for the parties with respect to economic activities and makes Kazakhstan dependent on Russia. Azov oil is distributed to the global markets through Russian pipelines and Russia-Kazakhstan relations show a different performance about gas. As a part of this performance, energy corporations such as Gazprom and KazMunayGaz carry out activities in Kazakhstan and export gas to foreign countries. These corporations buy gas from Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan over Kazakhstan and it is observed that Russia and Kazakhstan maintain a multi-purpose cooperation with respect to energy purchases (Kamalov, 2001: 45-46).

**Table 3: Countries Playing the Leading Role in Foreign Trade of Kazakhstan (2011, %)**

<b>Exports</b>		<b>Imports</b>	
China	18,8 %	Russia	42,8%
Italy	17,2 %	China	13,3%
Russia	8,5%	Germany	5,6%
Holland	7,6%	Ukraine	4,7%
France	6 %	Italy	3 %
Sweden	5,7 %	Turkey	2 %

**Source:** (DEIK, 2012)

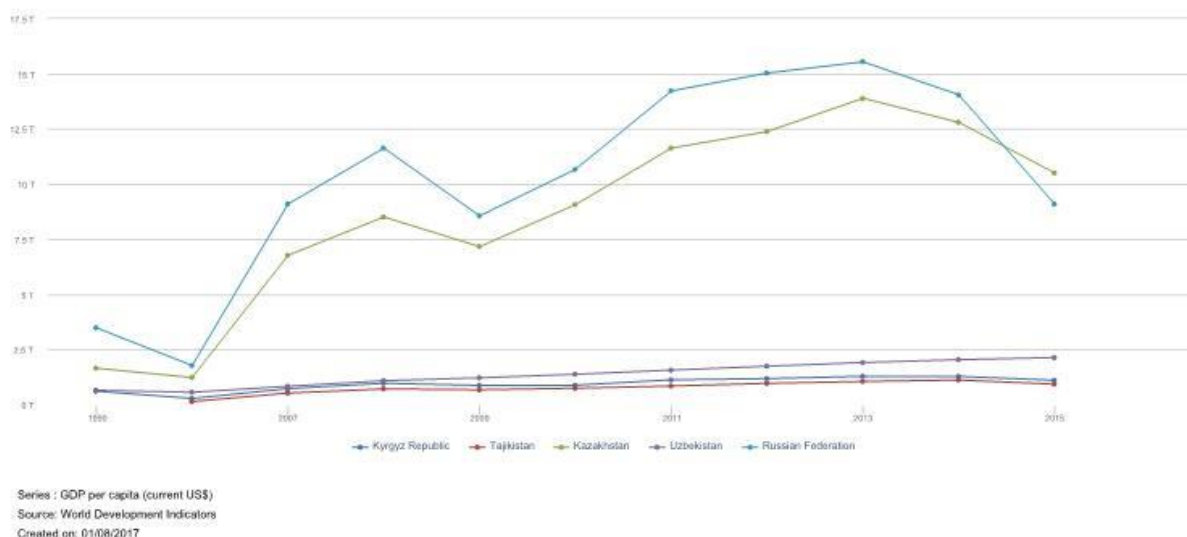
The situation of Kazakhstan is different from other countries. Kazakhstan is the most developed country in the region and it has the second biggest surface area in the Soviet Union. Kazakhstan has been one of the countries that had the quickest transition into prosperity. Having various mineral and metal reserves in addition to rich oil reserves, the country has great power in livestock farming and agriculture. It is observed that Kazakhstan's economy follows a similar trend to the Russian economy. Per capita income increased to the favour of Kazakhstan until 2008; however, it improved to the favour of Russia as a result of increase in natural gas prices. Therefore, it is not possible to make a clear statement about convergence or divergence. (Gamarli, 2015: 41-43)

**Table 4: Trade Volume Between Russia and Central Asian Countries**

<b>Countries</b>	<b>2006 (million dolars)</b>	<b>2010 (million dolars)</b>
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	13.000	15.000
<b>Kyrgyzstan</b>	754	1.400
<b>Tajikistan</b>	502	3.800
<b>Türkmenistan</b>	307	1.000
<b>Uzbekistan</b>	2.375	7.000 (includes energy resources)
		5.000

**Source:** (Kamalov, 2011).

**Figure 1: GDP per Capita of Russia and Central Asian Countries**



**Source:** <http://databank.worldbank.org/>

### 3.2.2. Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan is the 2nd partner of Russia in the Middle East. Trade volume between Russia and Uzbekistan increased above USD 5 billion in 2010 as a result of cooperation between the countries after Kerimov of Uzbekistan built close relations with Moscow. Energy resources have an important place in the trade of Russia-Uzbekistan. Gazprom and Lukoyl carried out active operations in 2009-2010 and these two companies extracted gas from energy resources in this country within the scope of the exiting projects. In addition to these countries, there are nearly 800 Russian companies operating in Uzbekistan. (Kamalov, 2011: 46-51). The country built good relations with the international financial institutions. However, country's government in the recent years failed in building the initial conditions (cotton export) and they fell behind Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan that are energy exporters. Considering the GNP per capita of Russia and Uzbekistan, it is possible to talk about a divergence. Per capita income of Uzbekistan in 1990 was equal to 25% of Russia's per capita income and its per capita income declined to 21% in 2013 (Gamarli, 2015: 41-43).

**Table 5: The Most Important Countries for Uzbekistan's Exports (2012)**

Countries	Amount (million \$)	Percentage
<b>Russian Federation</b>	5.177	36,3%
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	1.677	11,7%
<b>People's Republic of China</b>	1.463	10,2%
<b>Afghanistan</b>	1.073	57,5%
<b>Turkey</b>	813,2	5,7%
<b>Ukraine</b>	410,5	2,7%
<b>Iran</b>	323,5	2,2%

**Table 6: The Most Important Countries for Uzbekistan's Imports (2012)**

Countries	Amount (million \$)	Percentage
<b>Russian Federation</b>	2.451	20,4 %
<b>South Korea</b>	2.025	16,8%
<b>People's Republic of China</b>	1.767	14,7%
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	1.074	8,9%
<b>Ukraine</b>	658	5,4%
<b>Germany</b>	451,7	3,7%
<b>Turkey</b>	449,8	3,6%

**Source:** (EBSO Uluslararası İlişkiler Şefliği, 2013)

### 3.2.3. Kyrgyzstan

Trade volume between two countries is not high but relations are built on loans provided to Kyrgyzstan by Russia, financial support and its initiatives creating substantial number of investment opportunities in this country. Russia's support to Kyrgyzstan about economic and commercial activities brings important benefits to the country. Kyrgyzstan responds to this support of Russia with concessions in political matters, participation in integration efforts in the region that are attached importance by Russia and transfer of strategic establishments in Kyrgyzstan to Russia. In March 2011, signals were given about the possibility of transferring Kyrgyz gas to Gazprom. The economic performance displayed by Kyrgyzstan in time may pave the path to customs union for the country. Even through Kyrgyzstan attempts to pursue multifaceted foreign and economic policies, economic cooperation with Russia indicate that, in the future, Russia will have increased influence on economic activities of Kyrgyzstan. (Kamalov, 2011: 46-51).

Tobacco and tobacco products, fruit-vegetables, sewing machines, car parts, cotton, antimania, and incandescent lamp are the most important import products for Kyrgyzstan. These product groups have made it the biggest importer before Russia. 215)

**Table 7: Top 10 Countries in Imports of Kyrgyz Republic**

No	Countries	January-December 2011 (thousand \$)	January-December 2012 (thousand \$)	% Change
1	<b>Russia</b>	1 429 579,3	1 784 623,7	24,8
2	<b>People's Republic of China</b>	923 544,5	1 210 252,9	31,0
3	<b>Kazakhstan</b>	411 390,0	519 072,5	26,2
4	<b>USA</b>	210 315,4	253 100,0	20,3
5	<b>Japan</b>	164 530,0	215 798,6	31,2
6	<b>Germany</b>	144 617,8	198 650,8	37,4
7	<b>Turkey</b>	117 089,9	178 519,0	52,5
8	<b>Belarus</b>	109 534,6	161 254,5	47,2
9	<b>Ukraine</b>	124 917,9	140 040,3	12,1
10	<b>Korea</b>	63 189,7	92 040,3	45,7

**Table 8: Top 5 Countries in Exports of Kyrgyz Republic**

No	Countries	January-December 2011 (billion \$)	January-December 2012 (billion \$)	% Change
1	<b>Sweeden</b>	873 635,9	547 899,9	-37,3
2	<b>Kazakhstan</b>	289 705,2	404 930,5	39,8
3	<b>Russia</b>	284 418,9	219 116,1	-23,0
4	<b>Uzbekistan</b>	124 437,3	190 127,7	52,8
5	<b>People's Republic of China</b>	42 040,3	61 374,1	46,0

**Source:** (Kyrgyzstan Ticaret ve Yatırım Ortamı Raporu, 2013: 37-38)

Russia has the highest share in imports and exports of Kyrgyzstan as shown in Tables 4 and 5. Gazprom took over natural gas distribution network of Kyrgyzstan in April 2014 and made a guarantee to invest USD 500 million on energy in 2015-2017 (Oliphant, 2015).

### 3.2.4. Tajikistan

Ministry of Nuclear Energy in Russian Federation prepared very extensive activity programs. Top priority goal of the programs is to strengthen the borders of Tajikistan where drug trafficking is intense and a decision has been made for providing technical equipment worth USD 1 million for this purpose (Ridov, 2001-2002: 215).

**Table 9: Top Products and Countries in Foreign Trade of Tajikistan (2014)**

<b>Basic Products in Export</b>	Aluminium, cotton, mineral ore, fruit and vegetable
<b>Basic Products in Import</b>	Petrol, clothes products, vehicles, machines, electrical equipment
<b>Basic Countries in Export</b>	Sweeden(27%), Turkey (26%), Kazakhstan(18%), Iran(7%), Russia(6%)
<b>Basic Countries in Import</b>	Russia(27%), China(17%), Kazakhstan(16%), Sweeden(5%)

**Source:** (Duşanbe Ticaret Müşavirliği, 2014: 8)

Trade volume between Russia and Tajikistan that represented a very low economic level in the beginning of 2000s increased in 2010. In 2007, Russia became the most important trade partner of Tajikistan. Gazprom, Megafon and Inter RAO's representatives in Tajikistan improve the strength of Tajikistan based on activity programs (Kamalov, 2011: 46-51).

**Figure 2: Central Asia Natural Oil Pipeline Based in Russia**



**Source:** [http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/diae2014d3\\_en.pdf](http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/diae2014d3_en.pdf)

In the 20th anniversary of the independence of Central Asian countries, Russia turned its face fully to the Central Asia with respect to economic activities. Russia became the most important trade partner of all countries in the region. It managed to complete the economic integration process with these countries and makes effort to take over strategic corporations. Thus, Moscow defeated its main competitor China with respect to economic activities in the region. (Kamalov, 2011: 46-51).

### 3.2.5. China

The desire to prevent one-sided policies and hegemony of the USA and establishing energy security are the most important objectives of SCO. Dependence of countries to the energy increased substantially with the high level of industrialization in the 20th century. Therefore, Eurasia having rich energy resources became the most important strategic target of big powers in the 21st century. Preventing USA's influence in the region is highly important within Shanghai Cooperation Organization with respect to the guarantee needed by Russia and China for having access to energy resources. (Bilgesam, 2010).

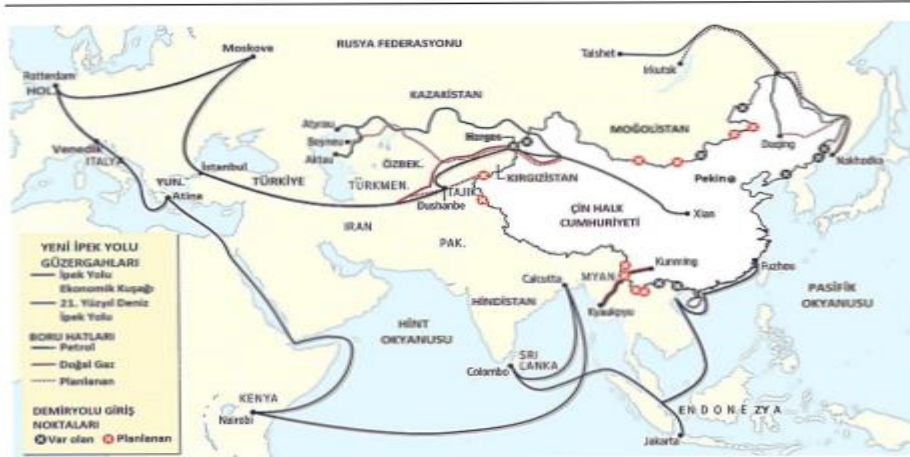
A common point of China-Russia affair is the cooperation and competition about the energy. Russia planned to sell energy to Japan, South Korea and China through the pipeline to be installed in the east. The project could not be completed even though China and Russia agreed to install a pipeline extending from main pipeline to China. Subsequently, China connected oil and natural gas pipeline originating from Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan to China in 2006 and 2009 and Central Asian energy started flowing to China (Uportal, 2016).

In the trade affairs of China with the Central Asian countries, Russia and Kazakhstan are the most important trade partners that are followed by Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Kazakh-Chinese pipeline that was built in 2006 became the first import oil pipeline of China. The initial capacities of 10 million tons have been increased to 20 million tons per year upon commissioning of the new pipeline compressor in

December 2013. China attempts to supply energy from the Central Asia in addition to Russia. Natural gas pipeline from Central Asia is very important for China buying energy from Kazakhstan. Oil and gas pipelines have been built between China and Kazakhstan as well. China meets 12% of its oil requirement with this line having 1200 km length. Central Asian natural gas pipeline originates from Turkmenistan, extends through Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan and reaches to China. It is expected to carry 40 billion cubic meter natural gas per year through this line having 1833 km length (Akman, 2015: 23-25).

This situation causes China to build close relations with Russia as it has 8th biggest oil reserved in the world with 26.3% of the gas reserves and 6.6% of oil reserves (74.2-80 billion gallons in 2013). Following the visit of Xi Jinping, President of China, who paid its first official visit to Moscow upon coming to power in 2013, Russian energy company Gazprom and Chinese energy company CNPC made an agreement on 21 May 2014 for supplying 38 billion m<sup>3</sup>/year Siberian gas that is worth USD 400 billion to China through “Sila Sibiri” gas pipeline for 30 years (Gunes, 2015: 847-853). Russia adopts an approach to use its rich energy reserves as a trump card of its foreign policy. Energy sector that is one of the vital elements of Russian economy is used as a threat and reward for building close relations. As explained above, energy is a vital element of growth for China. Trying to meet this requirement from the closest place in the safest way possible, China will improve the cooperation with Russia (Akman, 2015: 24-25).

**Map 1:** Geoeconomic Imagery: China’s New Silk Road Initiative in the Middle Asia (One Belt, One Road)



**Source:** (Kodaman & Gonca, 2016: 1256)

Chinese representative Jinping signed an oil agreement with Kazakhstan as the last country visited as a part of the Central Asia tour, in addition to agreements for Chinese state corporation CNPC to start production in Kashagan, Kazakhstan that is the biggest oil exporter of the Central Asia and China to build an oil refinery in Kazakhstan. China expects to bring “New Silk Road” project into life through these agreements (Akademis Arastirma Enstitusu, 2014).

China’s objective in these developments is to add dynamism to East Turkistan’s economy, make it centre of attraction for Central Asian countries and secure stability of the separatist East Turkistan and its loyalty to the central government. Security problems of East Turkistan and Central Asia must be solved for the success of the Western Regions’ Development Strategy. China expects to attract attention of countries in the region by establishing good relations with these countries, making

investments in the region, contributing to economic development of Central Asian countries, providing aid donations to the region, granting privileged loans and giving some trade privileges. It is observed that China became one of the most important trade partners of countries in the region and mutual trade volume folded 50 times in the post-2009 period. 34-38).

**Table 10: Trade Relations of China with Central Asian Countries: Import-Export Products**

Country/Product	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan	Türkmenistan
<b>Export</b>	Inorganic chemistry products, dye, leather products, thread and textile products	Clothing, textile products, shoe, machine-electric products, cereals, Communication products	Textile products, tea, machine-electric products	Tea, coco, inorganic chemistry products, industrial machines	natural gas, machines, tea, medical devices, textile, light-industrial products
<b>Import</b>	Colorful metals, copper, iron Raw materials	Iron, aluminium, wool	sewing cotton, iron and steel, cotton	Thread, machine oil	Cocoon, rawhide, cotton cloth

**Source:** (Ekrem, 2011: 33).

In case China and Russia affairs are maintained on solid grounds and common policies are adopted in accordance with the policies of Shanghai Five:

1. Stability can be secured in addition to the economic growth of the region;
2. Radical Muslims attempts to stop economic development can be prevented;
3. Regional cooperation can be established;
4. Russia can eliminate concerns about China;

5. Economic integration can provide benefits for the development of the north-western part of China. Some Chinese experts suggest that Shanghai Cooperation Organization must find solutions to the regional problems through New Regionalism. New Regionalism strategy lacking definite consensus about concept and interpretation has been created voluntarily by countries in the region rather than political reasons thus it involves natural participation and extroverted character. New Regionalism is based on economic cooperation and involves political and security-related matters. Therefore, it is a part of an international system and can have an effect on the existing system. New Regionalism taking root around the Shanghai Cooperation Organization is not an Anti-Western element but it is argued that the mechanism is effective against regional and global challenges. Therefore, Central Asia policy of China requires improvement of the security in the region extending from Russia to Central Asia and South Asia, energy security, improvement of relations with the Central Asian countries based on New Regionalism and establishment of multilateral cooperation (Ekrem, 2011: 61). The following table is obtained based on 2015 data from Shanghai Cooperation Organization:



**Table 11: 2015 Data from Shanghai Cooperation Organization**

<b>Candidate Country</b>	<b>GDP (Billion\$)</b>	<b>Income per capita (USD)</b>	<b>Inflation (%)</b>	<b>Unemployment (%)</b>	<b>Public Debt/GDP (%)</b>	<b>Current Account Balance/GDP (%)</b>
China	11.181,5	8,141	1,6	4,1	42,9	3,0
Russia	1.326,0	9.243	12,9	5,6	16,4	5,2
Kazakhstan	184,4	10.426	12,0	5,1	21,9	-2,4
Kyrgyzstan	6,7	1.13	3,4	7,5	66,0	-10,4
Tajikistan	7,8	923	5,1	-	34,1	-6,0
Uzbekistan	65,5	2.115	8,4	-	10,8	0,1
<b>2017</b>						
India	2.073,0	1.603,6	5,3	-	69,1	-1,1
Pakistan	271,1	1.427,6	3,2	5,9	63,6	-1,0

**Source:** (Egilmez, 2016)

Accordingly, total GDP of the organization is USD 12,772 billion. This figure represents the biggest third GDP of the world after USA and Euro Zone. China has a share of 87.5 percent. Total GDP of the organization will be USD 15.116 trillion if India and Pakistan become a member of the organization in 2017 (Egilmez, 2016).

#### **4. FUTURE OF SHANGHAI ORGANIZATION AND DISCUSSION**

Cooperation and competition between two major members of SCO- Russia and China- should not be disregarded. Russia pursues the goal of preventing the establishment of USA's global hegemony in the region and China's increasing influence in the region to turn into a monopoly which would stop Russia from becoming the sole power in the Central Asia through strategies leaving Russia out. Strategic importance of China in Central Asia is about keeping separatist policies in East Turkistan under control, maintaining the stability in the region as it is border neighbour, supply of energy resources and improvement of economic cooperation. It is observed that China attempts to convert Central Asia into a "free trade zone" through SCO (Stratejik Dusunme Enstitüsü, 2014). This situation shows that natural gas reserves are the main elements of cooperation and competition of China with respect to energy need and energy policies. China and Russia consider the distance as an important element about access to energy resources, Therefore, massive investment funds will be required for energy transmission lines extending over thousands of km between consumption centres and the source of supply (UIportal, 2016).

If two big countries like India and Pakistan become permanent members of the organization, SCO would go beyond the mechanism based on Russia-China cooperation or "sham competition" and use its real potential and become an organization with influence on the multi-pole world (Stratejik Dusunce Enstitüsü, 2014).

In consideration of relations about security in the Central Asia, Russia is a member of Shanghai Cooperation Organization and created Common Security Treaty Organization with the former Soviet Union countries in the Central Asia as a substitute for this organization. China is a member of Shanghai Cooperation Organization but it is not a member of Common Security Treaty Organization. Therefore, Moscow has more influence in the regional cooperation between China-Russia. Some Central Asian countries started to follow a balanced policy between China and Russia as well as China, Russia and USA and they added dynamism to this chess-like competition (UIportal, 2016).

The biggest problem is conflicts and competition that are encountered despite the presence of intense cooperation and relations between Russia and China in the field of energy. Energy reserves of the region guide each country towards obtaining the energy resources and displaying effort to have influence in the region. These long-lasting efforts have deterministic effect on affairs (Akman, 2015).

The organization has a capacity to make decisions having impact on the world if Russia and China solve differences about respective interests. There is no doubt that the most important decisions would be taken about the energy considering oil and natural gas reserves of the organization. Common interests and security problems would act as a uniting security mechanism. SCO represents two policies with potential to affect the international security. First, they perceive interventions of great powers to the region as a threat to their sovereignty and second, they are concerned about the single-pole structure whether there is Iranian expansion or not; therefore, they appear as an alternative organization. These two policies will be attached increased importance in the international relations of SCO (Comak & Gokalp, 2014).

SCO aims to become a relatively harmonious organization, create a secure and stable environment, achieve the highest level of success in economy of the region and establish an effective platform for the increased international transformation (Yigit, 2012: 35).

## **5. CONCLUSION**

Shanghai Cooperation Organization is one of the most important organizations against the role of America as the sole central power in the world. SCO a regional cooperation organization created by leaders of People's Republic of China, Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Main principles of the organization are to improve mutual relations with neighbours, develop active cooperation on politics, trade, economy, science and technology, culture and education, energy, transportation, tourism, protection of the environment, etc., maintain security and stability in the region and establish a new democratic, fair and rationalist international platform with respect to politics and economy. As two leading countries within the organization, Russia and China contribute to economic performance of the organization.

Study named "Russia's Economic Performance within Shanghai Cooperation Organization" suggests that multiple factors such as energy reserves, economic performance based on oil and natural gas exports, ability to access production surplus of China, high nuclear energy capacity of Russia contribute to Russia's economic performance within the organization. Russia positions itself as a mechanism that will improve regional security and cooperation through economic performance. Considering such aspects of Russia's economic performance, Russia became one of the most important trade partner of China; thus, it is dependent on China in economy. For Chinese economy, Russia is pushed to pursue a policy dependent on China within the organization as it is unable to use energy monopoly in an effective manner despite its great importance. Formation of the biggest energy monopoly would be inevitable if Russia solves conflicts of interests with China; thus, SCO would maintain its presence and grow as long as the cooperation on common interests of China and Russia continues.

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