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국제학석사 학위논문

# **Integration processes in Central Asia: Kazakhstan and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization**

중앙아시아 통합 과정들: 카자흐스탄과 상하이  
협력기구 중심으로

2018년 08월

서울대학교 국제대학원

국제학과 국제협력전공

Dulat Janibekov

# **Integration processes in Central Asia: Kazakhstan and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization**

A thesis presented by

**Dulat Janibekov**

to

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fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of  
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Seoul National University

Seoul, South Korea

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# Abstract

## Integration processes in Central Asia: Kazakhstan and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization

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Currently, integration processes became an important part of international relations. Integration organizations in which states interact for common goals and interests exist in almost all regions and corners of the world.

After collapse of the Soviet Union, the Central Asia region become a center of competition games among world's great powers, which tried to establish their influence in region through bilateral and multilateral level of cooperation, by proposal of integration initiatives. Therefore, nowadays we can find a large number of integration organizations in region with different kind of functions and goals.

However, we can see a growing influence of the Shanghai cooperation organization (SCO) among the existing integration organization in the region.

Participation of Kazakhstan, one of the largest country in Central Asia, located between two great powers Russia and China, also a members of the SCO, requires detailed analysis and has an importance in defining future integration development of Central Asian countries within the SCO framework.

The goal of this paper is to describe the importance of the SCO in the Central Asia and define main interest of Kazakhstan towards participating in the SCO.

**Keyword:** Integration, Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

**Student number:** 2011-24283

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## **List of Abbreviations**

CA	Central Asia
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
RIA	Regional Integration Agreement
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
EurAsEC	Eurasian Economic Community
CES	Common Economic Space
RIA	Regional integration agreement
CICA	Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia
CU	Customs Union
CAC	Central Asian Cooperation
CAEC	Central Asian Economic Community
GCA	Greater Central Asia
RATS	Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure
KDB	Kazakhstan Development Bank
PRC	People's Republic of China
CPC	Communist Party of China
COM	Council of Ministers

# I. Introduction

## 1. Topic

Countries joining each other to further cooperation through common economic, political or regional integration is important for international relationships and world order. Existence of any state means interaction with other countries, both bilaterally and in multilateral format and it is fundamental principle of international relations.<sup>1</sup> Currently, almost all sovereign nations participate in at least one regional integration agreement and those who are not, are actively negotiating to do so.<sup>2</sup>

Globalization is the main driving force of integration where global issues such as terrorism and security, economy, global poverty, climate change, nuclear security etc. are often best resolved with cooperation of groups of countries. Other advantages of integration includes increase of intra-regional trade, security, building trust and cooperation mechanism to address issues of common interest.

Therefore, it is not surprising that after collapse of the Soviet Union newly independent republics of Central Asia began working together on multiple projects aimed at creating a new cooperation framework among the former Soviet Union countries.

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<sup>1</sup> Комилова Хосият, "Роль и место интеграционных структур в системе международных отношений в Центральной Азии," *Вестник Томского государственного университета. История*, №4 (36), (2015): 73. (Komilova K. "Role and place of integration structures in the system of international relations in Central Asia," *Tomsk State University Journal of History*. № 4 (36), (2015): 73)

<sup>2</sup> Kembayev Zhenis, "Legal Aspects of Regional Integration in Central Asia," *Heidelberg Journal of International law*, Vol. 66 (2006): 968

Central Asian region includes five former Soviet Union countries: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. Driven by globalization, these countries started process of integration with different capacities. However, during the process of integration, a number of problems and contradictions arose between Central Asian countries, which had a negative effect on cooperation and deepening of interrelations. Such problems includes the reluctance of Central Asian countries re-enter to integration structures and be dependent after a long period of stay under the Soviet Union, lack of common goals and lack of political commitment by leaders.<sup>3</sup>

Since the early 2000s, we can see a growth of regional cooperation, which has given a new impetus<sup>4</sup> to development of integration processes. A number of integration organizations was established in region where CA countries were involved. These organizations are the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC), Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA), Customs Union (CU), Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), etc.

We can separately emphasize the SCO among above mentioned integration structures, which has grown to become an important international organization with a functionalist nature.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Linn, Johannes “Central Asian Regional Integration and Cooperation: Reality of Mirage, The Economics of the Post-Soviet and Eurasian Integration,” *EDB Eurasian Integration Yearbook*, 2012: 102

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Dadabayev Timur, “Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Regional Identity formation from the

The SCO is a multidisciplinary organization, set up with the initial proposal of maintenance peace and security in borderfrontier territories of participating countries. Then it further expanded to maintaining security in region from non-traditional threats as terrorism, separatism, extremism, cooperation in economic, cultural, humanitarian and other directions.

Being a large multinational country located in the middle of Central Asia, the Republic of Kazakhstan is vitally interested in creating zone of good-neighborliness, security and stability based on principles of international law, such as sovereignty of states, territorial integrity, non-use of force, non-interference in internal affairs of states, and peaceful resolution of international disputes and conflicts.

The Republic of Kazakhstan cooperates with regional and international integration organizations.

In this regard, we consider as important to provide analysis of participation of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the SCO, organization that has special significance in the foreign policy activity of Kazakhstan in view of the composition of its member states (including such key participants in international relations as Russia and China), as well as goals and tasks assigned to this organization.

The main goal of this paper is to review the perceptions of Kazakhstan towards the SCO and define Kazakhstan' vision and motivation in membership in

the SCO.

The paper starts from review of classical integration theories, the role of Central Asia in the process of integration. Then it provides analysis of SCO establishment, development, and structural-functional analysis. Then it considers the main interest of Kazakhstan in integration and cooperation with the SCO. In last part, the relations of Kazakhstan with the SCO member states will be described. In conclusion, we will provide a summary of work and provide opinion on future prospects of Kazakhstan integration in the SCO.

The object of the study is the integration process in the Central Asian region in the format of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

The subject of the study is the characteristics of bilateral relations between Kazakhstan and the SCO member countries in the military, economic, energy and other spheres.

The hypothesis of this work is that the SCO become the most influential integration organization in Central Asia and membership in the SCO meets the interest of Central Asian countries, including Kazakhstan, which plays an active role in further development of the SCO.

This work focuses on the following questions: What are the Kazakhstan's interests in integration with the SCO? What are the prospects for Kazakhstan integration in the SCO?

To answer these questions, this thesis will have the following structure:

Chapter II will briefly describe main classical theories of integration and

development of integration processes in Central Asia.

Chapter III will provide analysis of the origin of SCO, which was initiative of China, establishment and development stages of SCO and finally, provide structural and functional analysis of SCO.

In Chapter IV, analysis of Kazakhstan' main motives and priorities in SCO will provided. In addition, Kazakhstan relationship with SCO member countries will studied in detail.

At conclusion part, we will provide a summary of work and provide opinion on future prospects of Kazakhstan integration in the SCO.

The significance of thesis is that detailed study of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization based on classical integration theories was provided. Main characteristics, functions of the SCO, its significance and importance was analyzed.

The interests of Kazakhstan in the SCO was provided and Kazakhstan relations with member states were analyzed. Suggestions for further development of Kazakhstan integration to SCO were provided.

## **2. Literature review**

Since the integration processes are the object of this work, we examined the use of relevant theories in international relations and political science.

From the point of view of political science, in the classical definition

given by the representative of the neo-functionalist theory Ernst B. Haas, integration understood as "the process by which the loyalty of the political actors of several national entities shifts towards a new supranational decision-making center that becomes the center of political activity. The final result of the process of political integration is the new political community."<sup>6</sup>

Theorist of functionalism played an important role in development of integration theory. David. Mitrany,<sup>7</sup> one of the founders of the functionalism theory. Functional cooperation in one area generates the need for the same cooperation in another area. As a result, it leads to necessity of creation specialized national institutions to coordinate cooperation and thus, accelerate the process of political integration. In addition, one of the fundamental ideas of functionalism is that international integration must be depoliticized to the maximum degree, and efficient cooperation of states and the elimination of conflicts should be achieved by concentrating efforts on common welfare issues.

In this thesis, we examine Kazakhstan approach to SCO, which in our opinion corresponds, to the theory of functionalism. One of the fundamental ideas of this theory, as noted above, is that international integration must be depoliticized, and effective cooperation of states and elimination of conflicts should be achieved by concentrating efforts primarily on common issues.

According to functionalism, integration dynamics lead to emergence of

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<sup>6</sup> Haas, Ernst B., *The Uniting of Europe: political, social, and economical forces 1950-1957*, Stanford University Press, 1968

<sup>7</sup> Mitrany, David, *A Working peace system*, Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1966,

functional organizations that have certain powers that the States themselves provide. Such functional organizations in the SCO should become various councils, commissions, summits and other integration bodies created for negotiation and resolution of issues in one area or another activity of organization. Negotiations in commissions, councils and other integration bodies should be conducted on an equal footing with the taking into account the interests of all parties, and decisions are taken by consensus all parties.

Ernst B. Haas<sup>8</sup> one of the founders of neo-functionalist theory developed his own approach, which he calls "spill over" concept. Based on studying the experience of European integration in 1957, he comes to conclusion that experience of benefits of cooperation in one area within the framework of an international organization (the European Coal and Steel Community) has become an incentive for participants to support integration in other areas, including the creation of a common market.

David Mitrany and Ernst B. Haas have proposed that integration should be promoted in small steps, consisting of small concrete projects that do not affect the sovereignty of states, to more significant ones. Functionalist and neo-functionalist theories focus on the progressive development of integration and therefore emphasize the role of "spill over" effects.<sup>9</sup> Both theory put importance on focusing to one small goals for cooperation at initial stages of integration and then expand spheres of cooperation.

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<sup>8</sup> Haas, Ernst B.

<sup>9</sup> Gehring, Thomas "Integrating Integration theory: Neo-functionalism and international regimes," *Global Society*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1996: 229

In this thesis, we examine establishment, development of SCO. The evolution of the SCO, according to the way the Organization has done, to some extent confirms the conclusions of the concept of "spillover", an integral element of neo-functionalism in the theory of integration. The logic of "spillover" indicates steady integration expansion from small areas to new areas of cooperation. In other words, transition from less to higher forms of integration.

The study of the history and emergence of the "Shanghai Five", the formation of the SCO and the stages of its development are well studied and reviewed by Alexandr Lukin,<sup>10</sup> Anatoliy A. Rozanov,<sup>11</sup> Chien peng Chung,<sup>12</sup> Maria Danilovich,<sup>13</sup> Mutlaq Al-Qahtani,<sup>14</sup> Meena Singh Roy.<sup>15</sup> In this thesis, we

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<sup>10</sup> Александр Лукин, Алексей Мочульский "Шанхайская организация сотрудничества: структурное формирование и перспективы развития," аналитические записки, выпуск 2(4), февраль 2005, *Центр восточноазиатских исследований. Научно-координационный совет по международным исследованиям МГИМО (V) МИД России.* (Lukin Alexander., Mochulskiy Alexey, "The Shanghai cooperation organization: structural formation and development perspectives," *Analytical notes, volume 2(4), February 2005, Center of East Asian studies. Scientific-coordination council on international studies, MGIMO, MFA of Russian Federation*)

<sup>11</sup> Rozanov, Anatoliy A. (Ed.), "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Central Asia's security challenges," *DCAF Regional Programs series No. 16 (Almaty, Minsk and Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces and Foreign Policy and Security Research Centre, 2013)*

<sup>12</sup> Chien Peng Chung, "China and the Institutionalization of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization," *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 53, No. 5, September/October 2006: 3-14 // Chien Peng Chung, "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: China's influence in Central Asia," *The China Quarterly*, 180, 989-1009. Cambridge University Press, 2005.01.14

<sup>13</sup> Мария Данилович, "Роль КНР в формировании и развитии ШОС: Политико-экономический аспект," *Журнал международного права и международного отношения №2 – 2011* (Danilovich Maria, "Role of PRC in formation and development of the SCO: political-economic aspect," *Magazine of international law and international relations No2 – 2011.*)

<sup>14</sup> Mutlaq Al-Qahtani, "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the law of international organizations," *Chinese Journal of International law*, Oxford University Press, 2006

<sup>15</sup> Meena Singh Roy, "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, India Seeking new role in the

examine establishment and main stages of development of SCO. The chronological framework of the study covers four periods of SCO development. First period lasted from 1996 period when “Shanghai five” was created to solve border security issues until 2001. Second period covers 2001~2004 during this period the SCO was formed as a full international organization. Third period of development covers period from 2004 to 2011. During this period, we can see diversification of integration spheres and development of institutional and law basis of organization. The last fourth period of development begin from 2011 to 2017 when officially India and Pakistan become a full member of organization and indicated a significant development and increase of international status of organization.

Kazakhstan’s interests and role in the SCO well studied by both Kazakhstan and foreign researchers such as Murat Laumulin,<sup>16</sup> Ezeli Azarkan,<sup>17</sup> According to Murat Laumulin Kazakhstan’s interest in the SCO are influenced by geopolitical factor, security issues, economic interest and regional aspect. Ezeli Azarkan in his work defined the following interests of the Central Asian states, including Kazakhstan: security concerns, preservation of current regimes, economic needs, regional cooperation and balancing regional powers. In this thesis, we focus on the following factors of Kazakhstan integration to the SCO. First, geopolitical factor, which means an effective balancing between two great powers

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Eurasian Regional Mechanism,” *Institute for Defense Studies and analyses*, New Delhi, February 2014

<sup>16</sup> Murat Laumulin, “The Shanghai Cooperation Organization as “geopolitical bluff?” a view from Astana,” *French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)*, July 2006

<sup>17</sup> Ezeli Azarkan, “The interest of the Central Asian states and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization,” *Ege Academic Review 10 (1) 2010*

Russia and China. Kazakhstan geographical location between above-mentioned countries require an effective instrument to balance influence of powers on its internal and foreign policy. Second, security factor, which was analyzed more broadly and divided to subparagraphs as border security, combat the “three evils” of terrorism, extremism and separatism, and lastly Afghanistan issue. Third factor related to economic interest, which covers cooperation in the field of energy, trade and infrastructure development. The last factor of interest related to preserving current regime.

The source of the research was the following groups of documents:

- Official documents of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (Shanghai declaration on the establishment of the SCO, the Shanghai Convention on Combating terrorism, separatism and extremism, charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, agreement on Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure between member states of the SCO, etc.)
- Bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements of the SCO member states (Agreement on strengthening confidence in the military sphere in border areas, agreement on mutual reduction of military forces in border area, the Treaty on Good-Neighborliness, Friendship and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and China, etc.)
- Texts of joint communique meeting of the Council of Heads of Government, press releases on the results of the SCO Heads of States Council meetings, press releases on the SCO’s Council of Foreign Ministers meeting etc.)

- Materials of news sites and electronic newspapers.

### **3. Methodology**

The work uses a comprehensive methodological approach to the study of the Kazakhstan integration to SCO. Institutional analysis used to determine the SCO as an instrument of political lobbying of the PRC's interests in the Central Asian region. Functional-system analysis made it possible to analyze the SCO and reveal the geopolitical factors of the strengthening of China's role in Central Asia. Qualitative analysis used to assess the main interests of Kazakhstan in SCO participation. Finally, the prognostic method used to study of the prospects for the development of Kazakhstan integration into SCO.

## **II. Integration – theoretical framework**

### **1. Theory of integration**

Integration processes in modern world are one of the main factors of world economic and political development. At present, integration groups are becoming more influential entities than individual states. We can see the gradual decline in the role of national sovereignty as a factor of economic and political development and the growing role of belonging to a certain integration group that acquires independence and influence on the world arena.

There are four main approaches to study and analysis of interstate integration, which are well known within the framework of political science and played a significant role in formation and development of international and regional integration. These four approaches to analysis of international integration are federalism, functionalism, neo-functionalism and theory of "security community."

Idea of federalism based on necessity of creation political system where government power distributed between central authority and other regional government units, preserving specific characteristics of each country.<sup>18</sup>

In other words, federalism creates two level of power – central and

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<sup>18</sup> Камила Шерьязданова, "Современные интеграционные процессы," Астана, Академия государственного управления при Президенте Республики Казахстан, 2010, с. 15 (Sheryazdanova Kamila, "Modern integration processes," *Astana, Academy of state management under president of the Republic of Kazakhstan*, 2010: 15)

regional.<sup>19</sup> Regional power distribute part of its power to central power, while preserving their integrity and certain autonomy.<sup>20</sup>

The most outstanding theoretician of federalism in integration studies is Altiero Spinelli.<sup>21</sup> Representatives of federalism understand integration as the process of creating an interstate entity - federation by combining efforts of several countries to solve specific problems of mutual interest.

Moreover, the federalists believe that creation of federation will put an end to violence, war in resolving disputes between states, because the highest value of federalism is a peace and security.

Theory of "functionalism" largely differs from the federalist approach to the study and analysis of interstate integration.

According to the theory of functionalism, described by David Mitrany<sup>22</sup> the main reason for international cooperation was to solve problems in areas that require joint, functional work. Gradual functional cooperation leads to the need to create specialized national institutions.<sup>23</sup> Functionalism regards the national state as too narrow for solving new economic, social and technical problems that can be

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Spinelli, Altiero and Ernesto Rossi, "The Mainifesto of Ventotene (1941)," *The Altiero Spinelli Institute for Federalist Studies, 2013: 75-96.* CVCE-University of Luxembourg

<sup>22</sup> Mitrany, David

<sup>23</sup> Павел Цыганков, "Теория международных отношений: Хрестоматия," *М. Гардарики, 2002.* (Cygankov, Pavel "Theory of international relations" *M. Gardiriki, 2002*

solved only at the level of international cooperation.<sup>24</sup>

In addition, an integration that would also create a ‘working peace system’ could only be established from the bottom up, by encouraging forms of cooperation which bypassed the issue of formal sovereignty.<sup>25</sup>

For supporters of the functional approach, international integration is a transition from a system of states to an international community in which the integration process develops under the influence of social needs and technological changes.<sup>26</sup>

Representatives of "functionalism" consider integration as a process of transition from bilateral relations of countries to some functional structure community which can gain individual powers of states and will have supranational power over members of integration structure.

Functionalism and federalism in many ways represented polar opposing views on integration. Functionalism was based on so-called collaborative model, whereas federalism offered a rigid supranational model.<sup>27</sup>

Neo-functionalism as an integration theory emphasize importance of

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Osman S. Kadi, Halim Nezhoglu, “Prospects for Central Asian Integration,” *Scientific-economic journal “Reform”*, *Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University*, 07.2010: 5

<sup>26</sup> Марина Стержнева, "Международные организации и международная интеграция," Вестник Московского университета. Сер. 25. Международные отношения и мировая политика. 2009. № 1: 35 (Sterzhneva, Marina “International organizations and international integration,” *Vestnik of Moscow University, Series 25, International Relations and world policy*, 2009, No.1: 35)

<sup>27</sup> Pursiainen, Christer “Theories of Integration and the Limits of EU-Russian Relations”, *In: Hopf T. (eds) Russia’s European Choice. Palgrave Macmillan*, New York, 2008: 149-185

political factor in integration process. Ernst B. Haas<sup>28</sup> divided policy into "low" and "high". To "low policy" he includes more specific goals which can be economic development, improvement of welfare. This issues can be handled by integration of "low" actors as groups or political parties. As for "high policy" he included such goals as national interests, foreign policy. This issues can be handled by integration of "high" actors as supranational bodies.<sup>29</sup>

Neo-functionalism formulated, first, such necessary prerequisites for integration as the existence of common economic interests, the similarity of economic systems, interdependence, political pluralism, the resemblance of elite circles.<sup>30</sup> Secondly, attention was paid to the initial stage of integration. The process of cooperation should start in an area in which this issue is most relevant. Third, after passing through the initial stage, cooperation should both deepen and expand, encompassing other, related areas. For example, the process of cooperation in one energy sector should be adopted by other energy sectors.

According to the "spillover" effect, one or another action associated with the achievement of a specific goal provides situation in which the initial goal can be achieved only as a result of a subsequent chain of actions, which in turn generates additional conditions.<sup>31</sup> The "spillover" effect is a key concept of neo-

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<sup>28</sup> Haas, Ernst B.

<sup>29</sup> Sheryazdanova, Kamila: 16

<sup>30</sup> Serikkaliyeva, Azhar E. and Nurzhamal A. Aldabek, "Eurasian Economic Integration: Eurasian Economic Community and Shanghai Cooperation Organization" *World Academy of Science, Engineering and Technology International Journal of Economics and Management Engineering* Vol:6, No:11, 2012: 3187-3193

<sup>31</sup> Sterzhneva, Marina: 35

functionalism.

An important approach to the study and analysis of international integration is the theory of "security community." Karl W. Deutsch, the founder of this theory, advanced the thesis of the need to create a so-called "security community". He attributed groups of security to groups of people who are integrated into a certain community based on a specially created association aimed at the peaceful resolution of conflicts, treating the war as an outdated form of solving large-scale political, economic, social and religious differences.

Karl W. Deutsch main work on this topic is «Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience»<sup>32</sup> According to Karl W. Deutsch, the main characteristic of any security community is the mutual confidence of its members that none of them will resort to force, no matter what disputes arise between them. Deutsch speaks of the possibility of the emergence of two types of security community: amalgam and pluralistic. The amalgam community is an association of previously independent state units under general management.

The pluralistic security community does not provide for a common governing body, but it also builds on the confidence of states that none of them will resort to force against the other

Functionalism and its later variations (neo-functionalism) have a significant explanatory potential of establishment of the SCO. Following the

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<sup>32</sup> Deutsch, Karl W., "Political community and the North Atlantic area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience," *Princeton: Princeton University Press*, 1957: 228

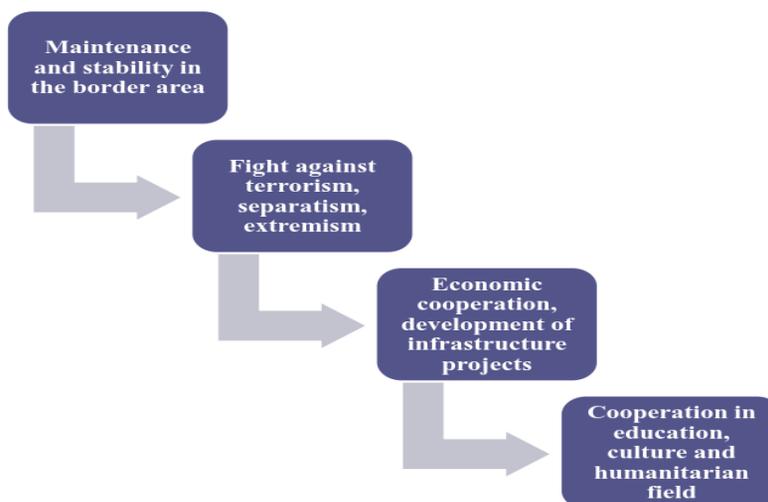
western theorists, Chinese experts repeatedly stressed the need for an adequate definition of the functions of the SCO. Director of the SCO Center for Studies of Fudan University Huasheng Zhao, used the methodology of functionalism and argues for a balanced approach to the functional burden of a very young organization.<sup>33</sup> He states that if the SCO field of activity is too narrow, that it will not be able to fully fulfil its mission and realize its potential. This may result in the loss of confidence from its participants. On the other hand, if the SCO will face issues with allocating financial and mechanistic resources if it is involved in tasks that are overly complicated. In this context, the SCO has successfully adjusted its functions to become a capable and influential actor on the international arena. The functionalism theory clearly explain us that integration within the SCO started in CA region from focusing on one main common goal as border security.<sup>34</sup> Then, after sucessful completion of one goal, members of the SCO started to search next another common goal for further cooperation and integration.

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<sup>33</sup> Huasheng, Zhao, Eugene B. Rumer, Dmitri Trenin, “Central Asia: Views from Washington, Moscow, and Beijing.” *Routledge*, 2016.09.16:175

<sup>34</sup> Dadabayev. Timur: 107

**Figure 1. Spillover concept application to the SCO**



As Figure 1 shows that after successful achievement of border security goal the SCO moved forward to other security issues such as fight against terrorism, separatism and extremism. Then its goals moved to development of economic relationships.<sup>35</sup> Further cooperation within the SCO expanded to education, culture and humanitarian fields.

## **2. Integration processes in Central Asia**

### **2.1 Dissolution of the Soviet Union and regional integration in Central Asia**

The Central Asian region had been mentioned as a separate region for the first time by Alexander von Humboldt in 1843.<sup>36</sup> During the Soviet Union period,

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Александр Ф. Гумбольдт, "Центральная Азия," *Типо-литография И.Н. Кушнерева, Москва*, 1915 (Gumboldt, Alexander F. "Central Asia," *Typo-litography of I.N. Kushnerev, Moscow*, 1915)

the term of “Middle Asia and Kazakhstan” commonly used to define region instead of “Central Asia” term.<sup>37</sup> Meeting of leaders of five regional states - Republic of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Republic of Tajikistan, Republic of Turkmenistan, Republic of Uzbekistan in January 1993 was an important milestone in defining boundaries and terminology regarding the region. As a result of meeting, all heads of states agreed to leave in the past the Soviet name "Middle Asia and Kazakhstan" and adopted a unifying definition of "Central Asia", which marked the regional identity of all five post-Soviet republics.<sup>38</sup>

*Picture 1. Map of Central Asia*



<sup>37</sup> "Пять государств и/или один регион?", *Публикация центрально азиатского экспертного клуба «Алматы- клуб». Фонд имени Фридриха Эберта в Центральной Азии, 2015, <http://www.fes-centralasia.org>* ("Five states and/or one region?", *Publication of Central Asian expert club "Almaty club," Friedrich Ebert Fund in Central Asia, 2015, Accessed: January 06, 2018 <http://www.fes-centralasia.org>*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

Source: <https://eurasiangeopolitics.com/central-asia-maps/>

After collapse of the Soviet Union, Central Asian states have faced the need to form their statehood. Countries have chosen the path of their development based on their geopolitical, economic, resource and intellectual capabilities. At the same time, they understood the need to preserve, at least at the first stage, interstate economic ties and coordinate political problems. Taking into account the fact that the Central Asian countries with their specific features were an integral part of the once united country during Soviet Union, the leaders of five countries understood the importance and necessity of regional integration as an effective mechanism for solving border, water, energy, trade and other issues.

The process of building relations within the region began almost from the first years after the countries gained independence. But political interaction was built extremely difficult and slow, it was connected, first, with the fact that the countries sought to search for and revive their ethnic, civilizational identity, and tried to give up everything that linked them to the Soviet past, Secondly, since the Soviet Union between the republics, many unresolved problems remained. In particular, the historically arbitrary national-territorial division of the republics, water resources.

In 1994, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan signed an agreement on creation of the Single Economic Space. In 1998, Tajikistan joined to agreement, and the Central Asian Economic Community (CAEC) was established.<sup>39</sup> Within

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<sup>39</sup> Зарина Дадабаева, Елена Кузьмина, "Процессы регионализации в Центральной Азии: Проблемы и противоречия," Научный доклад, Институт экономики РАН, 2014: 29 (Dadabayeva,

the framework of the community, a system of agreements and arrangements was developed that covered a wide range of areas of mutual interest, a system of bilateral agreements on free trade, mutual protection of investments, as well as avoiding double taxation of income and property, on the integrated use of water and energy resources.<sup>40</sup> However, all these agreements did not reach goals, on many issues there was a mismatch of member states position.

The difficulties of regional integration in early post-Soviet period were largely due to the simplified understanding of intraregional relations, the political positions of leaders, the difference in approaches to the development of the states themselves, the level of economic development, the position of countries in the world community, and the resource potential of countries.

## **2.2. External actors in Central Asia**

Geopolitical trends in Central Asia testify to the growing interest of large countries in the situation in the region, caused by the increase in the supply of energy resources from Central Asia to the world market, and on the other hand, to the problems of international security.

Since the independence period, the countries of Central Asia have been included in various bilateral and multilateral regional structures. At the same time, diversity and a wide range of international organizations in Central Asia in

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Zarina, Kuzmina, Elena, "Process of regionalization in Central Asia: problems and contradictions, Scientific report, Institute of Economy, RAN, 2014: 29)

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

particular, testifies both to the different functional orientation of the latter and to the blurring of their integration platforms. Thus, Central Asia has become a cross-geopolitical and civilizational zone. In fact, global competition has become a reflection, a projection of these relations at the regional level.

The new geopolitical role of the region is due to the presence of a number of factors:

1. The location of the region in the center of the Eurasian continent.
2. The large amount of natural resources as oil, gas, raw materials which attracts major world powers to the region.
3. Central Asia is a transport corridor to Europe and Asia and has a good potential of transport infrastructure.

In the following, we will provide analysis of activities of world powers as China, the EU, the U.S, and Russia in region of CA and its influence of integration processes in CA.

First country which will be analyzed is the U.S. The U.S. foreign policy concept toward Central Asia is called "Greater Central Asia" (GCA) Strategy. The main ideologist of this strategy, Frederick Starr, writes: "The United States currently has a chance to help transform Afghanistan and the whole region into a zone of safe sovereignties with viable market economies enjoying secular and open governance systems and maintaining good relations with the United States. The means to achieve this goal will be the creation of the Greater Central Asia

partnership for cooperation and development."<sup>41</sup> Thus, the essence of this plan is to link the Central Asia and Afghanistan into a single military-strategic and geopolitical whole, and then link the GCA to so-called "South Asia", which in the future should be controlled by the West.

The strategy implies, firstly, the formation of infrastructure from the former Soviet republics of Central Asia through Afghanistan to the South Asian countries - India and Pakistan. Secondly, trade integration of the countries of Central Asia, Afghanistan and South Asia through improving customs and border procedures, reducing non-tariff barriers, and subsequently opening markets.

Starr also proposes to US support for the accession of Central Asian countries to the WTO and measures to reduce poverty in the most backward sub regions.

For the European Union, interest in Central Asia in participating in the development of hydrocarbon fields and in obtaining them not only through Russian pipelines. Through cooperation with the countries of the region in the energy sector, the EU would like to limit its dependence on Russian energy supplies.

However, for the EU democratic values and provision of democratic values is also an important factor for cooperation with CA countries.

As a result, the European strategy for the region of Central Asia, adopted in 2007 and designed for the period until 2017, considers cooperation in three main

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<sup>41</sup> Starr, S. Frederick, "A Partnership for Central Asia," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2005:12-20. Accessed March 02, 2018 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/>

sectors, such as education, the rule of law, the protection of human rights.<sup>42</sup>

Given the degree of interest of Europe in Central Asian region, it is quite natural that the recent announcement that at a meeting in Luxembourg on June 19, 2017 the foreign ministers of the countries of the European Union agreed on the formation of a new foreign policy strategy of the EU for Central Asia by 2019, which would replace the obsolete morally and politically the document of 2007.<sup>43</sup>

Russia is the most sharply negative for integration processes in Central Asia. This is due to the fact that these states are part of the national interests of Russia, where it should play a major role.

One of the regional integration organization called Central Asian Cooperation (CAC), which included Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan was created in 2002. The goal of organization was implementation of coordinated efforts for gradual formation of single economic space. It meant, regional integration was declared, with the predominant role of the economy. However, on October 18, 2004, Russia who did not want to see independent, powerful integration organization on its southern borders joined the CAC. After exactly one year, on October 6, 2005, Russia achieved unification of the CAC with the EurAsEC, which meant the CAC was virtually abolished.

In this connection, at present moment, the integration processes in CA are

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<sup>42</sup> “The EU and Central Asia: Strategy for New Partnership.” *The European External Action Service website, Council of the European Union, Brussels, 31 May 2007. Accessed February 03, 2018. <https://eeas.europa.eu>.*

<sup>43</sup> “EU to Draw up New Central Asia Strategy by Late 2019” *Radio Free Europe website, June 19, 2017. Accessed: February 03, 2018. <https://www.rferl.org/>.*

under the close control of Moscow. In 2010, the Customs Union which includes Kazakhstan, Russia and Belarus started its function. Also, Russia created military-political block on the territory of Central Asia - the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO).

To assess the dynamics of Chinese policy in Central Asia is not easy: the Chinese perception of the region, Chinese interests continue to evolve since the collapse of the USSR. China's policy was influenced by changes in the situation on the international arena and in Central Asia itself, a rethinking of the foundations of China's foreign policy,<sup>44</sup> as well as an understanding of the problems of national security and its economic interests.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, in 1992 China established official diplomatic relations with all states of Central Asia. From the perspective of China, this provided an opportunity for developing relations and pursuing a coherent foreign and regional policy based on the following principles:

1. Maintaining stability and security along the western borders (Xinjiang Province);
2. Development of trade relations with the countries of Central Asia and economic development;
3. Promotion of China interests in energy field;

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<sup>44</sup> Medeiros, Evan S., M. Taylor Fravel, "China's New Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2003, Vol. 83. № 6: 22-35. Accessed December 16, 2017. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/>

4. Strengthening of positions as a global power and regional leader in Central Asia.

According to Huasheng Zhao, the region falls under the concept of "peripheral diplomacy" - one of the foundations of the foreign policy strategy.<sup>45</sup> The concept defines Beijing's approaches to neighboring China or closely located states that create a favorable external environment are important from the point of view of ensuring security, as well as political and economic interests of China.

When analyzing Chinese policies with regard to Central Asia, one can see a constant transformation and adjustment of interests and goals under influence of a number of subjective and objective factors. In initial stages, solution of disputed border issues was placed at the forefront. In the second half of 1990s, the idea of stabilizing and safeguarding the regimes of Central Asia was put forward to remove tension in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (XUAR). In 2000, China adopted the strategy of diversification of energy sources, and since 2005 began to expand its economic and political influence in Central Asia. We can say that Beijing has gradually ceased to consider the region purely in the context of an integral set of issues related to Russian-Chinese relations.

China became the initiator of SCO foundation and played important role in the establishment, development of SCO. This factor shows that China pays special attention to region, and shows China's activity in accelerating regional cooperation with Central Asian countries.

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

### **III. Shanghai Cooperation Organization – establishment, development and structural- functional analysis**

#### **1. Historical condition for establishment of SCO and China's role**

After collapse of Soviet Union and significant changes in geopolitical alignment of forces in Central Asian region, an objective need arose to create new institutions to maintain regional security and strengthen trade and economic ties between states of region.

Largely motivated by establishing peace and prosperity in the region, China played major role in establishing, initialization and developing of SCO.

Since its formation period, the SCO continues to rely on the new theoretical basis of international relations, namely the "Shanghai spirit", characterized by "mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality, cooperation, respect for diversity of culture, aspiration for joint development."<sup>46</sup>

Theory of "Shanghai spirit" gave a new impulse for development of "five principles of peaceful coexistence" which had been announced for the first time in 1954.<sup>47</sup> This principles includes mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty, nonaggression, non-interference to internal affairs, equality and

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<sup>46</sup> Пань Гуан, "Что такое «Шанхайский Дух»,» *Информационно-аналитический сайт «ИнфоШОС.ру»*. <http://www.infoshos.ru>. (Pan Guan, "What is «Shanghai Spirit»,» *Information-analytical website "InfoShos.Ru"* Accessed January 02, 2018. <http://www.infoshos.ru>.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

mutual benefit, peaceful coexistence.<sup>48</sup>

We can also find some contours of “new security concept” in theory of “Shanghai spirit”. As Jiang Zemin stated in his speech at sixteenth party congress in November 2002, the “new security concept” of China forms based on mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination of actions between countries.<sup>49</sup>

Mutual trust is a prerequisite for successful cooperation. Principle of mutual benefit emphasizes the importance of taking into account the interests of each states. Equality can be understood as affirmation of principle of state sovereignty. The need for coordination between countries reflects both the idea of a multipolar world and rejection of unilateral actions by some world powers.<sup>50</sup> The Shanghai Cooperation Organization is a successful attempt to start practicing a new security concept.

As Chien Peng Chung mentioned that the SCO were the first multi-lateral security organizations largely initiated and promoted by China.<sup>51</sup>

The strategic interests of China in Central Asia, in addition to security guarantees, include:

1) access to the rich raw and energy resources of the region to supply the

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> В. Боровой, "Новая концепция безопасности во внешней политике КНР." *Украинская ассоциация Китаеведов*. 2007: 7 (Borovoi, V, “New security concept in China foreign policy,” Ukrainian association of Chinese studies. 2007: 7

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Chien Peng Chung, “China and the Institutionalization of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 53, No. 5, September/October 2006: 2

developing rapidly growing economy of the PRC;

2) Development of cooperation in the field of trade;

3) Development of transit cargo transportation to Europe and the Middle East.

For a long historical time, the unresolved problem of the PRC remains the lack of stability in the Western part of China in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (XUAR), where national-liberation sentiments are still observed today.<sup>52</sup>

The problem of "national-separatism" in XUAR is directly related to the countries of Central Asia. The XUAR borders with three CA republics of the region. The longest border of XUAR has with Kazakhstan. In the countries of Central Asia, there are stable Uighur Diasporas, and the largest of them (over 220,000 people) live in Kazakhstan, where it ranks third in the country and second in the world after China»<sup>53</sup>

The Kazakh Sinologist Konstantin Syroezhkin in his book "Myths and reality of ethnic separatism in China and security in Central Asia" highlighted the following reasons for the manifestation of so-called ethnic separatism in the XUAR. Due to their large number, the representatives of the Uighur part of the population, supporting the idea of "struggle for independence", thereby "expanded the social base of protest, formed conditions for the development of tendencies of ethnic

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<sup>52</sup> Konstantin Syroezhkin: 123-127

<sup>53</sup> Клара Хафизова, "Сепаратизм в Синьцзян-Уйгурском автономном районе Китая: Динамика и потенциал влияния на ситуацию в Центральной Азии," *Центральная Азия и Кавказ*, 2003, №1 (Klara Hafizova, "Separatism in XUAR, China: Dynamic and influence to Central Asia," *Central Asia and Caucasus*, 2003, No 1)

separatism in Xinjiang." Further, the author pointed to the "undeniable" influence of the external factor on the activation of ethnic separatism in China. "The disintegration of the USSR into national states, the aggravation of ethnic conflicts both within these states and in the countries of Eastern Europe" as well as "resuscitation and consolidation of the Islamic world, a fairly liberal attitude to ethnic separatism demonstrated by the world community, the internationalization of terrorism - all this could not but intensify those hidden socio-economic and political springs that triggered the mechanism of "Uyghur separatism".<sup>54</sup> In addition, the fact that separatism in the XUAR is supported by external forces, largely complicates the situation. "The situation changed qualitatively in the early 1990s, when not only did the number of Uighur organizations abroad increased significantly, but the tactics of their activities changed, and the degree of coordination between themselves and with the underground groups of" ethnic separatists "operating directly in Xinjiang».<sup>55</sup>

The high probability that these tendencies are of great concern to the leadership of the PRC confirms the participation of the Chinese side in an organization such as the SCO. The geographical location of the XUAR on the border with the countries of Central Asia is one of the main reasons for China's membership in the SCO. China's genuine interest lies in the desire to support the unequivocal recognition by the border countries of the principle of one China.

In addition to recognizing the indivisibility, the Chinese side, through the

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<sup>54</sup> Konstantin Syroezhkin: 357

<sup>55</sup> Ibid

SCO, is implementing a plan to "open the Western part of China", thus hoping to find a constructive solution to the problem of separatism.

"The Chinese government, using the chance presented after the collapse of the USSR, actively established economic cooperation and trade relations with the CIS countries. As a result, China has formed such an economic development trend as a "march to the North and West." Typical products of this trend are the trade and economic fairs of Harbin and Urumqi" As the Chinese analyst Shin Guanchen wrote, "these events were of key importance for the economy. With the onset of the new century, the center of gravity of China's development has moved to the West, and the task of developing the Western part of the country has become an important element of state policy, which implies the development of cooperation with Central Asia in the development and development of the North-West part of China"<sup>56</sup>

In this context, the actualization of an independent regional security system within the framework of the SCO for China and Russia is a mutually beneficial political project in order to contain American influence in the region.

At the present stage, the political cooperation between Russia and China, drawn up within the framework of a kind of "consultative and coordinating council" of the SCO, which does not imply serious mutual obligations for the parties, should be considered as one of the factors of the formation of the SCO.

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<sup>56</sup> Гуанчен Син. "Шанхайская Организация Сотрудничества: приоритетные направления" *Мировая Экономика и Международные Отношения*, 2002, №11: 75. (Shin Guanchen, "the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: priority areas" *World Economy and International Relations*, 2002, No11: 75)

One way or another, the task of Chinese diplomacy in the SCO, which was to ensure political mutual understanding on the part of the border states on the problem of separatism in the West, was partially resolved. After that, using the economic potential of cooperation with the SCO member states, the PRC leadership is trying to solve the socio-economic circle of the XUAR issues.

Overall, summing up previously mentioned, it should be noted that the agreements reached within the SCO framework to the full reflect the interests of the Chinese side in the Central Asian region.

The interests of the China are in many ways the guide for the formation of the SCO legal framework. The limitations of the agreements reached also characterize the position of Chinese diplomacy.

## **2. Establishment and development of the SCO**

After collapse of Soviet Union at the beginning of 1990 new independent states began to form in Central Asian region with establishing their own national identity, internal and foreign policy.

The new countries of Central Asia, Russia and China faced the issue of settling state border issues. As it is well known, prerequisite for creation of the "Shanghai Five"<sup>57</sup> and hereafter the "SCO" was precisely the process of settling border issues and security. The process of negotiations on settling of border issues

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<sup>57</sup> «Shanghai five» is non-formal name of the forum, held in April 26, 1996 in Shanghai by presidents of Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and China.

with China began just before the collapse of Soviet Union. The agreement between the government of Soviet Union and the government of China on guidelines for mutual reduction of armed forces and confidence building in military field in area of the Soviet-Chinese border had been signed in April 24, 1990.<sup>58</sup> Later on the agreement on the Eastern section of the Sino-Soviet state border was signed on May 16, 1991.<sup>59</sup>

After collapse of the Soviet Union, China began bilateral negotiation process with already newly independent countries of Central Asia and Russia.

On April 26, 1994 in Almaty city, Kazakhstan, an agreement on Kazakh-Chinese state border was signed between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China.<sup>60</sup> During official visit of the Chinese president, Jiang

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<sup>58</sup> "Соглашение между Правительством Союза Советских Социалистических Республик и Правительством Китайской Народной Республики о руководящих принципах взаимного сокращения вооруженных сил и укрепления доверия в военной области в районе советско-китайской границы от 24 апреля 1990 года." Консорциум «Кодекс» <http://www.kodeks.ru> ("The agreement between the government of Soviet Union and the government of China on guidelines for mutual reduction of armed forces and confidence building in military field in area of the Soviet-Chinese border signed in April 24, 1990," The legal information consortium "Kodeks" Accessed March 03, 2017, <http://www.kodeks.ru/>)

<sup>59</sup> "Соглашение Между Союзом Советских Социалистических Республик и Китайской Народной Республикой о Советско-Китайской государственной границе на ее восточной части от 16 мая, 1991 года" Консорциум «Кодекс» <http://www.kodeks.ru> ("The agreement the government of Soviet Union and the government of China on the Eastern section of the Sino-Soviet state border signed in May 16, 1991." The legal information consortium "Kodeks" Accessed March 03, 2017, <http://www.kodeks.ru/>)

<sup>60</sup> "Соглашение между Республикой Казахстан и Китайской Народной Республикой о казахстанско-китайской государственной границе от 26 апреля 1994 года" Информационная система «Закон» <http://online.zakon.kz/> (Agreement on Kazakh-Chinese state border was signed between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China signed in april 1994, accessed May 05, 2018 <http://online.zakon.kz/>)

Zemin, to Kazakhstan on July 04, 1998, both countries signed an additional agreement<sup>61</sup> where they agreed to divide the borders almost evenly. Here, President Nursultan Nazarbayev announced that Kazakhstan had become the first of four countries that border northern China, to have finally resolved all the territorial disputes dating back to Soviet era<sup>62</sup> Similarly, border issues between Kyrgyzstan and China were settled gradually beginning with the signing of the agreement in 1996 and 1999. Finally, agreement between China Tajikistan – the country where China has had long-standing border issues with was signed in 1999.

Along with the solution of border issues, China sought to ensure security at the borders by cooperating in the military sphere, reducing armaments in border areas. These measures served as an impetus for the beginning of the "Shanghai process."<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> "Дополнительное соглашение между Республикой Казахстан и Китайской Народной Республикой о казахстанско-китайской государственной границе от 04 июля 1998 года" Информационно-правовая система нормативных правовых актов Республики Казахстан – «Адилет». <http://adilet.zan.kz> ("Additional agreement between Republic of Kazakhstan and People's Republic of China on Kazakh-Chinese state border signed July 04, 1998."), accessed November 02, 2017. <http://adilet.zan.kz>

<sup>62</sup> "China ends Kazakh border dispute," BBC news, July 04, 1998, Accessed September 04, 2017. <https://www.bbc.com/news>

<sup>63</sup> «Shanghai process» is a non-formal name of multilateral format forum for, held in April 26, 1996 in Shanghai by presidents of Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and China

**Table 1. Important dates in the SCO development**

Date	Accomplishments
April 26, 1996	Heads of five states: China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan signed agreement on strengthening confidence in military sphere in border areas. Formation of “Shanghai five”.
June 15, 2001	Uzbekistan joined to “Shanghai five”. Heads of six countries signed declaration on establishment of the SCO
June 7, 2002	Heads of member states signed Charter of the SCO and established Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) as a permanent body of organization
June 17, 2004	Heads of member states signed an agreement on Combating Trafficking of Illegal Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances; Mongolia received observer status in organization.
July 5, 2005	Iran, Pakistan, and India received observer status in organization
2009	Belarus and Sri Lanka received dialogue partner status in organization
2010	Tenth anniversary of the SCO summit held in Astana, Kazakhstan
2012	Afghanistan received observer status and Turkey received dialogue partner status in organization
June 9, 2017	India and Pakistan officially joined the SCO as a full member states.

We can identify four main periods of SCO development.

**First period** is a period of preparation for SCO establishment, which covers period from the first meeting of the heads of state of “Shanghai Five” in

1996 and until the official announcement of the establishment of the SCO on June 15, 2001.

The "Shanghai Process" became a continuation of the Soviet-Chinese negotiations, conducted in two directions. First, negotiations continued on the concretization of confidence-building measures and practical reduction of armaments along the border, which being carried out jointly by Russia, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Republic of Tajikistan, on the one hand, and the PRC on the other. Secondly, negotiations continued, and actually about the border, especially in its western part, which all the four former Soviet republics inherited.<sup>64</sup>

This process began with the signing on April 26, 1996 in Shanghai by the heads of five states of China, Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan of agreement on strengthening confidence in the military sphere in border areas. It was then at the Shanghai meeting of the leaders of the five states that the term "Shanghai five" first arose.

A year later, at the second summit in Moscow, Russia, the heads of state of the five countries Kazakhstan, China, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan signed "agreement on mutual reduction of military forces in border area". This agreement was a concretization and addition to Shanghai document, signed in April 1996, strengthened mutual trust in security matters. These two documents gave an impulse to formation of permanent consultative advisory five-way mechanism,

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<sup>64</sup> Lukin Alexander: 11

later known as the "Shanghai Five".<sup>65</sup>

At the third summit in Almaty, Kazakhstan, on July 3, 1998, discussions expanded into non-border issues, such as cooperation against the common threats of terrorism, religious fundamentalism, and separatism.<sup>66</sup> During the summit, China's President Jiang delivered an important speech entitled Uphold Peace and Stability and Promote Development and Prosperity in which he emphasized that to uphold and develop friendly cooperation among them, the five countries must continue to firmly oppose ethnic separatism, terrorism and smuggling of arms, which jeopardize stability and security in the region.<sup>67</sup>

At the fourth summit, in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, on August 24, 1999, the head of states signed the Bishkek declaration, which supported to organize meetings on regular basis among officials of law enforcement authorities, ministers of defense and foreign affairs.

In the fifth, summit which held in Dushanbe city, Tajikistan on July 05, 2000, president of Uzbekistan for the first time took part in summit as an observer.<sup>68</sup> By the result of summit the Dushanbe declaration was signed, which

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<sup>65</sup> Трофимов Дмитрий, "Шанхайский процесс – от «пятерки» к «организации сотрудничества»: итоги 1990-х, проблемы и перспективы развития," Центральная Азия и Кавказ, 2002 (Trofimov Dmitriy, "Shanghai process – from «five» to «cooperation organization»: Results of 1990s, problems and development perspectives," Central Asia and Caucasus, 2002)

<sup>66</sup> Chien Peng Chung, "China and the Institutionalization of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization," *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 53, No. 5, September/October 2006: 7

<sup>67</sup> "Summit meetings among China, Russia, Kazakstan, Kirghistan and Tajikistan" Official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, Accessed November 03, 2017 <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/>

<sup>68</sup> Мурат Лаумулин, "Центральная Азия в зарубежной политологии и мировой геополитике.

emphasized the decision of transformation of “Shanghai Five” into regional structure of multilateral cooperation in various fields.<sup>69</sup>

June 15, 2001 at the sixth summit of the heads of state in Shanghai, China the leaders of six countries of Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan signed a declaration on the establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Thus, based on the Forum of the "Shanghai Five", was transformed into a full-fledged international organization - the SCO. It is interesting that the accession of Uzbekistan, which do not share a direct border with China, meant the formal exit of the Shanghai process beyond the issues related to the former Soviet-Chinese border.<sup>70</sup>

Therefore, the meeting in 2001 transforming “Shanghai Five” into the SCO was, in a sense, a culmination of the growing influence of the People’s Republic of China in Central Asia over the course of the previous decade.<sup>71</sup>

**The second period** is a period of SCO formation which covers period from the date of official creation of SCO in 2001 to the Tashkent summit of 2004. This years focused on developing the institutional structure, and primary legal

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Том V. Центральная Азия в XXI столетии" КИСИ при Президенте Республики Казахстан, Алматы, 200: 178 (Murat Laumulin, "Central Asia in foreign political science and world geopolitics, Vol. 5. Central Asia in XXI century" KISI under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Almaty, 200: 178)

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Lukin Alexander: 10

<sup>71</sup> Chien Peng Chung, “The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: China’s influence in Central Asia,” The China Quarterly, 180, 989-1009. Cambridge University Press, 2005.01.14

documents.<sup>72</sup>

At this period, the following tasks were accomplished:

1. In 2002 during the SCO summit in St. Petersburg, Russia the SCO Charter was adopted. Charter, which outlines the organization, goals, objectives and main directions of the organization's activities.

2. In 2004 during SCO summit in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, two permanent bodies - the SCO Secretariat and the Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) - were established. Thus, the normative and organizational basis for the existence of the SCO as a subject of international law was formed.

With the establishment of the regulatory framework and the implementation of the working mechanisms, the SCO began to function as a full-fledged international organization.<sup>73</sup>

**The third period** of SCO development covers period from Tashkent summit of 2004 to 2011.

During this period, the following major task was accomplished:

During SCO summit in Astana, Kazakhstan in July 2005, the SCO member-states called the US to set a deadline for its military presence in the region, which resulted of weakening of the US overall strategic position.<sup>74</sup>

On this summit, member-states took decision to grant observer status to

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<sup>72</sup> Meena Singh Roy: 20

<sup>73</sup> Lukin Alexander: 10

<sup>74</sup> Meena Singh Roy.:21

the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Republic of India, previously in 2004 Mongolia gained such status. It was a geographical expansion of organization, which enabled to increase international status of SCO.

During SCO summit in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan in 2007. The State leaders signed the Long-term good-neighborliness, friendship and cooperation of the SCO member states.

During 2008-2009 the SCO continued to focus on security threats and enhancement of its economic agenda.<sup>75</sup>

During SCO summit in 2008. State leaders signed Agreement on the order of organization and conduct of joint anti-terrorist exercises member states of the SCO. Signed an Agreement on Cooperation between Governments member states of the SCO in the fight against illicit arms trafficking, ammunition and explosives

During Ekaterinburg, Russia in 2009 the member states adopted SCO Convention against Terrorism.

A decision was taken to provide Democratic Socialist Republic Sri Lanka and the Republic of Belarus partner in the SCO dialogue.

The SCO summits of 2010 and 2011 were significant from the point of view of the enlargement of the organization<sup>76</sup>.

During SCO summit in Astana, Kazakhstan in 2011, Leaders of the states signed memorandum on the Obligations of the Applicant State has been approved with a view to obtaining status of the SCO member state.

**The fourth period** covers period from 2011 to 2017

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid: 29

<sup>76</sup> Ibid: 31

The SCO Declarations of 2012 and 2013 were clear articulation of new security cooperation between China and Russia on the regional issues in international arena.<sup>77</sup>

Leaders of SCO member countries adopted declaration on creation of region of long-term peace and joint prosperity. In this year, Afganistan received status of observer and Turkey became a dialogue partner.

In 2014 India and Pakistan officially submitted an application to SCO membership.

In 2015 heads of SCO countries adopted a decision on beginning of procedure of acceptance of India and Pakistan as a members of organization. Also, decision on presenting to Belarus status of observer and to Azerbaijan, Cambojia, Nepal status of dialogue partner.

The Council of Heads of State in Astana on June 9, 2017. India and Pakistan have received the status of SCO member states.

**SCO enlargement.** At present, the SCO consists of eight countries, six of which are founders of the organization: the Republic of Kazakhstan, the People's Republic of China, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, on the results of the meeting of the Council of Heads of Member States in Astana on June 9, 2017.<sup>78</sup> During a long period of time, no country has been admitted to it for a long period, although observer states and

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid: 35

<sup>78</sup> "Astana declaration of head of states –members of the SCO signed on June 09, 2017," The Shanghai cooperation organization website, Accessed November 03, 2017, <http://rus.sectSCO.org/>

dialogue partners have appeared. Four countries have observer status with the SCO - the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, the Republic of Belarus, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Republic of Mongolia; Six countries are partners in the SCO dialogue - the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Armenia, the Kingdom of Cambodia, the Federative Democratic Republic of Nepal, the Republic of Turkey, the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.<sup>79</sup> These two statuses in the SCO has been developed to create symbolic categories into which could be fitted those states which either could or would not be admitted as full members.<sup>80</sup>

**Figure 2. SCO membership status**

Member states	Observer states	Dialogue partners
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• China</li> <li>• India</li> <li>• Kazakhstan</li> <li>• Kyrgyzstan</li> <li>• Pakistan</li> <li>• Russia</li> <li>• Tajikistan</li> <li>• Uzbekistan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Afghanistan</li> <li>• Iran</li> <li>• Mongolia</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Belarus</li> <li>• Sri Lanka</li> <li>• Turkey</li> <li>• Azerbaijan</li> <li>• Armenia</li> <li>• Cambodia</li> <li>• Nepal</li> </ul>

According to the expert Laumulin Murat among the scenarios of the development of the SCO enlargement at the expense of other states (Mongolia, India, Afghanistan, Iran, etc.), which seems unlikely. Any expansion of the

<sup>79</sup> “About the Shanghai cooperation organization,” The Shanghai cooperation organization website, Accessed November 03, 2017, <http://rus.sectSCO.org/>

<sup>80</sup> Flemming Splidsboel Hansen, “Integration in the post-Soviet space,” *International Area Studies Review* 16(2) 142-159, 2013, Royal Danish Defence College: 152

composition of this structure will obviously lead to its politico-organizational complication.<sup>81</sup> As we can see from recent events, the expansion of the organization did take place, however, it took almost 12 years to take such a decision since Pakistan and India received the status of observer states in 2005. Following the meeting of the Council of Heads of State in Astana on June 9, 2017, India and Pakistan have received the status of SCO member states. The admission of these two countries will seriously increase the international prestige and influence of the Organization. At the same time, one must understand that the consequences of the SCO expansion may be ambiguous: the Organization will either become stronger and consolidate, or weaken and remain stagnant. As you know, the more participants in the project, the more difficult it is to realize its program objectives. Although political leaders talk about the coincidence of interests and goals, but when it comes to practical implementation, there is immediately a difference in approaches.<sup>82</sup>

### **3. Structural-functional analysis of SCO**

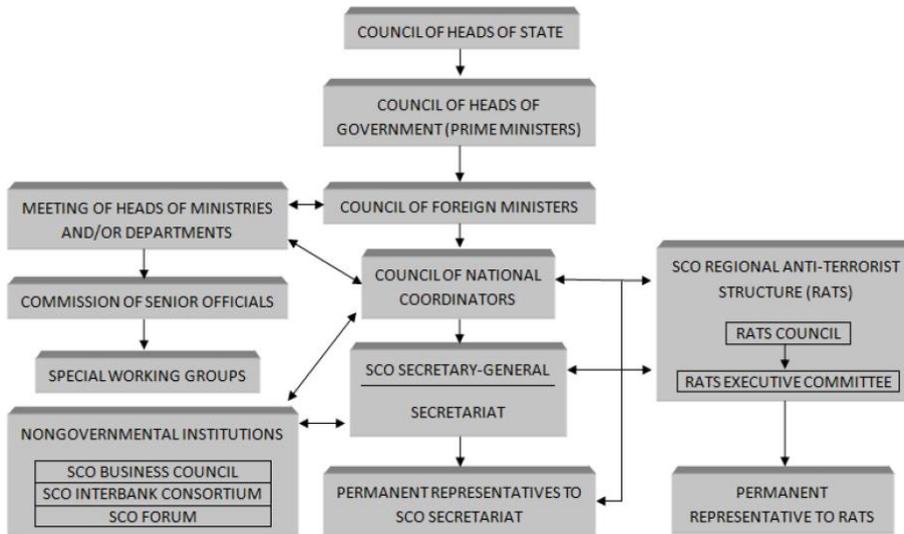
Institutional structure of SCO is typical for international organizations.

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<sup>81</sup> Murat Laumulin, "Central Asia in foreign political science and world geopolitics, Vol. 5. Central Asia in XXI century": 180

<sup>82</sup> Комиссина Ирина, "Размышления после саммита ШОС: новые реалии, новые перспективы." *Проблема национальной стратегии №1 (34), Российский институт стратегических исследований*, 2016: 68 (Komissina Irina, "Insights after the SCO summit: new realm, new perspectives." *Problem of national strategy No.1 (34), Russian Institute of strategic studies*, 2016: 68)

**Figure 3. Structure of the SCO**



**Source:** [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shanghai\\_Cooperation\\_Organisation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shanghai_Cooperation_Organisation)

The Charter of Shanghai Cooperation Organization signed in June 2002 at St. Petersburg Summit of the Heads of State of SCO, which entered into force on September 19, 2003 is the basic organizational document that defines organization's goals and principles, its structure and main spheres of activities. In accordance to Article 04 of SCO Charter it has the following bodies:

**The Council of Heads of States** is the supreme decision-making body in SCO which hold a meeting once a year. It shall determine priorities and define major areas of activities of Organization, decide upon the fundamental issues of its internal arrangement and functioning and its interaction with other States and international organizations, as well as consider the most topical international

issues.<sup>83</sup>

**The Council of Heads of Government** (Prime Ministers) is held once a year under the leadership of the head of government in whose territory the meeting is held. The SCO Heads of Government Council shall approve the budget of the Organization, consider and decide upon major issues related to particular, especially economic, spheres of interaction within the Organization.<sup>84</sup>

**The Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs** shall consider issues related to day-to-day activities of the Organization, preparation of meetings of the Heads of State Council and holding of consultations on international problems within Organization.<sup>85</sup> In some cases, the COM can make statements on behalf of the SCO. The Council shall typically meet one month prior to a meeting of the Council of Heads of State.

Meetings of Head of Ministries and/or Agencies shall hold to consider particular issues of cooperation in respective fields within SCO in accordance to decisions of the Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government (Prime Ministers).<sup>86</sup>

**The Council of National Coordinators** of the SCO member states is defined as a mechanism for direct control and coordination within the Organization. It shall make the necessary preparation for the meetings of the Heads of State

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<sup>83</sup> "Structure of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization" The Shanghai cooperation organization website, Accessed November 03, 2017, <http://rus.sectesco.org/>

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid

<sup>86</sup> Ibid

Council, the Heads of Government Council and the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.<sup>87</sup> The Council shall hold its meetings at least three times a year.

Organization has two permanent bodies - the SCO Secretariat in Beijing, China and the Executive Committee of Regional Antiterrorist Structure (RATS) in Tashkent, Uzbekistan.

The SCO secretariat is the main permanent executive body of SCO and carries out coordination, information-analytical, legal and organizational and technical support of activities of Organization, develops proposals on enhancing of cooperation within the SCO and international relations of the Organization, supervises the implementation of decisions of SCO bodies.<sup>88</sup>

Regional anti-terrorist structure In order to ensure the institutional support of counter-terrorism activities and in implementation of the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism of 2001 an agreement on the creation of a regional anti-terrorist structure of the SCO was signed at a meeting of the SCO member states on June 7, 2002 in St. Petersburg, Russia. The main tasks and functions of the RATS are:

“1) Development of proposals and recommendations on the development of cooperation in the fight against terrorism, separatism and extremism for the relevant structures SCO, as well as at the request of the Parties; 2) Assistance to the competent authorities of the Parties at the request of one of the Parties in the fight

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid

<sup>88</sup> "Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization" The Shanghai cooperation organization website, Accessed November 03, 2017, <http://rus.sectSCO.org/>

against terrorism, separatism and extremism; 3) Collection and analysis of information coming to the RATS from the Parties on the issues of combating terrorism, separatism and extremism; 4) Formation of the RATS data bank, in particular about international terrorist, separatist and other extremist organizations and etc.”<sup>89</sup>

Thus, the RATS established to eliminate the threat of destabilization in Central Asia to counter the strengthening of international terrorism and the destructive impact of extremism.<sup>90</sup> It was planned that the headquarters of the RATS will be located in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan), but in 2003 it was transferred to Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan.

As Yevgeniy Sergeevich Sysoyev director of RATS mentioned “Today, the RATS is, figuratively speaking, the framework of the regional security system, within which a mechanism for effective multilateral cooperation has been developed and tested, which allows to consolidate the joint efforts of the SCO member states to solve urgent problems, promptly respond to the dynamic change in the situation in the field of combating terrorism, separatism and extremism.”<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> “The Agreement between the state-members of the SCO on Regional Anti-terrorism Structure,” Article 6. The Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure of Shanghai Cooperation Organization website, Accessed October 09, 2017 <http://ecrats.org/>

<sup>90</sup> Mutlaq Al-Qahtani, “The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Law of International Organizations,” *Chinese Journal of International Law* (2006), Vol. 5, No. 1: 136

<sup>91</sup> Александр Шашков интервью "Евгений Сысоев: европейцы считают РАТС ШОС успешной площадкой противодействия терроризму" Информационное агентство России «Тасс» 2016.06.24 (Alexandr Shahkov interview «Yevgeniy Sysoyev: Europeans consider RATS SCO as a successful arena for counter terrorism» “Tass” Russian news agency, Accessed February 5, 2018 <http://tass.ru/>

The task of coordinating the actions of the competent bodies of the SCO states is entrusted to the Regional Antiterrorist Structure (RATS). As already noted, the RATS is a permanent body and the embodiment of multilateral cooperation of the SCO countries in matters of regional security. In structural terms, the RATS consists of the Council and the Executive Committee. The Council is the governing body and takes decisions; the Executive Committee conducts operational and practical work to implement the decisions taken. The tasks of the Executive Committee of the RATS are also international legal and information-analytical activities, in particular, the compilation of a database of organizations and persons involved in terrorism.<sup>92</sup>

**Main goals and tasks.** The goals and tasks of the SCO are indicated in its constituent documents cover different kind of issues. The main goals and tasks of the SCO in accordance with the Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization are:

“1) Strengthening mutual trust, friendship and good neighborliness between the member States; 2) development of multifaceted cooperation in the maintenance and strengthening of peace, security and stability in the region and promotion of a new democratic, fair and rational political and economic international order; 3) Joint combating terrorism, separatism and extremism in all their manifestations, fighting against illicit narcotics and arms trafficking and other types of

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<sup>92</sup> Бочкарева Ирина, "Первое десятилетие ШОС: итоги деятельности," *Журнал теоретических и прикладных наук «Известия», Алтайский Государственный Университет*, 2012: 47 (Bochkareva Irina «First tenth anniversary of SCO: results of activities," *Journal of theoretical and applied sciences «Izvestie», Altay State University*, 2012: 47)

transnational criminal activity, and also illegal migration and etc.”<sup>93</sup>

According to expert Evgeniy Dovgan “In practice, up to now, the main focus is on maintaining international peace and security and combating modern challenges and threats, primarily international terrorism, separatism and extremism”<sup>94</sup>

In order to combat these phenomena, simultaneously with the adoption of the Declaration, the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism was signed on 15.06.2001.<sup>95</sup>

The main principles of the SCO are mutual respect for sovereignty, equality of all member states, openness and non-directivity of the SCO against other states and international organizations.<sup>96</sup> Within the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, in order to implement these projects, the following organizations were founded:

1. The SCO Business Council is a non-governmental organization uniting the business and financial circles of the member states of the organization in order to promote cooperation in trade, financial, scientific-technical, energy, transport, communication, agricultural and other areas

2. The Interbank Association of the SCO provides financial

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<sup>93</sup> "Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization" The Shanghai cooperation organization website, Accessed November 03, 2017, <http://rus.sectSCO.org/>

<sup>94</sup> Danilovich Maria: 16

<sup>95</sup> Ibid: 15

<sup>96</sup> "Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization" The Shanghai cooperation organization website, Accessed November 03, 2017, <http://rus.sectSCO.org/>

support for economic projects implemented within the SCO framework and will contribute to the formation of a modern and effective infrastructure for supporting the trade and economic ties of the SCO member states

3. The SCO Development Fund is a joint investment bank, whose funds will be allocated for the development of the internal capabilities of the SCO region, for technical support, improvement of the investment environment in the region, staff training, as well as for the preparation of feasibility studies and initial support.

## **IV. Kazakhstan and the SCO**

### **1. Kazakhstan's main interest in the SCO**

The country determines the prospects for its participation in any regional organization in terms of its interests, as well as the motives that prompted it to participate in this organization.

When analyzing the principles for the formation of foreign policy priorities The Republic of Kazakhstan draws attention to the fact that they are focused on creating favorable foreign policy conditions for accelerated economic, social and political modernization of our country. At the same time, Kazakhstan's foreign policy is based on the principles of multi-vector, balanced and pragmatic. The most important principle is that Kazakhstan adheres to the multi-vector strategy foreign policy. The Republic of Kazakhstan cooperates with regional and international integration associations.

Kazakhstan's priorities in the SCO can be defined through analysis of the country's main strategic development programs.

In Kazakhstan foreign policy concept for period of 2014~2020 which was adopted by President of the Republic of Kazakhstan in January 21, 2014 we can find a following text regarding the SCO in paragraph 4: "Kazakhstan, being a responsible member of Shanghai Cooperation Organization envisions the following tasks within those organizations: 1) ensuring protection of national interests, 2) constructive participation and contribution to regional and global security; 3) promotion of Kazakhstan's foreign policy initiatives; 4) establishment of optimal and mutually acceptable ways of cooperation between regional and international

organizations; 5) advancement of political – legal and organizational – administrative functions of regional and global organizations in order to increase effectiveness of their work.”<sup>97</sup>

The Kazakhstan-2050 strategy<sup>98</sup> emphasizes that "the role of regional security mechanisms, such as the UN, OSCE, NATO, CSTO, SCO, CICA and others," is growing.

Kazakhstan puts a great importance to cooperation within the SCO. Participation in the SCO meets national interests and foreign policy of Kazakhstan.

The SCO is one of organization that provide stability, security and impulse for economic development to CA countries.

According to Murat Laumulin Kazakhstan has the following factors of interests in the SCO: geopolitical factor, security, economic factor and regional factor.<sup>99</sup> In addition to above mentioned factors Ezeli Azarkan also defined preservation of current regimes as one of interest of CA countries in the SCO.<sup>100</sup>

On the basis of these works, Kazakhstan’s interest in the SCO requires more detailed study. The study of Kazakhstan’s interest in the SCO and its connection to functionalist approach will be provided in detail below.

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<sup>97</sup> “Kazakhstan foreign policy concept for period of 2014–2020” Official site of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan “Akorda” Accessed April 02, 2018 <http://www.akorda.kz/>

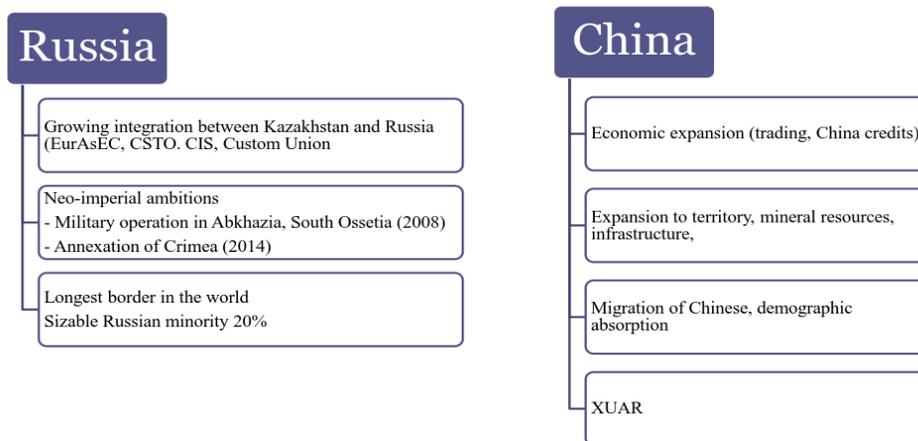
<sup>98</sup> “Kazakhstan-2050” Strategy addressed by the President of Kazakhstan, N. Nazarbayev. Official website of strategy: <https://strategy2050.kz/>

<sup>99</sup> Murat Laumulin, “The Shanghai cooperation organization as “geopolitical bluff?” view from Astana”; 4-5

<sup>100</sup> Ezeli Azarkan, “The interests of the Central Asian states and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.” *Ege Academic Review* 10 (1) 2010, 395-420

As already mentioned above, one of important factor of Kazakhstan's participation in the SCO is geopolitical factor, which is conditioned by participation of two major regional powers such as Russia and China in organization, with whom Kazakhstan has common borders. Kazakhstan's participation in the SCO provide an opportunity to balance between the pressure and influence of these two countries. It allows Kazakhstan to maneuver and not to be influenced by, one of these regional powers. However, these major regional powers automatically cast a shadow over the remaining members of the SCO.<sup>101</sup> Participation of two regional powers in the SCO can positively affect on balancing and restraining of each other. On the one hand, China's presence in organization can offset or neutralize Russia's presence on issues and on the other Russia's presence in the SCO can limit traditional Central Asian concern over Chinese power and geographic proximity.<sup>102</sup>

**Figure 4. Balancing between Russia and China**



<sup>101</sup> Murat Laumulin, “The Shanghai Cooperation Organization as “geopolitical bluff?” a view from Astana,”: 6

<sup>102</sup> Roy Alison, “Virtual regionalism, regional structures and regime security in Central Asia,” *Central Asia Survey*, Vol. 27, No.2, June 2008, 195

Since the beginning of 2000, we can see intensification of Russia's role and influence in Central Asia. As Mukhit B. Assanbayev described in his work, we can see development of neo-imperial ambitions of Russian foreign policy towards Central Asian countries.<sup>103</sup> Kazakhstan's participation in integration structures such as the EurAsEc, Customs Union, CES and CSTO which initiated and lead by Russia resulted in partial loss of sovereignty for Kazakhstan.<sup>104</sup>

Entry of Russia's force and military operation in Abkhazia and South Ossetia in August 2008, Russia's annexation of Crimea causes concern among CA countries and especially in Kazakhstan who has a wide border with Russia and Russian minority living in North and East parts of Kazakhstan. It is important to mention that all above operation in former Soviet Union countries was justified as a measure to protect Russian minority and focus on the idea of the "Russian world".<sup>105</sup>

Although according to Viatcheslav Morozov such kind of annexation threat from Russia is not high, Kazakhstan shall not be influenced by only one power.<sup>106</sup>

In this case, rapprochement with China can be an effective tool for balancing of influence and interests of regional powers over CA countries.

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<sup>103</sup> Mukhit B. Assanbayev, "Central Asia: Under pressure from Russia and its integration projects," *the Polish Quarterly of International Affairs*, 2015, no.1, 123

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Viatcheslav Morozov, "Kazakhstan and the «Russian World» is a new intervention on the horizon?" *Eurasian Visions, Integration and Geopolitics in Central Asia, PONARS Eurasia, Policy Perspectives*, September 2015, 13

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

In this context, we also need to mention about concerns and threat coming from China over the CA region. Recently, China has been pursuing an active policy in CA countries and Kazakhstan.

Nowadays we can notice a growing concern among Kazakhstan's politicians, experts and scholars as well as ordinary citizens related to China's influence over Kazakhstan. According to Konstantin Syroezhkin, who arranged and composed such concerns related to China's presence in Kazakhstan in his work, there is a number of concerns and phobias, which can be described as follows.<sup>107</sup>

Threat of territory expansion, threat of demographic absorption, economic expansion of China, increase of China role in oil and gas sector and etc.<sup>108</sup>

Although Konstantin Syroezhkin in his work has refuted these arguments and expressed that in the near future such threats are unlikely. Nevertheless, in Kazakhstan society there is a certain fear of a huge power on the eastern side of the border.<sup>109</sup>

In this context, balancing relations and restraining the influence of one Power is the main interest for Kazakhstan. The SCO provides such a mechanism for Kazakhstan.

**Security factor.** The next factor of Kazakhstan's interest in the SCO is a security factor. The SCO plays an important role in maintaining security and

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<sup>107</sup> Konstantin Syroezhkin: 273-275

<sup>108</sup> Ibid: 274

<sup>109</sup> Ibid: 277

stability in CA region and in Kazakhstan. In accordance to military doctrine of Kazakhstan adopted in September 2017, the main conditions that can lead to military threats to the Republic of Kazakhstan are the globalization of terrorism and extremism, the expansion of the geography of their activities and spheres of activity; preservation of tendencies of growth of separatism activity, intensification of activity of actions of international terrorist and extremist organization in the region.<sup>110</sup>

**Figure 5. Security factor**

Border security	Fight with 3 evils (terrorism, extremism, separatism)	Afghanistan issue
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agreement on strengthening confidence in the military sphere in the border areas (1996)</li> <li>• Agreements on mutual reduction of military forces in the border area (1997)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism (2001)</li> <li>• Establishment of Regional Anti-terrorist structure (RATS) (2002)</li> <li>• Terrorist attacks in Aktobe, Atyrau, Taraz, Almaty city of Kazakhtan (2011-2012)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The US “Global war on terror” 2001-2014</li> <li>• Establishment of the SCO – Afghanistan contact group (2005)</li> <li>• Terrorism issue, Narcotic control and organized crime</li> </ul>

After its establishment, the SCO has created a solid mechanism to support security and stability in CA region. In this part, we will provide analysis of security issues as a factor of Kazakhstan’s interests for membership in the SCO. Based on the SCO purpose and functions it can provide security from traditional threats as

<sup>110</sup> “Military doctrine of the Republic of Kazakhstan adopted by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev in September 29, 2018” Website of the Ministry of defense of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Accessed February 03, 2018 <https://www.mod.gov.kz/>

military force confrontation, border confrontation and from non-traditional threats as terrorism, separatism, extremism, drug traffic and etc.

Regarding border security, Kazakhstan is the largest country in Central Asia and the ninth largest in the world. The border length with China is 1,783 km, with Russia is 7, 548 km, and Central Asian countries (Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan) are about 4,066.3 km.<sup>111</sup> Taking into account such impressive sizes territory of the country, after independence Kazakhstan had to resolve territorial issues through bilateral and multilateral levels. The SCO played a key role in ensuring security and reducing the military tension between the borders.

The founding documents of the SCO organization: the agreement on strengthening confidence in the military sphere in the border areas signed on April 26, 1996 and agreement on mutual reduction of military forces in the border area signed on 1997 made a significant contribution to maintaining stability and security in border areas of member countries.

Participation in the SCO allowed Kazakhstan to guarantee national security by ensuring territorial integrity, resolving territorial disputes and removing military tension on the border with neighboring countries.

**Fight against terrorism, extremism and separatism** is one of the main area of cooperation in field of security within the framework of the SCO.

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<sup>111</sup> “Delimitation and Demarcation of State Border International legal registration of Kazakhstan State Border with neighboring States” the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan website, Accessed: November 15. 2017 <http://mfa.gov.kz>

After collapse of the Soviet Union, the CA region were considered as a relatively safe region, free from terrorism and extremism compared to neighboring countries, such as Afghanistan and Pakistan.

However, since the middle of 1990s, extremist movements and terrorism groups have intensified in CA region, leading to several terrorist acts in CA countries. There are many examples of terrorist acts; here are the worst terrorist attacks in Central Asia.

In February 1999, six automobile bombs exploded in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, which killed 13 people and injured 120.<sup>112</sup>

In December 27, 2002, explosion occurred in Dordoi market, in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, which resulted in death of 7 people and more than 20 people were injured.<sup>113</sup>

In July 30, 2005, a series of three suicide bombings took place in Tashkent, near the U.S. Embassy, Israel and General Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Uzbekistan.<sup>114</sup>

Kazakhstan until recently was the most safe country in region in terms of problem of spreading of religious radicalism. It was due to the following reasons: stable state of economy, sufficiently high degree of society modernization during

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<sup>112</sup>“Bombs kill 13 at Uzbekistan Government offices,” by the Associated press, New-york times. Feb. 17, 1999. Accessed January 06, 2018 <https://www.nytimes.com>

<sup>113</sup> Д. Макарова "Исламский терроризм на территории Центральной Азии," *Информационный портал «Центральная Азия* (D. Makarova "Islamic terrorism on territory of Central Asia," "Central Asia" Information portal) Accessed February 15, 2018 <http://www.centrasia.ru>

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

the Soviet period, presence of sizable Russian minority and historically peaceful spread of Islam among Kazakhs.

The situation has been changed dramatically during period of 2011-2012 when a series of terrorist acts occurred in cities of Kazakhstan. For the first time, the fact of terrorism was officially recognized after two bombings in Atyrau city in late October 2011 when criminal charges were filed under the relevant article of criminal code.<sup>115</sup>

The main terrorist attacks on territory of Kazakhstan during above-mentioned period were explosions near buildings of law enforcement and administrative bodies in cities of Aktobe, Astana, Atyrau, murder of police officers in Almaty city, terrorist act in Taraz city.<sup>116</sup>

In this regard, for Kazakhstan participation in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization provides an opportunity to ensure security and stability. One of the main activities of the SCO is cooperation in the field of security, and, first of all, in fight against "three evils" – terrorism, religious extremism, separatism.<sup>117</sup> This is not new as since its inception, the SCO has been trying to unite efforts of member

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<sup>115</sup> Гусев Л.Ю., Казанцев А.А. "Террористический акт в Актобе — симптом роста террористической активности на всем постсоветском пространстве" (Gusev L.Y., Kazancev A.A. "Terrorist act in Aktobe – the symptom of terroristic activity growth on the whole post-Soviet area." Accessed March 05, 2018 <https://mgimo.ru/>.

<sup>116</sup> Марат Шибутков, Вячеслав Абрамов, "Доклад. Терроризм в Казахстан – 2011-2012 годы" Власть, 2012.11.28 (M. Shibutov, V. Abramov "Report. Terrorism in Kazakhstan – 2011-2012" Vlast, Accessed February 25, 2018, <https://vlast.kz/>

<sup>117</sup> Sam Dupont "China's war on the three evil forces", Foreign policy, July 25, 2007 Accessed January 06, 2018 <https://foreignpolicy.com/>

states to counter new threats and challenges.<sup>118</sup> Member states have resolved to take close cooperation in order to implement the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, separatism and extremism adopted in June 15, 2001.<sup>119</sup>

It is interesting to note that the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism was signed three months prior to 9/11 attacks, at the SCO Summit in Shanghai in 2001.<sup>120</sup>

This document, containing agreed definitions of such complex international concepts and phenomenon as terrorism, separatism and extremism, was aimed at practical cooperation of the participating countries in countering these negative and dangerous phenomenon. Convention envisages the establishment of Regional Antiterrorist Structure (RATS) as a permanent body of the SCO.

Agreement between the SCO member states on RATS<sup>121</sup> was adopted in June 07, 2002 in Saint-Petersburg, Russia. However, RATS began function from

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<sup>118</sup> Б.К. Султанов, Противдействие «трем злам» в новых геополитических реалиях, Шанхайская организация сотрудничества: От становления к всестороннему развитию, (Материалы третьего заседания форума ШОС, Китай, г. Пекин, 19-21 мая 2008 г.), под редакцией А.В. Лукина, МГИМО, Москва, 87 (B.K. Sultanov, "Counter action to "three evils" in the new geopolitical realities, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: from establishment to comprehensive development, (Materials of third meeting of SCO forum, China, Beijing, May 19-21, 2008), edited by A.V.Lukon, MGIMO, Moscow, 87)

<sup>119</sup> "The Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, separatism and extremism," Regional Antiterrorist Structure website, Accessed February 06, 2018 <http://ecrats.org/ru/>

<sup>120</sup> Ibid

<sup>121</sup> "Agreement between the SCO member states on RATS," Regional Antiterrorist Structure website, Accessed February 06, 2018 <http://ecrats.org/ru/>

June 2004, when Executive Committee of RATS was officially opened in Tashkent city, Uzbekistan after the meeting of the Heads of the SCO member states.

The RATS is a permanent body of the SCO, designed to facilitate coordination and interaction of the competent bodies of the parties in fight with terrorism, separatism and extremism. The main tasks and functions of the RATS are the development of proposals on combating terrorism, assistance to competent authorities, the collection and analysis of information, the formation of a database of individuals and organizations that provide support terrorism, separatism and extremism, assistance in the preparation and conduct of operational-search and other measures to combat these phenomena, maintaining contacts with international organizations.<sup>122</sup> RATS, in addition to prompt information for the purpose of detention or liquidation terrorist groups, informs the SCO member states about new trends in terrorism, forms and methods of terrorist and separatist organizations that pose a threat to the security of SCO member states on measures taken abroad, on countering terrorism, and etc.

However, the RATS has limitations in its activities due to lack of jurisdiction in member states. According to Stephen Aris, the RATS' non-state security policy actions fall within domestic legislation of member states.<sup>123</sup>

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, from the time of its formation, paid close attention to military exercises, understanding that in today's world, the

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Stephen Aris, "the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: "Tackling the Three Evils". A regional response to non-traditional security challenges or an anti-western bloc?" *Europe-Asia studies*, Vol. 61, No. 3, May 2009, 469

fight against terrorism implies not only mutual intelligence of the special services, but also force.

In August 2003, in the territory of China, under the auspices of the SCO, a multilateral anti-terrorist exercise "Interaction" was held, and in 2005, within the framework of the SCO in Northeast China, the Russian-Chinese military exercises "Peace Mission 2005" took place.<sup>124</sup> Later, military exercises called "Peace mission" continued to take place on regular basis.

Summing up the aforesaid, we can see the RATS undertakes various measures to combat terrorism, separatism and extremism, both through anti-terrorist exercises and in general, through the fulfillment of the tasks assigned to it by the relevant agreement of the participating countries and separately by the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and its charter.

A wide range of actions in the fight against terrorism makes it possible to draw a conclusion about a good future of this activity within the framework of the SCO.

**Afghanistan issue.** Peace, prosperity and economic prosperity of Central Asian states are directly linked with peace and stability in Afghanistan. Due to border contiguity, demographical, ethnic, cultural and tribal affinities,

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<sup>124</sup> Голобоков А.С. "КНР и военные контакты в рамках ШОС", *Научно-теоретический журнал Ойкумена*, УДК 37,02, 2010.04.15, 149 (Golobokov A.S. "China and military contacts in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization", *Scientific-theoretical journal "Oikumena,"* UDK 37.02, 2010.04.15, 149)

developments in Afghanistan have invariably affected Central Asian States<sup>125</sup>

Afghanistan is a country with a rich history that is important for regional neighbors, including Kazakhstan. The problem of Afghanistan is, in many ways, key to stability and security of Central Asia and national security of Kazakhstan.

According to Kazakhstan, it will continue to support common efforts of the international community towards the national reconciliation and political settlement in Afghanistan, participate in its socio-economic development and aid the country in eliminating related regional and global security threats.<sup>126</sup>

The withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan in 1989 and disintegration of Soviet Union, led to instability in the country. Forces of chaos eventually led to the rise of extremism and Islamic militancy with expansionist character, strongly radiating threat of Islamic militancy in defiance of international system.<sup>127</sup> After 9/11 attacks in 2001 the US started «Global war on Terrorism»<sup>128</sup> till 2014 jointly with ISAF, ruled by NATO coalition.

Even after the end of the military operation and the withdrawal of the main contingent of the US armed forces, Afghanistan has a military contingent of NATO to continue the struggle by anti-government groups. Many challenges and

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<sup>125</sup> Zahid Latif Mirza, “Afghanistan Imbroglio and Prospects of Constructive Role by the Shanghai Cooperation Organization” *Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of Kazakhstan (KAZISS). Central Asia’s Affairs. Quarterly Analytical Review* 4 (68)2017: 45

<sup>126</sup> “Foreign Policy Concept for 2014 – 2020 Republic of Kazakhstan,” Website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Accessed: 2018.03.02 <http://mfa.gov.kz/>

<sup>127</sup> Ibid

<sup>128</sup> The term used first by U.S. president George W. Bush <https://georgewbush.whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html>

threats to stability remain in Afghanistan, which are of particular concern.

For Kazakhstan, due to its geographical distance from Afghanistan, the level of threats and risks due to the possible civil war in Afghanistan is noticeably lower than for any other country in Central Asia. Nevertheless, the aggravation of the situation in Afghanistan can also have a negative impact on Kazakhstan, whose south is closely interconnected with the rest Central Asia. Under an unfavorable scenario, destabilization in the border Afghanistan, the Central Asian states can go beyond them and directly or indirectly affect the interests of Kazakhstan.

To maintain security and stability in Afghanistan, joint efforts of regional countries are needed. For a timely response to the challenges coming from Afghanistan, joint collective measures within the SCO are necessary.

According to Murat Laumulin, the SCO's activities with respect to issues of national security are, largely, purely declarative, although the organization could play a significant role in certain areas – in Afghanistan.<sup>129</sup>

In 2005, a protocol was signed on the establishment of the SCO-Afghanistan Contact Group.<sup>130</sup> Contact group is created with the aim of developing proposals and recommendations on the implementation of cooperation between the SCO and Afghanistan on issues of mutual interest.<sup>131</sup> The establishment of the SCO-Afghanistan Contact Group is another important historic

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<sup>129</sup> Murat Laumulin, “The Shanghai cooperation organization as “geopolitical bluff?” view from Astana”: 6

<sup>130</sup> “Protocol on the establishment of the SCO-Afghanistan Contact Group,” *Information-analytical website “InfoShos.Ru”* Accessed January 02, 2018. <http://www.infoshos.ru>.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

step in the maintenance of peace and stability, as well as the development of cooperation between states in the region.

Unfortunately, the SCO can not yet boast a significant contribution to solving one of the most acute security problems in the region - the Afghan one. Although the SCO-Afghanistan Contact Group was established in 2005, and in 2012 this country received observer status with the SCO, it is unlikely that anyone will be ready to say today that the situation in Afghanistan has radically improved for the last ten years. It would be wrong to blame the lack of progress exclusively on the SCO, but the current cooperation of the SCO with Afghanistan is also not a big success for the organization.

Nevertheless, the support of the SCO can become an essential factor in ensuring a permanent negotiating process aimed at cessation of hostilities and transformation of the political system of the state in the interests of all, without exception, strata and groups of Afghan society.

**Economic factor.** The third factor of Kazakhstan's interest in SCO membership is economic sphere.

From the standpoint of long-term prospects, economic cooperation will obviously become one of the most important and most active factors stimulating the development of the SCO, being at the same time the most attractive component for its participants, and first of all for the countries of Central Asia.

The Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization provides among the priority activities "the support and encouragement of regional economic

cooperation in various forms, the promotion of an enabling environment for trade and investment for the progressive realization of the free movement of goods, capital, services and technologies."<sup>132</sup>

For Central Asian states, the deepening of integration cooperation within the framework of this association is, first of all, an opportunity to create conditions for sustainable economic growth, expand sales markets and develop the export potential of these countries.

It should be noted that the SCO participants took appropriate measures to develop economic cooperation.

The basic documents defining the spheres of economic interaction within the framework of the SCO is the Memorandum on the main goals and directions of regional economic cooperation and the launch of the process to create favorable conditions for trade and investment signed on September 14, 2001, in Almaty, Kazakhshtan<sup>133</sup>

In order to implement this document in September 2003, the Council of

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<sup>132</sup> "Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization" The Shanghai cooperation organization website, Accessed November 03, 2017, <http://rus.sectsc.org/>

<sup>133</sup> "Меморандум между правительствами государств-участников Шанхайской организации сотрудничества об основных целях и направлениях регионального экономического сотрудничества и запуске процесса по созданию благоприятных условий в области торговли и инвестиций" Электронное правительство Республики Казахстана ("Memorandum on the main goals and directions of regional economic cooperation and the launch of the process to create favorable conditions for trade and investment" Electronic Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan) Accessed <http://egov.kz/>

Heads of Government of the member states of the organization adopted a long-term program to expand trade and economic relations and a number of multilateral agreements, the implementation of which will undoubtedly give an additional impetus to cooperation and the development of new directions for cooperation in the field of economy and trade.

In order to intensify economic cooperation within the SCO, seven joint working groups have been set up: to set up a development fund and the Business Council, develop transport capacity and customs cooperation, promote investment attraction, electronic commerce and the main inspection of the unification of standards whose activities will contribute to deepening the integration interaction of the SCO states .

Despite the different level of development of the SCO states, the implementation of coordinated economic policy, in our opinion, can become an important factor in the real development of integration in the region and the sustainable development of the countries of Central Asia.

With regard to the implementation of the long-term program of cooperation of the SCO countries, which was calculated before 2020, it is necessary to emphasize that the main priorities in the medium term for the participating states, in our view, should be transport and energy.

In the energy sector, the most promising joint energy projects are the supply of oil via the Atasu-Alashankou pipeline (Kazakhstan-China), the project to resume oil pumping through the Omsk-Pavlodar-Shymkent-Chardzhou oil pipeline, and cooperation in the transit of Central Asian and Russian gas.

Thus, the implementation of the above projects as a whole will contribute to the development of the energy potential of the countries of Central Asia, covering the needs of the region's consumers in cheap energy resources. And, in our opinion, in such projects, the Kazakh and Chinese sides should more actively participate, whose investment opportunities now allow realizing joint programs in the real sector of the economy of the SCO member states.

In the field of transport interaction, the effective use of the transit potential of the SCO countries, the development of transport corridors, is of urgent importance.

At present, Kazakhstan is considering a new project for the construction of the Trans-Kazakhstan railway line, which will connect the countries of the Asia-Pacific region with the main markets in Europe, Russia and the Middle East countries and will significantly increase the capacity of transcontinental transport corridors.

The implementation of this project will contribute to the effective development of the transit potential of the SCO states, the expansion of trade and economic ties between them.

**Preserving authoritarian regimes.** A considerable impetus for the unification was also the desire to preserve existing regime, an attempt to develop a regional mechanism to counteract regime changes in Eurasia outside the Western world, blocking "color revolutions", primarily in the post-Soviet space. During the existence of the SCO in this space, a number of violent actions took place to change the ruling elites: Kyrgyzstan, 2005 and 2010, Georgia, 2003, Ukraine,

2004-2005 and 2013-2014. In none of these situations has it been possible to prevent a change in the ruling elite. Pro-Western governments came to power in Ukraine and Georgia.

This kind of revolutions became challenges to remaining regimes of CA countries. Therefore, CA countries consider regime protection as their primary security concerns.<sup>134</sup>

Many western expert describe the SCO as a club of authoritarian regimes. For example, Alexander Cooley in his work show that under the mantra of combating the "three evils" of terrorism, extremism, and separatism, RATS, one of permanent body of the SCO, maintains a consolidated watch list of regional "extremist" individuals and organizations, who can threat existing regimes.<sup>135</sup>

Leaders of CA countries adopted and support principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of its members, which is differ from those provided by the U.S. and Western countries.

## **2. Development of partnership relations with SCO members**

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<sup>134</sup> Sthephen Aris, "A new model of Asian regionalism: does the Shanghai Cooperation Organization have more potential than ASEAN?," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Volume 22, Number 3, September 2009, p. 455

<sup>135</sup> Cooley, Alexander, "The league of Authoritarian Gentelmen," *Foreign Policy*, January 30, 2013. Accessed March 02, 2018 <https://foreignpolicy.com/>

Kazakhstan and China. For China Kazakhstan is a gateway to Central Asia, through which the main transport and energy corridors connecting China with the region pass through.<sup>136</sup> Kazakhstan is a source of natural resources which is important for China's development.

Cooperation in oil and gas sphere is the main priority of bilateral relations between China and Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstan considers cooperation with China as a way to avoid the monopoly of Russia for exporting Central Asian hydrocarbons and reduce dependence on Western transnational companies.

For China, trying to diversify sources of raw materials supply, Central Asia is one of supply sources of raw materials.

Another direction of China's interest in Kazakhstan is a creation of large-scale infrastructure facilities necessary for exporting raw materials and stimulating trade ties. Development of oil and gas pipeline routes connecting not only Kazakhstan but also other Central Asian countries with China increased transit potential of Kazakhstan.

Among the main infrastructure projects of Kazakhstan and China is transport corridor "Western China - Western Europe" which is a step to rebuild trade-economic relations of Silk Road by developing road and railway connections between Silk Road belt countries.

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<sup>136</sup> Rouben Azizian, Elnara Bainazarova, Eurasian Response to China's Rise: Russia and Kazakhstan in Search of Optimal China Policy, Asian Politics and Policy, Volume 4, Number 3, p. 387

Nowadays we can say that China will try to increase its presence in Kazakhstan and in Central Asia. It can be indicated by the announced plans of China to increase mutual trade relations, development of cross-border infrastructure and provision of Chinese credit lines to Central Asia countries.

Kazakhstan and Russia. Kazakhstan has had especially close ties with Russia. There is the longest border between the two countries. Trade-economic, social relations are closely connected with each other. Kazakhstan is an active participant in all integration initiatives of the Russian Federation. Russia is the main foreign policy partner of Kazakhstan. Russia and Kazakhstan are co-founders of the CIS, the Customs Union, EurAsEC, cooperate within the CSTO, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, participate in multilateral negotiations on the legal status of the Caspian Sea. Thus, there is a markedly multilateral character in the Kazakh-Russian relations.<sup>137</sup>

Kazakhstan has a common history with Russia as a legacy of Soviet Union period. About 20% of Russian minority located in East and North part of Kazakhstan. Russian language is officially approved as a second state language in Kazakhstan. This examples of traditional, cultural and other spheres of cooperation between Russia and China shows us a close ties of relations between two country.

During the state visit of Russia's president Vladimir Putin to Kazakhstan In October 2015 Kazakhstan's president Nursultan stressed that Kazakhstan is and will always be the closest and most reliable neighbor of the Russian Federation, a

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<sup>137</sup> Murat Laumulin, "Central Asia in foreign political science and world geopolitics, Vol. 5. Central Asia in XXI century":101

view that greatly aligns with the fundamental interest of the people of Kazakhstan.<sup>138</sup>

Kazakhstan and Central Asian countries. Kazakhstan has a close historical relations with Central Asia countries – Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Countries of Central Asia have a common historical, cultural, religious and traditional roots. This kind of common similarities facilitate to close cooperation and integration of neighbor countries with each other. In the foreign policy strategy of Kazakhstan, the countries of Central Asia objectively occupy one of the key positions.

However, differences in economic, social development, competition and differences of interest of ruling bodies make cooperation and integration more difficult task.

Relations between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan affected by an unofficial rivalry for leadership in the region, which often complicates or makes their interaction controversial. Thus, Uzbekistan impedes integration Kazakhstan initiatives in the region, especially on the creation of the Union of Central Asian States. At the same time, Uzbekistan is compelled to reckon with Kazakhstan in view of the prevailing international conjuncture.<sup>139</sup>

The relations between Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are consistently developing. The main principles and directions for the development of cooperation

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<sup>138</sup> Marcel de Haas, "Relations of Central Asia with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Collective Security Treaty Organization," *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 30:1, 1-16, 2017: 3

<sup>139</sup> Ibid

between Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, ways and means to solve urgent problems are laid down in the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic, signed in Almaty on June 8, 1993. Among CA countries, Kazakhstan is one of the main trade partners of Kyrgyzstan.

The cooperation between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic is relatively dynamic, although there are a number of bilateral problems between the countries that relate mainly to the economic sphere.

Kazakhstan attaches importance to the development of cooperation with the Republic of Tajikistan in the system of interaction within the Central Asian region.

Over 90% of surface water resources are concentrated in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Moreover, the main consumers of water in the region are Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, with Uzbekistan accounting for more than half of the regional water resources consumed. This is the main, but not the least, source of the contradictions that are developing around the issue of subsoil use in Central Asia.<sup>140</sup> The water problem is a topic affecting the interests of the national security and affecting the whole process of state building in the countries of Central Asia.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> 3. В. Гусейнов, А. Гончаренко. "Водные ресурсы ЦАР, Центральная Азия в современном мире, Глава 1, центральная азия. геополитика и экономика региона," *Институт стратегических оценок и анализа*: 61 (Z.V. Gusenov, A. Goncharenko "Water resources of CAR, Central Asia in modern world, Chapter 1, Central Asia, Geopolitics and Economy of region" *Institute of strategic evaluation and analysis*: 61)

<sup>141</sup> Ibid: 67

The relations of the countries of the region with leading external players, as well as relations between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, remain key for the regional climate. For the Central Asian countries, the solution of issues in the sphere of border, passport and visa control, as well as in trade and economic relations remains important. The problem of the mutually acceptable distribution of hydro resources is of a chronic nature; Permanent issues on the agenda at bilateral and multilateral meetings are transit and transport problems and migration processes.

## **V. Conclusion**

As a result of the analysis, it can be determined that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the integration process in the Central Asian region has intensified, including not only the countries of the region, but also external players, including world powers like China, Russia, the United States and the EU.

Among the many integration organizations, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which is the initiative of China, has recently played an important role in the region.

Through the analysis of conceptual theories of integration, we found that the theories of functionalism and neo-functionalism are most suitable for describing integration within the SCO framework. In the history of the development of the SCO, we see a phased functional development of the organization.

With the help of the historical analysis of the creation of the SCO, we were able to determine the main reason for creating the SCO, as well as to identify the motives and aspirations of China in developing its foreign policy in the Central Asian region.

Later, with the help of structural and functional analysis, we defined the main roles, tasks, and functions of the organization. In addition, with the help of this analysis, we determined the uniqueness and the main distinguishing characteristics of this organization.

When analyzing the main interests of Kazakhstan's participation in the

SCO, we were able to determine the main factors of participation in this organization. Among the main factors can be identified: geopolitical factor, security factor, economic factor, as well as maintaining the existing regime.

When analyzing the security factor, a broader overview of the main points of interest of Kazakhstan in the SCO was conducted. The main achievements and future tasks for the SCO are also described.

In the final paragraph, an analysis of Kazakhstan's relations with the SCO participants was carried out. The main stages of cooperation were identified and the main points of interest between states were identified.

Summing up the analysis of the work, the establishment of the SCO and the activities of this organization have, without any exaggeration, great significance for the Republic of Kazakhstan, which determined by the following major factors. First, the participation of two great powers in the SCO, which gives a space for balance and maneuver to Kazakhstan. Second, the main objectives of organization as providing security and stability, prosperity, equal right to member countries, support economic, cultural cooperation

Thus, it can be stated that the format of the SCO gives the Republic of Kazakhstan the opportunity to equally discuss issues related to CA region with neighboring countries and major world powers as China and Russia. Kazakhstan's active role in the SCO is based on the initiation of its own projects and proposals on the functioning of this organization, and on the desire for effective cooperation in all spheres of interstate relations with all participating countries. At the same time, the geopolitical position of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the region and the

foreign policy pursued by President Nursultan Nazarbayev aimed at integrating development makes it possible for Kazakhstan to become the dominant regional center that can perform a regulatory function and pursue a balanced policy in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a bridge between China and Russia.

Kazakhstan's active role in the SCO is based both on the initiation of its own projects and proposals on the nature of the functioning of this interstate association, and on the desire for effective cooperation in all spheres of interstate relations with all participating countries. At the same time, Kazakhstan does not pursue the goals of infringement of the interests of other states, the implementation of open competition and counteraction to the initiatives of other countries. In the political sphere, Kazakhstan has a hypothetical opportunity to become a single integration center of this interstate association, based on an acceptable geopolitical position of the republic in the region, as well as the commitment of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev to integration initiatives and his interest in affirming the republic's domination in the region.

The Republic of Kazakhstan regards cooperation in the Shanghai Organization as one of the priority areas of foreign policy and considers the Organization to be an effective instrument of regional cooperation and advocates further strengthening of the SCO's universality.

It should be noted that now the SCO is seriously different from the organization, whose origins in 2001 were Kazakhstan. Now there is a four powers claiming - India, China and Russia, Pakistan.

Inclusion of new participants in the structure of the Shanghai Cooperation

Organization in the person of India and Pakistan has become a serious challenge to the familiar system of relations, and in addition to obvious quantitative and qualitative advantages, introduced into the existence of the Organization a whole range of tasks that need to be addressed and questions to be answered.

One of the main risks that Kazakhstan will inevitably face will be increased competition among countries within the Organization and the inability to reach consensus on practical issues.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, having entered a new stage of its development, will inevitably, for some time, reduce the practical activity of its work, sending the main forces to ideology, bureaucratic procedures and organizational moments.

In these conditions of Kazakhstani diplomacy it is important to actively introduce into all new mechanisms and, what is of particular importance, to use the SCO potential to realize its projects, in such spheres as transport and energy infrastructure, educational, scientific projects, high technologies and others.

If the entire Shanghai Cooperation Organization is now stronger in terms of capacity and weaker in terms of functionality, then Kazakhstan can also get good dividends in these conditions, focusing on promoting its own interests and establishing ties with all partners.

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# 국문 초록

중앙아시아 통합 과정들: 카자흐스탄과 상하이 협력기구 중심으로

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현재 통합 프로세스는 국제 관계에서 중요한 부분이 되었다. 공통 목표와 이익을 위해 각 국가들이 상호 작용하는 통합 기구는 세계의 거의 모든 지역과 구석에 존재한다.

소련 붕괴 후 중앙아시아 지역은 통합 전략 제안과 양자 간 협력과 다자간 차원의 협력을 통해 지역 내에서 영향력을 행사하려는 세계 강대국 간의 경쟁 게임의 중심이 되었다. 따라서 현재 우리는 이 지역에서 다양한 종류의 기능과 목표를 가진 수많은 통합 기구를 찾을 수 있다

그러나 우리는 상하이 협력기구가 (SCO) 이 지역의 기존 통합 기구에 비해 영향력이 커짐을 알 수 있다.

SCO의 주요 구성원 인 러시아와 중국 두 강대국 사이에 위치한 중앙아시아에서 가장 큰 국가 중 하나인 카자흐스탄의 SCO에 참여는 상세한 분석을 요구하며 SCO 내의 중앙 아시아 국가들의 미래 통합 개발을 정의하는 데 중요하다.

이 논문의 목적은 중앙 아시아에서 SCO의 중요성을 설명하고 카자흐스탄이 SCO에 참여하는 것에 대한 주요 관심사를 정의하는 것이다.

**주제어:** 통합, 중앙 아시아, 카자흐스탄, 상하이 협력기구.

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