

MS THESIS

**Critical Analysis of Sino-Russo Convergence of Interests in Central Asia**



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**Critical Analysis of Sino-Russo Convergence of Interests in Central  
Asia**



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## Certification

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATION**

<b>APSC</b>	<b>Asian Political Security Community</b>
<b>ASEAN</b>	<b>Association of South East Asian Nation</b>
<b>CARS</b>	<b>Central Asian republics</b>
<b>CACO</b>	<b>Central Asian Cooperation Organization</b>
<b>CAEU</b>	<b>Central Asian Economic Union</b>
<b>CU</b>	<b>Custom Unions</b>
<b>CAU</b>	<b>Central Asian Union</b>
<b>CSTO</b>	<b>Collective Security Treaty Organization</b>
<b>EEU</b>	<b>Eurasian Economic Union</b>
<b>ETIM</b>	<b>East Turkistan Islamic Movement</b>
<b>EU</b>	<b>European Union</b>
<b>HT</b>	<b>Hizbu-ut-tahrir</b>
<b>IBA</b>	<b>Inter-bank Association</b>
<b>IMU</b>	<b>Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan</b>
<b>IPRT</b>	<b>Islamic Renaissance Party Tajikistan</b>
<b>IRP</b>	<b>Islamic Renaissance Party</b>
<b>ISAF</b>	<b>International security assistance forces</b>
<b>IJG</b>	<b>Islamic Jihad Group</b>
<b>IJU</b>	<b>Islamic Jihad Union</b>
<b>NATO</b>	<b>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</b>
<b>NSRF</b>	<b>New Silk Road Fund</b>



<b>OEF</b>	<b>Operation Enduring Freedom</b>
<b>OBOR</b>	<b>One Belt One Road</b>
<b>OSCE</b>	<b>Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe</b>
<b>SCO</b>	<b>Shanghai Cooperation Organization</b>
<b>RATS</b>	<b>Regional Anti-Terrorism Structure</b>
<b>UHRT</b>	<b>Uighur Human Rights Project</b>
<b>XUAR</b>	<b>Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region</b>

## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this thesis, neither as a whole nor as a part thereof, has been copied out from any sources. It is further declared that I have prepared this thesis on the basis of my personal efforts under the guidance of my supervisor no portion of this thesis has been submitted in support of any application for any degree or qualification of this or any other university or educational institute.

## **DEDICATION**

*This study is dedicated to my beloved parents and for their endless love, support and encouragement.*

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First and foremost, my all acknowledgement goes to almighty ALLAH, who guided me and blessed me to be able to complete my research work. I convey my heartiest tribute to my parents who guided and helped throughout my life. I would like to express my sincere thanks to my respected supervisor Dr. Husnul Amin for his cordial support and guidance which make enable me to complete my dissertation on time. I would like to appreciate the guidance and valuable suggestion of Dr. Manzoor Afridi during my thesis. At the end, i would like to express my gratitude to all my friends for their cooperation and good wished which enabled me to complete my thesis.

## ABSTRACT

In a geopolitical and institutional background, this research focuses on importance of Central Asia with keen focus on Sino-Russo convergence of interests despite many conflicting interests. The factor responsible for the soft alliance historically and contemporary is the unilateral primacy of the US. The contemporary factors also include economic sanctions from the West, US-NATO encirclement, Tensions in the south-china sea, and a joint venture for a multi-polar world. Whereas, the changing scenarios make many scholars debate that the US approach towards world politics and withdrawal from Afghanistan which is the major factor responsible for Sino-Russo convergence will be gone. In addition, the most influential actors in Central Asia will eventually diverge as China has already surpassed Russia in the economic sphere. It is also possible that soon many issues will be a potential source of tension in bi-lateral relations.

The aim of this research is to evaluate the basis of Sino-Russo convergence in a multipolar world where Russia will head the security sphere and China the economic sphere. Sino-Russo institutional engagement is a tool that legitimizes their interests and proves a mechanism to regulate bilateral relation. Moreover, analyzing the much debated topic, peaceful rise of China, bilateral relations will benefit from Chinese's investments that will modernize Russian economy and link it to the global economy as well. As the word "peaceful rise' explains Chinese reluctance to engage militarily and has a policy of non-interference. This phenomenon portrays win-win situation (give and take) i.e. Russia to head security and China to lead the economic sphere. However, if the peaceful rise of China happens, for Russia a Pax-Sino will prove more favorable than a Pax-Americana.

# CHAPTER ONE

## 1.1 Introduction

The former soviet republics Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan formulate Central Asia. The Central Asian republic are located on a very important geopolitical Area as the word points out geopolitics is a study of politics coupled with geography and their effects on the conducts of state relations. Central Asia according to "heartland theory" of Mackinder is the heartland of the world. According to Mackinder thesis "who control the heartland controls the world island". The region has close proximity with the two major world powers i.e. China and Russian and serves as a gateway that connects Asia with Europe. The region is capable of a good consumer market that has a population of 55 million as well as is enormously rich in Hydrocarbons and Minerals. The region historically was part of the silk route and was an erstwhile world economic centre but the voyage age and invention of alternate routes brings the area from centre to periphery. (Qamar Fatima, Sumera Zafar, 2014)

In the 19th century, the region was focal point to an imperial rivalry between the British and Russian empire which was first coined by Rudyard Kipling and Arthur Connolly as the Great Game. The political and diplomatic confrontation started with Russian expansion towards Caucasus and Central Asia and British East Company becoming the de facto power in the sub-continent. The British were keen to engage more in Central Asia and Russian went to every extreme to emancipate Asia from the so called imperialistic domination. The great game demise started with the signing of an Anglo-Russian convention in 1907. (Hopkirk, 1990) In 1990s, after the disintegration of USSR Central Asia got open to the foreign player the term New great game came in the lexicon of scholars and was used to describe the revival of geopolitical interests in Central Asia that are mostly based on the hydrocarbon and mineral

wealth of the region. The great game defined by Foster and Abilov "It is a geopolitical rivalry based on the hydrocarbon resources of the Central Asia and Caspian basin region". The major players in the new great game are Russia, China, and the USA. (Abilov, 2012)

Russia has remained the traditional hegemon of the region and considers Central Asia as its "Backyard" and policies is driven by a near abroad concept. Whereas, China is the First country to pursue state to state relations with the freshly emancipated Central Asian republics and respects Russia historic influence over the region. China influence in the region increased after the economic crisis and Western sanctions. The demise of the cold war where the world had two super powers Russia and USA ended up in a uni-polar world order and the USA become the global hegemon. This development brought China and Russia to develop close ties, form a strategic alliance, and the two supports the idea of a multipolar world in order to counter US dominance. The two States cooperate keenly on the regional and international level as in the Russian arctic, the Far East, Central Asia, and South Asia. Now the question is either the cooperation is sustainable or not as the two countries share a history of suspicion and distrust where many scholars have termed the bilateral relations as a marriage of convenience. The answer is no the two will continue to cooperate on the international and regional level that is because of institution building, vis-a-vis the west and the bi-lateral relations are more significant than any conflicting interests.

## **1.2. Rationale of the study**

Major Powers' great games move around Central Asia both historically and currently. There are many strategies to control or not let anyone control the area so it is the need of hour to highlight the ultimate factors that why in this age great powers have great interests in Central Asia.

### **1.3. Statement of problem**

China and Russia share common interests that are economic strategic and energy related. These factors are bringing the two countries on a single platform in Central Asia. The contemporary developments will bring a drastic change in the status quo because USA, in order to maintain its geopolitical supremacy, she will not let any country to exert complete influence on Central Asia.

### **1.4. Objective of study**

- To explore the factor responsible for interests of major power in Central Asia.
- To examine the specific interests of China in Central Asia.
- To examine the specific interests of Russia in Central Asia.
- To explain the role of proximity nomadic factors regional Institutions that are used and are responsible for China and Russia cooperation in Central Asia.

### **1.5. Research question**

1. What are China's interests in Central Asia?
2. What are Russia's interests in Central Asia?
3. How are interests of China, Russia converging in Central Asia?
4. What is the nature and direction of convergence?

### **1.6. Significance of the study**

The scope and significance of theses is delightful and demanding in the sense that the Central Asian Republics that were long ignored, are becoming the focal point of international attention again. In order to study and analyse this topic there would be multidimensional outcome. It will allow us reaching to reason how geopolitics and new great game in returning



to international politics. How the region is re-emerging as the center of global economy. How many regional and trans-regional players are getting involved in the new great game and how China and Russia are emerging in the new uni-multipolar world order and how have jointly worked to limit the influence of USA.

## **1.7. Delimitation of the study**

Central Asia is a region that encompasses of many multidimensional features such as Great Games, terrorism, regional organizations, US and Western role etc. whereas; the researcher has only focused on Sino-Russo convergence. This research is limited to available literature in books, journal article, electronic and online sources. However this study will not encompass primary research.

## **1.8 Theoretical framework**

The complex nature of Central Asian politics is vindicated by the fact that contemporary development in the region almost touches every paradigm of International relations. Out of them, Neo-Realism and Neo-liberal institutionalism is applied to develop a theoretical framework which can support the writer analysis of Sino-Russo political and security convergence of interests in the region.

### **1.8.1. Neo-realism**

The eminent and renowned Scholar of Neo-realist paradigm is unquestionably Kenneth waltz. Initially the Neo-realist Theory was presented by him in his well known work "Theory of International Politics" in 1979. Profounder of this School of thought are of the view that state behaviour are determined by international structure i.e. state conducts is merely reaction or response to the prevailing international structure. While directing state behaviour, there is role of other factors as well but the key elements among them are the

international structure and how it promote or facilitate "balancing" and "Bandwagoning" phenomena.

The rulers and state interests provide the spring of action the necessity of policy arises from unregulated competition of states: calculation bases on theses necessities can discover the policies that will best serve the state interests: Success is the ultimate test of policy and success is defined as preserving and defining the state. Structure constraints explains why the methods are repeatedly used despite differences in the person and states who use them" Kenneth waltz "Theory of international Politics"

Prior to waltz structure realism, the global politics was dominated by the assumption of classical and neo-classical realism. These paradigms focus on the human nature and state in other words their approach was limited to the individual and state level of analysis. They were of the view that there is anarchy in international politics and only state is the principle actor i.e. it is the state that shape international politics and international structure. Moreover, Mackinder, a classical realist and the profounder political geography paradigm, Heart land theory articulate the thesis that "he who control the heart land control the world island" approving the enigmatic and baffling nature of Central Asian region.

Waltz on the other hand used the same ideas and assumptions and developed it with certain changes in the already existing paradigm Waltz recognizes that state is the actor in global politics and the international system is anarchic but he departs on the ground that it is international structure that determines state behaviour. Structure creates and operates the system and there is no room for human being i.e. no role of the leader.

Now the question arises that how states respond to threat under a particular international structure? Stephen M Walt, the profounder of "Balance of threat theory" in his famous work "origin of Alliances" articulated that state respond to threat are usually either by

bandwagon i.e. alignment with the source of threat or by balancing i.e. allying with other states against the prevailing threat (Alliances, Convergence, Engagement, divergence, containment etc are some strategies of balancing or counterweighing the particular threat) Thus it is evident from the above discussion that according to structural realist, state behaviour is directed by third image (International Structure) and not by state despite of the fact that realism prevail in international politics.

### **1.8.2. Neo-liberal institutionalism**

Robert Keohane, the well known and prominent Neo-liberal Institutional, in his essay "International institutions; Two approaches" articulated the idea of rationalistic and reflective approaches to the study of international institutions. Profounder of the concept was of the opinion that international institutions came into existence in order to reduce the cost of cooperation, facilitate mutual understanding between different stake holders or in other words to reduce the "transaction cost( the cost of specifying and enforcing contracts) and certain types uncertainty (rationalistic approach). Apart from facilitating cooperation at relatively cost, Keohane was of the opinion that international institutions also come into exist because of impersonal social forces like cultural limits, past bad experiences, moral norms and values etc. (reflective or sociological approach)

"Rationalistic research on international institutions focuses.....that if there were no potential gains from agreement to be captured in world politics that is, if no agreements among actors could be mutually beneficial there would be no need for specific international institutions. But there are evidently considerable benefits to be secured from mutual agreement as evidenced for millennia by trade agreements, rules of war, and peace treaties, and for the last century by international organizations." (Keohane, international institutions: two Approaches,, 1989)

Prior to Keohane institutionalism, world politics was dominated by the postulation of classical and neoclassical realism, idealism liberalism and neo-liberalism. By putting a glance on the history of international politics it was/is witnessed that institution and its role in global politics existed in one way or another. With the end of Napoleon's wars, international community (European states) put the foundation of first official international institutions the concert of Europe 1815 but unfortunately the validity of this institution did not last long because the European politics at that time was dominated by power politics, balance of power and leader's personal ambitions. "Modern day liberal institutionalism theory rise to prominence in the wake of WW1" when US president Woodrow Wilson presented his famous "Fourteen points " for peace treaty ( Treaty of Versailles) resultantly, the League of nations was the embodiment of this strain of liberal thought. The founders of that institution hoped to prevent any further war in future and practicalized the famous notion at that time i.e. "the war to end all wars". (Keohane, international institutions: two Approaches,, 1989)

"Academic Scribblers" did not always have give a great deal of consideration to international institutions. The 1919 Versailles accord represent an endeavour to build an institution for multilateral diplomacy. The league of nations But the dismissal of league convention by the US senate guaranteed that until world war 2 the most imperative talks in world politics from the top secret German-Russian agreement of the 1920s to the 1938 Munich conference were executed on an ad hoc basis". (Keohane, International institutions: can interdependence work, spring 1998)

The concept of international institutionalism became fame when United Nations organizations (UNO) were embodied for the purpose adjudicating disputes before they escalated to armed conflicts.

As the main focus of Neoliberal Institutionalism is to endorse collaboration among states (rationalistic approach), SCO has endeavoured to perk up regional security cooperation through increasing the level of self-restraint. For instance SCO is trying to improve regional confidence and security building measures (CSBMs) by revitalizing ingenuousness and intelligibility. As according to neoliberal institutionalism, the primary interests of states in relations to others is "cooperation" The theory gives the best theoretical understanding of the phenomena that states seek to engage through a regional organization and it legitimize their interaction and that is imperative to understand Sino-Russo institutional engagement.

### **1.8.3. Regionalism and regional organization**

"The level of regionalization can be reviewed through five dimensions: Geographic proximity, transnational social relations, formal institutional cooperation, convergence of interests through integration and finally, evolution into a supranational entity". (krasnopolsky, 2016)

In the light of the above statement, the term regionalism can be defined as the interaction, whether formal or informal, between states or non-state actors in a given area in the wake of achieving shared domestic, transnational and external goals, while the term regionalization is the process of achieving cooperative interaction and integration, complementarily and convergence in cross-national relations in a specific geographical area (krasnopolsky, 2016)

While analysing the role of SCO in conducting or formulating cooperation in Central Asian region, the first two variables (i.e. Geographic proximity and transnational social relations) are clearly visible But especially after post-soviet ties, the last three dimension(i.e. formal institutional cooperation, convergence of values and evolution into a supernatural entity) are not put into consideration for instance, informal regional networks, illegal

activities(drug trafficking), informal trade, potential for bilateral relations within the region out of SCO (Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan), attitudes towards international politics etc are hindering SCO to fulfil the criteria of even regionalism phenomenon. Despite of the fact that SCO doesn't fulfil the basic requirements of Neoliberal institutionalism paradigm and Regionalism Phenomenon. But still in a constructive way the future of this institution in integrating the region is vital and hopeful.

*"It is very likely that the central Asian regional identity, while the states are entangled in divisions across ethnic, linguistic and national identities, will remain a chimera and regionalisation in the narrowly defined the Central Asian region is unlikely to move, but at least a regional collective identity has been conceived of, with the SCO, as a process through which its members counter their fears."* (safiullin, 2010)

In the light of above discussion now the question raises that where dose stand the "convergence and divergence of Russo-Chinese interests in Central Asia and the role of SCO in directing these affairs? The active presence of US in Afghanistan and Middle east and Passive presence of NATO in Central Asian Region is creating fear for both regional powers (Russia and China) and Central Asian states. The advancing role of NATO in the region is preserved by China and Russia as a threat for their, security, economic and political interests. This situation is described by Thucydides as "Security dilemma" ( A condition in which rise in one's power or influence of a state(s) is perceived threat by other states(s) or other stakeholders in a particular region or as a whole). As mentioned above that Security dilemma is followed number of choices through which state(s) can counter it. But again these choices are limited by international or regional structure (state(s) behaviour are influenced by third image; international structure Waltz, structure Realism). Russian and Chinese convergence and integration is merely the reflection countering the constraint imposed by regional or international structure. Moreover Central Asian states are also confused in complex nature of

security dilemma. Firstly the presence of China and Russia and their approaches towards the region are creating the perception of be concerned. Secondly, the presence of NATO in the region is even more confusing. To counter such sort of threats, international structure usually provided two types of strategies i.e. balancing and bandwagon as described by Walt's (balance of threat theory).

Central Asian states are balancing the activities of NATO, especially the developments occurred after NATO's 2004 Istanbul summit and Lisbon summit 2010.

"NATO's 2004 summit in Istanbul, the theme of which was the renewal and expansion of NATO's partnership, began with a "special focus" on partnership "in the strategically important regions of the Caucasus and Central Asia" ( Lisbon and the evolution of NATO's New partnership policy (Rebecca R. Moore) moreover the Lisbon summit has opened floor for dialogue to shift the Russian centric approach of Security. On the other hand, Central Asian states are bandwagon the threat of Russian and Chinese's. Such Bandwagon of Russia and Chinese's will/are enabling Central Asian states to deal both the threats (i.e. NATO, Russia and China) imposed by international structure (Waltz, 1979).

The strategies which Central Asian States are using fro bandwagon and balancing are of complex nature. For balancing NATO and bandwagon Russia and China CARS, with the help of later are integrating the Central Asian region. for instance The CARS are political, economic, military, cultural and institutional integration of Central Asian region under the shadow of SCO. Central Asia a volatile mix of contemporary developments that include great players power politics simmering multipolar world order, i.e. Russia and china are balancing USA in the first place, Drug trafficking, terrorism and many issues that are of transnational nature. Writer attempted to follow the Neo-liberal institutionalism, and

regionalism approaches in order to develop a theoretical framework that can support the analysis of Sino-Russo convergence under framework of SCO.

According to Keohane the membership of international organization can expand and enlarge the scope of cooperation among states. As in the contemporary politics due to globalization complex interdependency and various issues that are of transnational nature, states usually play formal institutions as a tool to give legitimacy to their acts, and formalize and organize.

#### 1.8.4. Bridging of the theoretical Approaches

	<b>Power-based approach</b>	<b>Interest-based approach</b>
<b>Principal school of thought</b>	<b>(Neo)realism</b>	<b>Neo-liberal institutionalism</b>
<b>Ontology</b>	<b>Materialist</b>	<b>Materialist</b>
<b>Central variable</b>	<b>Power</b>	<b>Interest</b>
<b>Meta-theoretical orientation</b>	<b>Positivist</b>	<b>Positivist</b>
<b>Behavioural Model</b>	<b>The structure of zero sum games determines egoistic and positional interests</b>	<b>Non-constant-sum game structure allows absolute gains maximization and the identification of a mutuality of interest</b>
<b>Rationale for Cooperation</b>	<b>Cooperation structurally determined by the distribution of power</b>	<b>Cooperation determined by rational maximization of interest-interdependence</b>

Source: adapted from Andreas Hasenclever et al. (1997), p. 6



## **1.9. Methodology**

### **1.9.1. Research Design**

This research will investigate the subject generally while conducting research using qualitative methodologies based on analytical and descriptive method. In this research an attempt is made to understand the Sino-Russo convergence of interests in Central Asia. Analytical approach is used to break the research into parts and analyse it, and then synthesise it with available (secondary sources) qualitative information's. These sources will be based on various books, research articles, dissertations, official statements, newspaper articles, internet and all the available literature will be consulted to find out the factors responsible for Sino-Russo convergence and define their specific interests as well. Since the researcher is using secondary sources on the above mentioned topic, therefore, the thesis would be qualitative in nature.

### **1.9.2. Data collection**

The research is based on qualitative data. In this regard, the collection of data will be based on secondary literature. In order to collect the data, significant amount of data and material is available in different library research centres and think tanks. The researcher has collected the data from books, web information, official documents, statistics, previous research, different reports, journal articles and news-papers in order to carry on the study in harmony and prove the thesis statement.

### **1.9.3. Data analysis**

The collected Data with regard to the study will provide the in-depth analysis regarding the differences in political scenario during Soviet Russia and Russia in Central Asia. The main purpose of examining data is to draw a suitable conclusion for the political trust and distrust between China and Russia in the region. In addition, the study has also

focused on the role of US and her allies in the region. Now to analyse the Sino-Russo convergence of interests in the region under the parlance of US hegemony writer has organized the data according to research questions and objectives, in order to better investigate the current development in its pattern in the region.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Literature review

The International community has strategic and economic interests in the Central Asia region. 'Great Game' is an old phenomena but it has attracted the attention of large number of scholars, because the Central Asian states are always objects to international politics. Although the available literature on Central Asia bilateral relations, interactions, and policies are abundant but the literature focusing on China Russia convergence is limited and many scholars argue that the two will eventually diverge. There is lot of literature, but only few books and Research papers have been selected which are helpful in the understanding of the study.

#### 2.1 Great power politics over Central Asia

The literature on Great power politics in Central Asia is abundant and shares common approach that there is a great game going on over influence over Central Asia from the historical empires era to the contemporary Westphalian states era. The literature indicates broad concepts of the foreign policy of Great powers towards the region and the policies are driven by four broad perception of analysis by scholars.

1 The importance of Central Asia in geopolitical perspective.

2 The Vast energy recourses that attract the great powers.

3 A junction that connect East and the West.

4 The Geostrategic endeavours to contain terrorism and regional supremacy of Russia and China.

(Hopkirk, 1990) *"The great game: The struggle for empire in Central Asia"* provides an intriguing historical background of the study, which is imperative to understand the influence of past actions on the contemporary developments of the Central Asian region. He explains the conflicts of the two great empires that how the British and the Russians has had a cold war for influence in Afghanistan and fought across deserted territory from the Caucasus to China. The book vicariously explains the history of today's geopolitics at the core and every political and military manoeuvring that is revolving around the Central Asian region that is object to international politics today.

(Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules*, 2012) is an significant work that explains the international presences (major players) in Central Asia in "International Relations" point of view with a keen focus on the study of the political systems of the region and taking conceptual framework from the great game rivalry of empires i.e. Russia and Britain to the new account of cooperation and conflict between states i.e. a post 9/11 United states a neo-imperialist Russia and a rising China. The book is important to understand US interests with respect to war on terror China taking over Russia in the economic and energy front. In the author view the winner in the great game are the five regimes of Central Asia that are playing three great powers against each others.

(Kleveinan, 2004) *"The New Great Game: Blood and Oil in Central Asia"* is an important book to understand the new dimension of the great game played in Central Asia where the author takes energy as a variable as with industrialization the need of hydrocarbons is increasing among world powers to Europe and south Asia. The Central Asian republics are rich and could be possibly a new middle east of the world in the book the author links American invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan and their extended stay in Afghanistan is a attempt for oil and the geographical importance of Central Asia.

(Brzezinski, 1997) "*The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives*" is an important book that provides an insight towards USA's perspective on Eurasia which Brzezinski regards as the centre of global power and being an adviser to the state recommends that the US in order to maintain its uni-polarity and geopolitical primacy. No any single power is to take unilateral control of Eurasian mass. The agenda of the gives a modern approach to USA in the parlance of the heart land theory. The author considers Russia and China as the countries that are almost superpowers and are capable to challenge US supremacy in the Central Asia region.

(McCoy, June 7, 2015.) "*The Geopolitics of American Global Decline Washington Versus China in the Twenty-First Century*" is an important work in the historical and Modern era. The author gives an insight on the declining geopolitical supremacy of USA and rise of China. In the cold war the USA through various military and non military means encircled USSR whereas the same is being used today for China and Russia both. The author give critical importance to the geopolitical perspective of Central Asia in the theoretical aspect specially the work of Sir Halford Mackinder heart land theory and gives the detail account of rising China's strategy towards the pivot area.

(Rashid, 2002) "*TALIBAN: Islam, Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia*" is a journalistic books that explains the non-state actors role in the New great game. The author through light on the extension of Taliban power has created vicious instability in Russia, Iran, Pakistan, and five Central Asian republics. He describes the Taliban a major contestant in the "New Great game" that according to the writer is a fight among Western states and MNCs to construct oil and gas pipelines from Central Asia to Western and Asian markets. The author also argue about momentous changes in American attitudes toward the Taliban from early support to Mujahedeen's to the latest bombings of Osama Bin Laden's hideaway and other Taliban-protected terrorist bases and how they have prejudiced the stability of the region.

(Kaplan, 2013) *"The Revenge of Geography"* is an important work to understand the geopolitical perspective of the great game. The author elucidates the historical geopolitical pivots of the world. In the Post-modern era majority of the scholars see reconstruction and economic development as the most important aspect that are shaping the world, Kaplan proves his points by classical realists school of thoughts like Alford Mackinder, Hans Morgenthau, and Nicholas Spykman on geography "heartlands and Rimlands," oceans and sea power. The author argues that USA is meant to stay as a hegemon as the great balancing power in Eurasia.

(Abilov, 2012) *"The New Great Game Over the Caspian Region: Russia, the USA, and China in the Same Melting Pot"* is an imperative research work in which the author through light on the significance of the region and give explanation that the central Asia region. The region has always been a significant central point for China, Russia, and the United States of America political interests for the reason that it's geo-economic and geo-strategic significance. The dissolution of the Soviet Block in 1990 gave birth to new states. The decrease of the Russian influence got new global powers drawn in into a political rivalry over this region in order to have an access to the rich raw materials and impose their political wills in order to get leverage in the international arena over the weak regional countries.

(Qamar Fatima & Sumera Zafar, 2014) *"New Great Game: Players, Interests, Strategies and Central Asia"* is a important research work that through light on the imperial rivalry between Britain and Russia to the modern day new Great game of USA Russia China and European power over the strategic importance of Central Asia because of it geographical location Proximity with the world two powers Russia China and most importantly the Energy factor that the industrialized nations are passion for.

The Central Asian region is a volatile mix of various issues that cause politics of the great powers where the historic empire conflict is taken over by the states and the old great game changed into new and is played by some old/new player with the addition of many local rules as modus operandi. This research will point out the more modern developments in the region that is much responsible for Sino-Russian convergence of interests.

## 2.2 US policy

The literature on US policy towards Central Asian countries is ample and the common perception of scholars is that US involvement in the region has increased since 9/11. The literature indicates four broad concepts that are

- US policy is guided by strategic efforts to contain terrorism and the rise of regional hegemon like Russia and China.
- U.S policy is largely motivated by Geo-economics in an effort to access the region's natural resources and decrease the political influence of Russia.
- Establishing independent democracies and free market economies.
- Integration of Afghanistan, Regional integration and the American version of the silk route.

(Mankoff, 2015) In "*Central Asia in a Reconnecting Eurasia U.S. Policy Interests and Recommendations*" is a significant work that gives a brief account of U.S interests in Central Asia that are divided in two parts that one is Security and the other is economy. In the security paradigm the major aim is to limit Russia and China influence and get a space for the access of US forces in Central Asia. In the Economic front the aim is link the Central Asia to Global Economy and develop Afghanistan by connecting it to Central Asia and south Asia by the American version of silk road.

(Zimmerman, 2015) in *"The New Silk Roads: China, the U.S and the Future of Central Asia"* is an important work that gives an account of new Silk Road initiatives of China and USA. The initiatives share some common objectives as regional integration, economic growth, improvement energy and transportation infrastructure, connection of Afghanistan to South Asia, Central Asia. In the author analysis, Chinese view US as a threat and to halt Chinese rise. The author is of the view that both China and USA have huge prospect for cooperation in future and should increase cooperation work for stability in the region.

(Ghiassy ,Mankoff, Richard) in *"Central Asia's Future: Three Powers, Three Visions"* is an necessary work that distinguishes the post USA intervention in Afghanistan where Central Asia issue was viewed through the lens of conflict. The new international engagement in the region is because of regional economic and energy potential. The recourse attracts the three major powers the USA Russia and China. The Chinese led the OBOR, Asian development bank and shanghai based BRICS. Russian led EEU and the American own vision of new silk initiative. The author is of the view that the players should cooperate and this engagement and that cooperation could link the Central Asian states to the global economy and if poorly managed the engagement would foster competition between Beijing, Moscow and Washington.

To sum up, the US policies towards the region includes Democracy promotion, market access to natural recourses, military presence and bring the region to Eurocentric security via NATO. The Geopolitical dynamics based on USA engagement in the region is a important variable responsible for Sino-Russo convergence in the region.



## 2.3 Russian policy

The literature on Russian policy towards Central Asia assumes reassertion of political and economic influence on the so called Backyard guided by a special policy of near abroad coupled with the protection of Russian population as com-patriots however the common perception of scholars on Russian policy assumes.

- Protection of economic, energy and political influence in Central Asia.
- Cooperation with China in order to counter US ambition in Central Asia.
- Russia as the security guarantor in the region.
- Regional integration that may include larger cooperation with China and the two organizations SCO, EEU.

(Kozhokin) In "*Geopolitical Importance of Central Asia: Russian View*" is a research work that is important to understand the details of Russian interests in central Asia. In Central Asia bilateral/multilateral arrangements like CIS CSTO and SCO these organizations are the legalized and legitimized ways through Moscow achieve its interests. The organizations are wholly and partly security-oriented Organisations that is crucial to understand that Russian security interests and proves it as the leader in the security front in Central Asia and have the veto right through CSTO to not let another country to have military installations in Central Asia.

(safranchuk, 2016) In "*Russia in a reconnection Eurasia Foreign Economic and security interests*" is an important research that explains the Russian perspective and interests towards Eurasia. The author is of the view that geopolitical competition is imposed on Russia by the west. In the author analysis the possible cooperation between Russia and China for greater Eurasia is their reluctance to not allow any western influence in Central Asia. The author is of the view that protectionist approach is followed by Central Asian republics to

develop their industries. The US hegemonic ignorance towards other states interest and interventions that always leads to destabilization in the region. Eurasia the colour revolution was an endeavour to change regime. This variable of the author research vindicates the fact that Russia and China on a single platform against western humanitarian intervention.

(lo) "*Frontiers New and old: Russia's policy in Central Asia*" is an important work by the popular expert on Russia and China Bobo lo in the article the author elaborates the changing trends in world affairs and the Russian revival of policy towards Central Asia to rise as a Eurasian Hegemon. The author is a expert on Russia China Affairs and states that US has still great influence in the region and Russia influence is on decline followed by rise of China's economic influence, dynamic position of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan which the Author claims are no longer passive objects to great power politics.

(Oliphant) The research paper "*Russia's role and interests in Central Asia*" is an important work to effusively understand the Role and policy of Russia toward the post soviet states. Russia has lost influence and is gaining it back by institutional means. The author clearly defines Russian current role in Central Asia in the energy security sphere where Russia is a dominant actor that is guaranteed through bilateral and institutional means. Moscow has secured the veto power on letting any other state military base in the Central Asia. The work is imperative to understand Russian imperial policy shift towards the region.

(Ghiasi ,Mankoff, Richard) "*Central Asia's Future: Three Powers, Three Visions*" is an significant work that distinguishes the post USA intervention in Afghanistan where Central Asia issue was viewed through the lens of conflict. The author views the new international engagement because of the regional economic and energy potential of Central Asia. The natural recourses are the major reason that attracts the three major powers the USA Russia and China. The Chinese led the OBOR, Asian development bank and shanghai based BRICS. Russian led EEU and the American own vision of new silk initiative. The author is of

the view that the players should cooperate and this engagement and that cooperation could link the Central Asian states to the global economy and if poorly managed the engagement would foster competition between Beijing, Moscow and Washington.

In summary, Russia can be coined as the traditional hegemon of the region. The guiding principles are an accord with the western aggress and the restoring of Russian predominance. The research will explain the variables for Sino-Russo convergence of interests.

## **2.4. China's policy**

China policy towards Central Asia can be generally explained as China's policy to the whole world that is "a lot of trade going out and a lot of natural resources coming in" coupled with some geopolitical and security ambitions. Many scholars emphasise on the following perceptions

- China cannot exacerbate relations with the US and west. But on the other hand is maneuvering to achieve some geopolitical objectives. That is cooperating with Russia and balance USA and the West.
- The region is a potential market for Chinese's product.
- The energy resources of the region attract investors and companies.
- China wants to secure its position and increase influence in the region.
- Free trade and regional integration of the region.
- Develop Xinjiang and the OBOR.

(Mariani, China's role and interests in Central Asia) The work is important to comprehend the economic goals of China linked with Central Asia that have dual functions. China is willing to strengthen political ties with Central Asia as well as to facilitate the

development of bordering provinces of China with Central Asia. Central Asia will help to promote China economic growth via trade routes that satisfy the Chinese demand for hydrocarbon resources and exports. China is promoting trade, investment, and is paying attention on the improvement of rail, highway, and air routes that open borders to do business. China's business with Central Asian republics has developed speedily and, even though it is a small portion of total Chinese trade, but still it makes Beijing a high-ranking trade partner of most of the Central Asian republics.

(MITCHELL) "*Russia China in Central Asia: The Beginning of the End for Russia*"

The paper through light on the diminishing role of Russia in Central Asia due to near sighted and botched policies and gives an account of rising China and links it with the Turkmenistan Central Asian pipeline and CNPC as a success story of increased involvement in Central Asia. The author gives instances of scholars that are advocates of the phenomena that this is the beginning of the end for Russian historical control in Central Asia but the Author contradicts with other academic scribblers and is of the view that Russian still has leverage when it comes to Central Asia as she hold much influence in normative, economic, and security sphere gives a head start to Russia in the race of influence in Central Asia.

(Cooley, *The Emerging Political Economy of OBOR The Challenges of Promoting Connectivity in Central Asia and Beyond*) The work is significant to understand the importance of OBOR and explains the engagement of China with Central Asia with the lens of Political economy. The research gives an account of domestic challenges that OBOR is facing and how Beijing is emerging as the economic might with a better one than the western model of development in the region. The author explains the importance to connect the Asian states and through light on the geopolitical importance Central Asian republic that are once again the centre of great power's politics.

(Pop, October 2010) "*China's energy strategy in Central Asia: interaction with Russia, India and Japan*" The work is an important research paper that explains the Chinese's strategy that is based on geopolitical and geo-economics considerations. The strategy is to find an alternative energy supply from Central Asia because of close proximity and the continuous instability in Middle East. The presence of USA in the region is considered as a security threats to the trade and energy routes. The author is of the view that a competition is simmering between China and Russia and Beijing has bypassed Moscow in investments and economic field in Central Asia. The author also shed light on the prospects of a competitive role and presence of India and Japan. According to the paper India and Japan can be the market competitor that can challenge the influence of China.

(Clarke, 2008) "*China's Integration of Xinjiang with Central Asia: Securing a "Silk Road" to Great Power Status*" is a significant research paper that through light on the revolving of the international spotlight on Central Asia because of 9/11, China grand strategy for the mainstreaming of Xinjiang. Influence in Central Asia gives China significant security, economic and strategic benefits that serves with two purposes control of Xinjiang and increase influence in central Asia. The author is of the view that stability in Xinjiang and the success of silk road is vital for China's peaceful global rise.

(Zimmerman, 2015) in "*The New Silk Roads: China, the U.S and the Future of Central Asia*" is an important work that gives an account of new Silk Road initiatives of China and USA. The initiatives share some common objectives as regional integration, economic growth, improvement energy and transportation infrastructure, connection of Afghanistan to South Asia, Central Asia. In the author analysis, Chinese view US as a threat and to halt Chinese rise. The author is of the view that both China and USA have huge prospect for cooperation in future and should increase cooperation work for stability in the region.

(Ghiassy ,Mankoff, Richard) "*Central Asia's Future: Three Powers, Three Visions*" is a significant work that distinguishes the post USA intervention in Afghanistan. The author has analyse Central Asia issue through the lens of conflict. The author views the new international engagement because of the regional economic and energy potential of Central Asia. The natural recourses are the major reason that attracts the three major powers the USA Russia and China. The Chinese led the OBOR, Asian development bank and shanghai based BRICS. Russian led EEU and the American own vision of new silk initiative. The author is of the view that the players should cooperate and this engagement cooperation could link the Central Asian states to the global economy and if poorly managed the engagement would foster competition between Beijing, Moscow and Washington.

(Dasgupta, 2015) "*China's Ambitious 'Silk Road' Plan Faces Hurdles*" The article gives a brief account of the regional hurdles to the OBOR. The hurdles are scepticism to the Chinese investments, boundaries issues, security, poor governance and powerful opposition by major powers like India and USA. According to the author despite the issues majority of the countries is cooperation with China. In the author view countries sides China as they views the guarantee of economical loans and new road and rail network to be more hopeful then siding with other the hegemony and pressure of India and USA.

(Charles Clover, Lucy Hornby) "*China's Great Game: Road to a new empire*" The work gives and brief account of OBOR project and links it to the Rising China phenomena. The OBOR is imperative in the increase of influence beyond Beijing's boundaries and create investment and trade opportunities. The success of OBOR is important for peaceful rise and in achieving its former imperial greatness of HAN dynasty. The Silk Road is to become china latest tool of economic diplomacy like US marshal plans. The author is of the view that for OBOR Central Asia is of great importance and is a Chinese neo-colonial model which will

increase China's soft power interdependency that will shore up the policy of non military intervention abroad and make it politically strong internationally.

To conclude, China policy has remained a non confrontation one and Beijing want to strengthen its position internationally coupled with peaceful rise and economic influence in the region. This research will elaborate the variables that are responsible for Sino-Russo convergence of interests in Central Asia.

## **2.5. Central Asian policy**

The Central Asian states policy towards great players and regional issues in the light of the existing literatures explains the historical and contemporary dynamics of the political maneuvering and interests of the great players. As infamous Alexander coolly puts it "In the new great game the winner are the five regimes that are playing of three great powers against each others."

The common perceptions on the policy of CARS are

- The central Asian states follow a multi-vector policy as an imperative standard of foreign policy.
- The republics are keen to Use of institutional framework for their political and economic benefits.
- The republics don't desire amplification of enmity between Russia, China and promote anti western outlook.

(Omelicheva, 2007) "*Combating terrorism in Central Asia: Explaining Differences in States Responses to Terror*" is a vital research paper that explains the policy approach towards terrorism by CARS by a qualitative study in a rationalist and constructivist paradigm. The study elaborates the importance of Central Asia by its phenomenal deposits of natural

resources and front line position in global war on terror and prospects of counter terrorism policies adopted by states to crush opposition in the guise of war on terror. The author gives a theory based explanation of five case studies of counterterrorism approaches. The author also shed light on the role and apathy of international community towards some grave issues of the region that is responsible for the influence on the state policies of the region.

(Schweickert, Melnykovska ,Rainer) "*Do Russia and China promote autocracy in Central Asia?*" The research is an imperative work that analyse literature on autocracy in Central Asia. Russia and China strategy towards the region are taken as a variable in a qualitative study. The author conclusion about role of Russia is that in almost 24 post-communist countries Moscow plays a role of a dominant actor. while China's engagement approach towards the Central Asia have indirectly positive effects of institution building good governance and undermining autocratic structures.

The contemporary developments in the region are contradictory to the old great game of 19th century conflict of empires and can be coined as to the new great game of states. With the new developments in the states of affairs the pragmatic republics have mended their policies accordingly. This research will show the international structure influence and Sino-Russo convergence of interests in the region.

## **2.6. Regional integration**

Cooperation between states on a regional level is a natural phenomenon and that guarantees the successful recognition of states interests and stability in regional and global scale. The existing literature points out the prospects and hurdles in regional integration in Central Asia whereas the common perception of scholars are

- The Economic integration in the region faces hurdles due to same economy and asymmetrical relations with the neighbouring countries.



- The Internal strife and great power rivalry, border disputes, and protectionist policy in the region
- The Political and economic instability of the weak Central Asian republics.
- The Security, economic and political reliance on Russia as post USSR states.
- The region has many prospects for integration because it is able to produce energy, mineral, low cost labour, geopolitical position, and export potential.

(Ambrosio, 2008) "*Catching the Shanghai spirit: How the Shanghai cooperation organization promotes authoritarian norms in Central Asia*" The research paper is an important work to understand the shared political ethos by China and Russia regarding Order and regime in Central Asia. The Author argues that the colour revolutions were US-led and were strongly opposed by Russia and that Moscow actively supports the autocratic government. The author validates his statements with the phenomena that in SCO with presence of China Russia and other semi autocratic regimes the democratization process will be further derailed and the norms and values of SCO are based on the delegitimizing anti regime activities through the notion of stability and diversity. In the author view SCO is likely sustaining the undemocratic status quo.

(Tang, 2000) "*Economic integration in Central Asia: The Russian and Chinese Relationship*" is an important research work that is imperative to understand the prospects and challenges to the economic integration in Central Asia. The author validates his point by the study of many international organizations such as CIS, ECO, SCO and CAU and takes China Russia relations as a variable. According to the study Russian economic influence is on decline, inter-trade is not feasible due to same economies of Central Asian states and disturbance in the asymmetrical relation of China Russia where the former is dependent on latter. The study shows that the energy and military equipments trade and analysed in

neoliberal neorealist and constraint realist paradigm disturbs the interdependency where Russia has the absolute advantage. According to the author if intuitionist approach is followed the integration process will become inevitable.

(Zhambekov) "*Central Asian Union and the Obstacles to Integration in Central Asia*"

The articles give an account of the process of economic integration started by Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan that is dead by now despite the fact that many attempts were made to revive the project. The author views this failure as internal strife between the member's states and great power rivalry in the region. Whereas distrust, border disputes trade barriers water sharing diverging interests are the domestic issues that serves as a variables for the work. In the author view Russian led EEU China New Silk Road project are competing projects in the region.

(Rakhimov, 2014) "*Internal and External dynamics of regional cooperation in Central Asia*" the Research paper through light on the challenges to the process of regionalization in Central Asia. The 21 century has witnessed Globalization regionalization and nation building that resulted in developing EU, NAFTA, ASEAN, MERCOSUR, while Central Asia being part of and founding member of many organization such as CACO, EurAsEC, CIS SCO, ECO still lack in regional integration. The hurdles to the issue in the view of author are stability and security. The Central Asian states faces many common problems of economic geopolitical and security and regional integration will require a great cooperation and will be directionally proportional to national regional and global interests where as regionalization will promote stability economic reforms and democratization.

(Linn, 2012) "*Central Asian Regional Integration and Cooperation: Reality or Mirage*". The author defines the importance of the Central Asia in the prism of interest i.e. of Russia China and NATO. The author links the political and economic stability and sustainability with regional integration and that the country which faces hurdles are due to

weak governance and lack of intraregional trade and is a common variable that other developing states also face. The four new initiatives SCO EEU CARE and China led Asian developmental bank the Author have positive views for the possibility of regional integration.

(Öksüz) "*Alliance Gravity and Balancing in the Eurasian Power Geometry*" is an important work with reference to Two "Cooperation Organisation" (ECO & SCO). The research explains the growing importance of Central Asia in the wake of a new power game and great power interests in the region and its periphery. The author shed light on the possible alliance formation, interaction and traverses association in various alliances in the region. In the case of ECO and SCO the latter is regarded as a formidable organization and has dynamics to influence integration of other players as well as organization. The interaction of turkey in ECO SCO despite her EU membership long waiting phenomena in the author view is increasing competition among the regional countries and players that will foster alliance balancing and rivalry will upset the new regional order in the Central Asian geopolitics.

(Gabuev, Eurasian Silk Road Union: Towards a Russia-China Consensus?) The author describes the increasing influence of China in the Russian backyard the Central Asia. China is heading an integration project and there are chances that the Russian led EEU will eventually collide with China's OBOR that is much debated among scholars but the state to state level meeting have bring a joint declaration that has made a consensus among the two to make a common economic sphere by cooperation. The author is of the view neither China nor Russia can emerge as truly Eurasian power without cooperation with each other.

The prospects of regional integration is promising because of the region close proximity with major powers, there are different approach towards the region integration, and for the CARS to achieve a multi-vector policy regional integration is vital. The organization operating in central Asia are SCO, ECO, CIS, CSTO, OSCE and EEU. The research will point out Sino-Russo convergence for the regional integration in the framework of SCO how

the organization is soft balancing USA and its role in security and sustaining of regimes in the region.

## **2.7. Sino-Russo Convergence:**

The literature available on Sino-Russo convergence is much debated topic among scholars and many are of the view that the two will eventually diverge and come into a confrontation in Central Asia. As the famous expert on Russia and China Bobo Lo calls it a marriage of convenience and that the bilateral relations between the two is formidable enough to adjust difference in central Asia. The review of some of important work is given below.

(Julie Wilhelmsen & Geir Flikke ) The research work is significant to understand the common geopolitical strategy of China and Russia to balance US dominance. The balancing factor has been the main achievement of SCO and has contributed to giving these countries a new balance of power in Central Asia, both in the security and economic spheres. Chinese–Russian military exercises within the SCO framework are a signal that their combined forces may have a larger effect in international politics. There has emerged a normative convergence between Russia and China. This variable has been an asset in attracting the Central Asian states to the SCO. By the study Chinese and Russian patterns of behaviour in Central Asia in recent years proves that successful cooperation could become competition. The growing energy engagement of China in the region is perceived as a challenge by Russia. The Energy cooperation, which is a common interest, is a variable that enhance the prospects for a stronger Chinese–Russian partnership. These issues defines the convergence of china and Russia to the limit of defence and to counter US but other major powers that are eying towards central Asia like France Germany EU India in the author view the convergence will not only be limited to counter USA but also in energy and economic spheres as well.

(Rumer, 2006) Says, the USA as a great player in the region via the presence of NATO and US forces in Afghanistan that is unmatched by another major power in the region.

Russia and China on the other hand are balancing USA influence in the region through SCO where Russia and China prefer order and stability in central Asia and oppose the US promotion of democracy in the region. In the author view Russia and China are dominant players in Central Asia and US interests can never be addressed without the consent of both China and Russia.

(Märta Carlsson, Susanne Oxenstierna, Mikael Weissmann) In the research paper describes Sino-russo relations from economic and political perspective and elaborates the how the two perceive themselves and what is their role in the world. The research provides a general idea of the national foreign policy Essentials and the economic ties between the two countries. China and Russia cooperate and compete in many areas and their interests and ambitions are exemplified by their policies in Central Asia and Asia-Pacific. Overall the research gives the position of the United States as a competitor and a partner to both countries.

(Craig Oliphant, Simon Mills, Ivan Campbell, Bernardo Mariani, Maija Paasiaro , Tang Xiaom, 2015) in the policy research paper by SAFERWORLD through light on the different variables i.e. commercial, diplomatic, and military that are responsible China and Russia's engagement with Central Asian states. The author defines economic, security, and geopolitical interests as the important variables that the two achieve through cooperation and that have great impact on the future of Central Asia.

(Schweickert, Melnykovska ,Rainer, (2012)) In "Do Russia and China promote autocracy in Central Asia?" Is an important research work that analyse literature on autocracy in Central Asia. Russia and China strategy towards the region are taken as a variable in a qualitative study. The author conclusion about role of Russia is that in almost 24 post-communist countries Moscow plays a role of a dominant actor. while China's engagement

approach towards the Central Asia have indirectly positive effects of institution building good governance and undermining autocratic structures.

(Kyrre Elvenes Brækhus, Indra Øverland ) In the article "*A Match Made in Heaven Strategic Convergence between China and Russia*" provides an understanding to the scope for deep cooperation between China and Russia on the basis of Strategic convergence and not cooperation on an overlapping objectives and interests not in the form of an alliance. The author analyses the relationship in neo-realist paradigm which see unipolar order as unstable and that is the leading cause for balancing against the ruling hegemony. In case of Russia and China the two are tactically cooperating in order to undermine the US. The two have shared concerns against the US in Central Asia Middle east and Africa.

(Gabuev, A "SOFT ALLIANCE"? RUSSIA-CHINA RELATIONS AFTER THE UKRAINE CRISIS, 2015) The work highlights the post Ukraine crisis that triggered sanction on Russia from USA and EU. The author views this variable to state Putin tilt towards China and is to undermine the effects of sanctions. According to the author event is unique in the Sino-Russo relations as it presented China a unique opportunity to increase access to Russian natural resources. The author argues that the relationship is like to develop into a kind of soft alliance that will eventually increase interdependency and increase China's role regionally and internationally.

(Ambrosio, 2008) In "*Catching the Shanghai spirit: How the Shanghai cooperation organization promotes authoritarian norms in Central Asia*". The research paper is an important work to understand the shared political ethos by China and Russia regarding Order and regime in Central Asia. The Author argues that the colour revolutions were US-led and were strongly opposed by Russia and that Moscow actively supports the autocratic government. The author validates his statements with the phenomena that in SCO with presence of China Russia and other semi autocratic regimes the democratization process will

be further derailed and the norms and values of SCO are based on the delegitimizing anti regime activities through the notion of stability and diversity. In the author view SCO is likely sustaining the undemocratic status quo.

(Alexandros Petersen Katinka Barysch, 2015) In the study "*Russia, China and the geopolitics of energy in Central Asia*" say that energy is fundamental variable to the industrialization China and for the economy of Russia. The author is of the view that energy interests in central Asia of Russia and China will prove good for their bilateral relations in future for Russia to re-emerge as a power and for China to increase its influence regionally and globally. The central Asian states support China to limit the influence of Russia and find another competitor in the region.

(Virginia Marantidou , Ralph A. Cossa, 2014) In the article "*China and Russia's Great Game in Central Asia*" points out the emerging China Russia nexus in Central Asia. The author regard of USA sanctions on Russia as an important variable where China economic influence is increasing. Russia consider Central Asia as its backyard and is already its control over the energy recourses wants to protects its own position thus far the interests are converging but the author is in the view that geopolitics will prevail where competition will erode the foundation of the Sino-Russo nexus where The two countries are enjoying a honeymoon but this is a marriage of convenience in the new great game.

(Jean-Michel Valantin, 2017) The article "*China, Russia and the new silk road in Central Asia: the great co-empowerment*" is an important work that analyse the engagement of China and Russia in a possible Eurasian silk road union where the two states will develop a consensus that will lead to a greater nexus around the new Silk Road initiative. The union is necessary for the empowerment for the both states and to avoid confrontation. The author is of the view that the Chinese new Silk Road empowers china, and that the Beijing colossal

international needs empowers Russia, that will create a active role in co-development, and co-empowerment making Central Asia as a fundamental place for the Sino-Russian power nexus.

(Gabuev, Eurasian Silk Road Union: Towards a Russia-China Consensus?, 2015) In the article "*Eurasian Silk Road Union: Towards a Russia-China Consensus*" Describes the increasing influence of China in the so called Russian backyard "Central Asia". In the region Beijing is heading an integration project there are chances that the Russian led EEU will eventually collide with China's OBOR. The collision is much debated by scholars but the author is of the view that state to state level meeting and strong bilateral relations bring a joint declaration that has made a consensus to make a common economic sphere by cooperation. The author is of the view neither China nor Russia can emerge as truly Eurasian power with cooperating with each other.

(Marcin Kaczmarek, Witold Rodkiewicz, 2016) in the research paper "*Russia's Greater Eurasia and China's New Silk Road: adaptation instead of competition*" gives an account of analysis of the much debated issue among scholars that Russia China will eventually emerge as rivals in Central Asia. But with the prospect of OBOR and EEU to combine in a formal setup has faded the argument. According to the author the states moved towards cooperation that is Russia has opted for a Band wagoning strategy instead to counter balance Rising China.

(weitz, Russia, China, and central asia: time for decision, 2015) In the research article "*Russia, china, and central Asia: time for decision*" gives an account of the future scenarios of the region. According to the study interests and influence shared by security concerns economic opportunities diplomatic tools and drives are the variable that regulates Russia and China relation. The author advocates cooperation rather than conflict scenarios will prevail but the author is of the view that much of the Sino-Russo relationship to its



disturbed by historical mean that is competition scepticism, and distrust and that should not be ignored.

In summary the prospects for a multi-polar world order and some shared conflicts with the west is driving force behind a soft alliance against the US and west with many economic and security shared concerns. The research will further explain the economic security and intuitional dynamics of convergence of interests in central Asia.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **China-Russia Bilateral relations**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

Relations among China and Russia go back to the seventeen century. It started when Eastern Siberia was taken by Russia and exercised control over it. The first official Russian ambassador reached Beijing in 1655, however, was soon ousted from China because of unwillingness to consent to the morality of Chinese's diplomacy. This first botched encounter lay down the pitch for the coming years, where the bilateral relations have a history of fragility and repeatedly adversarial, followed by a constant lack of mutual understanding. Russian endeavour in the second half of seventeen century, to annex the Chinese's controlled regions in the Amur River basin, were coercively repulsed by China's Manchu rulers. The two states share close geographical proximity and a thousand of kilometre boundary but the fact remains that trade relations grew slowly but diplomatic relations couldn't nurture and remained extremely low. By the mid of 19th century Russian settlement in Amur region, succession of territories of East Amur Ussuri rivers from Qing dynasty followed by encroachment on Manchuria were the Tsarist expansionist policies. The bilateral relations remained poor until the origin of republics of China 1912 and the soviet union in 1914 by establishing formal diplomatic relations in 1924 where the soviet union exerted key influence on political developments in the young republic of China by helping Chinese's nationalist party Kuominlay and communist party of China whereas relations in Mao Zedong era remained low in the beginning. When the ideological line of the party becomes more autonomous, thanks to the war with Japan where the soviets and China policy diverged, and by the end of the war Manchuria was occupied by the soviets much to the dismay of Mao and CPC. Later on Jiang Jieshi of the Kuomintang was recognized as the leader of the republic.

The growing opposition towards communism by global community and the US Sino-soviets relations grow stronger the CPC was supported by the soviets in the civil war of China and important endeavour by the soviets to limit western influence in its neighbourhood. By the end of the war Mao was offered broad bilateral cooperation coupled with no proper mechanism or framework that could boost bilateral developments. The leaders of the both states never meet until 1949 where both sides agreed upon to form an alliance and the soviet bestowed a comprehensive military and economic aid. Such development proved very important for the consolidation of the nascent regime of Mao. (Gurbanmyradova, 2014)

Stalin was an advocate of the continuation of the Korean War but China being the bearer of burden of war: became complacent and seek out settlement of the conflicts and disputes, and the Topsy Turvy relations continued. With Khrushchev coming into power many disagreements vanished and a more realistic cooperation with China in economic and defence were made that proved substantial over time giving China whatever she fancied. That even includes state of the art technology, nuclear research program, and huge number of experts and advisors and ample cooperation in the military domain. (Wertz, 1998-2017)

### **3.2. The Sino-soviet split**

The bilateral relations between Russia and China get worse during cold war where the Sino-Russo alliance transformed into a much debated topic the so called Sino-Soviet split. In 1957 when cooperation in the field of military and nuclear intensified a discord between Russia and China occurred during the second Taiwan Strait crisis. Mao also gave significant assurance to follow the Moscow lead, but, a long scale military cooperation regulation made the later sceptical about the aid programme that how the transformed technology will be eventually used by China i.e. dependence on USSR or transform into autarky. As the international structure is anarchic in nature where every state is against all states, this created

distrust and resulted Russia being ending up calling back of all technical's which slowed down the nuclear cooperation program. China was not in a position and was not ready to discontinue cooperation and abrogating bilateral relations of whom the two sides perceived each others as international enemies and the state of affairs continued for nearly three decades caused by growth of mutual distrust and lack of mutual misunderstanding. (Wertz, 1998-2017)

Mao perception about the soviet slowly changed and perceived her like the expansionist Tsarist that had assumptions to win dominance over China and even coined Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as Socialist imperialism. The split was also caused by ideology when Mao's tilt towards US and failure to transform a joint revolutionary strategy for East Asia where Mao activism indirectly alter the foundation of PRC. With Nikita Khrushchev coming to power the personality clash of the leaders decreased but still a quest for an international socialism simmered between the two nations and the two countries gradually became in the favour of normalization of relations with the US. Mao believed that the USSR could conflict the US without war and Khrushchev condemnation of Stalin and became sceptical of Mao's imperative to mature socialism through a conflict with the capitalist world became the ideological background of the split. Furthermore Taiwan crisis and a war with India (a country with whom Russia had built good relations) Moscow accused Beijing for disturbing international peace and the later coined Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as socialist imperialism. These strategic scenarios developed a security dilemma and the two countries got paranoiac about each other strategic goals. In the Ussuri border crisis there were huge prospects that USA and USSR would jointly attack the Chinese Nuclear facilities. Amid tensions with the West due to Afghan war and Gorbachev coming to power the bilateral relations took a turn towards normalization of relations. (Dueben, 2013)

### 3.3. The Detente

The normalization of relations with China was one of the important features of foreign policy goals of China and Russia in the Detente era. Political reforms in Russia tensions with the west, and fall of the socialist block that resulted in a uni-polar world order became the basis of this rapprochement. China's three key concepts as an obstacle in bilateral relations was taken seriously by Gorbachev and brought attention on reducing forces on border, withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan, Vietnam withdrawal from Cambodia. These developments brought state level visits and bilateral relations were formally normalised that resulted in the continuation of border negotiations and were concluded in 1991. By 1992 military linkage resumed followed by trade agreement and negotiations on demarcation of boundaries with Central Asian republics and by 1996 the two states signed a joint commitment to form a strategic partnership and bilateral institution. In 2001, the head of the state commenced an accord for "good neighbourhood friendship and cooperation" that was signed at Moscow. The treaty is perceived by many scholars as an indication to the major players of the world that may bring certain geopolitical shift in the Eurasian Balance of power, which has grim repercussion for world and regional power centres. The major points of the treaty are as followed

- Joint measures to counterbalance a perceived US hegemony.
- Demarcation of the two states borders.
- Arms scale and technology transfer.
- Energy and raw material supply.
- Fighting radical Islam in Central Asia. (Dueben, 2013)

### **3.4. Bilateral relations in Central Asia**

Central Asia as an important region vindicates the fact that it has brought Russia and China not to just cooperate on international level but also regionally. Till 2000 Central Asia was a traditional area of influence of Russia where it enjoyed monopoly in all spheres and is coined as the "Russian Backyard". The interests are defined by "Near abroad" concept that defines the historical and special asymmetrical relations and dependency. Russia exerts influence in the region through three way path i.e. Commonwealth of independent states (CIS), a regional apparatus for military presence, control of strategic assets, economic and energy control over the states. (Gurbanmyradova, 2014)

#### **3.4.1. Pre-millennium**

Till 2000 Russia had remained as the only regional hegemon and most important player in Central Asia. The railroads, pipelines, from soviet times are controlled by Moscow thus giving leverage or head start to Russia over the region economy. As post Soviet states the region was economically dependent on Russia as the republics were cut off from the world and the region recourses provided her with economic and strategic benefits as well. After the demise of USSR, China was the first country to get engage in the region where as the main motivation for Beijing engagement in the region was concerned with regime stability and security. The weak newly independent republic of the region were vulnerable to external threats as well as internal threats, as nationalism was simmering in the region creating secessionist movements that China linked with the Xinjiang issue and the separatism tendency of the Uyghur population. China was the first state to develop diplomatic relations with the newly independent states. Prior to Sino-Soviet split, border disputes, border demarcation with the region wasn't defined. The first negotiations stated for the border demarcation with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. China wants that she get the

recognition that Xinjiang is the integral part of China and get assurance that the Central Asian leaders won't facilitate or support Uyghur separatism movement. China recognizes Russia as the traditional hegemon on historical and geographical basis the early policy was based on expanding trade and cooperation. China managed political support for the Central Asian governments that resulted in fortifying economic relations, solving border issues and expands the approach of non-interference and peaceful rise, most importantly that on the same helps to resolve Xinjiang issue. The era embarked an opening of China towards Central Asia where the trade statistics of year 2000 of China remained 4.8% and Russia 23% of total export. Common identified concerns for keeping secular regimes stable in the era, Radical Islam threat and, consensus for domestic stability and regional security is the primary goal. China role till 2000 was limited and the economic aspects didn't bring any concerns among Beijing and Moscow as long as the two were on one page for stability and cooperation against pan Islamic or pan Turkic elements of the region. (Dueben, 2013)

### **3.4.2. Post-millennium**

After 2000, Sino-Russo cooperation increased globally with the signing of treaty of good neighbourhood and friendly cooperation. The treaty was highly debated among scholars and saw it as a balancing attempt against the unilateral primacy of the US. The two states leader stated their common perception on world affairs in a common is opposition against the hegemonic actions of states, and the two states shares a firm stance on the international structure as a multipolar world to be vital for international peace and security. This endeavour clearly justified the assumptions that states decision for cooperation in the international arena are in order to balance and reduce the power of a stronger state despite ideological differences and a history of scepticism and distrust. The attempt can be termed as a soft alliance because any hard alliance will trigger a strong response from the US, and as

## CHAPTER FOUR

### **Energy and Economic Dimension of convergence of interests**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter is divided into four sections initially it throw light on capabilities and importance of Central Asian region in respect of variables energy and economy. Second section gives an understanding of Chinese approach towards Central Asian region in the parlance of energy and economy. It will also explain Chinese strategy liberalization of Xinxiang province through economic development in order to counter fundamentalism there. Third section summarizes Russian approach towards Central Asian region under the lingo of economic and energy complex relations. The last section discusses the convergence of energy and economic interests between china and Russia in the Central Asian region.

#### **4.2. Economic and energy importance of Central Asia**

Historically Central Asia has remained at the junction of Silk Road that linked China with Europe over land. Soon with the voyage and improvement in sea transportation the land power saw a decline and the most important region of the world in terms of early globalization, trade, exchange of ideas lost its status. The region was the centre of Global economy but slowly fell into the periphery. The region had played an important role in world civilization. The region was later on annexed by the Czarist Russia as the state lacked an important factor that is had no alternate supply of warm water, as the temperature in Moscow is cold enough to paralyse normal life activities and required warm water. Moscow in the pursuit to achieve warm water annexed the region and it came under the imperial Russia. The time with Imperial Russia further isolated the region from outside world. As the communist give more importance to the region and an ideology of communism was imposed on the area.



Thanks to the dynamism and rhetoric of communism the inhabitant of Central Asia was so effectively embedded or indoctrinated or to be more specific Russified that when the region got self-determination after the disintegration of USSR in 1991 it was more of a blow to them than delight. (BBC, 2014)

After disintegration of USSR the Central Asian republics reemerged from the Soviet Union as sovereign states they instantly got interest of other powers as the region is rich in oil and gas, uranium and hydroelectric power. The world has witnessed drastic change in history since the industrial revolution where energy recourse has become an input for economy, military and even politics. This phenomenon can be more justified in the words of Clemenceau as "He who has oil has empire". The invention of James watt steam engine Coal was an indispensable input in every sphere of life. Today the same can be said for hydrocarbons. The raw material that can be used as a source of energy has played an important role in the rise and fall of great nations as seen in the example of UK, Germany and France.

The securitization of energy raw material fostered competition among great powers as it became important is rise and sustenance of economy and military. Today Hydrocarbons constitute about 80% of world total energy production and for the modern day states oil is much important for growth and prosperity in all means of life. The presence of energy Raw material is an important factor for explaining the significance of the region for the great powers of the world where every state craves to get access to energy recourses and benefit from it. (GÜNDÜÇ, 2012)

In the economic realm Central Asia has two major economic importances. The region population is 55 million which make the region as a sizeable consumer market and that makes it as a centre of attention for MNCs and as the region comes in the developing world

the region cheap labour poses huge prospects of initialization of more industries from the develop world to make use of cheap labour.

The second most important factor responsible for the economic importance is the natural recourses other then the hydrocarbons is the fertile land, water for irrigation and mineral recourses enormous recourses of gold, silver, chromium, oil, gas, uranium, Hydal, power etc these are the factors that attract nations and MNCS.

The connectivity of Central Asia with South Asia increases the prospects of these factors for instance the agriculture realm of the region can serve Afghanistan, the water recourse can serve Pakistan. The region provides an intentional link between Asia, Europe the Persian Gulf, the Middle East and Far East that very imperative for European and Asian economies in the sense that as soon as the area is economically integrated the region will be centre to many jobs economic hubs. The Economic shift in Central Asia is accompanied with disturbance and turmoil i.e. spill over effect from Afghanistan, Radical islamization factor and following of pure protectionist policies but with the opening up of Central Asian states they now to pursue the 'Strategy of mixed economy' and they welcome foreign investment and are opening up their economies. (Denoon, 2016)

**Table 4.1. Oil reserves/production data of Central Asia**

Country	Proven reserves (billion barrels)	Production (thousand barrels)
Kazakhstan	38.8	1.682
Turkmenistan	0.9	206
Uzbekistan	0.6	107

Source: (BP Statistical Review of World Energy, 2017).

**Table 4.2. Gas reserves/ production data of Central Asia**

Country	Proven reserves (trillion cubic meter)	Production (billion cubic meter)
Kazakhstan	1.82	32.2
Turkmenistan	8.10	36.4
Uzbekistan	1.68	64.4

Source: (BP Statistical Review of World Energy, 2017).

**Table 4.3. Uranium reserves/production data of Central Asia**

Country	Reserves (tons)	Production ( tons)
Kazakhstan	651,000	14020
Uzbekistan	111,000	2429

Source (BP Statistical Review of World Energy, 2017)

### **4.3. China`s Approach towards Central Asia**

"Central Asia is the thickest piece of cake given to the modern Chinese by the heavens." General Liu Yazhou of China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) (Raffaello Pantucci, Alexandros Petersen, 2011)

China approach towards Central Asia or to the rest of the world can be summarised as "A lot of trade going out and a lot of energy recourse coming in". China is in the phase of rapid industrialization that creates a chain of energy as an input and surplus good as output.

The Central Asia region is the area next to China; due to close proximity it is an important region that is crucial for economic growth in the periphery. The New Silk Road

initiative and energy Pipelines, which satisfy Chinese growing demands for hydrocarbons and trade routes, are the -major two initiatives that China is currently following. To protect these two mega projects and achieve interests China is investing in Central Asia infrastructure building pipelines and fortifying multilateral partnerships diplomatic relations and strengthening supranational intuitions and providing them generous loans. (Denoon, 2016)

In the international arena nothings comes for free and state engagement or foreign policy is the practical manifestations of its national interests the next part of the chapter will discuss the internal and external factors that defines China Interests in the region.

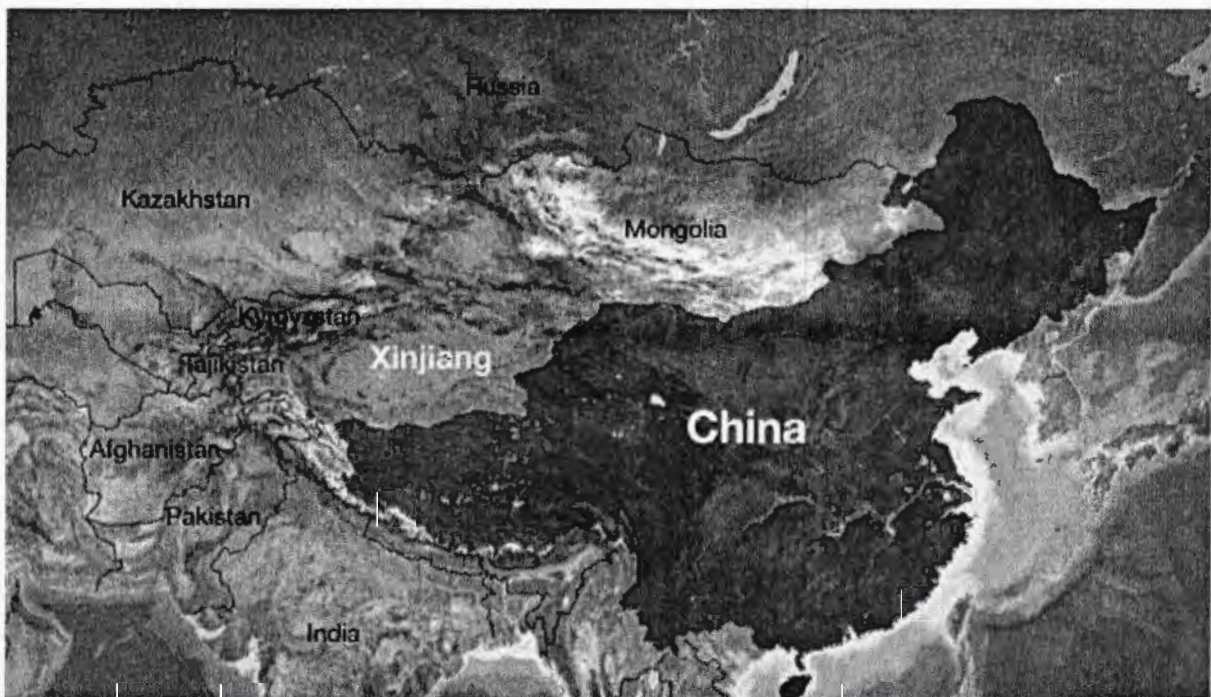
### **4.3.1. Xinjiang issue**

Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region is China's largest administrative unit. The unit borders eight countries that are Magnolia, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India. Most of the indigenous population of Xinjiang encompass that of Uyghur. The rapid development or to critically question state policy to minimize the monopoly of Uyghur has brought new Han Chinese residents in Xinjiang and according to 2000 census now Hans Chinese make 40% of the total population of the region. The area is a Muslim Majority with Turkish related language and the masses links themselves closely to Central Asia culturally and ethnically. The Market of the region mainly revolves around trade and Agriculture with areas like kashghr living along the Silk Road.

Xinjiang was declared an independent state in 1948 but the emancipation was shortly lived and later the same year it officially became part of communist China. Since the annexation of Xinjiang by the Maoist regime the autonomous region in China's far west has been in a long discord between the establishment and the native ethnic Uighur population. The reason for tension can be termed as economic and cultural factors as in Asia and the rest of the world the phenomena of separatism go hand in hand and the belligerents

motivate secession movements by the rational of ethnicity and links them self to economic historical and cultural factors coupled with economic deprivation.

The region witnesses demonstrations and violent attacks and unrest from 2009, the number of 'violent incidents' have increased lately and the state of affairs has become rapidly worse. According to the statistics reported by Xinjiang Public Security Department, there are more than 100 cases of 'violent incidents' happening in Xinjiang each year whereas the sum of cases soared up to nearly 200 in 2012, and observers expect to increase more. The violent attacks and unrest that happens in Xinjiang the state of China blames ETIM the East Turkestan Islamic Movement or people motivated by ETIM for brutal incidents both in Xinjiang and beyond the region's borders.



The region of Xinjiang is imperative for the success of China Go west and OBOR projects. The geographical centrality and intermediate position of the region brings a interdependent situation in the scenario where instability in Central Asia has direct spill over effects on Xinjiang and vice versa. The region come from the domain of developing world and the areas as a whole is subject to militants groups as there are areas where the writ of the state is still not accessible. There exist a political economy of these groups that finds engaged

in war-theatres areas for instance first Afghanistan now Syria. The militants groups of Xinjiang and Central are currently engaged abroad and on their return there are chances that they will wage jihad on China.

Furthermore due to strong opposition from USA and India these groups that work on the name of Islam may be used as proxies to thwart the OBOR and Pipeline projects. To sustain Peace and stability in Xinjiang and Central Asia that is vital for stability in the region and to counter these threats China is pursuing many economic development and integration plans that will bring economic reforms and boost the economy of the region and that will ensure stability in the region. The energy import from Central Asia will bring industrialization in Xinjiang and the surplus will be exported either to Central Asia or by the way of Central Asia. The industrialization of Xinjiang serves China two purposes that is internal stability fortifies China strategic position globally to be more precise the industrialization of Xinjiang will bring stability there as well as the surplus good will flow from there.(Clarke, 2008)

#### **4.3.2. China's trade relations with Central Asia**

China trade relations with Central Asia can be divided into two phases as the region was annexed by Tsarist regime of Russia and was subject to strict protectionist policies so the relations can be termed as the soviet and post soviet era. The relations had to overcome many obstacles. The most important problem of them all was geographical in nature because of the Tain-Shan, Pamir Mountains and Taklinakan deserts that were unable to pass. Secondly the region in the pioneer years was very narrowly populated and the distance to reach major urban areas was very elevated hard to reach and at that time the industrialization was under process and liberalization factor was not dually followed by states. In the soviet era the hurdles was many as the stats were not fully industrialized coupled with the policy of

protectionisms, and Sino-Soviet had no clear border demarcation the border was not secure and no trade route opening was allowed. After the demise of USSR almost 15 states were given independence and the newly born Central Asian republics first came on the world map.

The rapprochement process started between China and Russia that gave end to the long Sino-soviet split. China was one of the first countries that recognized and started diplomatic relations with the newly independent central Asian republics. The beginning of relations embarked the development of trade and necessary infrastructure that is essential for trade in was setup like border posts road railways electrical grids pipelines etc.

The opening of first sino-kazk border that credit can be given to the treaties of friendship and cooperation trade exchange started officially and in the year of 1992-1996 the trade statistics was between 350 to 700 million dollars per year. From the year 1997-2001 trade relation went slowly with approx increase of 25% the reason for the downfall in trade was due to the tension at border coupled with the fact that Central Asia and Russian economy were facing a huge setback. In the year 2002 and onwards the trade relations that were mostly asymmetrical changed into mutually adventurous economic cooperation that involved participation from the both side and talks and endeavours stated for resolving border and Uyghur's issues. The trade relations were marked by with trade boom where the Chinese's keen interests in hydrocarbons started and started infrastructure economic development of Xingjian and the most important part was developing a regional organization Shanghai 5 that latter on developed into SCO. Between the year 2002-03 trade increased from about one billion/year to 3 that is almost 200% increase. (Gansukh, 2016)

**Table 4.3 Trade relation of China with Central Asia in 2012**

**Import/Export**

Country	trade value	Export	Inport
---------	-------------	--------	--------

	US \$	value China as exporter US \$	value China as importer
Kazakhstan	25,676,790	11,001,670	14,675,120
Kyrgyzstan	5,162,470	5,073,510	88,960
Tajikistan	1,856,700	1,747,870	10,883
Turkmenistan	10,372,710	1,699,330	8,673,380
Uzbekistan	2,874,680	1,783,050	1,091,630

From the beginning of diplomatic relations to a growing economic engagement, China has deep impact on the internal affairs of Central Asia economic engagements, mainly revolving around the SCO as China's policy is to interact through SCO and international organizations are the entities that provides legitimacy to state act. The state China being one of the regional power and exercise comparative advantage in many areas supports Central Asian republics membership into WTO as well as has plans to increase economic cooperation in the framework of SCO. This engagement by a world major power increases the prospects of regional integration. In the year of 2013 after announcement of OBOR that is the revival of the historic silk road and is openly compared to US marshal plans and if it compared OBOR has no ideological foundation while marshal plan was to contain communism the state policy rhetoric states that OBOR is a Win-Win situation that stresses on the distribution of production capacities on the rational of comparative cost advantage. This plan will complete in 35 years and on the other hand is increasing China engagement with the region as well as creating a complex interdependency. (Khan, 2009)



### 4.3.3. Energy interests

Energy has become the vital input element for national growth as it has become an input for major areas of domain to state such as economic, military to all sphere of life. China is a rising power and one of the states that is rapidly subject to industrialization and urbanization so the oil and gas consumptions of China are increasing day by day. China net oil import reached 282 million by end of 2013.

The Indigenous depots of oil and gas cannot full fill the country energy needs even though if it could states are prone to save it for the worst time as in period of war or crisis state can't rely on exports. The majority of the Chinese energy supply comes from maritime route and the tensions in South China Sea and due to the long and unsafe sea routes the State is considering an alternative energy supply to be more obvious a plan B and that comes from Russia, Central Asia and possibly from the maritime silk route that will develop with time via OBOR. Central Asia is highly energy rich countries and can possibly become a second middle east. Kazakhstan approx have 3.2% of world oil that is 40 billion barrels. Uzbekistan closes to 600 million barrels reserves. Turkmenistan has about 500 million barrels. Central Asia energy recourses could help China reduce its dependency on Middle East oil in time of crisis. China is currently working on many gas pipeline projects and the Chinese national company has ended the long monopoly of Gazprom Russian oil and Gas Company. (Pop, October 2010)

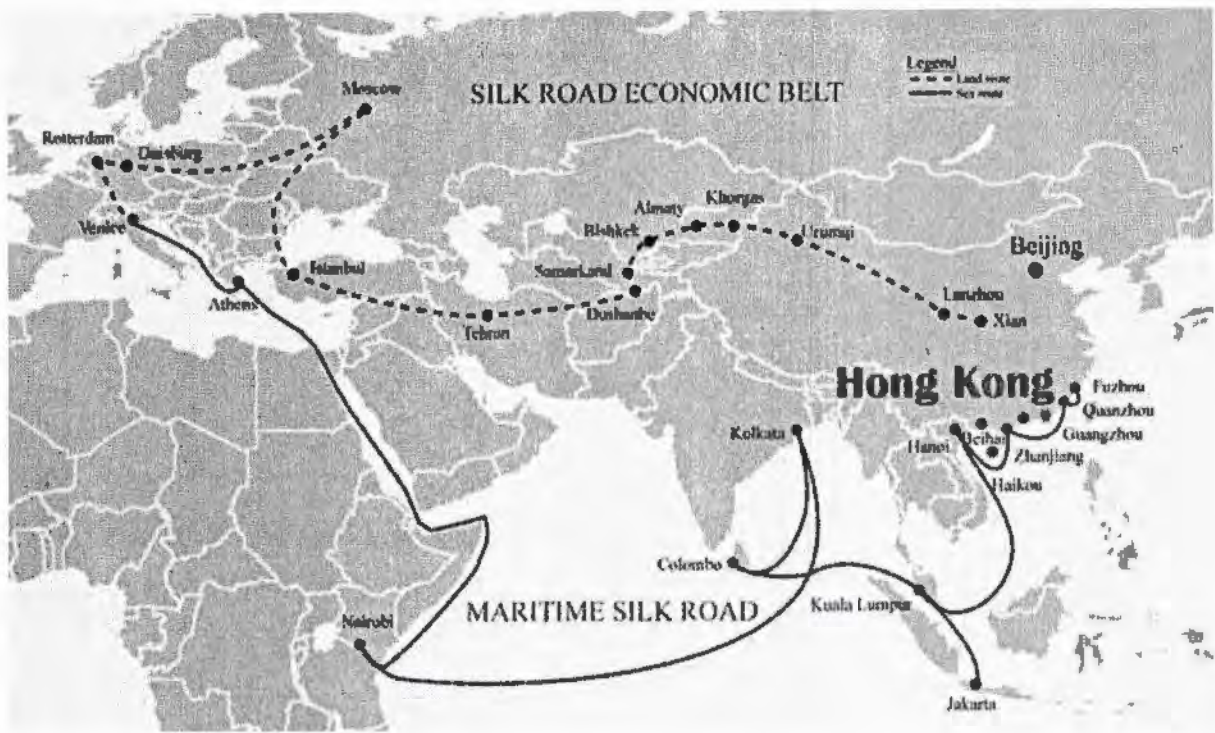
Since 1990, due to the rapid growth in domestic economy the development has compelled Beijing to go for additional energy supply from Central Asia and from a safe and secure uninterrupted supply. The pipeline politics involved in Central Asia is much complicated where many major power interests collide and often the feasibility and sustainability is questioned by scholars.

The Chinese leadership view Oil and Gas imports from Central Asia in a long term energy and security project aiming to sustain high economic growth. The project also serves the integrating purpose that is by promoting economic links between poor western region and rich eastern regions of the country and minimizes inequality. The pipelines could also minimize environmental degradation in China.

The Attau-Alashankou oil pipeline is the first direct oil import project that was initiated in 1997 and completed in December 2005 that transport 200,000 barrels a day and will be upgraded to 500,000 barrels a day till 2020 it is the first pipeline from Central Asian region to china. The Central Asia-China gas pipeline aka trans-Asia pipeline or Turkmenistan-china pipeline that was formally announced in 2007 and whose construction cost is 6.5 billion \$ is a two trunk pipeline running from Turkmenistan through Uzbekistan and southern Kazakhstan it second pipeline that will run from Kazakhstan to western china. The gas supply primarily rely from Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan from 2009 to 2011 10 BCM was supplied to China with 10 BCM to be delivered by Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan and expected gas supply is expected to be 60BCM by 2017. Today Turkmenistan is responsible for china 25% of hydrocarbon need. (Lain, 2016)

#### **4.3.4. New Silk Road initiative**

China is revitalizing the historic Silk Road trade route that runs between its own borders and Europe. The project was announced in 2013 by President Xi Jinping, the plan is to develop two new trade corridors one overland, the other by sea that will connect the country with its neighbours in the west Central Asia, the Middle East and Europe. (Gabuev, Eurasian Silk Road Union: Towards a Russia-China Consensus?, 2015)



The new silk road initiative is also called china's marshal plan but if the case of new silk road is compared to US marshal plan the new silk road is based on a comparative cost advantage unlike the marshal plan which had many political purposes i.e. to contain communism. OBOR has no ideological foundation and the investment is flowing through the new Silk Road fund 35 year program. OBOR is a practical manifestation of China's engagement towards the west or go Global policy that it will initially meet Chinese economic and energy interests and engage local companies abroad. OBOR is intended to a duration period of roughly 35 years. It represents endeavours to strategically open up new trade routes, markets and resources and to incorporate developments. The Chinese follow a traditional approach and that is known as the non-intervention and the importance of OBOR in the rise China's cannot be ignored. The official speeches and state rhetoric make it clear that is in case of a new world order it will give China and Russia a proper sphere of influence that will guide in the regulations of world affairs practically demonstrating the in the coming future China will come out of the traditional non-interference doctrine. The Engagement through OBOR also gives access to Central Asia hydrocarbons and development of Xinjiang.

The new silk road will connect China to west as the road passes through Central Asia and then to Europe. From the above argument development, peace and prosperity and their sustainability in CARS is an important variable for the success of the OBOR and Beijing is willing to even forgo its traditional doctrine for it. To sustain stability in the region a western type model is adopted and heavy investment is under process in the infrastructure, transportation sector, soft loans, cooperation in trade border control, easy tariff that the weak poor governed CARS are longing for. The investment will benefit them in terms of reap tax customs and security benefits. Chinese companies have funded and constructed roads, bridges and tunnels across Central Asia that is enhancing trade and making China the leading economic power in the region. With Chinese's investments approaching in growth in Central Asia is seen that is fostering a complex interdependency relation. (Patrick Bessler, 2014)

The SREB can be transformative or exploitative for Central Asia as China vision in theory supports regional integration and is promoting good governance and will enhance local economies but the repayment of the loans is a matter of concerns now in the countries where the silk road is passing the loans are structured in a way that it will covertly give access to mineral resources. But many analyst are of the view that it just cynicism and the rhetoric is used by enemy states as a propaganda to thwart the 40 bn \$ Silk Road fund. Whereas there are prospects that the state funding is to be expanded to 100 bn\$ and there is no mentioning of how much investments private companies will bring along. At this critical juncture of world affairs OBOR plays a keen role in China's peaceful rise and cannot afford the quest for influence be thwarted by any means. (Mariani, China's role and interests in Central Asia, OCTOBER 2013)

#### 4.4. Russian economic interest in Central Asia

The CARS gained independence from the USSR and are the immediate neighbours of Russia. The bilateral relations faced many set back and the Republics were way much ignored in president Yeltsin era. The Putin presidency has brought up Central Asia again to the screen and formulated a well known Eurasian vision and the relations are getting better with the post soviet states by the new policy of near abroad and com patriots. Russian economic engagement with Central Asia varies from country to country and the main sectors of economic engagement are mining, construction, the military industrial complex, telecommunication, transport, and agriculture. Russian exports to CARS are manufactured products such as food, machinery, textiles, transportation equipments, and imports are that of Raw materials that is agriculture, chemicals, and hydrocarbons. The overall trade between Russia and CARS in 2011 was 30 billion. (Laruelle, 2014)

**Table 4.4. Trade data between Russia and Central Asia 1991-1999**  
**Import/Export**

Year	Volume of trade US \$ millions	Russian exports to Central Asia US \$ millions	Russian imports from Central Asia US\$ millions
1991	59226	33785	25441
1992	6360	5767	596
1993	6750	4703	2047
1994	6143	3771	2372
1995	7679	4230	3449
1996	7244	3920	3324
1997	6833	3402	3431

1998	5411	3165	2246
1999	3695	1903	1792
2000	6469	2730	3739
2001	5924	3517	2407
2002	5464	3492	1972
2003	7088	4520	2568
2004	10463	6103	4360
2005	13227	7527	5702

**Table 4.5. Central Asia Trade relations with Russia 2008-2011 (million USD)**

Country	2008		2009		2010		2011	
	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import
Kazakhstan	6379.5	13298.6	6397.1	9147.2	4449.3	10690.3	6859.3	12906.0
Kyrgyzstan	491.1	1308.0	3671	915.5	393.3	990.8	292.8	1160.3
Tajikistan	212.8	792.9	213.3	573.1	673.3	90.0	90.0	720.4
Turkmenistan	100.2	808.2	45.1	992.0	757.4	142.8	142.8	1159.7
Uzbekistan	1299.9	2038.0	847.3	1694.4	1889.5	1889.7	1859.7	2106.6

Russia in order to achieve economic interests has initiated a number of economic institutions the custom union the Eurasian economic community Eurasian anti crisis fund CIS free trade zone and the Eurasian economic union. The close proximity has another impact on the economic relations as post soviet states the Central Asian republics depends on Russia on remittances.

In a nut shell Russian Economic interests can be summarised as

1. Mineral resources, oil, natural gas and uranium deposits.
2. Excessive labour capital that could be engaged both through attracting labour migrants to Russia and establishing local labour-intensive production facilities focused on commodity supply to Russia.
3. A huge internal market that has a large growth potential opening to new opportunities for Russian export and development of Russian enterprises and banks.
4. The historical and nomadic cooperation links and objective fundamentals for the development of new networking ( CARS relatively high level of trust toward Russia as compared to other countries actively penetrating the region, business environment comprehensible to Russian corporations, common language of communication, ties of kinship, etc.)
5. Opportunities of a wider beneficial transit from Central Asia and neighbouring countries to Europe via Russian territory. (Oliphant, Russia's role and interests in central asia, 2013)

#### **4.5. Russian Energy interest in Central Asia**

The disintegration of USSR and independence of CARS Moscow was not able to give Central Asia the due attention it required and that opened up the region towards many other countries. The blame can be put president Yeltsin tenure as Central Asia was not given the due attention that it deserved but under Primakov doctrine and leadership of Putin Russia is increasing engagement in the region to retain the role of a heart of influence in its neighbourhood.

Russia has a dominant role in Central Asia energy recourses and the Russian company Gazprom has maintained a monopoly there and Russian companies are responsible for exploration production development transportation of oil and gas. While being rich in energy itself it is showing interests in Central Asia's energy the phenomena can be explained by the historical and new state code of conduct the Russian empire used to get energy from Central

Asia and the contemporary state gets it because of the influence and the Soviet time infrastructure is still present there furthermore many of the Russia recourses are depleting and Moscow wants control on the Central Asian ones. Russia is a formidable power in terms of technology, political, economic and cultural perspectives and has leverage over the poor and weak Central Asian states. The more it has access the reserves the more it can have opportunities to strengthen its position, prosperity and power. Russia purchases oil and gas at cheap prices and sells it at a high price in the global market and due to geographical proximity and the pipelines pass through its territory and gives her another advantage to control the recourses obliquely. (Lain, 2016)

In Kazakhstan Russian company Lukoil is engaged in seven onshore and three offshore oil and gas projects and Kazakhstan accounts for 40% of Lukoil total reserves 90 % oil and 40% gas production overseas. In Uzbekistan Gazprom and Lukoil are involved in gas purchase and production capacities and account for 20% of gas production overall. In Turkmenistan interests are limited to natural gas sector where Ilera Company is involved in exploration.

The involvement of China and other companies the traditional role of Russia energy hegemony is declining but the fact can't be ignored that it is Russia that allows other in the region and even though if the countries become powerful enough to exercise power on their recourses they will need Russian territory to export to other nations . (Strokov, 2006)

#### **4.6. Convergence of interests in China's new silk road initiative**

In 2013 the Chinese presidents formally commence the one belt one road initiative in Kazakhstan. The new Silk Road initiative involves of many projects that include infrastructure development economic solidity, culture exchange and enhancing trade in the region. The OBOR is termed by many as the Chinese marshal plan and it consist of Central Asia, west Asia, the Middle East and Europe and South China Sea south pacific and Indian



interests through democracy humanitarian intervention and mass based social revolutions.

The overall foreign policy has remained Realist and is state centric both prefer order to democracy both the countries have 70% times voted same in UN and have opposed western intervention and a common standing on various international issues. (Alexandros Petersen Katinka Barysch, 2015)

## **5.6. Convergence of interests vis-a-vis the west**

Russia and China after the Sino-Soviet split developed a strategic partnership in 1996 at the Shanghai summit. The end of cold war and its revival brought Moscow and Beijing to work for an international policy based on multipolarity in Jiang and Yeltsin era specially to counter US dominance. The West continuous support for ethnic minorities' independence and human rights rhetoric coupled with US geopolitical supremacy has so far been the biggest factor responsible for a friendship treaty between Russia and China. The development of the supra-national organization SCO and the formation of an informal alliance on the platform of united nation Security where the two states have almost 70% of the times have voted same on international issues the factors proves that the two states are into an informal alliance on the world arena mainly to soft balance the US. Many official statements has repeatedly stated that the hegemonic power politics i.e. that of the USA are the main threat to world peace and stability as well as threat to the Chinese and Russian interest and the two states call for a new world order based on multi-polarity. The two states are also committed to strengthen their united nation Security Council permanent member status and are working towards to fortify their military relations with other anti-US states such as Iran and Iraq. Moscow and Beijing jointly opposed the NATO led humanitarian intervention in Kosovo, war sanction lifting from Saddam Husain regime. The two state holds joint navy exercises and special preference

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Ocean as the maritime Silk Road. President xi Jinping in 2013 announced that the purpose of OBOR is to bring economic cooperation and bring prosperity through trade and foster good relations with the neighbour countries as well as an attraction for other states as well. In the OBOR Central Asia play a major role in giving access to Europe. The Kazakhstan China rail road is one of the largest Trans route in the world it will cross China from east to west Russia Belarus Poland Germany France and then finally to Spain. The investment in the infrastructure gives China fast access to the countries via network of roads and railways and the pipelines provide China with energy recourses that are the needed for the ongoing rapid industrialization process.

The Central Asia republics are benefiting from new Silk Road indicative by receiving loans on very soft terms bilaterally from China and a Silk Road fund that is to be extended more for the success of the plan. The CARS market has the capacity to buy Chinese goods that gives creates great prospects for the plans of industrialization and good will be exported from the near areas of the country to the region. (Gansukh, 2016) Central Asia is a region that belonged to Russia for a vast amount of time the area consists of many historical and nomadic ties and is considered by Moscow as its backyard. Many scholars like Bobo lo terms the good relations of Russia and China as a marriage of convenience and predict that the two states that historically share many scepticism and distrust the strong relations will soon come to an end by the saying that when it comes to money everyone is of the same religion and states are barely inclined to compromise on economic interests and the interests of the two diverge in many points as Russia is the first state that had a vision for Central Asia and was the first who initiated the integration model of Eurasia that provide a legitimate point to Moscow that it can exploit in the international arena if any animosity is to be seen between the two states. The economic crisis of 2010 is the first event that has given an opportunity to

China to take over Russia in the economic front in Central Asia and for that Russia shares deep concerns about. (Märta Carlsson, Susanne Oxenstierna, Mikael Weissmann, 2010)

On the 70th anniversary of end of World war two China and Russia were seen on each other side. In the event Putin recognized China role in Asian resistance against militarism in good words. The event is very important in world affairs as was the speech of President Bush declaring a new world order as the role of Sino-Russo cooperation in case of a new world order was bragged about and as military exercises are state signals towards other belligerent and enemy states the event is very imperative on the basis of giving the whole world a signal about the future of the international structure. The parade was boycotted by most of the western countries and from this behaviour of the former imperialist and the contemporary neo- imperialist the double standards is clear to the world the event gives a clear empirical evidence to predict for whom the alliance is to be made more fortified .The head of the states Xi and Putin of the two states China and Russia have met nine times since 2013 that is the largest number in the history of the bilateral relations.

The study on the official declarations of joint statement on the Sino–Russian partnership shows that Russia China relations have grown closer since the Ukraine crisis. The fact can be more justified by the evidence of signing of oil and gas deals and increasing military cooperation, the trade growth of 88\$ billion and similar perception on various world affairs such as Afghanistan, Syria, Ukraine, Iran, North Korea and stability and security of Asia pacific. The two states are on an unendorsed agreement to resolve multiple regional and international problems that proves the changing international structure and increasing power and influence on international forum. The most important one of the official statements that disproves all the rumours and speculated arguments on the divergence phenomena of the states is the agreement of the two on Eurasian Economic integration project that will involve OBOR merging with EAEU on the platform of SCO. This step has addressed Russian

concerns on the new Silk Road and brought up a conscience on the China growing influence in Central Asia and through institutions the matter in being legitimised that if a regime change or alteration in the personal relations of the officials the matter is to remain through an organization. (Purushothaman, 2015)

The central Asian republics as post soviet states that inherited most of the infrastructure from USSR are deeply dependent on Russia and are integrated in Russian strong system of political economic and military influence that even the powerful state as the US could not diminish. The study of bilateral relation show the USA as an important variable that brings the two states together and makes the bond stronger and the economic sanctions from and the US and the west bring Sino-Russo more closely.

The launching of OBOR makes a formidable increase in the convergence of interests in Central Asia. The plan empowers both Russia and China regionally and internationally both of the states are keen sceptics of the western imperialism and rationalism and the states have a keen understandings on the divide and rule policy of the west and understand that the two can't work without each other. The contemporary unofficial bond formed can be best described as Russia being the security might of the region and China as an economic might. To have a more understanding of the engagement the happening can be explained by Russia accepting China rise and doing the act of Balancing to counter the west furthermore Moscow is cooperating in every field in order to modernise its economy as in the conventional conflict the west can't beat Russia and can in the modernize economic warfare.

The Rise of China as a full fledged super power is much of a debatable question by comparison for the world and region and especially for Russia a Pax Sino will more pleasant and acceptable than Pax Americana. (Gabuev, A "SOFT ALLIANCE"? RUSSIA-CHINA RELATIONS AFTER THE UKRAINE CRISIS, 2015)

## 4.7. Conclusion

This chapter briefly discusses the economic importance of central Asia with respect of economic and energy. China and Russia economic interests and approach towards Central Asia and briefly explains the variables that are responsible for Sino-Russo convergence and why two states are accommodating conflicting interest in Central Asia. From the study it can be assumed that Russian and China bilateral relations are going smooth after cold war and onwards.

In the soviet era China had no proper access to the region due to strict Soviet protectionist policies but soon after the demise of the soviet union and Beijing opening up to the reign give the opportunity to interact with state to state and remove the trade barriers. The economic crisis that hit Russia and Central Asia in the 1997 and 2010 paved the way for China for deep economic engagement. The Ukraine crisis and constant US and western sanctions are the variables that are more responsible for cooperation in conflicting interests.

The two states are moving forward by cooperation as the code of conduct in the economic areas where states in the majority are found in conflicts with each other when one states is surpassing the other because in the long term it proves hard for the states interests.

The rapid industrialization and technological advancement of China coupled with the economic crisis of Russia and Central Asia is the basis of cooperation. The engagement provides the opportunity to Russia to modernize its own market with the Chinese model as the Chinese economy is growing fast and Russia has been hit hard by the west many times by sanctions other covert means. Moscow is cooperating with Beijing in the economic means because it is in dire need of investments that can only be provided by China. Other reasons for the convergence is that Russia is that to ensure it economic presence Moscow has made custom unions and a Eurasian Union that removes the trade barriers and guarantees the smooth flow of goods.

The pipeline engagements have cemented Chinese presence in the region. If the historical facts are taken in consideration Central Asia energy has proved vital in the regime of the tsarist to the Bolsheviks where the state would get free energy recourses and it played an important role in the rise of the state. The Modern Russia won't get the recourses for free where states as taken place of empires but Moscow still holds leverage here as the routes of the pipelines passes through Russia. The Gazprom Company has had remind the only company that was operating from the region.

The energy domain is also diverging point for the states but here the states through a consensus has made an arrangement that accommodates the two as by involving China in the region guarantees both states to cooperate against any other intrusion in the area. The proposals for forming an energy club in the SCO will give the legitimate right to both of the states that if won't let them completely control the recourses but at least have a leverage or a head start on other states.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### **Political and security dimension of convergence of interests**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

This chapter will explore Sino-Russo convergence of interests in central Asia in the field of security and political dimension. It will through light on the geopolitical importance of the region with respect of military and political variables. The second part elevates the Chinese and Russian interests in the region. And the last part of the chapter endeavours to explain the factors that are leading to Russian and Chinese combined military exercises and advocacy of autocratic regimes joint ventures to counter and contain the influence of the west that is the most important factor responsible for Sino-Russo Convergence in Central Asia.

#### **5.2. Geopolitical importance of Central Asia**

The geographical importance of a region or a state is a considerable feature of the strategic affairs of states for diverse policies that are mainly directed to achieve an enlarged political control across the borders. The concept of strategic importance emerged since late 19th century as an important dialogue in conceptualising the international political developments and is still a dominating factor in most of the Strategic scenario of international politics. The present-day international politics is revolving around the geopolitics, geo-economics, strategic positions and possessions of vital resources. Every state as a rational actor is more concerned with the national interest and promotion of national influence to meet a relative criterion for power. The fundamentals of national power are to be found in special geographical locations of the world and makes geopolitics and geo-economics more applicable with the international politics and the geopolitics as 'position' and geo-economics



as 'possession of vital resources,' are the prerequisites of power politics and are strategically significant to maintain the existence of states of 21st Century.

The Central Asia region as a landlocked region has been for most of history subject to power politics from the strategic scenarios of Great Game, Heartland concept; US war on terror and the new Great game. The major historic players of the geopolitical great games are the Turks, Persians, Greeks Arabs Chinese's and Russians. After the disintegration of USSR the five CARS came into being that are Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan these states share a common history culture and are different ethnically and on economic situations. Russia is and has remained a dominant player in Central Asia and has exercised a traditional and nomadic influence.

The Central Asian Republics poses huge reserves of oil gas and uranium and other mineral recourses along with a very significant geopolitical position. Some of the strategic aspects of the region is it is the shortest way to connect Asia to Europe and share close proximity with Russia and China these two characteristics gives it a unique significance and because of these position the region has been subject to the great game between the empires of Great Briton and tsarist Russia.

The region is in the core of Mackinder thesis that states that "he who control the heartland control the world" and Spykman Rimland Theory that states "control of heartland and sea around the Eurasian landmass are equally important conditions to rule the world". (Abilov, 2012)

The region is termed by the famous US adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski as the "Ark of Crisis" and by Condoleezza Rice as the "Ark of opportunity". In operation enduring freedom the Central Asian states were in the heart of logistic network and proved strategically significant for the US and NATO Forces. (Denoon, 2016)

The strategic region is very important for states to pursue various political and economic aspirations that many scholars term as the New Great game where the three key players Russia, China and The US are in struggle. Russia maintains a traditional influence in its so called backyard. China as a rising power is growing economic and political relations. The Sino-Russo strategic partnership is directed to balance the US. The US has many interests in the region that includes democratization plans, energy interest's to ensure stability in Afghanistan and to contain Rising China and revival of Russian empire in the region. (Abilov, 2012)

Central Asia witnessed foreign basing by France, Germany, India Russia US and NATO which is an established power projection by states that address various political military and economic interests. The New Silk Road Plans by China to go global and USA own version to connect South Asia to Central Asia where Afghanistan will be the centre. The strategic significance of the region and important energy recourses are the motivating factors for the great players that are turkey Iran China Russia India Pakistan USA EU and has kept central Asia alive in the post industrial 21st Century in the evolving scenarios of war/peace international politics. (Kyrre Elvenes Brækhus, Indra Øverland , 2007)

### **5.3. China political and security interests in Central Asia**

Central Asia due to immense energy recourses and important geopolitical positions attract major powers of the world. China's approach towards international relations like most of the states is generally realist and regard military, economic, and political interests crucial for a compressive national strength. The state of China follows a policy of non-intervention when it comes to other states but when it comes to Central Asia and rising China status to oblige to a global power status sees strategic contest with rivals inevitable. China deeply follows the policy of non-intervention and chief political concern in Central Asia of Beijing is political stability i.e. backing of secular, semi-autocratic regimes. China is a devoted

defendant of principal of Westphalia sovereignty and lay emphasis that a country political system should not be changed by another country. China today is surrounded by capitalist states and is encircled by USA. According to many Chinese's official statements interpretations the advocacy of Liberal democracy and human rights business, cultural exchanges and foreign ideas are the west's non-military means to achieve their interests and Beijing is much sceptical of west engagement in Central Asia that has direct spill over effects on China.

The Xinjiang territory comes under Mackinder heartland area which traditionally has been problem for Chinese's empires and the contemporary People's Republic is also facing separatist's movements. These movements link themselves close to Central Asia. The regions close proximity with China and any kind of tangible or intangible support to these groups or to the Uyghur Diaspora from the Central Asian republics can have negative impacts on the autonomous region and may disturb the huge Chinese's military installations present there and increase domestic instability that the area is already facing and increase terrorism. China is having many trade and energy relations with CARS via trade routes pipelines that are an integral part of Chinese national security and any instability in Xinjiang or Central Asia is directionally proportional to regional stability. (Gurbanmyradova, 2014)

Central Asia republics comes under developing states and are subjects to radical Islamic militancy the region shares close geographical proximity with Afghanistan and many Islamic militants that belong from the region are either engaged in Syria or Afghanistan on return they may create instability. China promotes economic development and advocates CARS WTO membership and is working towards a free trade zone through the framework of SCO and there are huge prospects and official rhetoric of combining EEU with the new Silk Road in order to promote the economy that directly effects and achieve stability in the region.

Central Asia is a link to connect China to Europe to achieve the go Global policy that is imperative of the peaceful rise of the nation other than that the main objective of OBOR is the promotion of stability in the region, develop infrastructure and led a 35 years economic engagement plan that is mainly based on comparative cost production phenomena. One of the most political and strategic goal of China in the region is that the state wants to limit west influence in the region where NATO expansion, mass based social revolution , human rights and liberal democracy promotion are direct threat to national security. (Clarke, 2008)

#### **5.4. Russia political and security interests in Central Asia**

As the region of Latin America can be coined as the backyard of USA, Central Asia is a region that can be termed as the backyard of Russia. Moscow is the most prominent actor in Central Asia in term of political and security dimensions. The region is marked deeply by the soviet past, with common values and codes of conduct, and shares a colonial tonality. When the USSR disintegrated the CARS were more in a shock then delight. Russia political interests in the region generally are stability and order based on the policy near abroad protection of the compatriots.

The Central Asian Republics comes under the domain of weak states index and ensuring stable regimes is vital for Moscow as these states are venerable to the west led social movements where the transition phase causes hoax and that effects directly Russia. The threat of fundamentalist Islam from Central Asia and Afghanistan is directly effects on Russia and that President Putin terms as the creation of the west. In the security sphere Russia is having two organizations CSTO and SCO and remains the security leader in the region and provides a security umbrella. Many attempts were made by the CARS and west to reduce the dependency and create a Euro centric security setup but that neither is feasible for the republics or Moscow can allow that. Russia through CSTO has secured the VETO power to

not let any foreign base in Central Asia and India and USA which has had bases in Central Asia got that permission through Russian. Moscow maintains two bases in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan and have test fire sites space program missile launching sites and prior to all that Russia is the chief trainer of Central Asian forces and maintain a high military industrial complex and the central Asian militaries are dependent on Russian arms and ammunition. The two bases are directed to have a quick response to the complex strategic environment in Afghanistan and were upgraded.

### RUSSIA STRENGTHENS ITS MILITARY

Concerns of a spillover of militancy from Afghanistan into Central Asia has caused Russia to strengthen its military and security footprint in the region. Russia's 201st military base commander in Tajikistan recently said that Russia would increase the number of troops from 5,900 to 9,000 soldiers over the next five years.



Drug trafficking is another concern that Russia wants to counter. The opium production from Afghanistan is much used in Russia and Iran and Moscow mostly blames on Central Asian states as that they don't monitor their border completely and that is creating problems for Russia. (GÜNDÜÇ, 2012)

Moldova, Trans-Dniester	Tiraspol operational group of Russian forces in Trans-Dniester General staff, former 8th separate Guards motorized rifle brigade unit.
Tajikistan	Nurck: Unit 7680, space forces and 37th Air army of long range Aviation satellite surveillance centre. Dushanbe-kulyab-Tyube: 201st military base. Volga Ural Military District 201 Motorized rifle division and 670th aviation group.
Ukraine	Sevastopol, Russian Black sea fleet naval base

(Laruelle, 2014)

## 5.5. Common Perception on World Affairs

Russia and China are engaged in a strategic partnership which the most prominent scholar on the field Bobo lo terms as a "Axis of convenience". The fundamental factor behind this partnership is the uni-polar international structure which analysed in neo-realism paradigm is the motivating factor for states to Band wagoning or balancing in order to counter a hegemonic superpower. After the demise of USSR in 1991 bi-polarity came to an end and the international structure became uni-polar that resulted as the USA as the only international super power and the age of Pax Americana begin the geopolitical supremacy which the US had achieved no other nation could have ever achieved in their own version of world order. The rise of USA is an important variable in the overall study of bi-lateral relation that is bringing Russia and China together and from critically examining China

foreign policy objectives it is straight that Russia has adopted China's concept of a multi-polar world order. As KO Sangtu says that "*Russia has chosen to bandwagon with rising China in order to counter the US*". Robert Donaldson argues that the 2001 Good Neighbourly Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Russia and China meets the prerequisite of an coalition as the treaty involves mutual responses to threats to the security of both states. Since the end of cold war of its revival Much of the Russian leadership energy is consumed either to check the US or make agreement and Dmitri trenin say "Both Russia and China believe that by coordinating their policies at the global level they can enhance their standing and protect their interests. (Gurbanmyradova, 2014)

China as a rising power is facing encirclement by the US where China is in a geopolitical disadvantage. The US has had past cold war experience and maintains a reputation there the encirclement is based on many layers of encircling military alliances and global network of 450 military bases in 36 countries is meant to contain Russia and China and has a well formulated strategy to not let any country have absolute influence over the Central Asia region in the form of Brzezinski doctrine in order to sustain American primacy that is on the decline. NATO's spreading out in Eastern Europe and Central Asia an effort to keep the US and NATO Central Asian ambitions aside, Russia the conventional Central Asian power and rising China has been in a quest where the two cooperate closely of to expand its power in the region. (McCoy, June 7, 2015.)

Alexander Lukin about Russia China common perception in Central Asia argues "*There are three common interests uniting them there: upholding political stability, safeguarding secular regimes, and promoting economic development in the region*". China and Russia are strongly committed to the policy of non-interference principle of state sovereignty, territorial integrity and in the light of various official statements from China and Russia both see the western policy of non-military tools as a disguise to achieve their

interests through democracy humanitarian intervention and mass based social revolutions.

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to strategy arms and equipments technology transfer that were used by Russia in cold war against the US as the US is using the same containment strategy that it used against Russia now that are jointly used for both Russia and China so Beijing and Moscow are doing the same and are benefiting from Russian past experience of the cold war. The US-led international order analysed in the view of Russian and Chinese's elite narrative of post cold war is that the US is set out to deprive them at home, humiliate them abroad exploit their vulnerability and gain geopolitically and economically in their view the current order is full of iniquities rancorous non-western powers of their rightful and status. Russia envisions a tripolar world order ruled by USA Russia and China. Beijing although has benefited from the trade liberalization such as WTO but still view the US as the only true global counterpart. (Savic, December 07, 2016)

The CARS as former Warsaw pact members were the early participants of the North Atlantic cooperation council established in 1991 to carry out the east-west divide a NATO strategy to reach out strategically important region that is linked to wider Euro-Atlantic and Afghanistan security that was adopted at the Lisbon summit in 2010. The Central Asian republics were eager to join the alliance in order to balance Russia and forge a Euro centric security approach but the formation of another security umbrella is not as feasible for the republics. The security and stability of Afghanistan is directly and indirectly related to Central Asia and the CARS have provided support to NATO-led ISF operation enduring freedom and the incessant stay of US and NATO troops stationed in Central Asia reached to a number 10,000 and the installation of an air defence system by US in Central Asia that could intercept Russian intercontinental missiles pre-emptively risen Chinese and Russian concern that was countered through the framework of SCO and CSTO. (Koolae, 2005)

The EU objective in Central Asia range from democracy promotion, Education trade energy and security issues. The US interests are to promote stability in Afghanistan and link

South Asia to Central Asia as Afghanistan the centre of the new Silk Road and promote democracy. The authoring regime are not addressing US interests as showed in the greater middle east plan that initially was to be presented in the G20 summit but was leaked out. To elaborate US strategic interests in the region the Brzezinski doctrine explains US attempts to minimize Russia China influence as the doctrine taking base from Mackinder heartland the doctrine states that to sustain American supremacy no power should be allowed alone to rule the Eurasian mass. (Ghiasy ,Mankoff, Richard, 2015)

The counter US influence Russia and China has opted for cooperation on some diverging points where interests of the two collide that is better explained by Bobo lo as "Bilateral relationship is two important to risk for the sake of the regional influence in Central Asia". The alliance or soft balancing or convergence or the marriage of convenience between China and Russia as the two major powers is limiting their differences in order to tackle the super power. On the occasion of 70th anniversary of victory of ww2 parade where many countries participated and USA and Europe boycotted where Russia and China celebrated victory against Nazism and Fascism while giving a message to the world for constituting a joint security mechanism for multi-polar serving against a common foe from the Black sea to the South China Sea. (Valantin, 2017) The US is encircling Russia and China trough 450 military bases and diplomatic layer of security organisation a pivot to Asia and an Asian-NATO like project. Where the Sino-Russo marriage of convenience is resulting in cooperation for a multi-polar world extending cooperation against terrorism securing Silk Road grand Eurasia promote order and regionalization of South Asia to Central Asia. (McCoy, June 7, 2015.)

amended and supplemented. The Verdict by the Council of Heads of State relating to amendments and additions shall be dignified by separate protocols which shall be its fundamental part and enter into force in agreement with the modus operandi provided for by Article 21 of this Charter.

**Article 24:** The article explains about the Reservations regarding the charter that is defined as No doubts can be made to this Charter which disagree with the principles, goals and objectives of the Organization and could thwart any SCO body from performing its functions.

**Article 25:** This article is concerned with the Depositary of the charter and is decided that the People's Republic of China shall be the Depositary of the Charter.

**Article 26:** The article explains the Registration charter to the United Nations which Pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations, this Charter is subject matter to registration with the Secretariat of the United Nations. (Report, November 25, 2013)

## **6.5. China's perspective**

China besides having close proximity with the region has had shared close link with Central Asia from the old silk road to the new OBOR historically and contemporary, relations can be traced backed for as long as 2000 years. In the wake of China's rapid industrialization and economic growth the phenomena demand for immense energy recourses and security at the western region and new Silk Road and for that Central Asia has become an important region for China's national security. After the birth of Central Asian republics after the demise of USSR China was the first country to recognize the republics and to resolve the border disputes and to boost trade the shanghai 5 in 1996 was formed and latter transformed to SCO as an organization that has enabled China to foster strong relatious with Central

South Asia to Central Asia as Afghanistan the centre of the new Silk Road and promote democracy. The authoring regime are not addressing US interests as showed in the greater middle east plan that initially was to be presented in the G20 summit but was leaked out. To elaborate US strategic interests in the region the Brzezinski doctrine explains US attempts to minimize Russia China influence as the doctrine taking base from Mackinder heartland the doctrine states that to sustain American supremacy no power should be allowed alone to rule the Eurasian mass. (Ghiasi ,Mankoff, Richard, 2015)

The counter US influence Russia and China has opted for cooperation on some diverging points where interests of the two collide that is better explained by Bobo lo as "Bilateral relationship is too important to risk for the sake of the regional influence in Central Asia". The alliance or soft balancing or convergence or the marriage of convenience between China and Russia as the two major powers is limiting their differences in order to tackle the super power. On the occasion of 70th anniversary of victory of ww2 parade where many countries participated and USA and Europe boycotted where Russia and China celebrated victory against Nazism and Fascism while giving a message to the world for constituting a joint security mechanism for multi-polar serving against a common foe from the Black sea to the South China Sea. (Valantin, 2017) The US is encircling Russia and China through 450 military bases and diplomatic layer of security organisation a pivot to Asia and an Asian-NATO like project. Where the Sino-Russo marriage of convenience is resulting in cooperation for a multi-polar world extending cooperation against terrorism securing Silk Road grand Eurasia promote order and regionalization of South Asia to Central Asia. (McCoy, June 7, 2015.)

## 5.7. Conclusion

This chapter has briefly discussed the Sino-Russo political and security convergence where the theoretical understanding of the phenomena is discussed in the theoretical framework as neo-realism explains that states in an international structure such as a uni-polar world: states in order to contain a hegemon engage in a phenomenon known as band wagoning or balancing. From the study it can be assumed that China and Russia are strategic partners and both of the states being nuclear powers gives them a legal ground to have more cooperation on military engagement.

In the case study of Central Asia China recognizes the historic and nomadic influence and Russia that heads the security granter of the region. In the security realm China is less concerned to be engaged anywhere militarily and is pleased to see Russia taking all the defence expenditure itself. This is the reason that Beijing has never showed any concerns on the security organizations led by Russia as CSTO. The combined military exercises from SCO that had formal understanding from CSTO are another argument that proves that the two partners in the region. The tensions with the west and NATO eastward expansion has made Central Asia as the strategic depth for China and Russia and is another variable responsible for convergence. whereas USA is the most important factor that is holding the two together and if US influence is minimized in Central Asia by its complete withdrawal from Afghanistan still it won't be weak internationally even though if China surpasses the US in economy. As said by Dr, Kirill Nourzhanov "*Russia will try to balance China with friendship relations, and in case common interests disappear, China and Russia would still create something new to come up together*". (Gurbanmyradova, 2014) As a well known expert on Sino-Russo relation states it "*Two sides aim nothing less than a counterthrust against the new world order led by US*" (Garnett, 2000) furthermore Bobo Ilo a keen expert on Russia and

China has also said that "*Their bi-lateral relationship is too important to risk for the sake of regional influence in central Asia*". (Io, Axis of Convenience Moscow, Beijing, and the New Geopolitics, 2008)

Russia and China also share stability and security concern of Central Asia as any of the two creates problems domestically for Moscow and in Xingjian in China and this convergence has resulted in cooperation against terrorism, military exercises and future prospects for a Sino-Russo centric security arrangement.

## CHAPTER SIX

### **Convergence of interests within the SCO**

#### **6.1. Introduction**

This chapter will briefly explain Sino-Russo institutional engagement. In the beginning the chapter gives an overview of SCO, Charter and organizational structure. Then the chapter gives a brief account of Russia, China and CARS perspective of SCO and its importance. The mid section gives a brief account of Sino-Russo convergence in the framework of SCO. The last section briefly explains Sino-Russo convergence and the achievements of cooperation that is border management economic cooperation joint military exercises and cooperation against terrorism.

#### **6.2. SCO An overview**

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is a supra-national inter-governmental organization that has political, economic and security functions. China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan founded SCO in 2001. The South Asian states India and Pakistan have become permanent members in 2017 and Iran, Afghanistan, Mongolia, Belarus, are as observer states and Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Nepal, Sri Lanka as the dialog partners. (Bhattacharjee, 2017) The preliminary goal of Shanghai 5 was to resolve border disputes with Russia and the CARS and was derived by the treaty on deepening military trust and treaty on reduction of military forces in border region. The member states later on agreed to oppose any intervention in other countries internal affairs in the disguise of humanitarianism and vowed to support the member states national integrity, independence, sovereignty and social stability. The prospects of non-intervention doctrine of the SCO is considered by many analysts as an endeavour by Russia and China to limit spreading of liberal

democracy in the region and promote their political and economic interests in the region. The inclusion of Uzbekistan in Shanghai 5 at the annual summit of S-5 in Shanghai the six member states signed the declaration of Shanghai cooperation organization that transformed the organization into a high level cooperative mechanism. The charter of SCO was signed in 2002 which defined the organizational purposes structure, rules and forms of operation. The major aim of the organization is to deepen cooperation in interlinked regional activities that is to eliminate the three evils Terrorism, Separatism and extremism in Central Asia. SCO is an active participant for the normalization of situation of Afghanistan and is currently working on over twenty mega projects in the field of transportation, energy telecommunication. The organization holds regular meeting on domains that concern military, defence, Foreign affairs economic cultural and banking matters of the region. (Alyson J. K. Bailes Pál Dunay Pan Guang Mikhail Troitskiy, 2007)

The organization repose of 60% of Eurasian mass that is one forth of world populations and if observer's states are incorporated it is home for almost half of the world population. SCO has keep up an observer status in the organizations UN, EU, ASEAN CIS and OIC and also cooperate with other Eurasian organization like CSTO, EEU and ECO. The organization is playing vital role in stabilizing relations between China Russia where the interests of the two major powers diverge on many issues and has brought the two on security cooperation against the three evils military cooperation on intelligence sharing counter terrorism joint exercises and working for free trade, Energy club and cultural cooperation. (Gurbanmyradova, 2014)

With the inclusion of South Asian states India and Pakistan that process has completed in 2017. The organization now holds a vital role in the regional integration and interconnectivity of Central Asia with south Asia that gives a legitimate ground and increases



the role of Russia and China in Afghanistan issue and the long-established indo-Pak rivalry and a promising role in shaping a multipolar world. (Bhattacharjee, 2017)

### **6.3. Organizational structure of SCO**

To perform the objectives and destinations of the Shanghai cooperation organization twelve bodies work inside the organization.

#### **The head of state council**

The head of state council is the supreme body of SCO. It is accountable for shaping main concern and classifies key areas of actions of the organization, Fix on upon the indispensable issues of its internal arrangement and execution and its dealing with other states and international organization, and in addition consider the most contemporary international issue. The council organize meetings annually and venue is decided in Russian alphabetical order of member states.

#### **The head of government council**

The head of government council is responsible for the financial plan of the organization determining issues particularly related to economic sphere of interaction inside the organization and meets annually.

#### **The council of Ministers of foreign affairs**

The council of ministers of foreign affairs is responsible for the issues related to day-to-day activities, preparation of meetings of head of state council holding meetings on international problems within the organization. Produce statements on behalf of SCO. The venue is decided on mutual consultation and is held one month before the head of state council meeting.

### **Meetings of Head of Ministers and/or Agencies**

The meetings of head of ministers and/or Agencies is a mechanism of meetings on the level of speakers of parliament, Secretaries of security councils, Foreign ministers, Ministers of Defence, Emergency relief, economy, Transportation, Culture, Education, Healthcare, Head of law Enforcement Agencies, Supreme court, courts of arbitration, and prosecutor general.

Meeting are held in light of discussion of head of states council and head of government council on regular basis for specific issues of association in fields inside SCO.

### **The council of national coordinators**

The council of national coordinators is an in charge of coordinating interactions within the SCO framework. It directs and guides everyday exercises for meetings of head of state council, Head of government council, Council of ministers of foreign affairs meetings are held thrice a year.

### **Regional Anti-Terrorist structure**

RATS is a structure established by the members to contest terrorism, separatism, and extremism RATS is a permanent organization and is based in Tashkent. The main job of RATS is The Regulation of relations with institutes of member states and international organizations that deal with the issues of combating terrorism, separatism, and extremism. The cooperation in interaction with member states in preparation, arranging counterterrorism practices by demand of member state planning and lead hunt operations and different exercises in the field of battling terrorism, separatism, and extremism. The collaboration on writing the international legal records that is concerning the fight against Terrorism, Separatism and extremism. And the assembling and probing of data going to RATS from member state arrangement and filling of RATS data bank. A combined arrangement of a

structure that is effective in response to global challenges and threats. To prepare and conduct scientific conferences and workshop that will help sharing knowledge in the field of battling terrorism, separatism, and extremism.

### **The SCO Secretariat**

The secretariat is bases in Beijing are the permanent executive body of SCO that provides information, analysis technical support, and legal framework and is in charge for the functions and working of SCO bodies.

### **Decisions-Taking procedure**

The bodies take decision by agreement and a decision is adopted if no member state has raised objection during vote in case of suspension or expulsion of members from organization that is taken by consensus minus one vote of the member state concerned.

### **Implementation of Decision**

Taken by bodies is implemented by party states in relation to procedure set out in their national legislation.

### **Non Governmental bodies**

The SCO consists of two nongovernmental organizations.

### **The business council of the shanghai cooperation organization**

The business council is a Moscow based body and it brings together the most influential business communities of the six member countries with an aim to boost economic cooperation in SCO framework and establishing link and dialog among member business and financial circles.

## **SCO interbank consortium**

The interbank consortium is a mechanism of funding and banking services of investment projects supported by government of the SCO member states. (Al-Qahtani, 2005)

### **6.4. Charter of SCO**

The Charter of SCO is based on 26 articles that define the goals and principles of SCO with commitment to UN, International law for maintenance of Global peace, security, Cooperation good relations between states and was signed on 15 June 2001.

**Article 1:** Article one defines that goals and tasks of SCO that are

- To promote good neighbourliness, mutual trust and friendly relations between members.
- To fortify multidisciplinary cooperation in strengthening and sustaining peace security and promote fair and rational political economic and democratic international order.
- To give a joint response to terrorism, separatism, and extremism in every form fight arms and drugs trafficking illegal migration and other criminal activity of transnational nature.
- To promote regional cooperation in the domain of politics, trade economy law enforcement environment protection culture science technology education energy transport finance and other areas of common interests.
- Joint action to promote economic growth social and cultural development and improve living standards of peoples of member states.
- To organize ways for integration into global economy.

- To promote human rights and freedom in regards with international compliance and national legislature of member states.
- To develop relations with other states and international organizations
- To prevent international conflicts and promote peaceful settlements.
- To coordinate in quest for solution of problems in 21st century.

**Article 2:** This article defines the basic principles of the organization that are

- To respect sovereignty, territorial integrity non-interference in internal affairs of states and no use of force or threat of force or seek unilateral military might in near areas.
- Equality of all member search of common position on the grounds of mutual understanding and respect for each other.
- Implementation of joint exercises in the domain of common interests.
- Peaceful settlement of disputes between member states.
- SCO is not to be directed towards any other organization or state.
- Prevent any act against SCO interests.
- Execute the current charter and other documents adopted in the framework of SCO.

**Article 3:** This section of the Charter defines the areas of cooperation of member states

- Sustain peace and expand security and confidence building in the region.
- Quest for common position on foreign policy issues of common interests and issues emerging on the international forums and organizations.
- Execution and maturing endeavours aimed at jointly counteracting Terrorism, separatism and extremism drugs and arms trafficking and any other criminal activity of transnational nature.
- Bring together efforts in the domain of arms control and disarmament.

- Endorse and boost regional economic cooperation in field of trade free flow of goods capital science and technology.
- Development of energy sector improvement and effective use of existing transportation and communication infrastructure.
- Joint association in preventing natural and manmade disasters and eradication of their implication.
- Implementation of joint environmental projects and programs and water recourse management.
- Exchange of legal information in the interests of development of cooperation within SCO.
- Development of interaction in domain of science, technology education, health care culture and tourism.

The SCO members may boost the sphere of collaboration by joint conformity.

**Article 4:** This article directed towards the goals and objective of SCO bodies.

1 For execution of goals and objectives in according to the contemporary charter the following bodies may operate within the organization.

- The council of head of states
- the council of head of government (prime ministers)
- The council of ministers of foreign affairs
- Meeting of head of ministers or agencies
- The council of national coordinators
- The regional counter terrorist structure
- SCO Secretariat

2 The council of head of states may define the function and working of bodies and SCO and RATS.

3 The formation of other bodies is to be directed by council of head of states.

**Article 5:** This article defines the function of the head of the states that is the supreme body of SCO and will define activities of organization on fundamental issues of internal arrangements, functions and interaction with other states and organization.

**Article 6:** This section of the charter defines the function of the council of head of government that is responsible for the budget of organization decision making process and is concerned with economic nature of interaction within the organization.

**Article 7:** The Council of ministers of foreign affairs is concerned with the day-to-day actions of meeting of the body, meeting preparation and serve as an official mouth piece of the organization.

**Article 8:** The Meeting of head of minister's agencies are defined in this article that will work in accordance with decision by head of state, head of government, and will organize meeting for issues concerning SCO.

**Article 9:** This article defines the council of national coordination that responsible for coordination and execution of day to day activities and preparation for meetings of council of head of states council of head of government and council of foreign affairs.

**Article 10:** This article is about RATS and defines the role and function of Rats in combating terrorism, separatism and extremism its main objective financing SOP and function.

**Article 11:** The article defines the role function and objective of the SCO secretariat that is the administrative body of SCO and is responsible for organizational and technical support to activities concerned in the framework of SCO and is based in Beijing.

**Article 12:** This article defines the financial matters of SCO the amount of contribution to be paid annually by members on the basis of cost sharing principle to be used by finance standing bodies of the SCO bodies.

**Article 13:** This article is about the future membership and abandoning of the organization that is open for other states in the region that are willing to undertake to respect the objectives and principles of the SCO charter and comply with the provision of other treaties and instruction adopted within the framework of SCO. For leaving the organization application should be presented to the council of head of states 12 month before.

**Article 14:** This article defines the relationship with other states and international organizations SCO may interact and maintain dialogue in certain areas of cooperation with other states and international agencies organizations states concerned the status of a dialogue partner that shall be granted by special agreement of member states.

**Article 15:** As a subject matter of international law, SCO shall have international legal competence. It shall have such a legal capacity in the terrain of each Member State, which is obligatory to attain its goals and objectives. SCO shall benefit from the rights of a legal person and may in particular areas like conclude treaties , obtain movable and immovable property and dispose of it, materialize in court as appellant and open financial records and have monetary dealings prepared.

**Article 16:** This article explains the Decision taking procedure that is the SCO bodies shall take decisions by conformity without vote and their decisions shall be considered adopted if no member State has raised objections during the vote (consensus), except for the decisions on suspension of membership or expulsion from the Organization that shall be taken by "consensus minus one vote of the member State concerned". Any member State may interpret its opinion on particular aspects



and/or actual issues of the decisions taken which shall not be a barrier to taking the decision as a whole. This opinion shall be placed on record.

**Article 17:** This article explains the Implementation of Decisions that are taken by SCO bodies and executed by members in agreement with the modus operandi set out in their national legislation.

**Article 18:** This article is about the permanent representatives that with agreement with their domestic policy and measures, the member States shall employ their permanent representatives to the SCO Secretariat, which will be members of the diplomatic staff of the embassies of the member States in Beijing.

**Article 19:** This article defines the Privileges and Immunities to the officials of the organization that are its officials shall enjoy in the territories of all member States the privileges and immunities which are essential for gratifying functions and achieving goals of the Organization. The capacity of privileges and immunities of SCO and its officials shall be determined by a part international treaty.

**Article 20:** This section of the charter defines the official and operational languages of SCO that are Russian and Chinese.

**Article 21:** This section defines the period and Entry into Force of the charter that is the Charter shall be of indefinite duration. This Charter shall be subject matter to ratification by signatory States and shall enter into force on the thirtieth day following the date of the deposit of the fourth instrument of ratification.

**Article 22:** This article defines a SOP for the Settlement of Disputes or controversies arising out of understanding or function of this Charter member States shall settle them through consultations and dialogue.

**Article 23:** This article gives an account of further amendments and additions to the charters that are to done by mutual conformity of member States. The Charter can be

amended and supplemented. The Verdict by the Council of Heads of State relating to amendments and additions shall be dignified by separate protocols which shall be its fundamental part and enter into force in agreement with the modus operandi provided for by Article 21 of this Charter.

**Article 24:** The article explains about the Reservations regarding the charter that is defined as No doubts can be made to this Charter which disagree with the principles, goals and objectives of the Organization and could thwart any SCO body from performing its functions.

**Article 25:** This article is concerned with the Depositary of the charter and is decided that the People's Republic of China shall be the Depositary of the Charter.

**Article 26:** The article explains the Registration charter to the United Nations which Pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations, this Charter is subject matter to registration with the Secretariat of the United Nations. (Report, November 25, 2013)

## **6.5. China's perspective**

China besides having close proximity with the region has had shared close link with Central Asia from the old silk road to the new OBOR historically and contemporary, relations can be traced backed for as long as 2000 years. In the wake of China's rapid industrialization and economic growth the phenomena demand for immense energy recourses and security at the western region and new Silk Road and for that Central Asia has become an important region for China's national security. After the birth of Central Asian republics after the demise of USSR China was the first country to recognize the republics and to resolve the border disputes and to boost trade the shanghai 5 in 1996 was formed and latter transformed to SCO as an organization that has enabled China to foster strong relations with Central

Asian republics. SCO has enabled Beijing to form strong ties in the security, political, economic, and cultural front. China has evolved to have an active and constructive role in the region and that enables China to avoid friction with the regional neighbour states and enabled to pursue national interests, promote regionalization and bring the state diplomacy to a multilateral front via institutionalism. (Al-Qahtani, 2005)

From a Chinese's perspective SCO has various multidimensional significance, the organization has accelerated the process of confidence building between China the central Asian republics. The cooperation on of states on a legitimate organization enables states to develop CBMs and SCO has brought all the member states of SCO and observer as well on a friendly ground and China feels no longer vulnerable on their border from any military threats from the neighbour countries that is allowing her to concentrate militarily on other fronts.

The SCO framework enables China to cooperate closely and count on the member states encountering cross border criminal forces that are extremism separatism drug trafficking conventional and non conventional security threats. SCO success story in Central Asia the framework of SCO is enabling China to forge good relations to south Asia and Middle East providing a peaceful international environment for China. (Craig, 2003)

According to Sun zhuangzhi, "*China has an active economy and adheres to the policy of reform and opening to the world. The opportunities provided by its large market have a strong appeal to every country. China can also firmly and unshakably represent the interests of the developing countries in international affairs*" (Guang, 2010)

In a nutshell China's approach towards SCO can be determined by the geopolitical, strategic, economic and energy factors

### **6.5.1. Geopolitical**

At the current stage of world politics the status of China is termed as Rising China and the state policy is concerned with peaceful rise and the rise is not possible with state having more troubles so Beijing does not want to exacerbate relations with West and elevate enmity with the USA in the region. By this rational Beijing is in disagreement to the modification of the SCO into a kind of military alliance/block, which will definitely work against the USA and in response it will generate much hostile reaction from the US the status of US is on decline not on the fall. China and Russia are on a same platform and a clear division of labour can be seen in the study of bilateral relations. From the above discussion it is proved that the two states are soft balancing USA and the organization will also serve as a counterpart to the diplomatic layers of containment by the USA. (Gurbanmyradova, 2014)

### **6.5.2. Economic**

The CARS come in the category of developing and weak states the region has close proximity with China and the region has a potential consumer market for Chinese products. The goods that Beijing produce has sensible prices and the manufacture make it attractive and competitive on this marketplace. Thus, China actively promotes the idea of creation of Free Trade Zone in frame of the SCO and in the WTO as well. (Mariani, China's role and interests in Central Asia, 2013)

### **6.5.3.**

In the post-industrial phase of the world politics energy has become an input for production, transport, and military. Energy has played a vital role in the rise and fall of many nations. The energy resources of Central Asian states create a centre of attention more and more interest of the industrialised nations and especially Chinese investors. The Chinese

energy companies such as CNPC are the first other than Russian that are present in the Central Asian energy market. In this correlation for China the SCO has developed into a flourishing means for increasing friendly relations with Central Asian states and Russia in the sphere of energy. SCO also holds prospects for the formation of an Energy club in the region. (GÜNDÜÇ, 2012)

#### **6.5.4. Strategic**

China is a strong advocate of the inclusion of CARS in WTO and considers that strengthening of economic cooperation in the framework of the SCO will add up to its rising positions and influence in the region. Beijing is aware of the fact that Russia has very good ties with Central Asian republics, which are dogged by shared history, culture, language, approach which are important factors and cannot be ignored. Thus, growth of economic collaboration in the frame of the SCO and as a result increasing of Chinese investment in the economies of Central Asian states will convene the outflow of expense and let China fortify its own influence in the region in the future. Taking into account the above factors Chinese representatives in the SCO periodically act upon with the ideas of requirement of opening large-scale economic projects in the frame of the SCO, which will be fulfilled beneath the Chinese financial support. The Chinese part in SCO is backing the plan of an intense financial support of the economies of the SCO member-states and is more in favour to use the organization for more economic terms than political ones. From the above discussion it can be seen that China needs political support of Russia as well as Moscow is the oldest and more experienced player in the great game. Moscow and Beijing traditionally hold the common position in frequent issues of world affairs, such as reforming the United Nations Organization, OSCE, and countering terrorism etc. SCO gives opportunity to Russia and China as a mechanism that assists the two to regulate conflicting relations as well as a

platform that has vicariously let them to minimize USA influence over the region. (Alyson J. K. Bailes Pál Dunay Pan Guang Mikhail Troitskiy, 2007)

## 6.6. Russian perspective

In Russian history SCO serves as an institutional engagement is very unique in all the institutional engagement that Moscow has had and plays a vital role in Russian foreign policy and Russian engagement in Central Asia. SCO is an organization that embodies converging policies in Socio economic security Front in the region. SCO is a security organization while it fall short on collective security but it has prospects for further developed. SCO for the first time is a organization other than before that encompasses of a second major power other than Russia itself and is regarded as a co-founder in SCO that developed from shanghai five. The major role of Russia is SCO enables it to counter USA and also counter Chinese's influence.

On the economic front Russia has EEU but still the economic integration from SCO framework enables China and Russia to share a buck. Due to SCO the long Sino Russo border tension came to end and paved a way for intelligence sharing cross border management cooperation against terrorism and the limited military exercises that gives Russia opportunity to combine military exercises in the framework of SCO with CSTO together. (Gurbanmyradova, 2014)

Murat laumlin analysis of Sino-Russo relations in the framework of SCO says "*Russia military community views the promotion of cooperation with China within the framework of SCO as indispensable, but remain divided over the extent of such strategic military cooperation in light of possible rivalry between the two. The Russian General staffs do not consider China to be a reliable partner, and refuses to sell certain military equipment and technologies are deemed too sensible. Russia is also unwilling to sell China any kind of*

*licence to manufacture complex arms system. Moscow is clearly becoming concerned about growth of Chinese's influence in Central Asia and the region increasing interdependency on China" (Craig, 2003)*

Maurat nurgaliyev analyse the increasing cooperation within SCO as "*Political cooperation with China is one of the most important issues for Russia, because it helps to counter ambitions of the United States in Central Asia.*"

In a nutshell Russian motives for SCO can be termed as

- Russia struggle to use SCO as an tool for safety of its interests in the Central Asia
- Russia needs political assistance with China to counteract objectives of the US in Central Asia.
- Russia is occupied by the prospects of extension of military section of the Shanghai cooperation organization. (Gurbanmyradova, 2014)

## **6.7. The Central Asian Republics perspective**

Since the independence of CARS the states have to cope with many nation building issues and are very much dependent on Russia in domain security, labour, military aid, and the local economies are dependent on Russian remittances. CARS are defined strategically by the international community and are many times subject to great games. Since the rise of China and CARS close proximity with China and Russia the SCO as an institutional framework serves many interests in the field of energy and trade relations. The SCO is often criticised by the west that it promotes the regime stabilization in the region as the secular regimes serves much of the Sino-Russo interests and bring cooperation to eliminate extremism terrorism and separatism. China and Russia sees the colour revolution extremism

democracy human right promotion as a disguise of the west to bring instability in the region. SCO for CARS is a very important organization that brings a balancing factor to the region between the notorious China and Russia. Uzbekistan with its protectionist policy and good relation with the US and having a powerful army could bring instability in the region. If it became a regional hegemonic power the organization other than Sino-Russo balance helps to bring stability in the region. (Craig, 2003)

Murat laumulin states about the position of CARS in SCO as *"What initially stands out about this organization is the disproportion between its members. It includes giants such as China and Russia on the one hand, and considerably smaller Central Asian states on the other in terms of their political weight, the scale of their economies, their demography and the size of their territory."*

Forkhod Tolipov about the nature of relation in SCO says *"It consists of two global powers and four relatively small weak Central Asian states. These are not just six states but rather, six unequal states, from the view point of political, economic, military, demographic and social potential so in reality , the SCO is a potentially asymmetric organization."* (Gurbannyradova, 2014)

The overall involvement of the CARS in SCO with advantages and disadvantages can be termed as

- Engagement in the SCO match up the multi-vector policy of CARS, which the most imperative set of their foreign policy is.
- Various Central Asian States, like Sino-Russo alliance, is demanding to exercise the SCO for their own political benefit.



- Major economic ventures that can be taken in under the sponsorship of the SCO are potentially very favourable for the economic development of the Central Asian republics.
- SCO can develop into an effectual means for a joint collaboration and neutralization of measures of various religious and extremist organizations that require transnational approach.
- The situation of escalation of hostility between the key players in the SCO Russia and China do not keep up a correspondence the interests of the Central Asian republics.
- The vision of conversion of the SCO into a kind of specific means to endorse mutual control of Sino-Russo alliance over the Central Asian region is imperative and cannot be ignored.
- The situation of escalation anti-western temperament inside the SCO is also unfavourable for the CARS. (Linn, 2012)

Murat laumulin analysing the contemporary developments within SCO as "*The SCO in the mode seen in Moscow and Beijing may become another sizable challenge to the development of Kazakhstan that is to say, as an influential international organization of geopolitical dimension in which China and Russia will undoubtedly dominate Central Asian state are likely to be assigned the role of guided.*" (Gurbanmyradova, 2014)

## **6.8. Convergence of interests within SCO**

SCO is becoming an organization that is emerging regional contract, which is simmering a strong level of cooperation in the region. Despite the fact that other political motives of the organization are counter the west the organization has achieved some milestone in bring the countries in cooperation in the following field.

### 6.8.1. Military Exercises

Military exercises have very importance in world affairs some of the keen features of the exercise is that states brag about their latest's weapons that and see others states as well in action in that it creates a sort of deterrence and produce more knowledge as well. The second is to make connections between the officers of their own and the allied forces this creates a friendship and confidence building in the armies. The third and most important one is that states conducts exercises to show the world about whom they cares for and will stand up when the time comes. The SCO member state under the framework of SCO conducts various military exercises that involve its different member states and that have prove good for the experience of their security forces. The weck CARS are vulnerable to many external and internal threats as compared to China and Russia. The security situation in Central Asia have direct spill over effect on Russia and China and the exercises helps the republics to improve their fragile security situation. Theses combined military exercises strengthens security relations in the region. The brainchild behind combined exercises was China as this provided the state an opportunity to get her troops engaged beyond its border and get to know new skills and security cooperation with foreign militaries the same goes for the CARS. The exercise helps in the domain of command and control as six different forces involves in a single event but the organization lacks military command structure as everywhere civilian has been given supremacy to military in the SCO. The coalition 2003 was the first multilateral joint military exerciscs in which Russia China Kyrgyzstan Tajikistan and Kazakhstan participated. (BIN, 2007) After many of the joint exercises the SCO member started peace mission that were held for the first time in 2005 2007 2009 2010. The military exercises through the framework of SCO have brought China Russia and CARS more close. In 2007 CSTO and SCO to enlarge their scope and cooperate more in the security, terrorism, crime

drug trafficking, and the possibility to merge CSTO and SCO is on the table. (weitz, Parsing Chinese-Russian Military Exercises, 2015)

### **6.8.2. Cooperation against terrorism**

Terrorism is a phenomenon which every weak or developing state is facing in the post industrial era. According to UN resolution (49/60) adopted in 1944 terrorism is defined as a illegal act that provokes terror in general public committed by a group of people or individual for political purposes is called terrorism.

According to SCO, convention on combating terrorism which is defined as any action that causes death or other serious injury to public or any material damage and violates security and stoping the government authorities from performing their duties is the act of terrorism.

The S-5 had initially issued a rhetoric that they would cooperate to fight terrorism in 2004. The event of 9/11 and the context of war on terror gave a legitimate ground to the institution to form a framework within the organization. The major achievement of SCO regarding cooperation against terrorism is that the member states are brought up into a consensus as terrorism is a phenomenon that require transnational attention and formed a separate structure in the organization to fight terrorism known as RATS. The structure was initially a dormant one until 2004 when was form in 2005 the role was expanded in the domain of investigation and coordination. The major areas that concerns RATS are

- The member would associate in anti radical actions that may be handing over person sharing information and disturb the economic source of the organization.
- The members will assist one another in analysing information and organize security force exercises.

- The members would look over cautiously and analysis jointly in anti-terrorist activities.

From 2004 to 2007 the structure helped in training of forces, anti-terrorist operations, and anti-terrorist exercises and the working data base has been expanded where the number of individuals in wanted persons is up to 900 and organization 47 on the priority list of the organization. Islamic movement of Uzbekistan the Islamic jihad group the Taliban the eastern Turkistan Islamic movement (ETIM) the east Turkistan liberation organization (ETLO) the Al-Qaeda United Tajik Opposition (UTO) the World Uyghur Youth Congress the east Turkistan information centre Hizbul-Ut-Tahrir Islamic Caliphate and ISIS are the well known terrorist groups found in the region. Also, these groups have forged an alliance to achieve their goals and are a great threat to all the SCO countries and their motives are closely linked with terrorism, extremism and separatism. SCO can be termed the first organization that is cooperating to fight against terrorism and for combating terrorism regional operating unit such as RATS is formed and under the framework of SCO the SCO countries are working together to combat terrorism. As regional problems require regional solutions the problems of terrorism have become a transnational phenomenon and cannot be eradicated unilaterally. (Xiaodong, 2012)

### **6.8.3. Border management**

The SCO narration is embedded in China's altered approach towards border security in the 1990s when a policy of stabilization of borders and new approach to neighbourhood security was adopted. The old regimes of the region usually would abstain from border talks to get the leverage on other states as the equation would sooner or later come in their favour. The current governments have realised the fact that treaties on confidence building, removal of border force with neighbouring countries are constructive in view of the fact that they

make regional affairs more predictable. Border is an important issue without it no clear relation can go sound. After the demise of USSR China and Russia continued negotiation on border issues and in 1994 the Sino-Russian western border agreement was reached. In 1996 and 1997 the treaty of Deeping military trust in border region and the treaty on reduction of military forces in border region by shanghai five. China border clashes with CARS were resolved Border accords include signing with Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Russia and Tajikistan (2002). The treaties have formed a new constructive atmosphere for solving border issues. And border crossings develop and the movement of people increased. As soon as there is no tension on the border trade can flourish that creates interdependency among states and proves beneficial in the long run. The normalization of relations between China and Russia After cold war helped to achieve this milestone of removing border conflicts as post soviet states the countries have deep trust in Russia. The reduction of military and clash at border were reduced by Deeping of trust treaties. That lead to intelligence sharing and formation of custom union and cooperation against drug is trafficking is the core principle of the organization in the charter and the regional states have come to the understanding of the fact these issue require transnational attention and can't be solved unilaterally. (ejaz, 2016)

#### **6.8.4. SCO economic cooperation and energy club**

In the age of regional integration and economic globalization SCO is the strongest institution in the Eurasia and to enhance economic cooperation many MOU was signed by SCO in 2003 and a long term objective is to establish a free trade area interbank association and an idea of energy club. Russia is pursuing it economic goals through EEU but the CARS are good markets for Chinese's products. The trade relation between China and other SCO members are increasing and in 2017 bilateral trade between and in is amounting up to 75bn \$. SCO has been successful in building 21 economic cooperation zones inside other SCO countries that has helped to expand local Jobs and have increased tax revenue. Economic

cooperation has been stated as the most significant pathway for the SCO but it residues as the least developed area as compared to the organization's other engagements. The same can be said for such an imperative sector as energy. The prospects increasing energy collaboration between the SCO countries are reasonably favourable. The collective area of the organization's member states makes up three fifths of Eurasia, with inhabitants of almost 1.5 billion people. Their combined GDP equals one fourth of the world's total (\$12.4 trillion). The countries of the SCO member states accounts for about 25% of global oil reserves, over 50% of gas reserves, 35% of coal and about half of the global uranium reserves. The world biggest oil and gas pipelines are also being built in the region. So, the SCO encompass both states that are big energy producers and importers. This creates interdependency and makes them internally dependent on each other and creates the basis for multilateral interaction. The SCO Energy Club can provide an appropriate stage for such relations. The energy club is a brainchild of President Putin that was first announced at a summit in 2006 revised in 2017 and again being revised by other member states as well. The arrangement of the SCO Energy Club can add to grow deeper relations between energy producers (Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Iran) and energy consumers (China, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, India, Pakistan and Mongolia) and turn into the first endeavour towards determining a common energy arrangement that both in the regional and would also have a optimistic impact on the world economy in general. (SCO Energy Club: structure ready for international interaction, not Shanghai Six's elite club, 2015) In the wake of tensions with west Russia can't afford but to cooperate with China and modernise it economy and get use of the 40 bn\$ silk road fund that can be extended to a 100 bn\$ in future. Central Asia knows as the backyard of Russia is becoming an area of cooperation for the two countries as well as the two are cooperating in the Russian arctic to get use of the Chinese's technology. The prospects to integrate the

Russian led EEU to the new Silk Road fund and SCO is being discussed that have dynamic to be termed as an Eastphalian model of integration. (TANG Yan-hui, CHEN Hai, 2004)

## **6.9. Conclusion**

This chapter briefly discusses the institutional engagement of Sino-Russo with the Central Asian republics. The parties have joined hands against common threats that require a trans-national cooperation. The regional players have forged an alliance for regime stabilization, opposition to western humanitarian intervention and have multiple prospects for energy club, free trade and Economic integration. From the study it can be assumed that SCO is a mechanism that regulates China Russia tensions, helps the two to have a check on each other and protects their interests through a legitimate institutionalized manner. The organization has dynamics for regional integration and can become an economic cum security centric organization and has huge prospects for Central Asia connectivity with south Asia with the inclusion of members Pakistan and India. In the security domain the organization has presented an opportunity to all the member states to pursue its own interest based manner. China gets to have its forces get engaged abroad insists on heaving machinery use in the exercises and get experience as its troops lack experience in mobilising to counter an insurgency. Russia wants the exercise to help in local insurrection. The CARS in return are benefiting in all terms form the exercises by gaining experience and opportunity to interact with the world two most powerful states army. The republics enjoy security umbrella from Russia and majority of the affairs of security are burden on Moscow. SCO is one of the unique organizations that have brought states in an alliance towards terrorism that has brought developments in the intelligence sharing and anti-terrorism exercises and has been strongly advocated by Russia and China as it of concerns domestically to Moscow and Xingjian for Beijing. Over all the states share same threat perception and need for shared security. The economic cooperation and need for a energy club is the most important feature

of the organization the inclusion of South Asian states the organization can bring reality to the connectivity of South-Asia to Central-Asia as the SOP of the institution seen is the case of Central Asia by first resolving border disputes have cooperation in security paved way for deep economic engagement keeping in view of the population of both of the region. The formation of energy club can full fill the energy needs of China India and Pakistan and give a practical shape to regional integration.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Conclusion

This research conducted has shown that Sino-Russo relations have varied from era to era where the two has regulated affairs separately and country to country. China got trade and diplomatic relations opportunity after the disintegration for USSR. Russia is the traditional influential player of the region and considers the region as its backyard and the policy is followed by near abroad policy. China and Russia both have some converging and diverging interests where the presence of US in Central Asia and operation enduring freedom has brought the two closer that can also be found by analysing Sino-Russo relations historically and contemporary. Many scholars believe that the cooperation will be at risk when US withdrawals from Afghanistan and dynamism of regional strategic scenario alters.

The research conducted also shows that the cooperation is not only due to the intervening variable of the US factor but the bi-lateral relations study shows that the countries cooperate regionally as well as internationally and if the Sino-Russo cooperation in Central Asia is just a marriage of convenience what factors are responsible for that of regional and international forums cooperation. In the Russian arctic where Russia is benefiting from Chinese technology for recourses extractions. The Russian Far East is flooding with Chinese's investment and trade.

China supports Russia on Syria, Georgia and Ukraine and doesn't interfere in the Russian centric security arrangement of Central Asia. The relations if analysed from a realist perspective shows that either the states are Band wagoning/balancing where Russia and China are in a alliance where Russia has joined hands with rising China and is benefiting from Chinese's investments, technological advancement in order to overcome US dominance

and China peaceful rise and policy of non interference shows the nations reluctance to engage militarily outside China boundary.

Russia heads the Security sphere and China heads the Economic sphere. The relations can also be termed as soft balancing where the two states have forged an alliance to counter the hegemony of USA. Soft-balancing can change anytime to real alliance anytime what is not transparent to the outside world and a real alliance may trigger a strong US response.

Even though if the US factor is completely ignored there exist many other factors that contribute to the Sino-Russo convergence. Instability, terrorism, drug trafficking and international engagement in Afghanistan has direct spill over effects on the affairs of Central Asian republic and that has effects on Russia and China and Pakistan 2017 meeting on the future of Afghanistan.

Change in the international structure and simmering multi-polar world order with keen attention of the time span of Peaceful China Rise followed by US protectionist and nation building rhetoric it can be assumed that the role of USA is diminishing and providing a larger space to Beijing and Moscow to exert more influence. The institutional engagement if Sino-Russo is nothing but a legitimized way to engage in Central Asia, as explained in the theoretical section in neo-liberal institutionalism paradigm.

The Economic crisis in Russia and Central Asia increased China's role in the region where for the first time CNPC has been given right other than the Gazprom. Russian lead EEU and the Silk Road fund convergence give a joint venture to China and Russia for regional integration of Russia or eliminate conflict or accommodate conflicting interests in the economic realm if the two didn't converge Russia can still pursue its economic goals via EEU and custom union. With the exception to political one the engagement gives convergence on the economic front.

Russia and China are also found institutionally engaged in Central Asia through SCO. The organization proves vital in the legitimization of Sino-Russo interests, regulations of diplomatic affairs, cooperation on issues that require trans-national attention and a means that helps Russia to have a check on China and vice versa. The organization also serves as a mechanism that regulates Sino-Russo tensions in Central Asia. SCO also serves as an institution that has achieved border demarcation, commencement of military exercises and has limited the scope of intervention in the disguise of human rights. The inclusion of India Pakistan as permanent members and Iran, Afghanistan to SCO, have increased the scope of the organization and has given the opportunity to Russia and China to increase influence from Central Asia to South-Asia.

China is interested in economic area and concerned with the problem of Xinjiang, while Russia is interested in keeping the political influence in the region. Thus, as long as China allows Russia to dominate the region politically, militarily, and the US remains a sole superpower China-Russian relations in the region would be complimentary.

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