



**THE IMPORTANCE OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ESTABLISHED IN EURASIA FOR TURKEY: SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION<sup>1</sup>**

*Avrasya'da Kurulan Bölgesel Örgütlerin Türkiye Açısından Önemi: Şanghay İşbirliği Örgütü*

Zehra AKSU<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Dr., Uluslararası İlişkiler Uzmanı, zehraksu46@gmail.com, orcid.org/ 0000-0003-1073-4086

*Araştırma Makalesi/Research Article*

**Makale Bilgisi**

Geliş/Received:  
06.12.2022  
Kabul/Accepted:  
22.05.2023

**DOI:**

10.18069/firatsbed.1215504

**Keywords**

Eurasia, SCO, Turkey,  
Eurasianism

**Anahtar Kelimeler**

Avrasya, ŞİÖ, Türkiye,  
Avrasyacılık

**ABSTRACT**

In this study, the SCO-Turkey relations are analyzed; An answer has been sought to what are the reasons that make the SCO important for Turkey. Founded in 1996 with the Shanghai Five, the SCO was officially established on June 15, 2001. The organization has nine full members, three observer members, and nine dialogue partners. Turkey is one of the important countries with "dialogue partner status" among SCO partners. Turkey, which joined the organization as a dialogue partner at the 2012 Beijing Summit, wants to improve its relations with Eurasian countries and strengthen its position vis-à-vis Western countries with its model country mission. The gradual shift of the world's economic and financial centre to the East and the search for alternatives to the EU membership make the SCO important for Turkey. Turkey's problem of trust in Western states, whose EU membership process is in a deadlock, leads Turkey to establish relations with the SCO and to follow a proactive foreign policy. It is expected that Turkey will carry its dialogue partnership status at the SCO to observer state status in the coming years to remind that Turkey has a strategic value against Western states. Full membership status is not expected due to the reality that Turkey cannot give up its cooperation with Western institutions and organizations for many years.

**ÖZ**

ŞİÖ-Türkiye ilişkilerinin analiz edildiği bu çalışmada; ŞİÖ'yü Türkiye açısından önemli kılan sebeplerin neler olduğu sorusuna cevap aranmıştır. 15 Haziran 2001 yılında resmi olarak kurulan ŞİÖ dokuz tam üye, üç gözlemci üye ve dokuz diyalog ortağıma sahiptir. Türkiye, ŞİÖ ortakları içerisinde "diyalog ortağı statüsü"ne sahip önemli ülkelerden biridir. 2012 Pekin Zirvesi'nde örgüte diyalog ortağı olarak katılan Türkiye, model ülke misyonu ile Avrasya ülkeleriyle olan ilişkilerini geliştirmek ve Batılı ülkeler karşısındaki konumunu ise güçlendirmek istemektedir. Dünyanın ekonomik ve finansal merkezinin giderek Doğu'ya kayması ve AB'ye üyeliğin gerçekleşmemesine alternatif arayışları ŞİÖ'yü Türkiye açısından önemli kılmaktadır. AB'ye üyelik süreci açmaza giren Türkiye'nin Batılı devletlere olan güven sorunu Türkiye'yi ŞİÖ ile ilişkiler kurmaya ve proaktif bir dış politika izlemeye yönlendirmektedir. Türkiye'nin Batılı devletler karşısında stratejik bir değer olduğunu hatırlatacak bir hamle olarak ŞİÖ'de sahip olduğu diyalog ortaklığı statüsünü önümüzdeki yıllarda gözlemci devlet statüsüne taşıyacağı beklenmektedir. Türkiye'nin uzun yıllardır Batılı kurum ve kuruluşlarla geliştirmiş olduğu işbirliklerinden vazgeçemeyeceği realitesi nedeniyle tam üyelik statüsü beklenmemektedir.

**Atf/Citation:** Aksu, Z. (2022). The Importance of Regional Organizations Established in Eurasia for Turkey: Shanghai Cooperation Organization. *Firat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 33, 2, 939-952.

**Sorumlu yazar/Corresponding author:** Zehra AKSU, zehraksu46@gmail.com

<sup>1</sup> This study was produced by benefiting from the master's thesis titled "Avrasya'da Yeni Stratejik Gelişmeler ve Bölgesel Bütünleşme Çabaları: Şanghay İşbirliği Örgütü" prepared by Zehra Aksu at Kahramanmaraş Sutcu Imam University Social Sciences Institute.

## **1. Introduction**

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the end of the Cold War, a political, social, and economic vacuum has emerged in the Asia Pacific geography from a broad perspective and Eurasia from a narrow perspective. Post-Soviet countries, which are trying to become a new state and lack the experience of independence, have started to have problems of adaptation to this new situation. The new countries, accustomed to living in a system, have sought a compromise with neighbouring countries regarding resolving regional security problems. The "Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)", initially established to resolve border disputes between countries in the Asia-Pacific region, has turned to different purposes over time. The new world order, which became unipolar between 1991-2001 and operated based on the absolute superiority of the USA, was never accepted by the former Eastern bloc countries, especially Russia, and a new focus of power was sought against the USA.

In such an environment, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, whose foundations were laid, emerged as the most concrete organization that opposed America's "unipolar world order" view with the end of the Cold War. The SCO, which initially emerged as a Chinese project, and Russia and China have formed an alliance to prevent the USA's global hegemony from gaining effectiveness in the region by leaving the conflict between them. The SCO, which initially focused on border disputes between the countries of the region and was successful in this regard, gave importance to cooperation in the fields of politics, economics, and security and closed a significant gap in issues such as ensuring political harmony between member states, finding solutions to interstate problems and establishing trust in the Eurasian region.

In addition to ensuring peace and security, the SCO aimed to create a "zone of prosperity and harmony", enabling strategic cooperation in the Eurasian region's political and economic fields. For this reason, although a short time has passed since its establishment, it has incorporated many countries into its structure and developed partnerships at various levels with many countries, with dialogue partnership and observer state status. Turkey has been one of the states with close relations established with the status of a dialogue partner in the SCO. After the disintegration of the USSR, Turkey turned to the Eurasian region and tried to improve its relations with the Eurasian states, which it found close to itself historically, culturally, and ethnically. While trying to establish a sphere of influence in the regions where Turkish people live in Eurasia, the SCO, which was established among the states of the region, emerged as an essential organization for Turkey.

In this study, which was prepared based on the hypothesis that Turkey will gradually strengthen its relations with the SCO and will not be content with its dialogue partner status, An answer has been sought to determine the reasons that make the SCO important for Turkey. In the study, firstly, explanations were made about the new world order after the Cold War, and then Eurasia and Turkey's Eurasian perceptions were discussed. Finally, brief information about SCO was given, and the importance of SCO for Turkey was analyzed. Historical and descriptive research methods were used in this research. While preparing the research, books, articles, internet resources, journals, etc., written sources have been used; Qualitative and quantitative information processing method used in Social Sciences was taken as the basis for information processing.

## **2. The Post-Cold War New World Order**

The Second World War (1939-1945), which was determined by the disagreements that the First World War left unresolved and broke out after a tense period of twenty years, became one of the most destructive wars in history; many countries were burned, destroyed and millions of people lost their lives. In the idiosyncratic rhetoric of British Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill, post-war Europe has been described as "a pile of rubble, a home for the dead, a breeding ground for deadly disease and hatred." After the war, the conditions in Asia were almost as severe, and there is still no statistical certainty about the cost of the terrible global catastrophe (McMahon, 2013: 10-15). Great power gaps have been formed both in the Asian continent and in Europe. Thus, the Second World War barely came to an end at a time when humanity was drifting towards a catastrophe that could rightly be seen as a third world war in a very special way (Hobsbawm, 2008: 302).

When the Second World War, the biggest struggle of the 20th century, ended, it was thought that peace and security would be established in the world, and the establishment of the United Nations Organization further strengthened this view. However, after this painful six-year period, the World and humanity couldn't find peace immediately. In the declaration published in 1947 by the establishment of the Cominform, which provided the

ideological unity of the USSR, it was announced that the world was divided into two blocs. Local wars, international struggles, and the conflict of great states have brought humanity to the brink of a third world war from time to time. In this competitive environment, no "hot war" broke out, but an environment of peace could not be achieved. As a result, the world had to spend an exciting forty years in a "Cold War" atmosphere (Armaoğlu, 2010: 215; Uçarol, 1995: 657; Sander, 2014: 233). During this forty-year period, events created a domino effect, and other states became polarized around the two great powers of the period, the USSR and the USA.

This situation, which is maintained between the two states without using a direct weapon against each other, is characterized by the concept of the Cold War. However, as everything in history has a beginning and an end, the Cold War period has come to an end. Just as the period of 1945-1960 was dominated by Cold War conflicts between the West and the Eastern blocs in the competition that lasted for about forty years, the period that began with the 1970s was a period in which the detente (Detant) began to dominate between the East and the West (Armaoğlu, 2012: 273). ) Detant has been an acronym for the more stable and collaborative relationship that the main heroes of the Cold War were shaping.

The arrival of Mikhail S. Gorbachev as the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in March 1985 during the détente period was the most critical turning point of the last phase of the Cold War. In the late 1980s, Gorbachev made all the important concessions that would allow arms reduction agreements to be made and succeeded in changing the course of the USSR-US relationship. The two leaders met five times between 1985 and 1988 and strengthened their relations at every summit they met. Thanks to the concessions made by Gorbachev, the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty was signed in December 1987, and as a result, 1,846 Soviet and 846 American weapons were destroyed in three years, and both sides opened their nuclear facilities to the inspection of the other side (McMahon, 2013: 197-216). The most powerful symbol of the collapse of the old order was the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989. For this reason, many observers have shown 1989 as the end date of the Cold War. The race for ideology is now over, and both states no longer pose a serious threat to the security of the other side. Therefore, after the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, the world began to take a new shape. Just as the world after the Second World War was very different from the world after the First World War, the world after the Cold War has been very different from the world after the Second World War.

The end of the Cold War meant a fundamental change in international relations, and the bipolar world order came to an end. Gorbachev resigned from the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on August 24, 1991, and fifteen Soviet Republics declared their independence. The disintegration of the USSR symbolized the power of the USA, which is one of the two superpowers, and the "New World Order" started to be restructured or restructured under the leadership of the Western Bloc and its leading power USA. While the USA successfully maintained its position as the superpower of the unipolar world until the attacks of September 11, 2001, this situation started to change after September 11. While the USA gradually lost power and prestige, some states, such as Russia and China, gained economic stability and became stronger, which led to the belief that the unipolar structure in the international system had changed. In addition, in the new structure, not only Russia and China; Countries such as Turkey, India, and Brazil have gradually increased their political and economic activities as potential regional powers. Such a conjuncture brought with it the instability inputs and the elements of stability. The states wanted to increase their current power capacities and have a more significant say in the system.

These developments in the international arena have enabled the international system to be characterized in different ways by political and academic circles. While Richard Haas defines this new system as "non-blocking", that is, the absence of a bloc or blocs formed by the gathering of countries around certain countries, Fareed Zakaria, on the other hand, defined it as a "post-American world", that is, a world in which Washington cannot control the whole process with the emergence of new powers, even though the USA has relative superiority (Zakaria, 2008). In this context, while the new international system that emerged with the end of the Cold War and the end of the bipolar system was called the "New World Order", there was no consensus on what kind of system it was because the international system has tended to evolve towards multi-polarity, in other words, with the emergence of new powers in the international arena.

In the post-Cold War period, globalization, which manifested in a way as the spread of Western-centered values and institutions to the world, and regionalization initiatives aimed at gaining a stronger place in world politics

and markets progressed as processes parallel to each other. This situation led to the rapid increase in regional organizations and their effectiveness in the post-Cold War period and the emergence of new powers in the international arena (Ateş, 2014: 60-61). With the end of the Cold War, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization emerged as the most concrete organization that opposed America's "unipolar world order" view.

### **3. Eurasia and Turkey's Perception of Eurasianism**

Eurasia is a multinational upper space inhabited by countries, states, cultures, ethnic origins, and religions that are historically and geographically linked by dialectical destiny (Dugin, 2003: 26). The Eurasian region, which has been a large holding of different powers since history and is a platform for mutual understanding and cooperation; It is an area where the states, nations, cultures, beliefs, and religions become globalized. Eurasia, which has no generally accepted borders and definitions, is basic geography that has hosted ancient civilizations since the first ages, where developments that shape the course of the world have emerged, and power struggles have been experienced to be decisive in this course (Savistkii, 1926: 220; Dugin, 2014: 41). In this sense, there is a political and geographical multidimensional interpretation, understanding and definition of Eurasia, which means much more than a geographical naming (Ağır, 2016: 29).

While Eurasia Nazarbayev (25.10.2011) defines it as "The World Island that includes Europe and Asia"; "Neither Europe nor Asia; defined it as a unique space that affirms both its inner unity and its difference from the rest of the world" (Laruelle, 2015: 70). The Prussian naturalist Alexander von Humboldt was the first to use the term "Eurasia" to describe the Euro-Asian geographical component and brought it to the world literature. The term soon became the subject of geopolitical theories and entered the International Relations literature with the theory of "Heart" developed by British Halford J. Mackinder, who is accepted as the founder of geopolitical science at the beginning of 1900 (İşyar, 2013: 1; Serbest, 2017: 287).

Since Mackinder represents one of the parts that make up the world island, it is in the centre of the Silk Road. With its population, surface area, geostrategic location, rich underground and aboveground resources, and geostrategic players, the region has been a place that has preserved its importance throughout history. Eurasia, which was used only as a geographical term in the early days, later gained an ideological and philosophical dimension under the name of Eurasianism. Thus, Eurasianism, a geopolitical concept developed for Eurasian geography, emerged as a civilization-building project.

Eurasianism is an alternative to Westernization, which re-discovers the civilizational identity of Russia and its surroundings, develops a unique socio-economic structure and understanding of space and history, advocates cultural pluralism within the country and a multipolar order in the world, predicts that every civilization should develop by feeding on its dynamics. It is a system of ideas. Inspired by the characteristics of the geography in question and its influence on the peoples on it, this ideology, which advocates the development of relations with the Slavic peoples in the east and even the establishment of a union with the Slavic communities, tries to present an alternative civilization to the Western civilization and hegemony. Eurasianism was developed by Russian intellectuals to overcome the crisis period after the First World War and the 1917 Revolution and was revived under the name of New Eurasianism after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s (Imanov, 2008: 418). The idea of Eurasianism, named after the German linguist Aleksander von Humboldt, was put forward in the early 19th century by Russian intellectuals, who were young immigrants with many different specialities, such as philosophy, history, and theology. The fact that these young Russian immigrants, who put forward the ideology of "Eurasianism" in Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria, were academicians enabled Eurasianism to exist as academic thought. Eurasianism, which tries to underline that Asia and Europe should be given equal importance, has become an ideology indexed to Russia (Wehrschutz, 2000: 84; Karabağ, 2009). It has emerged as a third movement in the debates on whether Russia is Eastern or Western. Although the idea of Eurasianism is used in a political sense, it has become impossible over time to talk about a single perception of Eurasianism by the power centres in the Eurasian region. As there are different perceptions of Eurasianism, actors with different expectations from Eurasianism have also emerged. One of these actors was Turkey. Considering that Turkey has pursued an increasingly active and multidimensional foreign policy since the end of the Cold War, it has become a matter of curiosity how the ideology of Eurasianism affects contemporary Turkish foreign policy. Because according to Larrabee and Lesser (2003), Turkey remained between three unstable regions in the post-Cold War period: the Middle East, the Balkans, and the Caucasus. However, Turkey's geographical

location at the junction of these three regions, which are in a complicated situation, has placed Turkey in an important geopolitical and geostrategic position and paved the way for it to emerge as a potential actor.

The official dissolution of the USSR in 1991 and the subsequent independence of the Turkic Republics was a significant turning point in Turkey's use of its potential influence on Eurasia (Erdem, 2016: 99; Keyman, 2011: 632). The geography of Eurasia, which became more important with the disintegration of the USSR and the independence of the Turkic Republics, presented a "historic opportunity" for Turkey to act in a very wide geography. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the United States-centered unipolarity, in a new world imagined to be established with Turkish communities living outside Turkey Turkey, a number of studies aimed at determining the location of Turkey have been brought to the agenda and discussed on different platforms. One of these approaches, with its various variations, has been "Turkish Eurasianism" based on Eurasia and, in this context, "Turkish Eurasia" (Aça, 2002: 159). Turkish Eurasianism is based on unity with an understanding of cooperation against the imperialist powers that try to turn Turkish homelands into markets and areas of exploitation. With the emergence of newly established Turkish states in the early 1990s, the ideology of Eurasianism became relatively popular in Central Asia and the Caucasus.

The New Eurasian conjuncture created by Turkey based on the "Turkish World" with the dissolution of the USSR opened a new area for Turkey to manoeuvre in the Eurasian region. Turkey was the first country to recognize all independent states before the dissolution of the USSR was officially declared. Recognizing their independence without delay, Turkey opened diplomatic representations to each Turkish Republic and tried to develop diplomatic and political relations with these states. With the encouragement of the USA, it entered into a strategic competition with countries such as Russia, China, and Iran in the region. It made an effort to make the 21st century a Turkish Century. Turkey's interest in the newly independent countries was welcomed among the countries in the region. The Turkish states turned their eyes to Turkey and entered into great expectations to meet their enormous needs. Turkey has tried to provide social, political, technical, and financial support to these states and still does. Because Turkey has aimed to be a model country in the region and has made Turkish Eurasianism the main foreign policy principle and goal for the region. Turkey, by presenting itself as a "big brother" to the region, saw it as a country that could lead this region in the restructuring of Eurasia in the future. Decision makers in Turkey (especially the president of the time, Turgut Özal) wanted to fill the political vacuum created after the collapse of the Soviet Union and to play a significant role in the region. Turkey has argued that the people of the USSR cannot be defined only with the Slavic element and has ties with the non-Slavic peoples of Eurasia due to the "Turanian element" in its culture.

After the collapse of the USSR, the policies of Turkey, one of the powers that quickly turned to Eurasia, towards the region stretching from the Balkans to the Great Wall of China, were Eurasian policies shaped based on the "Turkish World" (Erol, 2013: 124). In this respect, certain Eurasian approaches have been adopted in Turkey since the past. These approaches are listed below by Aça (2002: 162-168):

1. Sultan Galiyev's Socialist Turan State, Mustafa Kemal, Lenin's dialogue and Atilla İlhan's Eurasianism: Atilla İlhan, the master of the Eurasian approach in Turkey, foresees the Turkish-Russian and Chinese alliance against American and European imperialism. For this, the dialogue that was started and lived between Atatürk and Lenin, and which remained idle with the death of both leaders, needs to be restarted. In addition, Sultan Galiyev and his thoughts have an important place in İlhan's Eurasianist thought, and there is an emphasis on the Socialist Turan State. In this respect, İlhan finds great similarities between Atatürk and Sultan Galiyev's foreign policy pursuits and states that Mustafa Kemal, like Galiyev, tried to form a bloc against the West.
2. Eurasianism of those gathered around the National Journal: Hakan Reyhan, the owner of the National Journal and journal, clearly showed that Russia and China do not have a place in the Eurasian union with the existing imperialist structures, said, "The concept of Eurasia seems a bit ambiguous at the moment. It is not fully stuffed, its borders are unclear, and it is loaded with different meanings. Reyhan highlights the Kemalist Turkey model and national leftist thought for a healthy Eurasian coexistence in this context.
3. Eurasianism of Doğu Perinçek and the Workers Party: According to this Eurasian approach, Turkey's Eurasian approach should be based primarily on Turkish unity, and cooperation should be made with other anti-imperialist powers against the imperialist powers that try to turn Turkey and other Turkish lands into markets and areas of exploitation. However, Perinçek and his group's Eurasian approach differs from both those gathered around the National Journal and some other Eurasian approaches in that they do not draw attention to the imperialist ambitions of China and Russia and do not call them imperialist states.

4. Eurasianism of nationalists gathered around Yeni Eurasia Journal: Yeni Eurasia operated as another journal around which right-wing nationalist representatives of the Eurasian approach in Turkey united, but its publication life was later terminated.

5. Eurasianism of those gathered around Dialogue Eurasia: The Eurasian approach of those gathered around Dialogue Eurasia consists of the "basic views of the group formed under the auspices of the Turkic Writers and Journalists Foundation."

6. ASAM's Eurasianism: Experts gathered under ASAM try to guide Turkish foreign policy by interpreting the developments in the Balkans, Central Asia, the Caucasus, and the Middle and Far East with scientific methods. Considering Eurasia as a natural asset or living space of Turkishness, ASAM tries to read and analyze the events that have developed or are likely to develop in the aforementioned geographies in strategic and economic contexts.

The common point of all of the Eurasian approaches classified under the main headings above is that Turkey should be an effective power in the region. As Kennedy et al. (1997: 53-54) stated, Turkey has been an axis country that has the capacity to affect regional and international stability since the 1990s. This role of Turkey has become more prominent, especially in the post-2000 period (especially after September 11, 2001), and Turkey's geopolitical centre and regional role have become even more important in world politics. According to Keyman (2011: 631-632), these changes in Turkey's foreign policy identity and behaviour have been perceived as a "key and central player in world politics" in global and general discourses. What is important here is the increasing visibility and role of the "soft power", which frames the proactive, constructive, and multidimensional effectiveness in Turkish foreign policy gives meaning to strategic depth and creates increased global attention and attention to Turkey. Turkey's proactive and constructive foreign policy, from contributing to peace and stability in Eurasia, playing an active role against terrorism and fundamentalism, and becoming a new energy centre in the international community, has increased interest in Turkey.

Turkey's geostrategic importance, modernity, democracy, and economy have enabled Turkey to be perceived as a key and central country with regional power status in the region. Turkey's increasing presence and role as a soft power after September 11, which is the historical context of its position as a critical country and regional power, has allowed Turkey to come to the fore more as a key state. The international environment that emerged after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, gave Turkey the opportunity to be more effective in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Turkey has tried to revive and diversify its relations with the states of the region within the framework of the principles of equality and fraternity. In this context, according to Efeğil (2011: 500; 507), Turkey, which wishes to continue its existence as an element of peace and stability in its region and the international arena, preferred to move to the principle of active friendship and cooperation instead of passive good neighbourly understanding. Within the framework of this understanding, it can be said that Turkey, which sees the geopolitics of Eurasia and especially Central Asia as the main field in shaping the international system of the 21st century, wishes to strengthen its political, economic, cultural, and social relations with the states of the region, with the help of historical and brotherly ties because the links with the countries of the region within the framework of the principles of mutual benefit and equality will make Turkey a competitive country in the globalizing world.

The region is a vital geography with rich underground and surface resources as well as advanced manpower. For this reason, developing relations with Eurasia based on strategic partnership is more than a choice for Turkey's national interests; it is almost necessary. Therefore, it is the natural right of Turkey, which has a large population and an important geographical location, to adopt a Eurasian approach as an essential country in the Eurasian geography. In this respect, determining and protecting the Eurasian geopolitical and geostrategic axes constitute a decisive aspect of Turkey's regional strategy. Perceiving the Eurasian approach adopted by Turkey as a threat to the Eurasian approach adopted by Russia is important in terms of understanding Turkey's role in the region. A possible Turkish union has the potential to negatively affect Russia's hegemony in the region, and Turkey will be seen as the leading state in this union.

#### **4. Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Turkey**

In this part of the study, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which was established as a regional organization in Eurasia, will be explained, and the importance of the SCO for Turkey will be analyzed.

#### **4.1. Shanghai Cooperation Organization**

The collapse of the Soviet Union deeply affected the global political, economic, and security balances and led to the emergence of new opportunities and threats in the international arena. A total of fifteen newly independent states emerged in the Eurasian geography, five of which were in the Central Asian region. The region has significant natural resources, including strategically essential hydrocarbon deposits, enabling regional and global powers to see the Eurasian region as a new geopolitical axis (Sarsekeev, 2014). The social, economic, and security problems of the newly independent Eurasian countries have made these countries open to both the intervention and support of foreign countries. Russia, which fell into a great void after the collapse of the Soviet Union, brought the "Near Environment Doctrine" to the agenda in 1995 after getting rid of the bewilderment it was in.

Russia, which defines the post-Soviet Republics as its neighbours with the doctrine of the immediate environment, stated that it has national interests in these areas; established the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to prevent these countries from joining other alliances. He tried to keep the CIS and post-Soviet countries under his control. However, this initiative, which can be read as Russia's effort to maintain its dominance and claim over Eurasia, has yet to have the expected effect in the ten years that have passed. The Baltic countries have started to become members of the EU (Baltic countries) and have established close relations with NATO. In addition, the EU has declared that it will make Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan members of the EU in the future. In addition, the process that started after September 11 allowed the USA to establish military structures in Central Asia (Çeçen, 2015: 21-22).

After Russia, another state disturbed by the relations of the region's countries with the West was China, the rising power. With the collapse of its regional and ideological rival, the USSR, China faced "new ancient" neighbours and faced severe challenges due to the risk of the separatist current in the region spreading to East Turkestan. The need for solidarity between neighbours created by the Soviet-residual conditions pushed China to take the initiative in establishing an environment of cooperation and friendly relations with new bordering countries at the regional level. In this direction, Chinese diplomacy, which concentrated on the region between 1992-1996, reached its goal and entered into a reconciliation with neighbouring countries regarding the solution of regional security problems based on border problems (Temur, 2015: 12). Therefore, in addition to the specific reasons mentioned, the discomfort felt against the policies of the USA and the EU towards the region has brought China and Russia closer to each other. Because Russia perceived the expansion of NATO towards the Black Sea and Eastern Europe basin as a threat, while China was disturbed by the US pressure on human rights and the arms trade with Taiwan. China and Russia, which could not remain indifferent to these policies of the West, had to cooperate by collaborating (Bajanov, 2000: 68; Aydın, 2015: 5).

There are other reasons for this rapprochement between the two important Asian countries besides the hegemonic attempts of the West toward the region. When these reasons are mentioned, First of all, there is a long border neighbourhood between the two countries, and both sides need each other to ensure the security of their long borders. Secondly, the fact that Russia can supply high-tech and cheap weapons that China needs has improved bilateral relations (Garnett, 2001: 45). In addition, China has become a large market for Russian goods, and Russia has demanded Chinese surplus goods. When the expectations of taking a common stance against the USA are added to all these reasons, especially the security of the border problems that push China and Russia to cooperate, regional integration between the two countries has become a necessity.

Within the framework of this principled consensus, in 1996, under the leadership of China and Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan came together in Shanghai, China, in order to solve the border problems in the post-Soviet geography and to ensure the development of neighbourly relations between bordering countries on safer ground. Shanghai Five" was formed (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2022, [www.mfa.gov.tr](http://www.mfa.gov.tr)). The "Shanghai Five", which has been meeting regularly since 1996, expanded its starting point of "solving border problems through mutual dialogue" over time, and on July 5, 2000 (Dushanbe Summit), a meeting that developed cooperation in the fields of politics, security, foreign relations, and economy. Platform (Shanghai platform). This platform was named "Shanghai Cooperation Organization" on June 15, 2001, with the participation of Uzbekistan (SCO, 2021). The pioneer, economic financier, and driving force of the Shanghai spirit theorist and institutionalization has been the People's Republic of China. According to Guang (2013: 27), the SCO provided the opportunity for China to establish constructive relations with the Central Asian region for the first time in history and to become an active actor in the region. Russia, aware of

the fact that the SCO is a Chinese project, made an alliance with China in order to prevent the global hegemony of the United States from settling in the region, on the one hand, and the other hand, by using the initiative of China's increasing influence in the region, alone and without Russia. It tried to balance it's being the only effective power in Central Asia by going through structuring (Temur, 2015: 38-44). Indeed, Russia considered the SCO as a means of struggle against the "great threat to the USA" instead of the "small threat China." In this direction, it followed a strategy of forming an "anti-hegemonic axis" against the USA together with China (Mammadov, 2014: 80). The other countries of the Organization, on the other hand, had to cooperate with Russia and China under the umbrella of the SCO, in the face of the "problem of stabilizing the region" that they could not overcome on their own (Rakhimov, 2013, 24).

As a result, as a result of the negotiations that started in 1996 under the leadership of Russia and China, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization was established in 2001, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Charter was signed in June 2002 at the Saint Petersburg Shanghai Cooperation Organization Heads of State Meeting. With the SCO Charter, which entered into force on September 19, 2003, the Organization continued to develop in line with various purposes.

**Table 1.** Shanghai Cooperation Organization States

Member States	Observer States	Dialogue Countries
Russia	Afghanistan	Turkey
China	Mongolia	Azerbaijan
Kyrgyzstan	Belarus	Armenia
Tajikistan		Cambodia
Kazakhstan		Nepal
Uzbekistan		Sri Lanka
India		Saudi Arabia
Pakistan		Qatar
Iran		Egypt

**Reference:** This table has been prepared by the study's author using the SCO's official website.

According to Table 1, today, SCO: China, Russia, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, India, Pakistan, and Iran are full members; observer members of Afghanistan, Belarus, and Mongolia; It has turned into an organization in which Armenia, Cambodia, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Nepal, and Sri Lanka are also dialogue partners (SCO, 2021; Samarkand Declaration, 16.09.2022: 9).

As can be seen from the Table, there are three types of status in the organization: full member, observer member, and dialogue partnership. Among these statuses, the status of observer country is given to countries that do not have full member status but can apply for full membership and are in close relations with the organization; Dialogue partnership status is given to third countries that want to be in contact with the organization and do not have the status of an observer country. This status is above the "guest participants" status and below the "observer country" status (TC Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2022, [www.mfa.gov.tr](http://www.mfa.gov.tr)). Therefore, the presence of observer countries and dialogue partner countries in the organization, as well as full members, signals that the organization will take on a more comprehensive and global structure beyond being a regional structure. Likewise, as seen in the Table, some countries are important geopolitically and geostrategically in the organization.

The organization, with its member countries, has reached the widest representation of the Asian region by taking the east, west, and south of the Asian region and Central Asia into its scope. Considering the borders, economic size, and population of the states in question, the SCO has become an organization that transforms its political power into spatial breadth and power. In this respect, the SCO has taken its place in the system as a "regional player with global potential" in the re-established world order. Has closed a great gap in issues such as ensuring political harmony among member states and establishing trust in central Asia (Rozaanov, 2013: 45-46; Taşkın, 2013: 220-226). It has determined multi-faceted goals (in areas such as geopolitical, political, economic, and military.) When evaluated in this context, the SCO has meanings beyond being a union formed



by the countries in the Asia Pacific. The organization provides a stable security environment for the regional powers in Eurasia. It is seen as one of the main platforms that support it.

#### **4.2. Importance of Shanghai Cooperation Organization for Turkey**

Turkey is one of the important countries that have the status of "dialogue partner" in the SCO and plays a key role in the Euro-Atlantic world and Eurasia due to its geographical location. The status in question constituted the first step of Turkey's cooperation with the SCO in the official sense. Turkey has tried to diversify its integration activities by trying to follow a multi-vector and balanced policy among international organizations in terms of political foreign policy priorities. Turkey, which joined the organization as a dialogue partner at the 2012 Beijing Summit, acted in the context of the ideology of Eurasianism. The disintegration of the USSR and the emergence of Turkic peoples and independent states, and the subsequent coming together of these states on a common platform made the SCO an attractive power for Turkey.

Positioning itself as the central country in the Eurasian region, Turkey has given importance to establishing close relations with the SCO since some of the SCO member countries (four out of 9 full members) are of "Turkish" origin. It has tried to increase its effectiveness in the Eurasian geography with a foreign policy and model country mission based on peace at home and in the world. In the context of soft power strategy, Turkey has established many institutions and organizations, such as the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) and Yunus Emre Institutes, especially consulates and embassies, to promote Turkish history, culture, and language. Turkey wanted to improve its relations with Eurasian countries and to strengthen its position vis-à-vis Western countries. While developing policies with the aim of increasing strategic autonomy by developing different political alternatives in foreign policy, the SCO was seen as an important platform in this sense.

The reasons why Turkey is important for the SCO;

- The state's efforts to maximize its interests in proportion to its power and potential,
- The desire to establish a sphere of influence in the regions where the Turkish peoples live in the Eurasian geography,
- Seeing the Central Asian countries in the SCO as kinship communities,
- Turkey's modelling mission, which constitutes the main foreign policy principle for the region,
- Turkey's geopolitical interests in Central Asia,
- The existence of the SCO as an alternative platform in the face of the "confidence problem" in Western states,
- The potential strength of the SCO member countries (natural resources, market area, population, economic and technological development),
- Desiring to develop relations with Russia, which is seen as the legal heir of the region,
- Turkey's desire to develop relations with the Turkish and Muslim nations, communities, and countries of Eurasia on an equal and official basis,
- Desiring to maintain its position as a transit country in the transportation of energy resources in the region and to host new lines to be established,
- Searching for alternatives to not realizing membership to the EU,
- The goal of expanding commercial relations,
- The world's economic and financial centre is gradually shifting to the East,
- Desiring to improve relations with the great powers of Asia (especially China and India),
- It can be listed as opening a new area for Turkey to manoeuvre in the Eurasian geography.

The reasons stated are the issues that form the basis of Turkey's relations with the SCO and shape Turkey's foreign policy principles towards the region. The "problem of trust" in Western states, which is listed among these issues, has a serious effect among the reasons that make the SCO important for Turkey. Turkey has to produce "alternative strategies to increase its national interests" in the new international environment we are in. Because the phenomenon of regionalization, which emerged as well as the process of orientation to a single world brought by the phenomenon of globalization, also affected Turkey, but Turkey was not included in Europe within the regionalization process. The potential of the SCO members constituted the main reason for Turkey to be a dialogue partner in the organization. In this respect, Turkey has developed policies to maximize its national interests. The SCO has been both the proof of Turkey's official orientation towards Eurasia and the manifestation of the idea of creating an alternative space outside the EU.

As a result, the New Eurasian conjuncture that emerged at a time when Turkey's strategic importance within the Western alliance with the collapse of the USSR was discussed and excluded from the EU; has opened a new area for Turkey to manoeuvre on the basis of the Turkish world. Thus, Turkey has the opportunity to show that it has not lost anything of its strategic importance that will serve as a bridge for the Western World to head towards this region, as well as having sister countries that can support itself in the international arena. Eurasia has been a geography that offers wide opportunities to open up to Turkey since it was placed on the world agenda. For this reason, in the Eurasian geography, on which regional powers have competed for centuries, Turkey has continued to exist as one of the competing powers in the 1990s (Erdem, 2016: 244). Turkey, which took its place in the competition between various countries in competition for Eurasia, took care to establish a cooperation ground with its regional rivals such as Russia, China, and Iran. It has been important to establish new balances and new relations through close relations with major Asian countries such as Russia and China. The partnership established by Turkey in the SCO has been an important and serious step towards understanding its geostrategic nature against the Western states. In a political environment in the region where the West is excluded by Russia and China, it has been understood that Turkey, a NATO country, is an important gateway to the region. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Turkey responded to the West's withdrawal of support for Turkey to bring its relations with the region closer, with the status of a dialogue partner at the 2012 Beijing Summit.

The memorandum of understanding between Turkey and SCO was signed by SCO Secretary-General Dmitry Mezentsev and then Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu in Kazakhstan. Defining the signed document as a "declaration of common destiny" by the two sides, Davutoğlu stated that the parties are "at the beginning of a long road where they will walk hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder." Secretary General Mezentsev, on the other hand, stated that "This is a very important day not only for the Republic of Turkey but also for the SCO" and stated that the "Shanghai spirit" will be strengthened with the participation of Turkey (BBC, 2013). In the Western media, the summit was described as a new alliance against the West. However, Turkey, which was seen as a gateway to the East after the collapse of the USSR, was supported at that time.

After the collapse of the USSR, Turkey was seen as a power that could spread neo-liberal policies in the formation of the economic policies of the newly established states in Eurasia, act as an intermediary for the Western capital to seize the regional markets and raw material resources, and limit Russia's return to the region accordingly (Urazova, 2003: 219). With the influence of the support from the West, Turkey made being a model the main foreign policy principle and aim for the region and presented itself as a "big brother" to the region in a short time (Yapıcı, 2007: 177-180). Turkey was supported because Turkey's orientation towards countries in the Eurasian geography did not contradict the interests of Western countries and even paralleled these interests. Moreover, Turkey was presented as a model to the countries of the region. However, over time, due to the West's withdrawal of support behind Turkey, Russia's recovery towards Central Asia, and Turkey's limited financial and technical possibilities, the Eurasian policies Turkey formed based on the "Turkish World", fell short of expectations (Erdem, 2016: 100). During these years, the Central Asian Republics, which had just gained their independence, had their eyes fixed on Turkey and had great expectations for meeting their enormous needs. Although Turkey continued to provide various aids to the extent of its possibilities in the region, these aids were, of course, not sufficient. With the effect of not having enough knowledge and vision about the political, economic, and sociological realities of the Post-Soviet geography, Turkey could not achieve a full position in which it could be at the top hierarchically in this period. The main element of Turkey's Eurasian policy has been the desire to try to maximize its interests.

As a matter of fact, Turkey, which has national interests and expectations from the region and is not accepted as a member of the EU, has tended to improve its relations with the SCO established in the region. As alliances began to gain new meanings in the 21st century, Turkey preferred to develop multiple relations as an important regional power. According to Aksu (2022: 79), in the 2000s, an axis shift began to occur in Turkish foreign policy, and Turkey took care to take part in other alliances established outside the West. In the new world order, where interdependence is increasing, and there is no central power, Turkey has aimed to increase its influence in the region and the world through international organizations that allow for the development of multifaceted relations between states. When we look at Turkish foreign policy since the foundation of the Republic, it has been seen that a pro-Western foreign policy has been followed, in which membership in Western institutions and organizations is important. However, this situation has changed over time. With the

2000s, an opening towards Africa, the Middle East, and Asia has been developed, and memberships to international organizations established outside the West have been increased.

The SCO dialogue partnership has formed an important output of Turkey's proactive foreign policy. It has been concluded that Turkey, which is aware of the potential of the SCO, will not be content with the status of a dialogue partner in the organization due to its geopolitical interests in Eurasia and its cultural, historical, religious, and ethnic ties with the people of the region. Turkey's participation in the summit meeting held in Samarkand on September 16, 2022, which had wide repercussions in world public opinion, has been an important development. Turkey's participation in the summit, which was organized to strengthen the economic and security ties between the states in the Eurasian region, brought along various topics of discussion. Because while a war that started with Vladimir Putin's declaration of "a military operation" in Ukraine on February 24, 2022, and has not yet ended at the point reached today, an important meeting was held in the SCO, and Turkey participated in this meeting.

The fact that Turkey participated in the meeting for the first time at the presidential level was the main reason why these criticisms had wide repercussions. So much so that the war between the two countries of Eurasia was seen as Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and Turkey did not participate in the economic sanctions imposed on Russia by the Western states. Unlike other NATO countries, Turkey has assumed the role of mediator since the beginning of the war and has taken part in peace negotiations. Therefore, Turkey's participation in the Samarkand Summit, which has become an increasingly critical partner with its strategic location and importance during the Russia-Ukraine war: Is Turkey going to change its axis against the West? It has been subject to some criticism. While there are opinions in the international media that Turkey is turning its direction to Asia, this attitude of Turkey has actually been an indication that it has adopted a proactive foreign policy. The attitude adopted by Turkey in the face of the events has given the message that Turkey is no longer a staunch Transatlanticist but adopts a non-aligned foreign policy with a pillar in every camp. By trying to be an effective power in the changing world order, Turkey has shown that it positions itself not as a Western but as a global one.

In Turkey's new balanced diplomacy, besides Western institutions, international organizations from other regions have also been important. The SCO is one of these organizations, and Turkey's partnership with the SCO has always been considered important, and it has been an important development that Turkey seems more determined than ever to establish closer relations with the SCO in recent years. However, this partnership has never been seen as a serious option when compared to the EU membership issue. Although Turkey applied to the EU for partnership a short time after its establishment, the same is not true for the SCO. While membership to the EU has become a goal for Turkey, no formal application for full membership has been made for the SCO yet, and the relations have been carried out at the partnership level. In fact, the SCO example has been an indicator of the official Eurasian orientation that Turkey has followed since the 1990s, and according to İşyar (2013: 278), It has manifested itself in a position that is not continuous, pragmatic, fragmented, and above all, not against the conditions of the new world order, on the contrary, it is an indirect supporter and side of it.

Although Turkish diplomats point out that the world's economic and financial centre is gradually shifting to the East, it is frequently stated that Turkey cannot give up its Euro-Atlantic institutions and orientation. Therefore, while Turkey attaches importance to developing its relations with the SCO, it continues to maintain its relations with Western organizations.

Due to its central location between East and West, Turkey's desire to get closer to institutions and countries in Asia is a justified pursuit. Asia is a region where the world's future is locked, both as a market and as a source of natural resources and raw materials. For this reason, Turkey will continue to develop its relations with Western countries and international organizations in the context of its national interests. At the same time, it will continue to evaluate Asia as an alternative.

As a result, it is expected that the dialogue partnership status of the SCO will evolve into the observer state status in the coming years, and this rapprochement will cause discomfort, especially for NATO. Because according to Gaspers et al. (2017: 4), Russia, one of the leading powers of the SCO, is the country listed as a threat in the defence white papers of almost all EU and NATO members. If Turkey seriously considers joining the SCO as a full member, a significant crack in NATO will become inevitable. Full membership to the SCO will also affect the EU membership process, making EU membership an even more remote possibility.

Turkey will establish close relations with the observer state status rather than full membership in the SCO to remind that it has a strategic value against Western states. For this reason, Turkey is expected to continue its policies that show its geopolitical and geostrategic nature to both Asian and European countries. Because Turkey acts as a bridge due to its border neighbourhood with Eurasian countries and a significant part of the energy resources the West needs to pass through Turkey. Therefore, Turkey is a crucial country against the West for issues of importance such as energy. This is also valid for the East, and Turkey is in an important geographical position to access the West. For this reason, with the awareness of being an indispensable country for both the West and the East, Turkey will try to transform its geostrategic position into important outputs in the context of its national interests.

## **5. Conclusions**

The Eurasian region, within the geopolitical scope of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, has important advantages with its population, surface area, and rich underground and surface resources. This aspect gives the organization the indispensable point of world domination theories in the geopolitical plane and the most effective formation that dominates the Eurasian geography. Likewise, the organization is based on a geography that stretches from the Arctic Ocean to the Indian Ocean and from the Pacific to the Atlantic. It is described as the centre of the world. When evaluated with the positions of observer states and dialogue partners, the SCO emerges as an organization with wide geographical coverage.

The SCO, established under the leadership of Russia and China against the USA's position as the sole superpower, has emerged as an important regionalization model. Established to resolve the border disputes between the newly independent countries and China in the Eurasian region, the SCO has become the most important integration step in the region today. The organization, which has turned to strategic goals over time, has diversified its relations and fields of activity and carried it to political, economic, military, cultural, regional security, and diplomacy. The organization's expansion of its sphere of influence by turning to different strategic goals has been the most important catalyst for establishing a multipolar world order in international relations. It aims to create a zone of prosperity and harmony with the SCO, which is based on the member states' equal partnership and deep and dynamic multilateral economic cooperation. Therefore, the organization, which was established to develop policies for the benefit of all partners, developed its fields of influence and activity quickly and focused on expanding the integration field by adding new partners to its structure. Turkey has been one of the important countries with which the SCO has been closely cooperating, especially since the 2010s. While the SCO evaluates Turkey as an important country for many reasons, such as its geopolitical position, geo-cultural depth, and being a gateway to the West, Turkey, which wants to increase its national interests in economic, social, and political fields, has seen the SCO as an important organization established in the Eurasian geography. The issues mentioned above, which are foreseen to provide a mutual advantage to both parties, led the parties to cooperate and enabled Turkey to become a dialogue partner in the organization in 2012.

Turkey's orientation to the organizations established in the East, as well as its membership in Western organizations, has been the result of Turkey's attempt to expand its strategic choices and autonomy. The proactive approach adopted in Turkish foreign policy has brought some debates that Turkey has moved from the Western camp to the Eastern camp. The fact that Turkey, which is not a member of the EU, has developed multifaceted relations has shown that Turkey, as a member of the Euro-Atlantic community, not only tries to improve its relations with the Western world but also prefers to develop its relations with the actors in Eurasia as a reliable link. The Turkey-SCO partnership, which creates anxiety for NATO and Western states, is seen as an outcome of Turkey's close relations with Russia and the regional states. Turkey wants to turn this geopolitical position into an advantage as one of the key countries in the Euro-Atlantic world and Eurasia. For this purpose, it takes care to conduct its relations with Western and Eastern countries by following a balanced policy. The EU membership process of Turkey, which is currently a NATO and OSCE etc. organizations member, continues. Turkey is not expected to become a full member of the SCO since it does not seem possible in the current situation for Turkey to be included in another security pact other than NATO. However, the gradual shift of the world's economic and financial centre to the East and the search for alternatives to the EU membership make Turkey important for the SCO. The conclusion reached in the study as a result of the research carried out in this context is that Turkey will carry its dialogue partnership status in the SCO to the status of an observer state soon. It is a justified strategy for Turkey to get closer to the organizations established in Asia. In

this region, the world's future is locked, both as a market and as raw material resources, as well as organizations in Europe. While Turkey will continue to develop its relations with Western countries and international organizations, it will also continue evaluating regions such as Asia and Africa as an alternative. Because in today's world, where multilateral relations gain importance, Turkey is not expected to turn its direction to a single region.

## References

- Aça, M. (2002). Avrasyacı Yaklaşımın Türkiye Çeşitlenmeleri ve Türk Dünyasının Geleceği. Emine Gürsoy ve Erdal Şahin (Ed.), *Bağımsızlıklarının 10. Yılında Türk Cumhuriyetleri*. Sota Yayınları: Haarlem.
- Ağır, O. (2016). Rusya-Ukrayna Krizi'nin Avrasya Ekonomik Birliği Bağlamında Değerlendirilmesi. *KSÜ İİBF Dergisi*, 6, 23-42.
- Aksu, Z. (2022). Türk Dış Politikası ve Uluslararası Örgütler. *Uluslararası Stratejik Boyut Dergisi*, 2(2), 79-91.
- Armaoğlu, F. (2012). *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi (1914-1995)*. Alkım Yayınevi: İstanbul.
- Ateş, D. (2014). *Uluslararası Örgütler-Devletlerin Örgütlenme Mantiği*. Dora Yayınları: Bursa.
- Aydın M. (Ed.) (2005). Orta Asya'nın Değişen Dinamikleri ve Jeopolitiği. *Küresel Politikada Orta Asya Avrasya Üçlemesi I*. Nobel Yayınları: İstanbul.
- Bajanov, Y. (2000). Rusya'nın Değişen Dış Politikası. (Çev. A. Altay Ünaltay). *Menfaatler Çatışması Ortasında Türkiye*. Ülke Kitapları: İstanbul.
- BBC. (2013 April 26), *Türkiye, Şangay İşbirliği Örgütü'yle Diyalog Ortağı*. Erişim Adresi [https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2013/04/130426\\_sio\\_turkiye\\_anlasma](https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2013/04/130426_sio_turkiye_anlasma).
- Çeçen, A. (2015). *Türkiye ve Avrasya*. EBSCOHOST: İstanbul.
- Dugin, A. (2003). *Rus Jeopolitiği Avrasyacı Yaklaşım*. (Çev. V. Imanov). Küre Yayınları: İstanbul.
- Dugin, A. (2014). *Eurasian Mission An Introduction to Neo-Eurasianism*, Arktos Media Ltd: Russia.
- Efegil, E. (2011). Türkiye'nin Orta Asya Politikası 2009. *Türk Dış Politikası Yıllığı 2009*. Seta Yayınları: Ankara.
- Erdem, D. F. (2016). *Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Avrasya ve Avrasyacılık Algulamalar Yaklaşımlar ve Stratejiler*. Barış Kitap: Ankara.
- Erol, M. S. (2013). Post Sovyet Alanında Türkiye-Rusya İlişkileri: Sıfır Toplamlı Bir Oyun mu Yoksa Güvene Dayalı İşbirliği mi?. Haydar Çakmak ve Mehmet Erol (Ed.). *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Rusya Federasyonu İlişkileri*. Barış Kitap: Ankara.
- Garnett, S. (2001). Çin-Rusya Stratejik Ortaklığının Tehlikeleri. *Uzak ve Eski Komşumuz Çin*, (Çev. Y. Tezkan). Ülke Kitapları: İstanbul.
- Gaspers, J., Huotari, M. and Eder T. (2017). Can Turkey Play the Shanghai Card?: China's Take on Ankara's Eurasian Security Endeavours and What it Means for Europe's Security Architecture. *Federal Academy for Security Policy*.
- Guang, P. (2013). The Spirit of the Silk Road", The SCO and China's Relations with Central Asia. Michael Fredholm (Ed.). *The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Eurasian Geopolitics: New Directions, Perspectives, and Challenges*. NIAS Press: Copenhagen.
- Hobsbawm, E. (2008). *Kısa 20. Yüzyıl 1914-1991 Aşırılıklar Çağı*. Everest Yayınları: İstanbul.
- Imanov, V. (2008). *Avrasyacılık: Rusya'nın Kimlik Arayışı*. Küre Yayınları: İstanbul.
- İşyar, Ö. G. (2013). *Avrasya ve Avrasyacılık*. Dora Yayınları: Bursa.
- Kennedy, P. C., Robert, S. and Hill, B. E. (1997). Eksen Ülkeler ve Amerikan Stratejisi. (Çev. M. Gürses). *Türkiye Günlüğü*. Ankara. (47), 51-54.
- Keyman, F. (2011). Küreselleşme, Modernite ve Demokrasi Türk Dış Politikası 2009 ve Sonrası. *Türk Dış Politikası Yıllığı 2009*. Seta Yayınları: Ankara.
- Larrabee, F. S. and Lesser, I.O. (2003). *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*. RAND: California.
- Laruelle, M. (2015). Eurasia, Eurasianism, Eurasian Union Terminological Gaps and Overlaps. *George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs*, PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 366, 1-5.
- Mammadov, H. (2014). *Rus Dış Politikasında Stratejik-Zihinsel Süreklilik ve Putin'in Dış Politika Doktrini*. Hoca Ahmet Yesevi Uluslararası Türk-Kazak Üniversitesi: Ankara.
- McMahon, J. R. (2013). *Soğuk Savaş*. (Çev. Sinem Gül). Dost Kitabevi Yayınları: Ankara.
- Nazarbayev, N. (2011). Yevraziyskiy Sayuz: Otidei Kistorii Budushego, *İzvestia*, <http://izvestia.ru/news/504908>.

- Rakhimov, M. (2013). The Institutional and Political Transformation of the SCO in the Context of Geopolitical Changes in Central Asia, the Central Asian Point of View on the SCO. Michael Fredholm (Ed.). *The Shanghai Cooperation and Eurasian Geopolitics: New Directions, Perspectives, and Challenges*. NIAS Press: Copenhagen.
- Rozanov, A. A. (2013). The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Central Asia's Security Challenges. *The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces*, <http://www.dcaf.ch/Publications/The-Shanghai-Cooperation-Organisation-and-Central-Asia-s-Security-Challenges>.
- Samarkand Declaration (2022 September 16), *The Samarkand Declaration of the Heads of State Council of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation*. Erişim Adresi <http://eng.sectesco.org/documents/>.
- Sander, O. (2014). *Siyasi Tarih: 1918-1994*. İmge Kitabevi: Ankara.
- Sarsekeev, M. (2014). Russia in Central Asia: Geopolitical Models of Strategy and Foreign Policy. *Central Asia and Caucasus Journal*, 3, [http://www.cac.org/online/2014/journal\\_eng/cac-04/03.shtml](http://www.cac.org/online/2014/journal_eng/cac-04/03.shtml).
- Savitskii, P.N. (1926). Geograficheskii Obzor Rossii-Evraziï", Liudmila Novikova and Irina Sizemskaya (Ed.). *Evrasiia, Mir Rossii, Russia*.
- SCO. (2021). *The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation*. Erişim Adresi [http://eng.sectesco.org/about\\_sco/](http://eng.sectesco.org/about_sco/).
- Serbest, M. B. (2017). Tarihsel Süreçte Rus Avrasyacılığı: Klasik Avrasyacılıktan Neo-Avrasyacılığa. *Manas Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 6(3), 285-307.
- Taşkın, D. (2013). Mekânsal Güç Asya'nın Siyasi Gücü: Şanghay İşbirliği Örgütü. *Doğu Coğrafya Dergisi*, 18(30), ss.217-228.
- TC Dışişleri Bakanlığı. (2022). *Şanghay İşbirliği Örgütü*. Erişim Adresi <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sanghay-isbirligi-orgutu.tr.mfa>.
- Temur, F. (2015). *Yükselen Asya'da Şanghay İşbirliği Örgütü, Dünü Bugünü ve Yarını*. Stratejik Düşünce ve Araştırma Vakfı İkt. İşt: Ankara.
- Uçarol, R. (1995). *Siyasi Tarih (1789-1994)*, Filiz Kitabevi, İstanbul.
- Urazova, Y. İ. (2003). Türkiye ile Orta Asya'nın ve Kafkasya'nın Yeni Türki Devletleri Arasındaki Ekonomik İlişkilerin Durumu ve Perspektifleri. Gülten Kazgan ve Natalya Ulçenko (Ed.). *Türkiye ve Rusya*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları: İstanbul.
- Wehrschutz, C. F. (2000). Rus Fikriyatının Parçası Olarak Avrasyacılık. (Çev. M. Murat Taşar). *Menfaatler Çatışması Ortasında Türkiye*. Ülke Kitapları: İstanbul.
- Yapıcı, U. (2007). *Yeni Soğuk Savaş Putin, Rusya ve Avrasya*. Başlık Yayın Grubu: İstanbul.
- Zakaria, F. (2008). *Post Modern Amerika*. Kırmızı Yayınları: İstanbul.

---

#### Etik, Beyan ve Açıklamalar

---

1. Etik Kurul izni ile ilgili;

Bu çalışmanın yazar/yazarları, Etik Kurul İznine gerek olmadığını beyan etmektedir.

2. Bu çalışmanın yazar/yazarları, araştırma ve yayın etiği ilkelerine uyduklarını kabul etmektedir.

3. Bu çalışmanın yazar/yazarları kullanmış oldukları resim, şekil, fotoğraf ve benzeri belgelerin kullanımında tüm sorumlulukları kabul etmektedir.

4. Bu çalışmanın benzerlik raporu bulunmaktadır.

---