

# *Polish Journal of Political Science*

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# *Polish Journal of Political Science*

Volume 4 Issue 1

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Melike Selcen Emiroglu

## **The importance of the One Belt One Road Initiative for Central and West Asia**

### **Abstact**

The Initiative of One belt- One Road Project consists of the Economic zone of the Silk Road and projects of 21th Century Sea Silk Road. The Antique Silk Road aims to establish a trade and infras-ture network that connects Europe and Africa to Asia beyond trade routes. For 21<sup>st</sup> Century Modern Silk Road will create new opportunities for all member states in this project. Also, China will have big advantage and economical development and the world trade productions will transport better safely, fast and on time to the destination countries. When we look at from Central Asia and Western Asia Countries pespectives, Turkic Republics are geo-graphically located in the first circle of this Project. Although it is clear that China's growing influence as an economic force will be felt globally, the most difficult of the project will be the Turkic Republics, which will take the first place in case the project is successful or fails. The increase of China's economic influence in the medium and long term, the free movement of goods, money and labor force has the potential to disrupt the population balance of the Turkic Republics. The stability of the Turkic Republics, which is a buffer zone between Russia and China, not only for these republics, but also for Russia's security, The preservation of the population balance of the Turkic Republics and its borders with China is not an issue to be left to the Turkic Republics only. About this subject, the fact that there is a need for close cooperation should be taken into account by Russia, Turkey and Turkic Republics. Turkey Project will finance the Asian Infrastruc-ture Investment Bank, which will become a founding partner,

Turkey attended this Project`s Summit in China and it is interested very closely with this Project. The loss of confidence in Turkey`s western allies for the last ten years, the west has pushed Turkey to seek the support of Russia and China in balancing the world. Via Turkic Republics Turkey will connect to China, Apart from Iran through a reliable line with this project (China-Central Asia-Caspian Sea-Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey) the opportunity to reach the reunion to this new economic center of power in Asia. However, with this project China`s balance of economic, geopolitical and population influence on the Turkic Republics Turkey needs to close cooperation with Russia that is open.

**Keywords:** One Belt One Road, Turkey, The Turkic Republics, China, Modern Silk Road, Russia, The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank , economy and geopolitical.

## Introduction

The Modern Silk Road project covers 65 countries in total including sea and road route.<sup>1</sup> When the countries are examined on the route, it is seen that the project generally includes the developing countries. When considered the countries covered by the project constitute an economic size of approximately \$21 trillion, it is understood that the modern silk road project has a serious economic potential. With the completion of this route that will link China from Central Asia to Europe, it is aimed to provide integration in land, sea and railway transportation, diversification of global trade routes and reduction time and costs. However, projecting enormous infrastructure investments in Asia, Africa and Europe, the project will allow for the creation of centres of faith civilizations and inter-communal economic and cultural interactions.<sup>2</sup>

Modern Silk road project linking Asia, Africa and Europe (a multi – billion dollar infrastructure investment initiative involving highways, railways, ports and energy transmission lines) was held in Beijing on 14-15 May 2017 for the first time. Summit in which the heads of state and government of 29 countries joined the prominence of the project was explained to the world by Chinese president Shi Jinping Russia's recommendation Eurasian Economic cooperation and the middle corridor projects proposed by Turkey planned to be in harmony, The Modern Silk Road Project the countries on the route are planned to be connected to each other via land, sea, air, railways and port-pipelines. The modern silk

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<sup>1</sup> Y. Mavashev, *Turkey has not been unregistered to the New Silk Road Project*, Turkey, 3 June 2015.

<sup>2</sup> \$ 79 Billion from the Modern Silk Road from China, Bloomberg HT, May 14, 2017.

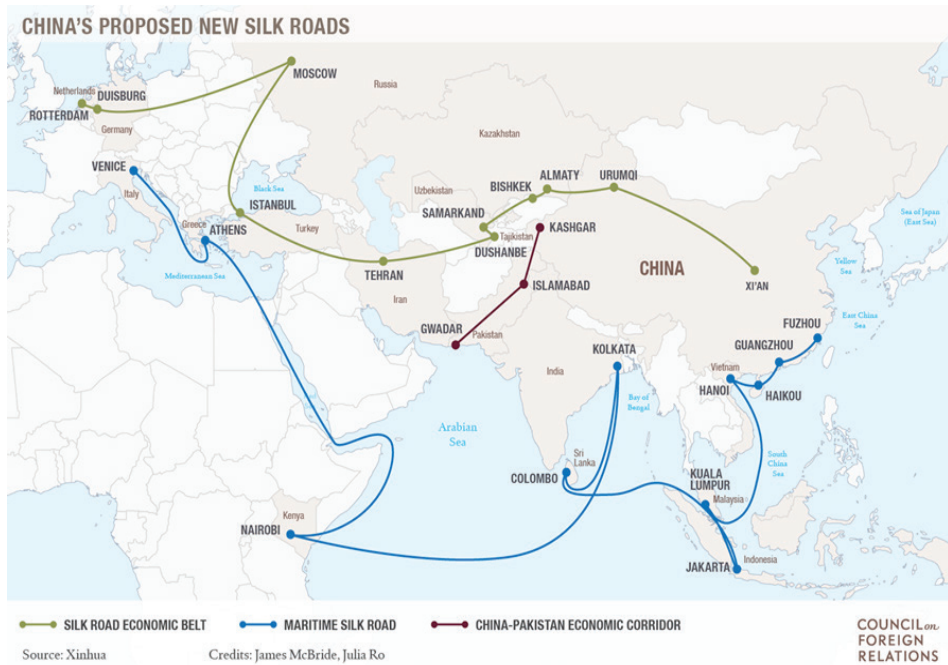


road project aims to connect 65 countries with the simplest route the port, the railway, the airport. The project is covering nearly 4.5 billion of the world population the importance is even greater when it is through including 65 countries that make up about one third of the global economy. It is also known that about \$304 billion was spent daily from the beginning of the project.

At the end of 2013, one belt one road project announced by Chinese president Xi Jinping and China's foreign policy is gradually preparing to assume a more active leadership role in the global arena. One belt one road project slowly began to be implemented as an important indicator. It is thought that initiative will cover two-thirds of the world's population and one-third of the world's gross domestic product (GDP). China's new normal economy is gradually slowing down. As we know the Chinese economy saw the lowest rate of growth in the last 24 years with 7.4 percent growth. There are difficulties in the economy of the country. And production surplus is one of the important subject. If China succeed in one belt one road project in this way, China will be opened with great infrastructure investments in the markets including the project and it will try to dissolve the excess of production by selling such productions machinery, electronics e.g. to this countries.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> E. T. Karagol (2017) *The Modern Silk Road Project*, "SETA Publishing" p.2-3



Source: Council of foreign relations



Sources: <http://www.neogaf.com/forum/showthread.php?t=1372806>

## Potential Effects of the modern Silk Road Project to world trade

China has become the world's largest manufacturer and it has faced the threat of slowing economic growth in recent years which has been dominating global markets since the early 2000s. The global economic crisis has caused a drop in demand which is one of the biggest trading partners to China with USA, EU and Japan and began to slow down the export – oriented Chinese economy.<sup>4</sup> One of the goal in the middle ward, when it is thought that will continue to grow high economic situation with 6.7 percent economic growth in 2016 and the lowest growth rate in the last 27 years.<sup>5</sup> China has led to the development of different alternatives in economic terms. In this context, The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership Agreement realized between the USA and the EU (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership – TTIP) is a crucial factor in reducing export rates and China attaches even more importance to The Modern Silk Road Project.<sup>6</sup>

China whose share in EU foreign trade is high, it is expected to increase the trade relations with the EU by passing the modern silk road project. With this project the EU will be closely to Asian countries because it is realizing about four quarters of its foreign trade with these countries. In 2001, EU supports of China for being a member of the world trade organization it is one of the indicators of this convergence. In 2016, in this sense, it is important the EU exports 170.4 billion euros

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<sup>4</sup> List of Products Exported by China, Trade Map.

<sup>5</sup> World Economic Outlook, International Monetary Fund (IMF), April 2015

<sup>6</sup> N. Gur, *What does the latest developments in the Chinese economy mean?*, "SETA Perspective", Issue: 111, (August 2015).

to China and it realizes its export and import with China total 344.6 billion euros. The size of the current trade rate between the EU and China will undoubtedly increase with the passing of the modern silk road project. In 2009, together with the global economic crisis, this situation offers an opportunity for EU countries to decline by 4.4 percent.

At the same time modern silk road will also reduce the potential impacts can be negatively affected of the agreement China's influence on the global economy liking TTIP. As well as being a project to improve China's mutual economic relations with the EU until global economic crisis in 2008, China are not entered enough trade relations with developing countries but with this Project, China will have new export areas. Besides the contributions of the modern silk road project to China in the project other countries are expected to strengthen the network of economic relations. With bring a new breath to trade in geography and for increasing the prosperity of the regions, opening new employment areas, the project will positively impact Middle Eastern Countries particularly targeting Central Asian countries and higher market share. With the project China was aimed to ensure their earning power in region and increasing trade volume of countries were the project will pass region and The Central Asian Countries and the Middle Eastern Countries will develop their trade relations and this situation will bring economic and social prosperities to every countries.

The Central Asia, Middle East and African countries which are characterized by developing countries and taking attention with energy resources they have not been sufficiently involved in global capital flows to nowadays, They could not get beyond their geography and they have not invested their natural resources in their territorial areas. In this content, the modern

silk road offers a vision that can integrate the countries in this route along the global economy and enhance domestic welfare. Initiatives towards the modern silk road project from East to West, it will provide capital flow to the countries on its route land will help to increase employment in these countries.<sup>7</sup> With the modern silk road project countries like Iran where national income per capita is low, it is expected to increasing in national income and acceleration of development. The Middle East and Central Asia are rich in energy resources and as part of the modern silk road project interregional infrastructure needs to be improved the intense energy demand will provide an important route in European`s energy transfer. In this sense, This project which will open up new energy deals, mobility will be achieved in energy markets. Also, the modern silk road will play an important role in realizing energy transfer from the Middle East and Central Asian markets the European Union keeps on the agenda especially after the Russian –Ukraine crisis and a solution to the problem of energy supply security.<sup>8</sup>

### **The Effects of Modern Silk Road to Turkey**

Turkey which has hosted Anatolia, one of the most critical transit routes of the silk road in history, it is one of the important countries of the project which will extend from China to the inside of Europe. Turkey is located at the intersection of Europe, Asia and Middle East geography the silk road economic belt line is the connection point to Europe, which

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<sup>7</sup> *The New Silk Road Will Bring China and Europe*, Anadolu Agency, 29 April 2016

<sup>8</sup> E. T. Karagol, *The Modern Silk Road Project*, “SETA Publishing”, p. 3-4

includes the land and railways of the project. Turkey who works its way to becoming the energy trading centre and it is a member of G20, the modern Silk road project which is expected to provide substantial support for the development of relations with China and it will bring significant opportunities in terms achieving Turkey's future economic situation.

At the dates of 14-15 May, summit that president Erdogan attended with the realization of the modern silk road considered the world's largest transportation project, The most important contribution to Turkey is to open up new market areas and increase Turkey's export potential. Modern silk road's central corridor is forming by Turkey and the shipment period between Turkey and China drops from 30 days to 10 days and products delivered in two months by sea from Beijing to Istanbul they are delivered in less than two weeks.<sup>9</sup>

In this sense, the project makes even more important for Turkey capital inflow to it and stimulation of foreign investments and with the world's second largest economic power of China in the modern silk road summit is expected to provide a more balanced trading volume and many agreements have been signed between China and Turkey.

These are explained as follows:

- Transportation agreement on International roads
- Agreement on the establishment of cultural centres with the People's Republic of China
- Agreement on mutual extradition of criminals.

Besides all these, together with this project Turkey will also increase interaction with the Turkic Republics as well as limited contacts in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan

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<sup>9</sup> *What You Need to Know in the Modern Silk Road Project*, Bloomberg HT, 12 May 2017.

as silk road can consolidate its developed economic relations with the countries such as China, Iran, Russia located on the economic belt line. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union of Socialist Republics(USSR) those countries that achieved just their independence they will also have the opportunity to integrate with global market in this project and within the modern silk road has the potential to develop bilateral relations with the countries, the scope of the project and to provide a significant amount of capital flow. Turkey which will create the connection point of trade between Asian countries and Europe and it will also have an important opportunity to attract Asian capital. After the 2008 global economic crisis about the accumulation of capital Asian countries that have become one of the new centres of the world given the high saving rates that have Turkey has the potential to come to the fore of these countries where these savings turn into investments.<sup>10</sup>

Through infrastructure projects planned within the scope of the silk road increased cooperation between Turkey and Asian countries and it is expected the emergence of serious capital mobility. In this context, Turkey is one of the founding country of the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank<sup>11</sup> projects to be done within the scope of modern silk road project, it has been a very strategic decision in terms of Turkey's involvement. In addition when the modern silk road project is considered together with the Istanbul Finance Centre (IFC) which is one of the important investment of Turkey.

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<sup>10</sup> N. Yoshino, *Global Imbalances and the Development of Capital Flows among Asian Countries*, "OECD Journal: Financial Market Trends", Volume: 2012/1.

<sup>11</sup> *Signatures for the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank* , Sabah, June 30, 2015

It will ensure that the capital expected from the Asian Countries will be carried out more systematically and quickly. Despite the fact that the modern silk road project has a structure that generally includes commodity trading. It has an important potential in the field of energy. The process of bringing together energy supply and demanding countries has opened the door to developments that may be experienced in this area. At any step in the energy field, Turkey is the most advantageous route due to its geographical position it will be at the centre of energy relations that can be developed between Asia and Europe. In this content, TANAP`s expected that energy flow to Europe Turkey which is involved in energy projects as Turkish current. Also, Turkey has an important position in energy supply security point Turkey which will contribute to energy security of the countries of the region due to its geographical locations together with the energy market it will present important contributions to the modern silk road project within the scope of the project. Energy market<sup>12</sup> which will bring together regional actors it will also attract global actors to the Turkish market. Thus the functionality and impact of the Turkish Energy market will increase, it will be in a position to compete with the world`s advantaged energy market.

In sum up, for stimulate commercial activity around the world, coming back to the agenda of the China`s leadership modern silk road project has serious economic potential together with different geographies and countries. The project will be implemented within the scope of the silk road economic belt and the sea silk road lines will connect the continents

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<sup>12</sup> *The Energy Stock was officially established, "World", 18 March 2015.*



they will form on of the important roots of the global trade network. In 2013, on the implementation of the projects announced by China`s many important steps have been taken so far. And in 2014, Establishment of the Silk Road Economy Belt fund on behalf of the modern silk road project, To the this fund was separating 40 billion dollars in resources undoubtedly, it is most important activity within the scope of the project. Also, in the name of offering support to the project with investment of \$ 150 billion on November 2011, the Asian infrastructure investment Bank was established in which Turkey is a founding member. Fund splitting for the modern silk road it is seen as quite an important development for realization of the project, many similar actions are planned to be carried out within the scope of project. The first steps taken in 1998, handled within the scope of the revitalize the silk road. The project of the European-Caucasus-Asian transport corridor (TRACECA) is trying to integrate came at the beginning of the steps to be taken to create the desired new road and rail line.<sup>13</sup>

### **The Central Asian's opening door to global economy**

The globalization process has led transportation in the economic structure of the world. Transportation costs decreased thanks to the advances in information and communication technologies. And the production processes have accordingly begun to decompose. Decompositions of production chains necessitated economies to be integrated. In the process of integration in different geographies it has become more

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<sup>13</sup> E. T. Karagol, *The Modern Silk Road Project*, "SETA Publishing" p. 4-6

important the formation of logistics bond. Nowadays, mainly in China leading global manufacturer and supplier position of Asian countries. The transport infrastructure needs to be improved between East and West.<sup>14</sup>

In this context, modernization and re-use of the historic silk road interconnect the logistics network entering the reconstruction process such as. Afghanistan and countries on the route it is an opportunity to accelerate economic developments. Establishment of a corridor management agency under the leadership of Turkey, collecting the relevant countries on a single platform will be able to produce solution for the realization of the Modern silk road. In this evaluation note, the revival of the silk road again have been discussed the contributions of the regional economies to the process of East and west integration.<sup>15</sup>

### The Silk Road's importance for the region

A new era has begun for the Central Asian Region with the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan which have gained independence in the region and they are among the developing countries. Some of these countries are seen as the key of the development of their rich underground resources. For example, the share of oil and petroleum products in exports of Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan was 88 % and 61% respectively in 2010.<sup>16</sup> But, the inadequacy of the infrastructure and the inefficiency of the industry are creating obstacles to integrate

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<sup>14</sup> <http://www.tepav.org.tr/tr/ekibimiz/s/1255/Omercan+Kulaklikaya>

<sup>15</sup> K. Omercan, *Modern Ipek Yolu Orta Asyanin Kuresel Ekonomiye acilan kapi*, "TEPAV Publishing" p.1

<sup>16</sup> UN Comtrade Statistics, 2013.

countries into the global value chain. These countries need to be able to export non-petroleum by strengthening their logistics infrastructure. Another member of the region is Afghanistan did not be stable possession according to economically and politically developments due to civil war and terrorist problems in the last period. In the country the foreign military troops immediately take decision to withdraw this situation started a new era for providing stability in economic, political and security areas. Pakistan where located in the South and East of Afghanistan, India and China are suppliers of the region. At the same time, the closeness of these countries to the west's value chains it is an opportunity for Central Asia. This region should increase its both physical and political accessibility with the necessary infrastructure investments and customs agreements. Therefore, the connection of logistics bridges to the region, going to economic cooperation and increasing trade, bringing value chains closer together they will accelerate the development process too. The reuse of the silk road with modern transportation infrastructure is an important tool in this regard.

Trade traffic between China and West is key to development of the geography between two regions. A leader country of supplier and manufacturer of global market China has increased its exports by 460% to 27 EU<sup>17</sup> countries between 2001 and 2011 years. Trade between the two regions is provided by railway routes crossing Russia and Caucasus with recent investments and the most of from maritime the passage of this trade through the silk road route is an opportunity for countries such as Kazakhstan, Afghanistan and Uzbekistan to integrate into global value chains. In addition, the quality

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<sup>17</sup> Eurostat Uluslararası Ticaret İstatistikleri, 2011.

transport infrastructure makes it possible to link different geographies and create new economic centres. For example in recent years, the transportation infrastructure investments made in Western China increased the connectivity of the region to the outside the Chengdu- Chongqing Economic Zone<sup>18</sup> was established in the south west of the country.

For the development of trade and economic integration China continues to improving its logistics network and it is accelerating infrastructure investments in the region. One of the most important of these is the Chongqing-Xinjiang-Europe railway line which lasts 11, 279 in length in 2012. This route is shortening container transportation time what takes 38 days from China to Europe with using railway takes 16 days.<sup>19</sup> This railways line sets an example for the modern use of the silk road route and it connects to the Eastern European region from the West China. The silk road is an opportunity for stability in Afghanistan and the opening of new commercial channels in the region. Developing in Afghanistan are drawing attention to the International community and various projects are being developed for the development of the country. Resolving security problems in the country and ensuring political and economic stability as the country will provide stability and it is preparing environment for new economic initiatives in the region. For this reason, Afghanistan`s reconstruction process is supported by various countries especially the Central Asian Republics. In this context, in date of November 2010, for the purpose of to supporting Afghanistan Turkey show that it will

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<sup>18</sup> İ. B. Alpaslan, *A Regional Development Story: Western China*, "TEPAV Evaluation Note", 2013

<sup>19</sup> 1 <http://www.globaltimes.cn/NEWS/tabid/99/ID/669086/Chongqing-Germany-regular-cargo-train-starts-trip.aspx>, [accessed: 08.02.2013]

contribute to the process by hosting the regional Economic Cooperation Conference (RECCA).

When we work about Afghanistan's one of the most important problems is lack of transport infrastructure in the country. Because, in the country there is no almost rail infrastructure exists and the existing road infrastructure alone is not enough for transportation.<sup>20</sup> Priority policies aimed out increasing logistical accessibility it is having great importance for the country and its neighbours. Afghanistan is located at the centres of Central Asia and silk road in terms of its geographical position. This is gives the country the opportunity to see the bridge mission in the process of increasing trade in the region and integrating the economics. The modernization of the silk road will involve the region in the geographical logistics network, thus providing countries with the opportunity to participate in the global value chain. Also, The presence of large of suppliers the market such as China located in the East of Afghanistan in the South of Pakistan and India it will contribute to approach the value chain.<sup>21</sup>

The establishment of logistics centres along the silk road will be the driving force for regional dynamics in Eurasian. The European crisis has affected the Eurasian region as well as the whole world. From 2011, the south Asian region's GDP value declined from 74% to 54% to 2012, the same values were respectively realized as 5.5% and 3% <sup>22</sup>for the Europe- Central Asia region. The modern Silk will open trade channels in the region and allow for the creation of new economic

<sup>20</sup> RECCA V Raporu, "Regional Investment Projects and Policy Priorities", 2012

<sup>21</sup> O. Kulaklikaya, *Modern Ipek Yolu Orta Asyanin Kuresel Ekonomiye acilan kapisi*, "TEPAV Publishing" p.3-5

<sup>22</sup> The World Bank, *Global Economic Prospects*, January 2013

centres. In this context, Afghanistan located at the centre of Central Asia which serve as bridges in the Caspian Sea Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan are important points in this region. In this countries, it is necessary to establish logistics centres that provide combined transportation and convert these centres into economic investment fields. In this respect, Asian countries and the Caucasus region will be able to connect to Europe through Turkey so remote geographical economics will come together. For this reason, the silk road is seen as one of the most practical solutions for the emergence of the economic potential of the region and integrations of these economics.<sup>23</sup>

### **Euroasian transit corridor**

In Eurasia, there are three corridors linking East and West. These corridors provide the possibility economical, environment friendly and fast transportation with railway infrastructure. The North corridor extends from China to Europe through Russian territory and provides railway transport in the Eurasian region. The route also referred to as the North East – West corridor serves as a bridge between The trans-Siberian railway line on the territory of West Russia and the continents. In addition, the second railway line Chongqing- Xinjiang – Europe connecting to the North corridor to Kazakhstan from the Western region of China accelerates the railway transportation in the region. The biggest advantage of this corridor is that it is active. The disadvantages include high maintenance costs of railways and geographical

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<sup>23</sup> S. Frederick Starr ve Andrew C. Kuchins, “The Key to Success in Afghanistan a Modern Silk Road Strategy”, 2010

difficulties such as cold weather conditions. The middle corridor starts from China and connects to Turkey via Kazakhstan- Azerbaijan and then to Europe starting from the West China region the Middle corridor extents to Turkey and Europe Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan by ferry from Caspian Sea<sup>24</sup>. The route is also connected to Turkmenistan as an alternative. In this respect, Baku, Aktau and Turkmenbashi ports are used for sea freight transport. If this route is used actively, the Central Asian countries will be able to generate economic opportunities from the Euro- China trade trafficking. Especially in Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan ports, the establishment of Logistics centres and free trade zones, they will allow the value chains to approach.

Firstly, In order to make transportation on this line, completion of necessary infrastructure investments in Caspian Sea ports, signing of transit agreements between countries and technical deficiencies must be eliminated in the railway network. Starting from East of China the south corridor respectively in the south Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Iran and Turkey from here to Europe. Railways and roads can be used to transport containers on the route but for, it can completion of the railway infrastructure they are needed security issues must be overcome and cross-border agreements. It is a great disadvantage no rail infrastructure of Afghanistan side from the alternative parts of route. However, it is important that, the missing transportation infrastructure is eliminated and connected for the economic integration of the region. In this way, the modern silk road it will be back to life.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> T. Ziyadfov, "Azerbaijan As a Regional Hub in Central Eurasia", Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy, 2012

<sup>25</sup> O. Kulaklikaya, *Modern Ipek Yolu Orta Asyanin Kuresel Economiye acilan kapisi*, "TEPAV Publishing" p.5

### What should be done?

Modern Silk road must pass to life with quality logistics infrastructure for ensuring economic integration between East and West. Especially in Afghanistan, a new strategy should be devised to assess the economic potentials of Central Asian countries. With the high quality infrastructure of the Modern Silk road route in the south corridor passed for reuse it will improve the transportation possibilities and bring the values elements of economies closer together and trade between member states will increase in this situation. The route will be able to connect the entire Asian continent with Europe and the Middle East. Asian's leading supplier position in the market and the high trade capacity with industrialized western countries with the use of the modern silk road it will provide economic opportunities to Central Asian countries. In the process of reconstruction like Afghanistan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan will benefit from this process fast growing economies with their underground resources.

Lack of transit corridor should be eliminated with high-quality infrastructure investments and common customs procedures should be adapted to facilitate border crossings. The transit links of the countries in all directions will have trade facilitating influence for this reason on the modern silk road must be completed the missing sections in the highway and railway corridors. Particularly, fast growing economies such as China India and Pakistan need to be connected to the Eurasian region through transit corridors furthermore, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan is connecting with that corridors capable of providing combined shipping opportunities with ports in the Caspian Sea and becoming a logistics hub in the region will facilitate transportation with the West.



Political initiatives are needed to facilitate border crossing between the countries in the region. Customs procedures must be standardized and transit must be ensured. The problems that the region has experienced in transportation. It presented by comparative examples in the study done by UNESCAP using time / cost – Distance methodology<sup>26</sup> For example a cargo reaches on the road from Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan) waiting 65 hours on the border of Kyrgyz- Kazakh and 57 hours on the border of Kazakh- Russia made it total of 207 hours to Russia's city of Novosibirsk. Approximately, 60% of this transport<sup>27</sup> is crossing two border crossings, it constitutes 64% of the total transport costs.

Especially, Afghanistan railway investments should be made to the countries of the region. Transportation by rail is economic, environmental and safe for this reason, trains have a transportation promoting features. The establishment of the railway infrastructure for the countries on the silk road will create an economic leap both in terms of employment and the strengthening of the logistics network. Afghanistan has almost no railway and needs railway investments located at the centres of the silk road, regional countries must act together for the financing of these investments they should be supported by international organizations. The private sector and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) support from the International community for the modernization of border gates in the region. Customs transit time should be minimized for efficient delivery of transport on a time basis. In this context, modernization of customs gates and the use of standard procedures are required. Especially, Afghanistan, Pakistan,

<sup>26</sup> See. UNECE-UNESCAP Report, 2008

<sup>27</sup> O. Kulaklikaya, *Modern Ipek Yolu Orta Asyanin Kuresel Economiye acilan kapisi*, "TEPAV Publishing", p.6

Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Iran and China located in the central of the modern silk road modernization of border gates and employees should be provided with customs training at international standards.

Logistics centre need to be built in the corridor of silk road. Combined transportation service should be adopted which optimizes logistics by more than one transportation method in the region. In this project will establish logistics centres in strategic locations to reduce transportation costs as well as storage costs. Logistics centres to be established in Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan ports will be able serve as a bridge over the Caspian Sea. For this reason, Logistics costs will decrease and trade flows will be easier in Eurasian. For the efficient use of the Modern silk road by developing transport networks in the central Asian region a holistic approach is needed all concerned countries.

Regional countries need to cooperate to overcome political, technical and political obstacles during the process of economic integration and development of the transport network on the corridor. In this context, a corridor management agency should be responsible established for such matter as finance, governance and project design countries like Turkey, China and Russia should support this organization. In additional, support should be sought from organizations such as the World Bank the European Union and Asian Development Bank. Turkey can play leading role, in the establishment of the corridor management agency responsible for the modern silk road. A platform should be established in the corridors of the modern silk road to identify the relevant bottlenecks, Find the resources of the fastest financing and bring the parties. Detailed feasibility studies and solution featured project should be developed on this platform. In this

context, Turkey can bring together the relevant Central Asian Countries as well as the countries that can provide significant outside support such as outside support such as China and Russia. For this reason, as well as economic initiatives will be facilitated with political and political obstacles will be overcome and co-operation.<sup>28</sup>

### **The Modern Silk Road project and its historical development**

The Silk Road is the historic caravan road that connects China to Asia and Europe through Asia before Christ. It is the world's longest and most efficient trade and cultural network. Trade started in China and ended in Europe. It is called "Silk Road" for carrying the most silk and other goods between countries and it continues its importance from before Christ to today. The Egyptians then the Romans bought the silk from the Chinese this route was used in the middle east for bringing India and far East's silk weaving spice and precious metals to Europe. The name silk road was first used by German Geographer Ferdinand Von Richthofen in 1877.

The silk road has established commercial and cultural connections in different parts of the world through different routes. For example this route went to India from Bactria gateway, Starting from Antakya another route passing through the North of Iran, Afghanistan reached the Pamir plain. Here in the place called stone tower, commercial goods coming from the west were replaced with goods of East while another route passed through The South of Western Turkmenistan and reached East Turkmenistan this road stretched

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<sup>28</sup> O. Kulaklikaya, *Modern Ipek Yolu Orta Asyanin Kuresel Economiye acilan kاپisi*, "TEPAV Publishing", p.6-7

to the Doyang area. In the middle ages, the trade caravans moved from Xian city of China to Kashgar city of Uzbekistan where they would follow the first of the two ways to reach the Caspian Sea from Afghanistan and the Karakurn Mountains to reach Anatolia through Iran. They travelled from Anatolia by sea or via trade to Europe by road. The goods are usually transported by camel on the Silk road via Central Asia and Iran it was reached to the shore of Anatolia and the Black Sea. On the shores of the black Sea goods taken by Venetians and Geneose were transported by sea to Southern Europe and then to inside of Europe. Some of the goods that came with the Silk Road were transported to Syria and Alexandria from the south of Anatolia and then to Europe by sea.<sup>29</sup> Started before Chris silk road which continued its activity for more than a millennium began to lose its significance with the conquest of Istanbul in 1453.

Because with the discovery of the impasse the European states prefer trade from the sea not from the land, depending on the development of the maritime trade. European merchants travel to cape of Good hope they arrived in India and China. The Ottoman State made attempts to increase the functionality of the silk road without losing its important. Ottoman Sultan Suleiman The Magnificent gave the French capitulations and tried to encourage European merchants to trade through Anatolia. However due to the fact that maritime trade is more profitable and that Anatolia does not provide confidence in terms of order the silk road has not had its former importance. The silk road should not be perceived only as a trade route. Because silk road made Eastern culture recognized by the West. This road has been tracking the cultures,

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<sup>29</sup> <http://ergunemre.blogcu.com/ipek-ve-baharat-yollari/2720453>

religions and races living in the region since 2000 years and presents an extraordinary historical and cultural wealth.<sup>30</sup>

The Central Asian Turkic Republics which gained independence with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the 1990s have worked to revitalize the Silk Road as both a trade route and historical and cultural value countries like Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have built along this road and they have tried to restore new functions by repairing building that are no longer used. The greatest project on the silk road revival was put into effect by China and this country announced the Silk Road Economic belt project in September 2013. The silk road economic belt project aims to link all countries by rail and sea. The first starting point of the project is China. The starting point after China is the Khorgos border region of Kazakhstan. The route after Kazakhstan leaves several routes via Russia. The new silk road project which China carries on the agenda, do not only includes the railway but also the sea road.

Chinese president Xi Jinping said during a visit to Indonesia in October 2013 that trade goods originating from China would be moved to European countries by sea. The main purpose of the New silk road project, led by China is to increase trade volume with the European Union Countries. For this, it is envisaged to construct a transport infrastructure such as railroads roads and airports for the new high-speed train. The new silk road project which has been turned into the slogan of “One belt one road” by the Chinese has become more functional in 2014 and it has begun the construction of railways. China aims to reduce the inequality of income in the inner regions and the undeveloped cities in the west through this project.

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<sup>30</sup> <http://www.silkroutes.net/ipek-yolu-ticaret-tarih.htm>

China has set up a new silk road fund for this project in 2014 and it has allocated \$40 billion in resources. In addition, it established the Asian infrastructure investment Bank (AIIB) to support this project in November 2014. In addition to these resources, the Energy development fund was established in January 2015. Thanks to this fund an investment of 20 billion dollars is foreseen. China's new silk road project covers 65 countries. This project will be closely interested in a \$21 trillion economy.<sup>31</sup> The fact that China's New silk road project is interested by the European countries as well as the central Asian countries attracted the USA and Russia to produce their own silk road project. The US secretary of state has issued a declaration entitled "New silk road strategy" in 2011. At the base of this declaration is the withdrawal of US and NATO countries from Afghanistan and region will have a economic, cultural and social stability. According to the US plan, with the stability that will occur in Afghanistan, central Asian countries will be connected to Pakistan and India via Afghanistan at the base of this project is the construction of land and railways and an economic pipeline to reach India with energy pipelines.<sup>32</sup>

### **The role of Kazakhstan and Turkey in the new Silk Road project**

After winning the Independence of Kazakhstan has achieved rapid and orderly economic development relative to other Central Asian countries. It has not ceased to participate in the economic unions and organizations established in the region. While developing relations with China and Russia, it also

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<sup>31</sup> [http://izto.org.tr/demo\\_betanix/uploads/cms/yonetim.ieu.edu.tr/6695\\_1525260242.pdf](http://izto.org.tr/demo_betanix/uploads/cms/yonetim.ieu.edu.tr/6695_1525260242.pdf)

<sup>32</sup> [http://insamer.com/tr/cinin-yeni-ipek-yolu-projesi\\_1111.html](http://insamer.com/tr/cinin-yeni-ipek-yolu-projesi_1111.html)

kept its relations with warmly US and Europe. Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev has spoken to the countries of the region after the acquisition of independence to act together and solve all problems between them. The project that China and Russia have pioneered actually we did not make a mistake by telling Nazarbayev that his father was the one who made the idea. Kazakhstan has a special place in China's new silk road project: As China knows the importance of Kazakhstan in the project, the project description was made during the visit of Kazakhstan by Chinese president Xi Jinping and Kazakhstan supports China's Silk Road project.

Kazakhstan wants to play a mediatory role between European and Asian countries with this project Asian countries with this project. On January 6, 2008 president of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev explained how to make a western Europe – Western China transportation corridor in the speech of the nation. With the Nazarbayev's initiatives Western Europe- Western China transport corridor agreement has been signed between Russia, China and Kazakhstan. These three countries have agreed on the road route proposed by agreement, it will start from St. Petersburg and extend to Kazakhstan, reaching to China via Khorgos customs station. The total length of this line is 8445 km. Kazakhstan is planning a economic based relationship with China Nursultan Nazarbayev talked about his plan to increase the trade volume of China- Kazakhstan to 40 billion dollars in 2016 in his visit to China in May 2014. He also reported his strong support for the new silk road project which was led by China. During this visit a statement supporting this has been published by making a declaration of strategic partnership between Kazakhstan and China. According to this plan, two railway lines will pass from Kazakhstan.

The first line is the West China – West Europe line. With this line the train to travel from China will go to Kazakhstan, Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and European countries without stopping in China's inside. The second line will reach Turkey and Mediterranean countries. This line will go to Iran and Arab countries through Turkmenistan too. If the silk road project is aimed at moving China's economic products to all European, Asian and African be double-sided especially, in the Central Asian countries it is calculated that the commercial goods of Turkey and other countries will be moved to China. Kazakhstan attaches great importance to the New silk road project. Khorgos International border cooperation Centre was established for this purpose. In addition, construction of Aktav Sea port Expansion project and Aktobe logistics centre are continuing in this mega project. "Western Europe – Western China" route through Kazakhstan will be opened in 2015. Kazakhstan is also involved in the construction of roads from North to South not just from West to East depending on this project. Turkey did not remain indifferent China's new silk road project. Because the revival of the Silk road which is already an important sources of income within the Ottoman borders and it is also included in Turkey's future vision. With the introduction of this project, Turkey has contracted both Kazakhstan and China to declare its interest in the project and declare that it can make necessary arrangements and assistance. In fact, Turkey has even voiced its intention to become a founding member of the Asian infrastructure investment bank which is planned to be established by China's predecessor and on 26 March 2015, the application was accepted for Turkey's founding membership more than 50 countries have applied to become members of the bank, which has pledged to cover 50 billion dollars of its founding



capital. Total capital is expected to be \$100 billion and the targeted bank is expected to start operating at the end of 2015. As a founding member of Turkey to Asian infrastructure investment bank has been an important part of the customer market. Turkey has had an important opportunity to provide financing for the projects to be carried out in the countries included in the Silk road through the Asian infrastructure investment bank. Turkey declares its support both economically and strategically with the silk road project.

On April 26, 2015 the Chinese ambassador to Ankara Yu Hongjiang he is emphasized that Turkey will take a key role in the new silk road in his statement in Ankara. In this project which China calls one Belt one Road it is started that all planned routes will definitely pass through Turkey. According to Yu Hongyangi the new silk road project will positively affected all the countries in the line from China to Turkey. Two thousand years ago, with the restarting the silk road from China and extending to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Russia, Turkey, Greece through Rome<sup>33</sup>. It did not only developed trade also volunteerism would have provided too. The Chinese ambassador emphasized that project is closely related to Turkey which is planned to be constructed on 5 routes 3 seas and 2 roads and this project's routes have definitely passed from Turkey. Turkey's new Highway project vision document has not been preferred yet. But its interest countries to this project Turkey's plans to integrate railroads from Asia to Europe this situation will also facilitate China's business too.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Y. Salih [https://www.academia.edu/12556072/Türkiye\\_ve\\_Kazakistanın\\_Yeni\\_İpek\\_Yolu\\_Projesi\\_ile\\_Avrasya\\_Birliği\\_Projesine\\_Bakışı](https://www.academia.edu/12556072/Türkiye_ve_Kazakistanın_Yeni_İpek_Yolu_Projesi_ile_Avrasya_Birliği_Projesine_Bakışı)

<sup>34</sup> Proceedings of the International Conference on History & Archaeology: Great Silk Road and the Kazakh Khanate at the turn of millennium" 22-23 May 2015, Taraz, Kazakhstan

### The important of the Eurasian project

Russia has established the Eurasian Economic Cooperation Organization which we can call another name of silk road project. Especially it will be alternative to European Union and it will create a balance in China's power on this project. Russian President Putin attaches special importance to the Eurasia Economic Union. On 29 May 2014, the Eurasia economic cooperation organization entered into the force with agreement between president of Russia Viladimir Putin president of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev and president of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko. On 6 January 1995, Eurasia Economic Integration began with the customs Union agreement signed between Russia and Belarus, when coming to date of October 10, 2000. So, this agreement signed by Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia and Tajikistan thus they have established The European Economic Cooperation. This unity become the customs Union of Eurasia with the new agreement between Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus on January 1, 2010. With an agreement signed on 18 November 2011, it was transformed into a common market.<sup>35</sup>

In 2011 the head of the member countries of the customs union signed the agreement that formed the economic commission of Eurasia and they passed a single economic zone in the following years 2012. On May 20, 2014 an agreement signed which has passed the life to the Eurasian Economic Union in Kazakhstan's capital city Astana between Kazakhstan, Russia and Belarus. Also, Kyrgyzstan and Armenia were also included in this union. On May 29, 2014 with the treaty

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<sup>35</sup> [https://www.academia.edu/12556072/Türkiye\\_ve\\_Kazakistanın\\_Yeni\\_İpek\\_Yolu\\_Projesi\\_ile\\_Avrasya\\_Birliği\\_Projesine\\_Bakışı](https://www.academia.edu/12556072/Türkiye_ve_Kazakistanın_Yeni_İpek_Yolu_Projesi_ile_Avrasya_Birliği_Projesine_Bakışı)

signed the customs union is now transformed into the Eurasia Economic union and this formation was transformed into The Union of Eurasia in 2015. The countries agreed on the formation of the Union that come together in Moscow for the effort to establish The Eurasian Economic Union in December 2013. Although, Putin wanted Ukraine included in the Eurasia Union. Unfortunately, it did not seem possible with the Crimean crisis in the future.

It is inevitable that an economic Union to be established in Eurasia with the Eurasian Union project will make an important contribution to the solution of global crises. The economic integration that is supported to be established in Eurasia is important. This union that will be established in Eurasia will bring a solution to the global problems inhabit in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The Eurasian union project will allow significant work for the integration especially in Central Asia. Eurasian Union idea is valuable for the perspective of the future of the commonwealth of independent states arising from the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

### **Geeconomic immigration: the perception to China's New Silk Road Initiative in Central Asia**

As result of the economic arrangements made by Deng Xiaoping, the People's Republic of China has achieved stable economic growth momentum. Today, China has both the largest population and the largest economy in the world. Seamless access to energy resources and development of the trade routes and very important for sustainable development. At this point, perhaps the greatest project of the century China has started the new silk road initiative under the name of One Belt-One Road China has begun to strengthen its relations with Central

Asia under this project. So, how China's new silk road initiative is perceived in central Asia? This article presents an analysis of China's geoeconomic interest in Central Asia under the new silk road project and perception of this project in the region.

The people's republic of China is a country with the world's most populous country and at some time with the United States of America (USA) has entered the race to become the world's largest economy. Almost it is a country that gives foreign trade surplus against all the countries it has traded. Although today's growth rate has declined to around 6 percent, China has consistently achieved a growth rate of around 10 percent since the 1990s. However, for continue economic development and make a strong policy it needs to have strong economy and Transportation is very important to a cheap, affordable energy sources for a strong economy.

China has turned its attention to natural gas consumption because of its use of coal it's main energy sources and environmental pollution reaching terrifying dimension. Bringing an energy source which is the geo economic characteristic of China's natural gas over the sea, causes problems for China. The fact that natural gas is portable on land is the most important point for China. Most of China's energy resources are imported by sea throughout the Pacific and this route is threatened by American military presence in the Pacific. Moreover, in the East China sea and the south China sea, China has border disputes with Japan and other regional countries. At this point, Central Asia<sup>36</sup> is a huge asset which will provide China with energy resources including natural gas,

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<sup>36</sup> The term "Central Asia" used in this article includes Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. See. Encyclopædia Britannica, "Central Asia" 2014, <http://global.britannica.com/place/Central-Asia>

oil, and uranium. So basically, by strengthening its energy ties with Central Asia China can prevent a more dangerous sea route.<sup>37</sup>

In recent years, China has increased its influence in the region this situation is creating hope for a new way out for Central Asian countries. The 3.666 km long Central Asian- China natural gas pipeline has created a new market for energy resources in Central Asia. Kazakhstan- China oil pipeline is also having great importance for China's energy security, In Central Asia, it is difficult to carry out strong policies independence of Russia. Because the countries of the region are struck between great powers like China and Russia and the neighbors in the south of Afghanistan and Pakistan are struggling with political and economic instability.

This situation is made Central Asian countries dependent on Russia for international trade and out- sourcing of resources. In addition, until 1991, Central Asia countries were part of the Soviet Union. (SSCB) it causes Russia to see the region as a back garden and do not want to the region to leave the domain. If the region is already losing it, it will be a big blow in an energy field and the economy will be in the great disaster. According to the international rating agency Fitch Rating, with 50 percent of the federal government's income 20<sup>38</sup> percent of gross domestic product(GDP) dependency on oil and gas, Russia is the most oil-dependent country among top 10 largest economies in the world.

In May 2014, The agreement between Russia 's Gazprom and the Chinese national oil company CNPC foresees

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<sup>37</sup> J. Wasserstrom, *China in the 21st Century* (Translation Hür Guldü, Istanbul: İletişim Publications, 2015), p. 167

<sup>38</sup> Grip on Russia: The Saint Petersburg International Economic Forum 2013", FTI Consulting, (10 Temmuz 2013); 2

the shipment of 38 billion cubic meters of Russian gas to China for 30 years. In addition, The European Union which wants to provide alternative energy roots and resources to Russia it has been aspiring to rich energy resources in Central Asia. All of these elements are creating an income environment for China's energy security and geo economic interest in Central Asia.<sup>39</sup>

### Energy security and geo-economy

Since the industrial Revaluation, the importance of energy is increasing in the constant machinist world. Today in the modern world, which can hardly move without energy sources states are combating each for cheaper, more readily available energy sources. The 1973 oil crisis became an important milestone in energy security. According to the definition of International Energy Agency <sup>40</sup>energy security: Continuous availability of energy resources out affordable prices.

According to another definition, energy security includes not only the existence of sources of production in a certain place but also the integration and transportation of these resources in a timely and cheaply manner and adequately. In summary, Energy security is defined by four important elements such as Availability, Accessibility, Affordability

<sup>39</sup> K. Timucin, I. B. Gonca *Jeoekonomik hayaller: Cinin yeni ipek yolu girsiminin Orta Asyada algisi (Insan ve toplum arastirma dergisi – cilt 5 sayi 5)*, pp. 1251-2.

<sup>40</sup> İ. B. Gonca, *New Developments in the European Union and Central Asia Relations in the Energy Supply Security Framework*, 1st International Symposium on Eurasian Energy Issues, Full Text Book, (İzmir: Kâtip Çelebi Üniversitesi, İzmir, 2015), p. 495

and Acceptability<sup>41</sup> which are included in many definitions and expressed as 4A in English and it is being used synonymously with energy supply security over time. In general, a definition of energy supply security in the literature geo-economic dimension of energy resources<sup>42</sup> has become very important based on the established strategy and for increasing the security of energy supply. Artur Dix published in 1925, the geo economic situation that started to appear in the literature with the title of Geoeconomic it was developed by the American Edward Luttwak<sup>43</sup> at the of the 1980s.

Geoeconomics between states according to Edward Luttwak "Who saw him as the economic power struggle" the age we live in is geo-economic age. And geopolitics lost its power today, in terms of war, economic power is much more important than military power and still regarded as an instrument of expansion that is actually in force in the world. In Luttwak's article from geopolitics to geo-economics (1990) and later in his book " Turbo capitalism " The endangered American Dream (1993). In the definition of American national Aeronautics and Space Agency (NASA) scientist Conway McKinley who has made and developed the pioneer of geo-economics. "Geo-economy is a science that combines investment strategies and instruments and resources of specific geographic units to ensure a better quality of life with high economic development.<sup>44</sup> So, according to Mckinley

<sup>41</sup> C. Sevim, *Global Energy Strategies and Geopolitics*, (Ankara: Seçkin Yayıncılık, 2015), p. 165.

<sup>42</sup> B. Kruyt, et al., & "Indicators For Energy Security & " ;, *Energy Policy*, c. 37, (2009): 2165.

<sup>43</sup> Ş. İnan, *Geoeconomics Studies and Geoeconomics Teaching in the World and Turkey*, "Bilge Strateji", c. 2, S. 4, (2011): 102.

<sup>44</sup> Ş. İnan, *Geoeconomics Studies and Geoeconomics Teaching in the World and Turkey*, "Bilge Strateji", c. 2, S. 4, (2011): p. 86

Geoeconomics is a new science that brings together natural resources and human power in an efficient way to ensure the highest level of development of nations, states, cities, and companies.<sup>45</sup> The geo-economy which is based on national interest balances<sup>46</sup> and is shown as a multicomponent system of economic relations with the outside world is also defined geo-economically, based on the economic power of the states.<sup>47</sup>

### Reflection's the New Silk Road project in Central Asia

In 2000 the trade volume between Central Asian countries and China was \$ 1 billion while the total volume of Russia and Central Asia reached 27.3 billion dollars in 2011 and 2013, Chinese president Xi Jinping announced the silk road economic zone in Kazakhstan and trade rose to 50 billion dollars and Beijing alone become the main tracking partner of all former Soviet States in Central Asia. In the post-soviet period, China has more economic and political activity in Central Asia.

However, China's intense need for raw materials and natural resources is fueling both fascination and fear in Central Asia. China imports oil, natural gas, and uranium from Kazakhstan and natural gas from Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. China operates gold mines in Kyrgyzstan. Beijing has financed most of its infrastructure projects in Central Asia roads, railways, pipelines, etc. This situation, it has caused Central Asian to approach China with more skepticism. For

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<sup>45</sup> C. McKinley, *Geo-Economics: The New Science*, Conway Data Inc., Norcross, (1994): 56

<sup>46</sup> T. Kodoman, I. B. Gonca, *Jeoekonomik hayaller: Cinin yeni ipek yolu girsiminin Orta Asyada algisi (Insan ve toplum arastirma dergisi – cilt 5 sayi 5*, p. 1253-4

<sup>47</sup> A. Hasanov, *Geopolitics*, (Istanbul: Babiali Culture Publications, 2010), p. 400



example, Kyrgyzstan local resistance has arisen against Chinese companies operating in old mines.

In road construction in Kyrgyzstan, Chinese workers who are usually brought from China are employed. But, lesser payments are made to Kyrgyz workers than to Chinese workers. Chinese traders have also entered the Kyrgyz markets and cheap goods from China are taking the place of Kyrgyz traders that are: thrown south of the market has been reported several times by the governments. In almost every region of Kazakhstan, you can see an effect of Chinese national petroleum corporation. According to Murat Auezov, the Kazakhstan ambassador to China between 1992 and 1995 China is three different countries in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries but unites than are the desire to expand their territories.

In addition, Chinese immigrants are at the forefront of issues that may pose a challenge in a strategic partnership. For all these reasons, it can be said that Central Asia has mixed feelings about administration and fear towards China. These firstly to project the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country to ensure the peace and stability of the surrounding region and to promote dialogue and cooperation in the region. In general, this policy serves the economic development of China the purpose of China's establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation organization is to be active in the region and to widely accepted its influence on the countries of the region. At the same time, strengthening relations with Russia balancing the USA- Russia relationship and problems in Central Asia have had a negative impact on China's developments. Moreover, another priority of China's Central Asian policy is to prevent the further growth of Uighur separatist activities. China has a 7000 km-long border with Russia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan Central Asia's security means China's

border zone security. Moreover, it provides the abundant supply of energy in the border regions and these resources contribute greatly to the development of China. Finally, China's increasing need for energy is growing and Central Asia's oil and natural gas is gaining importance for China.

In Sum up, China has had a great opportunity to become a world's largest economy with the economic performance it has shown for the past 30 years with this economic power in its hand it has played a more active role in the region. China has signed agreements with Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan in many different sectors from oil and natural gas drilling to infrastructure projects throughout Central Asia. At this point, thanks to China's oil and gas pipelines countries with energy riches Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan have reduced its dependence on Moscow by re-routing its energy resources away from Russia. In addition, by 2020 China will become the largest customer of oil and natural gas from the Central Asian region. Similarly, the oil refinery to be established with Chinese finance in Kyrgyzstan, China will break the monopoly of the Kremlin's fuel supply.

What kind of interest will China make with the money it spends on the region? China is not an interest here, it will get many benefits. First of all, it needs as the size of China's population and economy. Besides, it is a country which is always called by the environmental population because of the coal used by China. So, China needs resources such as natural gas. Shipment of natural gas and petroleum in Central Asia to China is very important. China has taken steps to find a solution to this problem by building a natural gas pipeline and oil pipeline with Kazakhstan. The new silk road initiative not only includes pipelines but also trade routes. China has undertaken the construction of roads in Central

Asia previously undertaken by Turkey and even Turkmenistan has begun road constructions. In addition, The railway from China to Iran was opened in February 2016.

China basically has two interest here: The first is to transport the products produced by commercial routes to the west without needing Russia which is very important. Because of the bad events that have developed between the west and Russia, this means the trade with the embargoes applied to this country. This problem will disappear with roads being built in Central Asia. The secondly, and perhaps even more important, With these pipelines and routes will remain open the Horgos (Korgas) and Alashankou (Alatav) gateways which link China with Central Asia in East Turkmenistan. This means that The moment China wants East Turkmenistan it is the reason for the intervention. The long march of China was a historical symbol of the socialist orientations of the country in the 1930s, country towards capitalism since the end of 1970s it has historical significance as the first but it is a long walk in the second symbolizes the break with the first goal of the orientation. With all this, it can say that China began to break the Russian influence in Central Asia. As both population and economic power Russia is already hesitant from China. This may be the reason for the fear of China being tried to be released in Central Asia. There may be mutual interest between Central Asia and China in these conditions but this situation may continue in the future there is not known for now. If the New Silk Road cannot reach Europe, the Middle Asians will be relieved of Russia's dependence, but this time they will most likely be dependent on China.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> T. Kodoman, I. B. Gonca, *Jeoekonomik hayaller: Cinin yeni ipek yolu girsiminin Orta Asyada algisi*, (Insan ve toplum arastirma dergisi – cilt 5 sayi 5 p. 1257-8

## **The Central Asia policy of China in line with security, energy, and market**

### **China's Central Asia Policy**

From the current international actors, China is also in an important position both in terms of geopolitics, politics, and economics in the Central Asian Region and it is gradually increasing its effectiveness. Cold War era, Central Asia was treated as a boundary of the USSR suffering from cold relations due to problems such as ideological dissolution and border dispute in China's foreign policy. The disintegration of the USSR has fundamentally changed China's policy towards Central Asia as well as its geopolitical structure and policies of all actors of the international system.

China, which has increased its effectiveness in world geopolitics, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, it has with three new Central Asian neighbors. It is also bordered by the new neighboring countries and the highly unstable Central Asian region, which is politically and economically weak, this territorial area is called the "Eurasia Balkans". Before the end of the Cold War, in 1985, China, which has improved its relations with the USSR, has sought to develop relations with all the former independent Soviet Republics since 1991. Especially, including three neighbors countries, There are intensive initiatives to improve relations with five Central Asian countries and to increase their influence in the region. China focused on the problems of defining the Central Asian Republics in the early part of 1992 and establishing diplomatic relations with these countries, especially

the solution of border problems, the prevention of ethnic and religious conflicts in the region and the development of international cooperation.<sup>49</sup>

After the disintegration of the USSR, China's policy in Central Asia can be considered in three periods<sup>50</sup>. First, during the transition period between 1991 and 1995, China's policy towards the Central Asian region was to prevent ethnic nationalism and radical groups that could arise from the unstable situation in Central Asia from leaping to the East Turkistan Autonomous Region. Moreover, in this process, important steps have been taken in the political and economic relations of the newly established Central Asian countries with the countries of the region in order to support the cognate and religious groups in East Turkestan. The second period is the period between 1996 and 2001. In this process, China has begun to establish the infrastructure of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, And its own predecessor, the SCO, it has taken the initiative to establish a multilateral political platform between Central Asian countries and Russia, without directly attracting Russian reaction. The third period is the start of the US activity in the region after September 11<sup>th</sup>. On the one hand, China is trying to suppress the separatist groups in East Turkestan under the concept of combat against terrorism, On the other side, the policy of balancing to reduce the influence

<sup>49</sup> H. Duran, K. K. Yılmaz, *Devi Bağlayan Bağlar: Çin'in Orta Asya Enerji Kaynaklarındaki Çıkarı*, Ed: S. Sarı vd., *International Conference on Eurasian Economies*, "Beykent University Publication", p. 36

<sup>50</sup> Çolakoğlu, 2008: 172-173= Colakoglu, S. (2008), *China's Central Asia Policy (1991-2007)*, Compiled by: Turgut, Demirtepe, Central Asia & Caucasus Power Policy, Ankara: USAK Publications, ss. 147178. Çomak, H., Gökalp, A. (2009), *The Future of Shanghai Cooperation Organization in the Years of 2010 and Turkey*, II. International Congress of Social Scientists, Kocaeli. p.172-3

of the US in Central Asia. With the 2000s, China's policy towards Central Asia has entered a new phase. So, China wants to creating positive relations with all countries in this Project especially, with Central Asian countries in the fields of diplomacy, economy and security for having big economic and trade succeses in the world`s ecomonic system.

The current Chinese foreign policy towards Central Asia is based on four strategic considerations:

1. Preventing Central Asia becoming the base of Uighur activism.
2. Refrain from turning Central Asia into a destabilizing region that would require China to intervene in extra-territorial security issues;
3. Control hydrocarbons and other natural resources and wealth in the Central Asian region
4. To integrate Central Asia into this market in the framework of the North and West-oriented global China Market Strategy.<sup>51</sup>

For to establish the strategic interests listed above, China has established the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. SCO, which aims to solve the security problems on the collective activity with the regional countries when it is first established, Today it is the basic tool of China's regional policy in all areas such as security, politics, and economy. In the 2013 year,

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<sup>51</sup> S. Peyrouse, *Economic Aspects of the Chinese -Central Asia Rapprochement*, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute and Silk Road Studies Program, [https://www.silkroadstudies.org/resources/pdf/SilkRoadPapers/0709ChinaCentral\\_Asia.pdf](https://www.silkroadstudies.org/resources/pdf/SilkRoadPapers/0709ChinaCentral_Asia.pdf), (Dumlupınar University Journal of Dumlupınar University Journal of Dumlupınar University of China with 4 middle Asian countries in 2013 Social Sciences Afro-Eurasia Special Issue-December 2016 / Special number of Afro-Eurasia-December 2016 trade surpassed \$ 40 billion), (Translated by), [http://russian.news.cn/economic/201402/13/c\\_133112976.htm](http://russian.news.cn/economic/201402/13/c_133112976.htm), 06 October 2016.p.11

In addition to the SCI, China has brought the New Silk Road Project, a project that will strengthen its influence in the region in economic terms. Indeed, after the end of the Cold War, China which forcing the position of the most important actor in Central Asia, It economically left Russia behind<sup>52</sup>.

### Security

In the first instance, it is important for China to develop security cooperation in Central Asian politics. Since 1991, when the independence of the Central Asian countries was won by the dissolution of the Soviet Union, China's policy towards Central Asia has been built on the basis of intensive cooperation with the countries of the region and every other area in order to prevent any conflict and instability in the region. The main reason why China attaches importance to the security of the region is the concern of the ethnic minority of the Muslim Uighur in the East Turkestan Autonomous Region, which shares its border with three Central Asian countries.

Uighurs;<sup>53</sup> Is a Turkish-speaking Muslim who belongs to the Altay language group, who is not an independent state, mainly living in the Eastern Turkistan Autonomous Region of China. According to the present evidence, about 300 million Uyghur Turks living in China have about 10 million Uyghur people living as a minority in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and

<sup>52</sup> H. Duran, *Guvenlik Enerji VE Pazar Ekseninde Çin'in Orta Asya Politikasi*, Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi/Dumlupınar University Journal of Social Sciences Afro-Avrasya Özel Sayısı-Aralık 2016/Special number of Afro-Eurasia-December 2016 p.282-3.

<sup>53</sup> *Uighur*, Encyclopedia Britannica, , <http://global.britannica.com/topic/Uighur>, 04 Ekim 2016.

Kyrgyzstan. The majority of the Uighur ethnic group in Central Asia live in Kazakhstan and according to 2013 data, 1.4% of the approximately 17 million people of Kazakhstan live 243 thousand Uighurs. Uighurs living in China began to rise up for the independence of East Turkestan in the late 1980s. After the Soviet army failed in Afghanistan in 1989, Developments such as the emergence of newly independent states following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, For Uighurs; It has been hoped that Soviet system China will also be able to renew and establish its own independent states.<sup>54</sup>

Indeed, Uighur nationalism and the rise of radical religious movements on the one hand, and on the other hand the heavy pressures of the Chinese Communist Party, exacerbated the violence in East Turkestan. The Chinese government has accused Uighur separatist groups of being involved in more than 200 acts of violence, including an explosion and assassination, between 1990 and 2001.<sup>55</sup> With the Chinese view of the 1990s, The New Central Asia, such as Brzezinski's assessment of "a gigantic centralized area between the western and eastern ends of the Eurasian continent, with a population-less and politically unstable, structurally fragmented."<sup>56</sup> "The situation of the Uyghur separatist groups prepared a favorable environment. China urged neighboring countries to quickly

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<sup>54</sup> M. Aydın, (2005), *Central Asia in China's Strategic Accounts*, Central Asia Eurasia Trilogy I in Global Politics I, Ankara: Nobel Publications. p.77

<sup>55</sup> U. Siddiqui, *The Ethnic Roots of China's Uighur Crisis*, "Aljazeera America", (Çevirimiçi), <http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/7/the-ethnic-roots-of-chinasuighur-crisis.html>, [04 Ekim 2016].

<sup>56</sup> Z. Brzezinski, *The Great Chess Board*, Translated by: Y. Türedi, Istanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi. Chan, L. (2015), *An Overview of Central Asian Markets on the Silk Road Economic Belt*, <http://beltandroad.hktdc.com/en/marketanalyses/details.aspx?ID=472180>, p.53, [accessed: 25.10.2016].



develop cooperation processes in order not to provide any support to the Uighur secessionist groups and to allow separatist groups to take advantage of the region's instability. China has seen it as a priority agenda for national security to resolve border disputes that have existed since the Cold War to live in a problem with Central Asian countries.

In 1996, China came together with its new neighbors, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, in Shanghai, to resolve the border dispute between countries peacefully and created the regional platform of Shanghai Five to provide political stability in the region. Under the platform, China has signed 29 agreements, resolving 12 of the 14 existing border disputes<sup>57</sup> Thus, China has removed possible disagreements with the Central Asian countries and secured the border of East Turkestan. China was deeply anxious about the movements of Russia's anti-Chechen separatist groups in the 90's, the civil war in which Tajikistan's radical groups took place, and the movements of opposing religious parties in all the Central Asian Countries. After al Qaeda settled in Afghanistan and Pakistan in 1996, there was a growing concern that some Uighur armed groups based in East Turkestan and Central Asia were being restructured with the help of other international radical groups.

In the 2001 report of the US Congressional Research Service (CRS): In East Turkistan region, Groups such as the East Turkestan United Revolutionary Front, the Uighur Liberation Organization, the Lop Nor wolves, the Xinjiang Liberation Organization, the Uighur Liberation Organization, the East Turkistan Youth House and the Free Turkistan Movement were among the armed groups and And it has been suggested that

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<sup>57</sup> Bowen and Yang, 2016: news.xinhuanet.com)= [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2016-06/22/c\\_135458107.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2016-06/22/c_135458107.htm)

they are linked to international radical terrorist organizations such as the Communiqué in Pakistan and the Jamaat-i-Islami, the Uzbek-based Hizb ut-Tahrir, the Kazakhstan-based East Turkistan Committee, the Uzbek Islamic movement and Afghanistan-based al- Qaeda.<sup>58</sup>

Against international terrorism that started to create networks events from Pakistan and Afghanistan to Central Asia, Central Asia to East Turkestan in search of a new policy China needs multilateral mechanisms to combat this threat in cooperation with Russia and Central Asian countries sharing the same threat. Therefore, with the participation of Uzbekistan, the Shanghai Five, which was founded on the basis of resolving the border problems of the countries of the region, on June 15, 2001, it became a 6-member Shanghai Cooperation Organization. The organization is set up as a security mechanism in the Chinese leadership, China has to cooperate with the countries of the region to ensure national security.

However, while the main objective of a security organization, the SCO, in the forerunner of China is to fight effectively against international terrorism and separatism and extremism and The development of regional, political and economic cooperation among the members is also included in the establishment document. The SCO, which is basically a security organization as an indication of how much importance member countries place on so secretariat of the organization is located in Beijing, and the Anti-Terror Agency is located in Tashkent (Uzbekistan).<sup>59</sup> Shortly after

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<sup>58</sup> D. L. McNeal, *China's Relations with Central Asian States and Problems with Terrorism*, CRS Report for Congress, Congressional Research Service, pp. 8-11

<sup>59</sup> <http://www.strategic-culture.org/news/2016/06/29/shanghai-cooperationorganization-story-success-expansion.html>, [accessed: 04.10.2016]

the establishment of the organization September 11 attack happened in the USA, And in Central Asian countries of SCO members as US military bases begin to be established their territorial area so Russia and China have also changed their Central Asian security policies.

China has become uncomfortable from diplomatic debates over the US and Taiwan and the Tibet issue and increased penetration through military bases in the Asia Pacific region. By increasing the United States military presence in Central Asia in the western border of the China. It has begun to feel surrounded by the military bases of the US and its allies, from east to west. In this context, for removing the military presence of the United States from the region China has been working hard to convince Central Asian countries that the SCO has a structure comparable to NATO in the fight against terrorism.

On 17 June 2004, International terrorism is the most important goal of the SCO for the member states were unanimously adopted at the Tashkent Summit and The Tashkent Declaration has been signed for envisages to joint fight against terrorism. At the end of the report, In the context of SCO, The Tashkent-Based Regional Anti-Terror Agency is a regional top-level security body fighting terrorism and drug trafficking in the region. In the 7<sup>th</sup> SCO summit held in Bishkek, the capital city of Kyrgyzstan in 2007, America's unipolar world view criticized it will play an important role in the central Asia and other member countries territorial area and the SCO also changes the role of China in the region, as it seeks to play a leading role in the world. Although China does not have any military base in Central Asia it was realized total 13 military exercises with SCO's military component between 2001 and 2013 years.

Central Asian countries saw China's military accumulation as an opportunity to balance its role in the region against the influence of Russia and the US military. And China's initiatives were welcomed.<sup>60</sup> "The Peace mission 2005" aims to carry the proximity of from economic and political areas to military area which is a tense one between Moscow and Beijing. The two countries, the ongoing conflict over the common border for 40 years, peaked in October 2004. Russian President Vladimir Putin expressed his point of view when taking this important step: "In the years when we left behind in Russia-China relations, a significant distance was recorded. Almost all disagreements between the two countries were lifted. We no longer have any problems that we can approach friendly and produce reasonable solutions. "In Central Asia; China and Russia, who agree that the military presence of the United States is withdrawn from the region, gave the following messages to the world public with the SCO military exercises: Although the countries in the region are not responsible for any internal security problems without NATO AND USA, it is the capacity that they can solve within the scope of the SCO; We do not need the help of any external force to solve the zone's security problems; That the SCO will act jointly in cooperation with security issues of any member state<sup>61</sup>. However, the political instability that occurred in Kyrgyzstan from 2005 to 2010 and the Uzbek-Kyrgyz ethnic conflicts, In order for the SCO to have no intervention, With China's decision not to interfere with Kyrgyzstan's internal affairs,

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<sup>60</sup> A. Scobell, E. Rather, M. Beckley, *China's Strategy Toward South and Central Asia An Empty Fortress*, Rand Project Air Force, Rand Corporation Research

<sup>61</sup> H. Çomak, A. Gökalp, *2010'lu Yıllarda Şanghay İşbirliği Örgütü'nün Geleceği ve Türkiye*, II. Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimciler Kongresi, Kocaeli.

Central Asian countries have led to questions about what the actual role of is having in the organization. At the same time, however, SCO for Central Asian countries has the position of security and guarantee actor against Afghanistan's post-NATO instability, ISID, and Taliban threats.

From a Chinese point of view, the security policy towards Central Asia is carried out successfully through SCO. The most important of these was the SCO, which laid the groundwork for good relations with the Central Asian states, reduced the threats that could arise from Central Asia and that the US should withdraw military bases from the region. Moreover, China has 6 dialogue partners (Azerbaijan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Iran, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan), as well as 6 observer states (Mongolia, Cambodia, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Turkey<sup>62</sup> also receive international support for their national security interests. In the security architecture of Central Asia, the SCO was founded in 1991 by the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) It is an actor that can be compared to the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). China has reached remarkable sizes its Central Asian security policy with SCO and it has been transformed into a security-free country, though not military bases.<sup>63</sup>

### Energy

China, which is the world's most populous country with a population of about 1,375 million, is one of the most important

<sup>62</sup> [http://rus.sectsco.org/about\\_sco/](http://rus.sectsco.org/about_sco/), 2016= <http://eng.sectsco.org>

<sup>63</sup> H. Duran, *Guvenlik Energi VE Pazar Ekseninde Çin'in Orta Asya Politikasi*, Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Dumlupınar University Journal of Social Sciences Afro-Avrasya Özel Sayısı-Aralık 2016, Special number of Afro-Eurasia-December 2016 pp.283-6

actors of the global economy because it is also the second largest economy in the world. According to the IMF, the Chinese economy has grown by about 10% since the 90's to the present<sup>64</sup>, and it is predicted that it will soon be the world's largest economy by passing the United States. The Chinese economy is 8.9% in agriculture, 42.7% in industry and 48.4% in services<sup>65</sup>. Hence, thanks to the rapidly developing economy since the 1990s, China has become the world's main energy consumer by surpassing the United States in energy consumption in 2010, and its share of world consumption has exceeded 20%.<sup>66</sup>

According to BP 2015 report; The People's Republic of China consumes 11.968 barrels a day, 12.9% of the world's consumed oil after the US, 197.3 billion cubic meters of natural gas, 5.7% of the world's consumption, and 1920 million tons of petroleum equivalent coal and 50% of the world's coal consumed.<sup>67</sup> In addition, energy consumption is increasing steadily in China. According to the 2014 International Energy Agency (IEA) Petroleum Market Report; China, the world's second largest oil consumer country after the US, consumes 10.1 million barrels a day in 2013, and with this rate, it is 3% higher than in 2012. It is estimated that this increase in oil consumption will reach 12 million barrels per day in 2018

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<sup>64</sup> Report for Selected Countries and Subjects, [http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2013/01/weodata/weorept.aspx?sy=1980&ey=2018&sort=country&ds=.&br=1&pr1.x=40&pr1.y=0&c=924&s=NGDP\\_RPCH%2CPPPPC&grp=0&a=](http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2013/01/weodata/weorept.aspx?sy=1980&ey=2018&sort=country&ds=.&br=1&pr1.x=40&pr1.y=0&c=924&s=NGDP_RPCH%2CPPPPC&grp=0&a=), [accessed: 28.03.2016]

<sup>65</sup> <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-worldfactbook/geos/ch.html>, 04 Ekim 2016

<sup>66</sup> H. Duran, K. K. Yilmaz, *China's Extraction from the Central Asian Energy Sources*, Ed: S. Sarı vd., *International Conference on Eurasian Economies 2011*, Istanbul, Beykent University Publication, p. 36

<sup>67</sup> <https://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp/pdf/energy-economics/statistical-review-2016/bp-statistical-review-of-world-energy-2016-full-report.pdf>

and 15.6 million per day in 2035. According to the International Energy Agency, China will be the world's largest oil consumer country, surpassing the US in 2030.<sup>68</sup>

As a matter of fact, the amount of coal consumed in China in 2014 increased by 0.1% compared to 2013 and natural gas increased by 8.6%. According to the report of the US Energy Information Administration (EIA), in 2012, the majority of China's total energy consumption (66%) is coal, about 20% petroleum fuel, 8% hydroelectric resources, 5% natural gas, 1% Nuclear energy and the remaining 1% provides renewable energy. In the energy sector, predominantly consumption of fodder causes air pollution. Therefore, in order to reduce air pollution, the Chinese National Energy Agency plans to reduce the share of coal in total energy consumption by 62% up to 2020 by the Chinese government. In addition, it aims to increase the use of natural gas rather than coal and oil and aims to meet 10% of energy consumption with natural gas by 2020.<sup>69</sup>

China's growing need for cleaner and more efficient energy sources also increases China's external dependency on energy. China's imports of energy resources in the market (excluding coal) have increased substantially since the 90s. For example, China, which was a net oil exporter until the early 1990s, has become one of the world's largest importer countries of oil and fuel products since the year 2000. According to data from the US Energy Information Administration in 2013, China has become the world's number one net importer of oil through

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<sup>68</sup> J. Jiang, C. Ding, *Overseas Investments by China's National oil companies: Achievement and challenges since 2011* (Paris OECD/ international energy agency 2014 p. 10 <https://www.iea.org/publications/freepublications/publication/PartnerCountrySeriesUpdateonOverseasInvestmentsbyChinasNationalOilCompanies.pdf> p.10

<sup>69</sup> [https://www.eia.gov/outlooks/aeo/pdf/0383\(2015\).pdf](https://www.eia.gov/outlooks/aeo/pdf/0383(2015).pdf)



the US. The top ten suppliers in China's oil sector are Saudi Arabia, Angola, Oman, Russia, Iraq, Iran, Venezuela, Kazakhstan, United Arab Emirates and Kuwait. In 2014, more than half of China's oil imports from the Middle East (3.2 million barrels per day), 22% from Africa (1.4 million barrels per day), 13% from Russia and the former USSR countries (778,000 barrels per day) 11% from the US territory (667,000 barrels a day), 2% from Asia-Pacific (127,000 daily) and the remaining 1% from other regional countries. China's 12<sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan for the Development of the Energy Industry, which was approved in 2013 to reduce external dependency, predicted that China's foreign oil dependency would reach 61% in 2015.<sup>70</sup>

We can summarize the Chinese petroleum demand according to the growth rate as follows: It is predicted that 34% of total petroleum consumed in 2002 will be increased from 55% in 2010, 68% in 2020 and 74% in 2030.<sup>71</sup> In addition, China, which aims to increase its share of energy-consuming natural gas, has reached 32% of its natural gas needs by 2013 due to increased demand for natural gas as a net exporter of natural gas until 2007. (EIA, 2015: 15). Thanks to the rapidly developing natural gas pipeline and infrastructure in 2007, natural

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<sup>70</sup> J. Jiang, C. Ding, *Overseas Investments by China's National oil companies: Achievement and challenges since 2011*, Paris OECD, International Energy Agency 2014 <https://www.iea.org/publications/freepublications/publication/PartnerCountrySeriesUpdateonOverseasInvestmentsbyChinasNationalOilCompanies.pdf>. 11

<sup>71</sup> H. Duran, *Nyambayar PUREVSUREN GÜVENLİK, ENERJİ VE PAZAR EKSENİNDE ÇİN'İN ORTA ASYA POLİTİKASI* *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Dumlupınar University Journal of Social Sciences Afro- Avrasya Özel Sayısı-Aralık 2016 / Special number of Afro-Eurasia-December 2016 <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/347597> *Çin'in Orta Asya Politikası*, (Editör: Mehmet Seyfettin Erol), (2009), *Küresel Güç Mücadelesinde Avrasya'nın Değişen Jeopolitiği* Yeni Büyük Oyun, I. Baskı, Ankara: Platin Yayınları, p.359



gas imports are estimated to reach around 50-80 billion cubic meters in 2020 and 140 billion cubic meters in 2025<sup>72</sup>. Most of China's natural gas needs are derived from liquefied natural gas (LNG) from Southeast Asia, Australia, and Qatar.

When we consider the figures given above we see that China is dependent on terms of oil and natural gas, The countries in the regions where conflicts and instability such as the Middle East and Africa are not lacking. Therefore, in the present China's energy strategy, it is the diversification of energy resources to meet the energy need with uninterrupted and safe energy sources. Indeed, the diversity of energy sources, Chinese government is accepted as one of the basic elements of the "Energy Strategy of the 21 Century". At the same time, despite China's production of oil extraction fields in more than 20 countries, Most of the rich oil and natural gas deposits in the Middle East are shared with Western companies, especially the US, China is causing worries about energy security. In addition, it is another concern of China that the control of western governments in the seaboard where China almost imports all the oil imported from the Middle East and Africa, and especially in Malacca Straits.<sup>73</sup>

In search of alternative sources, the energy resources of the former Soviet Union countries are increasingly prevalent due to the concern of China securing energy security. Chinese geography's position is more reliable in terms of security and cost of transport from than Central Asian, Middle

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<sup>72</sup> (Ustaoglu(2009) "Çin'in Orta Asya Politikası", (Editör: Mehmet Seyfettin Erol), (2009), Küresel Güç Mücadelesinde Avrasya'nın Değişen Jeopolitiği Yeni Büyük Oyun, I. Baskı, Ankara: Platin Yayınları, p.359

<sup>73</sup> Ustaoglu, 2009, *Çin'in Orta Asya Politikası*, (Editör: Mehmet Seyfettin Erol), (2009), Küresel Güç Mücadelesinde Avrasya'nın Değişen Jeopolitiği Yeni Büyük Oyun, I. Baskı, Ankara: Platin Yayınları, p. 360

East, and other regions energy sources. Therefore, The rate of direct investment of Chinese government abroad is constantly increasing within this policy framework. It is estimated that China's cross-border assets will grow by 2020 from \$ 6.4 trillion to \$ 20 trillion by 2015 and become the world's largest foreign investor after five years.<sup>74</sup> Until a few years ago, while China was one of the leading addresses in foreign direct investment, the contribution of the country to Direct Foreign Investment (DFI) is extremely small. After becoming a member of the World Trade Organization in 2001, China began to rise rapidly among foreign direct investors.

In direct foreign investments, China has recently given priority to energy-related investments. Central Asian countries have a secure geography where they can connect to China with pipelines as well as with other energy sources countries. In China's energy policy, Kazakhstan, which has rich energy resources in the Caspian Basin, has a great importance. China has long been interested in the energy resources and geographical location of the Central Asian region. In 1997, China entered the energy sector of Central Asia. In September 1997, China's state-owned company CNPC (China National Petroleum Corporation) officially launched the energy presence of China's Central Asia by buying 60% of Kazakhstan's Aktobemunaygaz. In the same year, between China and Kazakhstan "Agreement on Cooperation in the Oil and Gas Field Between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China", "Between the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources of the Republic of Kazakhstan and China National Oil Company, Construction of Kazakhstan- China Pipeline and

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<sup>74</sup> <https://www.matriksdata.com/website/matriks-haberler/genel/2015/8/20/689356-cin-in2020-yilinda-dunyanin-en-buyuk-dogrudan-yabanci-yatirimcisi-olacagi-tahminediliyor/>, [07 Ekim 2016]

Processing of Energy Beds in Kazakhstan Final Agreement “has been signed. In line with agreements, the Chinese government invested \$ 4 billion in Kazakhstan’s Aktobemunaygaz company and about \$ 5 billion in Özenmunyagaz.<sup>75</sup> Kazakhstan’s Chinese influence in the energy sector grew even further in the early 2000s with the adoption of China’s Open Door policy. After China became a full member of the World Trade Organization on December 11, 2001, there has been a significant increase in foreign investment. China’s Open-door policy in process between 1997 and 2007, foreign currency movements have increased significantly in the meantime. In August 2003, China, which bought all of the shares of the Severney Buzachi Operating in Kazakhstan, In April 2005, CNPC’s subsidiary CNODC (China National Oil and Gas Exploration and Development Corporation) bought all the shares of Aydan Munay. In addition, in 2005, CNPC, Kazmunaygas, has bought a 33% stake in the company Petro Kazakhstan<sup>76</sup>. In 2013, the Kazakhstan news agency KazTAG estimates that the share of Chinese companies in the current Kazakh energy sector is over 40% and that China’s share of natural gas and oil production in Kazakhstan territory will reach 50% in the coming years.

China entered the Turkmen energy sector in 2002. First, China’s CNPC company signed an agreement with Turkmenistan’s Turkmennefti company in January 2002, for petroleum extraction invested with 100% for 5 years with “Gumdak” oil

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<sup>75</sup> A. Hekimoğlu, *Uluslararası Dengeler Bağlamında Orta Asya’daki Enerji Politikaları*, Ed: Kafkasyalı, M. Savaş, Bölgesel ve Küresel Politikalarda Orta Asya, Ankara; SFN Yayıncılık, p-301

<sup>76</sup> A. Hekimoğlu, *Uluslararası Dengeler Bağlamında Orta Asya’daki Enerji Politikaları*, Ed: Kafkasyalı, M. Savaş, Bölgesel ve Küresel Politikalarda Orta Asya, Ankara; SFN Yayıncılık, p.302

bed. On July 20, 2005, CNPC signed a cooperation agreement with the Ministry of Petroleum, Natural and Mineral Resources of Turkmenistan in the oil sector. Furthermore, in April 2006, an agreement was signed between the CNPC and the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas of Turkmenistan to adopt the basic principles of the joint gas project. On July 11, 2007, an agreement was signed between CNPC and Turkmengaz to operate and sell natural gas deposits on the right bank of the Bagtyyarlyk and Amu Derya river in Turkmenistan. According to this agreement, Turkmenistan will export 30 billion cubic meters of natural gas to China for 30 years.<sup>77</sup> In August of 2007, Construction of natural gas pipeline started to CNPC China-Central Asia (China-Turkmenistan). This pipeline project, which aims to transport natural gas to China through Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, consists of three parts: It will be built outside the borders of China, 1,292 km of pipeline totaling 1.818 km in length, costing \$ 3.71 billion, was built on Kazakhstan soil and 525 km on Uzbekistan soil.. An agreement has been reached to share the profit from the operation of natural gas deposits in Turkmenistan. (A total of 30 billion cubic meters of other deposits, including 13 billion cubic meters of natural gas reserves in America).. The second line that forms the West-East natural gas pipeline passing through the Chinese territory.<sup>78</sup>

In 2009, 10 billion cubic meters of natural gas was transported from Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan to China from the completed pipeline in 2010. It is estimated

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<sup>77</sup> [www.cnpc.com.cn](http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/Turkmenistan/country_index.shtml), CNPC in Turkmenistan, (Çevirimiçi), [http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/Turkmenistan/country\\_index.shtml](http://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/Turkmenistan/country_index.shtml), [10 Ekim 2016].

<sup>78</sup> A. Hekimoğlu, *Uluslararası Dengeler Bağlamında Orta Asya'daki Enerji Politikaları*, Ed: Kafkasyalı, M. Savaş, Bölgesel ve Küresel Politikalarda Orta Asya, Ankara; SFN Yayıncılık, p. 304

that the carrying capacity of the Turkmenistan-China pipeline will reach 40 billion  $m^3$ . Turkmenistan carries out natural gas sales to 4 countries: Iran, Kazakhstan, Russia, and China. China is the biggest export market of Turkmenistan and it sold 62% of the natural gas exported to this country in 2014. It is expected that the amount of natural gas that Turkmenistan will sell to China it will reach 65 billion  $m^3$  in 2020.<sup>79</sup>

In 2009, We can say that China entered Uzbekistan's energy market with the Central Asia-China pipeline being active. With the Central Asia-China pipeline commissioning, 10 billion  $m^3$  of Uzbek natural gas annually started to be exported to China. As a matter of fact, during the visit of President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov to Beijing in April 2011, In addition to the Central Asia-China pipeline Construction of an annual 25 billion  $m^3$  capacity pipeline have come to the agenda. In October 2013, China's CNPC company and Uzbekneftegaz established New Silk Road Oil and Gas Company (LTD), a joint venture for processing natural gas deposits in Uzbekistan. In 2015, The pipeline passing through the territory of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, China in the length of 1000 km, part D of the Central-Asia pipeline began to be built Uzbekistan part (210 km ). China finances projects in the D-part as well as in other Central Asian countries with about \$ 800 million.<sup>80</sup> Although Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan do not have rich resources in terms of oil and natural gas As a geographical transit country, Central Asia has great

<sup>79</sup> E. Akhundzada, *Türkmenistan İçin Güney Gaz Koridorunun Önemi Artmaktadır*, (çevrimiçi) <http://tr.trend.az/business/energy/2486960.html>, [11 Ekim 2016].

<sup>80</sup> E. İsmayilov, T. Ve Budak, *Bağımsızlık Sonrası Özbekistan'ın Enerji Politikası*, "BİLGESAM" Analiz/Enerji, No: 1203, İstanbul. (Çevrimiçi), <http://www.bilgesam.org/Images/Dokumanlar/0-411-20150407131203.pdf>, [24 Ekim 2016]

importance in reaching China's energy resources. The energy relations of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan with China are Turkmenistan natural gas as a transit country, As a fourth line, it passes through Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan and reaches China.<sup>81</sup>

### Economy

In China's economic policy, Central Asia is not only an important market for Chinese goods but also a neighboring region with abundant energy resources, as well as being the most important region in terms of national security. In 1991, The Central Asian countries experiencing the economic crisis in the process of transition to the free market economy and they are going destabilization in the political area so, China starts to get more interested in East Turkestan. China, for the national security, the necessity of an economically developed Central Asia, the Chinese authorities to increase all kinds of economic cooperation with the countries of the region, It was forced to set strategic goals. In short, the increase in economic prosperity between Central Asia and China, The understanding that political stability will form the ground, It is the basic principle of China's Central Asian economic policy. Since 1991, the formation of new relations, the development of economic relations and the increase of mutual trade between China and Central Asian countries have emerged as a result of this understanding. Already due

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<sup>81</sup> H. Duran, *Guvenlik Enerji VE Pazar Ekseninde Çin'in Orta Asya Politikasi*, Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Dumlupınar University Journal of Social Sciences Afro-Avrasya Özel Sayısı-Aralık 2016, Special number of Afro-Eurasia-December 2016 p.286-9 <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/347597>

to geographical proximity, Bilateral trade ties with a natural advantage, China's rapidly developing economy and It developed in a short time due to the rich energy resources of Central Asia.

In Kazakhstan, which gained independence in 1992, With the opening of the first Chinese-Kazakh border crossing Dostyk Alatau Thanks to the numerous agreements signed between 1992 and 1997, China traded between an average of \$ 350-700 million each year. Dramatically increasing China-Central Asia trade volume has increased by 25% since 1998, when the economic crisis of the Russian Federation has slowed down the economies of the Central Asian countries. In 2000, the volume of trade jumped up as China increased its energy demand through Central Asian energy sources; Bilateral trade volume increased by 200% between 2002 and 2003, reaching \$ 3 billion, up by 150% between 2004 and 2006.<sup>82</sup>

China's trade with the Central Asian countries has reached the historic peak by \$ 50 billion in 2013. Kazakhstan, the largest trading partner of China's Central Asian countries, ranks first with \$ 22.5 billion with Turkmenistan, \$ 9.3 billion with Uzbekistan, \$ 4.5 billion, with Tajikistan \$ 2.1 billion with Tajikistan and \$ 1.5 billion with Kyrgyzstan.<sup>83</sup> China's trade volume with the Central Asian countries has increased by an amazing 100 times in 10 years. China, which has been assessed for its trade with Central Asian countries in 2014, Trade Minister

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<sup>82</sup> S. Peyrouse, *Economic Aspects of the Chinese –Central Asia Rapprochement*, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute and Silk Road Studies Program, (çevrimiçi), [https://www.silkroadstudies.org/resources/pdf/SilkRoadPapers/0709ChinaCentral\\_Asia.pdf](https://www.silkroadstudies.org/resources/pdf/SilkRoadPapers/0709ChinaCentral_Asia.pdf), 09 Ekim 2016.

<sup>83</sup> N. P. Contessi, *Central Asia in Asia: Charting Growing Trans-Regional Linkages*, "Journal of Eurasian Studies", V:7, I:1, pp3-13. (çevrimiçi), <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1879366515000329>. [09 Ekim 2016]



Yao Jian voiced plans for trade with Kazakhstan to reach \$ 40 billion in 2015 and \$ 5 billion for Uzbekistan in 2017. According to the Chinese Minister, trade increase in trade volume in coming years; The Chinese currency Yuan (Renminbi) will also positively affect the start of payment.<sup>84</sup>

Along with the growing trade between China and Central Asian countries, China's investment has increased significantly in the region. After the global crisis, It is seriously damaged from the 2009 crisis and the investment amount of China increased while the investment amount of Western and Russian investors decreased in Central Asian countries. In 2009, China's direct investment in Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan, It has increased steadily to \$ 100 billion in the following years. The amount of Chinese investment in Kazakhstan was \$ 4 billion, while investment in Uzbekistan reached \$ 1.65 billion in 2010. In 2011, a number of loans granted by the China Development Bank to projects in the energy and transportation sectors of the SCO member countries reached \$ 38.5 billion<sup>85</sup>. In 2014, Chinese authorities announced that Chinese companies from the \$ 40 billion project under the project will continue to be involved in similar investments in mainly Central Asia and ASEAN Countries to create infrastructure for the New Silk Road Project (Silk Road Economic Zone) and the Sea Silk Road Project.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Russian.news.cn, 2013 yılında 4 orta asya ulkesi ile ticareti 40 milyar \$'ı aştı, (Çevirimiçi), [http://russian.news.cn/economic/201402/13/c\\_133112976.htm](http://russian.news.cn/economic/201402/13/c_133112976.htm), 06 Ekim2016.

<sup>85</sup> L. Xin, x. Daleng, *Chinese and Russian Economic Interests in Central Asia: Comparative Analysis*, "China, The United States, and the Future of Central Asia: U.S.-China Relations", Volume I. (Edited by: David B. H. Denoon), New York University Press, pp. 130-153.

<sup>86</sup> S. Tiezzi, *China Invests in World*, "The Diplomat", (Çevirimiçi), <http://thediplomat.com/2015/06/china-invests-in-the-world/>, [07 Ekim 2016].



China is not only the largest trading partner and investor in Central Asia but also the largest lender of the region. Since 2015, when Kyrgyzstan gained independence, a number of loans it has received from China has exceeded \$ 1.8 billion, reaching more than half of all foreign borrowers in the country. There is a similar situation in Tajikistan. 40% of all foreign borrowing of the country constitutes loans taken from China Export-Import Bank. Similarly, during the 2008 global financial crisis, China provided large loans to Turkmenistan not only to buy gas but also to borrow from international financial institutions for energy projects.<sup>87</sup> So in the last 20 years, China has become the biggest investor and capital control actor in the Central Asian region.

Xi Jinping was president of the China in 2013, China has begun a new era in the economic policy toward Central Asia. China leader announced the New Silk Road Project with the slogan “One Way, One Generation” in Central Asia’s public speech at Nazarbayev University in Kazakhstan on September 7, 2013.<sup>88</sup> Jinping emphasized that China will never intervene in the internal affairs of Central Asia when it proposes the project, never try to establish regional domination in Central Asia and intend to expand its influence area. Within the scope of the new Silk Road project, the most convenient route that can reach China to the European market by road is Kazakhstan steppes. In 2008, Kazakhstan leader

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<sup>87</sup> K. Toktomushev, *The Silk Road Economic Belt’s Impacts on Central Asia*, (çevrimiçi), <http://www.chinausfocus.com/finance-economy/the-silk-road-economicbelts-impacts-on-central-asia/>, [09 Ekim 2016]

<sup>88</sup> E. Özdaşlı, *Çin’in Yeni İpek Yolu Projesi ve Küresel Etkileri*, “Turkish Studies: International Periodical for the Languages”, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic, Volume:10/14, Ankara, pp. 579-596. (çevrimiçi), [http://www.turkishstudies.net/Makaleler/1490871226\\_31%C3%96zda%C5%9Fl%C4%B1Esme-sos-579-596.pdf](http://www.turkishstudies.net/Makaleler/1490871226_31%C3%96zda%C5%9Fl%C4%B1Esme-sos-579-596.pdf).

Nazarbayev brought the “Western Europe and Western China” corridor project on Russia-Kazakhstan-China territory for the first time, but Nazarbayev’s corridor proposal did not receive sufficient support before China announced the project.

China is at the forefront of projects that will provide access to China-Central Asia-West Asia economic corridor, China from land to the Middle East, Europe, and Africa, with six corridors scheduled to be built under the major economic project. The China-Kazakh Cooperation Center has been active in the newly established city of Khorgos on the border of Kazakhstan and China in order to pass the project successfully in 2014. A joint declaration on the establishment of the Silk Road Economic Zone was signed in China-Central Asia Cooperation Forum held in Shangdong in China in 2015.<sup>89</sup>

The new Silk Road project will bring China closer to Europe through Central Asia and Europe closer to the Chinese market, as soon as the land and sea routes are alive. The production power of the giant Chinese market, the capital, and advanced technology of the European market will be networked between the energy and raw material resources of Central Asia. With increased welfare, Advantages such as reduced security worries in the East Turkestan Autonomous Region and Central Asia will satisfy all actors who are party to the project.<sup>90</sup> China has set up the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) in 2015 to pass the New Silk Road project to life. The bank, which will be undertaking the financing of the “Silk Road” project for the new Silk Road, is set

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<sup>89</sup> L. Chan, *An Overview of Central Asian Markets on the Silk Road Economic Belt*, (Çevrimiçi), <http://beltandroad.hktdc.com/en/marketanalyses/details.aspx?ID=472180>, [25 Ekim 2016].

<sup>90</sup> A. Atlı, *Çin ve Yeni İpek Yolu Projesi*, (Çevrimiçi) <http://www.altayatlil.com/files/Analist44IpekYolu.pdf>, [06 Kasım 2016].

up with a capital of \$ 50 billion, and it requires \$ 1.4 trillion to fully realize the investments under the project. This budget is 12 times more than the US assistance (\$ 120 million) under the Marshall scheme. The most important issue about the project is related to security. The main problems are the fact that the 81,000 km high-speed train line to be implemented will pass from a number of countries, and the security of the pipelines and the roads in the Khasgarghwadar economic corridor between China's west and Pakistan (the most difficult and heavily argued region of the world's defenses).<sup>91</sup>

It is clear that China's investments in the Central Asian energy sector, with its great economic potential, have provided considerable support to the weak economy of Central Asian countries, which have gained new independence. Especially in 2009, After the China-Central Asia pipeline came into force, China's sovereignty began to increase in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan's energy sector. Today, most of the major energy companies in Central Asia hold the majority of China. However, due to the growing influence of China, the shaking of the Russian monopoly in the energy sector of Central Asia has become one of the main issues of competition and cooperation debate between Russia and China. The diversity of foreign actors in the Central Asian energy sector is in terms of Central Asian countries, which had previously only been dependent on Russia. While Russia tries to integrate with the Central Asian countries through integration projects such as CIS, Customs Union and Eurasian Economic Union (AEB) since the 90's, the economic influence

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<sup>91</sup> Z. Zhiquan, *China's AIIB and 'One Belt One Road': ambitions and challenges*, (çevrimiçi), <https://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/8231-China-s-AIIBand-One-Belt-One-Road-ambitions-and-challenges>, [06 Kasım 2016].

of China on the region is stronger day by day. Moreover, with the New Silk Road Project (NSP) in 2013, China's economic influence in the region has gained further potential for expansion. The Central Asian region is also of great importance not only for China's energy and economic reasons but also for securing the country's security and regional security.<sup>92</sup> Major security problems in the Central Asian region, such as international terrorism and the spread of radical groups, the existence of US military bases and the emergence of political instability, are considered as problems that directly or indirectly threaten China's national security.<sup>93</sup>

### New Silk Road Strategies and Trans- Eurasian Security System

This project, which can be read as an answer to the new Asia-centered initiatives of the status quo countries like the USA (Asia Pivot) and the new trade agreements that exclude China (Trans-Pacific Partnership), is important for linking China to Europe and the Middle East. The historic Silk Road is the name given to the trade route from China to Europe and is one of the largest caravan routes used throughout history.<sup>94</sup> The first thing I want to mention here is that the Silk Road caravan as a source of income in the historical period

<sup>92</sup> H. Duran, *Güvenlik Enerji VE Pazar Ekseninde Çin'in Orta Asya Politikası*, Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Dumlupınar University Journal of Social Sciences Afro-Avrasya Özel Sayısı-Aralık 2016, Special number of Afro-Eurasia-December 2016 p.289-291

<sup>93</sup> [https://birimler.dpu.edu.tr/app/views/panel/ckfinder/userfiles/17/files/DERG\\_/afroavrasya/281-294.pdf](https://birimler.dpu.edu.tr/app/views/panel/ckfinder/userfiles/17/files/DERG_/afroavrasya/281-294.pdf)

<sup>94</sup> For more information, see E. Remaining, & "XIII-XIV. Commercial Policies of the Northern Silk Road and Golden Orda Hans in the Centuries ", Eurasia Survey Silk Road Special Issue, Hangar Marka İletişim Reklam Hizmetleri publishing Ltd. Şti. , Ankara 2014/1, p. 43-62.

caused violent competition between Turkish tribes and their neighbors. From Huns to the fall of the Uighur Khanate, the Turks and Chinese wanted to dominate the Inner Asia region, the transit center of the Silk Road, for a period of about a thousand years.

The Turkestan region lived in the golden age in the Middle Ages, especially when the Silk Road was alive, and to history left the rich heritage of Turkish-Islamic cult. Prior to geographical discoveries, important cities such as Kashgar, Bukhara, Samarkand and Merv were established on the Silk Road and the Turkestan region became the main central and central city of the Islamic civilization. Through the Silk Road spread, The first is the philosophy and religion between the west and the east, the second is the art models and the third is the science and techniques. For example, Biruni, Ibn-i Sina, Farabi, Yusuf Balasaguni, Mahmud Kashgari, Ahmed Yesevi, Ali Kuscu were the intellectuals who left the traces of these periods.

Thus, for centuries, the Silk Road brought the Eastern `s knowledge of nature and wisdom to the practicality and richness of the western world. The Turkestan continent, which is surrounded by land on four sides and opened to the world through the Silk Road, has been closed to the world for over a hundred years. Since the end of the nineteenth century, the loneliness policy imposed by the Tsarist administration has been influential in the closure of Turkestan's environment. From the eighteenth century on the one hand, the division and internal quarrels that have taken place in the region, on the other hand the expansion of the Russian Empire on the north and the British Empire on the south, this situation is isolated Turkestan from the developments in the world. A Moscow-based transportation infrastructure emerged after the division had entered the Russian sovereignty and during

the ongoing Soviet period. The project, now called the New Silk Road, It will combine all transport networks with each other and seem to be capable of positioning the countries of the region in a global trade orbit.<sup>95</sup>

### The Eurasian Corridor Security System

Along with that Silk Road Strategy be put into life, In order to control the energy sources on it and to protect the trade routes, It requires an appropriate security system in the whole Eurasian corridor. Under the title of “Border Control Aid” at the US Congress: Purpose of Assistance Preventing South Caucasus and Central Asian countries from securing their territory, spreading technology and materials related to illegal drug trade and weapons of mass destruction, and organizing criminal activities. Support activities were mentioned the sentence of “national border guards, coast guard and customs controls should be supported, including assistance to those countries in the South Caucasus and Central Asia to improve their capabilities.”<sup>96</sup> This section emphasizes the problem of militarization for security. This militarization has been directed against China, Russia and Iran in particular.

As it said in the text of the draft convention: “The president announced at the congress that the use of all viable diplomatic instruments for an impartial, just and lasting solution to the conflicts in the South Caucasus and Central Asia should be used, accompanied by press and senior US government

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<sup>95</sup> A. Ergin, *Yeni Ipek yolu strategileri ve Transavasya güvenlik sistemi*, Tarih ve gelecek dergisi cilt :2 sayi:3 <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/263549> p. 1

<sup>96</sup> Silk Road Strategy Act, <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/s2749/text>.

officials. Establishment of consensus among the warring parties in the South Caucasus and Central Asian countries is one of the main objectives of promoting economic development in these countries affected by internal conflict and war and promoting broad regional cooperation.<sup>97</sup> In the 1999 Silk Road Strategy Act, Caucasus and Turkistan states, which are exposed to political and economic oppression from the south, north and east, The necessity of US aid has been emphasized once again by indicating that the ties with the West will lead to stability.

Communication, transportation, infrastructure planning, financing, including air transportation, participation of US companies and investors and encouraging the construction industry, Support of the trade and energy sector, including roads, railways, port facilities, transport, banking, insurance, telecommunications networks and gas and oil pipelines. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Finance Bank and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development United States representatives, South Caucasus and Central Asian countries agreed to provide assistance for the development of regional economic cooperation and physical infrastructure. The capabilities of these countries will be improved for free market economies and help South Caucasus and Central Asian countries to make policies, laws and regulations for participation in the World Trade Organization. A strong trade route will be established between the United States and the South Caucasus and Central Asian countries. The necessary physical infrastructure will be improved For regional cooperation between South Caucasus and Central Asian countries. Close economic relations to be

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<sup>97</sup> Silk Road Strategy Act, <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/s2749/text>.

encouraged and facilitate cross-border trade between these countries and the United States and other developed countries. To support defined activities, The United States Export-Import Bank completes a review of its suitability for financing according to the 1945 Export-Import Bank Act. Insurance, re-insurance, financing or other assistances provided by Overseas Private Investment Corporation.<sup>98</sup>

This law, which was updated in 2006, was part of the strategy of transforming the former Soviet geography. The Silk Road is an opportunity for stabilization in Afghanistan and for the opening of new commercial channels in the region. Developments in Afghanistan are drawing attention of the international community and various projects are being developed for the development of the country. Resolving security problems in the country, providing political and economic stability, they are preparing environment for new economic initiatives. For this reason<sup>99</sup> Afghanistan's rehabilitation process is supported by various countries, mainly the Central Asian Republics. In this context, in November 2010, Turkey has also shown that it will contribute to the process by hosting the Regional Economic Cooperation Conference (RECCA)<sup>100</sup> to support Afghanistan.

It seems that, Global forces need to promise social, economic and vocational opportunities in areas they want to work besides their real goals:

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<sup>98</sup> Silk Road Strategy Act, <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/s2749/text>.

<sup>99</sup> See Silk Road and Afghanistan. A. C. Kuchins, T. M. Sanderson, D. A. Gordon, *Afghanistan: Building the Missing Link in the Modern Silk Road*, "The Washington Quarterly", 2010, 33/2, p. 32-36.

<sup>100</sup> O. Kulaklıkaya, *Global Silk Road Central Asia's Global Economy Opening Door*, Tepav, [http:// www. Tepav.org.tr/en/eeekibimiz/s/1255/Omercan+Kulaklikayaya](http://www.Tepav.org.tr/en/eeekibimiz/s/1255/Omercan+Kulaklikayaya)., February 2013, [accessed: 28.03.2016], p. 4.



To promote democratic government institutions in the South Caucasus and Central Asian countries, To create conditions for the growth of pluralist societies, including internationally recognized human rights and religious tolerance. Helping to build democracy, including programs to strengthen parliamentary institutions and practices. Helping civil society organizations and independent media develop. To support the rule of law in political practice and commercial transactions, the dominance of a strong independent clause and the development of transparency.

To organize advanced vocational training programs in international exchange and civil society development centered skills areas.<sup>101</sup> At this point, while global powers conceal their own interests, they prefer to disclose the interests of the opposing party.” A strong international network of contacts between these countries to help develop the necessary infrastructure for communication, transport, education, health, energy and trade with the stable, democratic and market-oriented Euro-Atlantic Community countries on the East-West axis. To support USA commercial interests and investments in the region<sup>102</sup>. While the United States strengthened its activity on the Silk Road Strategy and the Silk Road geography, it also aimed at promoting pro-US governments in the mentioned geography. This is vital in maintaining America’s global supremacy.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Silk Road Strategy Act, <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/s2749/text>.

<sup>102</sup> Silk Road Strategy Act, <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/s2749/text>

<sup>103</sup> A. Ergin, *Yeni Ipek yolu strategileri ve Transavasya güvenlik sistemi*, Tarih ve gelecek dergisi cilt :2 sayi:3 <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/263549> p. 13-5

### China's Initiative

Along with that, Some experts argue that differences of opinion between China and the United States, particularly in Syria, Taiwan, and the South China Sea, will put the implementation of the project into trouble.<sup>104</sup> The arming race is more complicated than ever. The alliance between the Sino-Russian alliance and the US-Japan Japan regarding the Central Asian Politics seems to have intensified in terms of security in Asia-Pacific and Europe.<sup>105</sup> China and Russia have taken measures including strengthening bilateral cooperation on national defense, military strategy and weapons development.<sup>106</sup>

The economic power of China, especially in Asia, spreading to many parts of the world, and it's Close dialogue with Russia, that situations increase Washington's worries. Despite this fact, more than sixty countries explained that they wanted to be involved in China's initiative. The most important uncertainty; especially, Asia-Pacific countries that are economically connected to China but they trust to USA about their securities this situation is discased by Politicans whether

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<sup>104</sup> As far as developments are concerned, during Obama administration, the US is developing a global ballistic missile defense system to protect its own land from active missile attacks. It also increases its missile defense capacity in the region to protect its overseas military bases and NATO countries, as well as its allies in Asia and the Middle East.

<sup>105</sup> Y. Diril, *Japan's Central Asian Policies*, II. International Congress of Social Scientists Congress Book, Kocaeli University Publication, Kocaeli 2009, p. 910-919

<sup>106</sup> China is also trying to expand its aircraft wing fleet while developing weapons systems, including early warning of air (AEW) and nuclear submarines. See. T. Fu-sheng, "US Deployments Heralding Arms Race With China and Russia", <http://www.wantchinatimes.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?id=20150614000067&cid=1703>, 14 June 2015, [accessed: 15.03.2016]

it will cause a potential alliance change.<sup>107</sup> For this reason, one of the most important questions about how realistic it is for some of the countries in the region to have close dialogue with the US to cooperate with China “despite Washington.

In addition, Beijing has border problems with many regional countries, and conflicts at the point of maritime use can reduce the interest in the project.<sup>108</sup> Likewise, access to the solution of the South China Sea conflict, which is between the US and China, including other countries of the region, is also an important element in the full implementation of the project.<sup>109</sup> Recognizing that USA has lost much energy and time in the Middle East, It began to become increasingly more involved to South Sea issue America believed to be

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<sup>107</sup> Fu-sheng, a.g.m., [www.wantchinatimes.com](http://www.wantchinatimes.com).

<sup>108</sup> For example, according to Indian Foreign Minister Sushma Swarej; The main obstacle to the implementation of the Maritime Silk Road Project is the border disputes China has with Southeast Asian countries. Swarej also stated that his country would like to take part in the project, but refused to commit fully. See. Fu-sheng, a.G., [www.wantchinatimes.com](http://www.wantchinatimes.com)

<sup>109</sup> The growing tension in recent years in the South China Sea is the highest risk of conflict in Asia. While China historically claims sovereignty almost entirely of the South China Sea, other countries reject it based on international law. In terms of balancing China, the fact that the capacities of the riparian countries like the Philippines, Vietnam and Malaysia are very limited puts a photograph of these countries closer to the US. As the US pursues a more active policy toward the region, it has to face China more often. Although there has not been a hot clash yet, the waters are getting warmer in the South China Sea. This politics that China is watching is causing tensions with the United States. As a matter of fact, last October 27, the US sent a guided missile-equipped USS Lassen Ship to patrol the 12-mile Spratly (Nansha) Islands for a message to China. The tension has further escalated as the US has responded to this move and China has sent war ships to the region. See. Y. Erşan, “Conflicting Interests and Rising Blood Pressure in the South China Sea”, Analyst, [www.analstandgisi.com/bolge-analizleri/asya-pacific](http://www.analstandgisi.com/bolge-analizleri/asya-pacific), December 2015, [accessed: 17.03.2016]

China's back garden and weak stomach, which it saw as a strategic rival.<sup>110</sup>

The instability of the conflict areas that exist in the region poses a threat not only to China but also to the regional and global order. The future of the Silk Road project, which also aims to solve the bilateral problems between terrorism and the countries of the region peacefully, is also closely related to how to manage the instabilities that arise from these areas of tension. Considering China's Middle East oil and high-level dependence on Central Asian gas, The project is striking that China is an indispensable geopolitical necessity. However, the political problems that China can produce such as energy need and Uyghur problem are not much emphasized. However, it is not easy to convince both the region and the countries outside the region of the project before discussing all the details of such a project that China has brought to the fore. The Silk Road project could give new impetus to developing bilateral relations between Turkey and China<sup>111</sup>. China has strategic interests under the revival effort of the historical Silk Road, That is, the reference and source for today and tomorrow from the influence and functions of the Silk Road in history. The Chinese side, in this sense, it wants to develop a new Silk Road project with Turkey.

After the Cold War Turkish-Chinese relations began to take place the revival discourse of the historical Silk Road. Both countries are planning to provide the benefits of the old Silk Road, which will revive the commercial sense. The People's Republic of China has played a leading role in the new

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<sup>110</sup> See Turkey's prominence on the Silk Road. M. Eryiğit, *Border Disputes in the South China Sea and Its Impact on the US-PRC Relations*, DÜBAM, [www.dunyabulteni.net](http://www.dunyabulteni.net), 2016, p.4, [accessed: 04.04.2016].

<sup>111</sup> Zan Tao, a.g.m., s. 10.

routes that transport Turkestan to the East. Turkey is the candidate country to become the “Strategic Terminal Center.”<sup>112</sup> In the ongoing process, The opening of the sub-structure of the logistics centers supporting the terminal market, It should be implemented rapidly policy implementations for the establishment of the world oil and natural gas stock exchange, as an international trade, outline and control center. In the control center will be created with the establishment of an information network by providing all the information about the data bank pipelines, The function of being the center of the international natural resource data network will be monopolized by Turkey. The negative aspects of the pipelines are mentioned at the media, because they cause environmental problems. The protection of ecological balance is important in sustainable development policies. The “safety zones” to be built for the safety of pipelines and construction operations in areas where pipelines have passed,<sup>113</sup> It will make the agricultural land unusable.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> M. Bakırcı, *Historical Transportation Network and Silk Road of Anatolia from Geographical Point of View*, Eurasia Survey Silk Road Special Issue, Hangar Brand Communication Advertisement Services Publishing Ltd. Şti., Ankara 2014/1, p. 63-86

<sup>113</sup> A. Ergin, *Yeni Ipek yolu strategileri ve Transavasya güvenlik sistemi*, Tarih ve gelecek dergisi cilt :2 sayi:3 <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/263549> p. 15-7

<sup>114</sup> A. Orhan, *New Ipek Roads: Pipelines and Terminal Markets*, Econanadolu 2011: Anadolu International Conference in Economics II, Eskişehir 2011, p. 12; M. B. Ekinçi, *The Silk Roads From Past to Future and Their Interactions with Turkey*, Eurasia Survey Silk Road Special Issue, Hangar Brand Communication Advertisement Services Publishing Ltd. Şti., Ankara 2014/1, p. 63-86

### The Silk Road in Layout of the new world order

In this part of history, even the most primitive economies, they are obliged to enter into global, continental or regional polarizations. The developed countries contributions are really very valuable to developing countries. But until now we can not explain why these contributions are usually always in the theoretical dimension. For example, newly established Republics in the Caucasus and Turkestan regions are struggling with political methodological problems instead of investing in the economy and education, while global powers are tightening them into a narrow space. Indeed, scope SRS to post- Soviet Republics, Neo-liberalism idea has proposed some important new thoughts for future of that republics. "To encourage the mutual cooperation of the peoples on the Silk Road with the restoration of historical and economic relations, is an important element in the success of democratic and market reforms as well as the sovereignty of these peoples.

The development of strong political, economic and security ties between the South Caucasus and Central Asia and the Western countries will encourage stability in this region, which is vulnerable to political and economic oppression in the south, north and east. Many secular Muslim countries in the South Caucasus seeking close alliance with the US have active and sincere diplomatic relations with Israel. The US foreign policy should be aimed at supporting economic and political independence as well as regional economic integration of the South Caucasus and Central Asian countries along with free market economies and human rights.<sup>115</sup> Such

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<sup>115</sup> *Silk Road Strategy Act*, <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/s2749/text>.

targets can be explained by the wealth levels of these countries in terms of their economics. We suppose it would be good to use the term “good and bad is good” for the poor here. Nevertheless, the socio-economic functions of the developed countries should not be underestimated on the developing countries. The IMF and the World Bank are indispensable competitors of the SRS, which encourages “free market economies” and seeks to ensure its continuity, “The development of open market economies and open democratic systems in the South Caucasus and Central Asian countries will provide positive incentives for international private investment, increased trade and other forms of world lag and trade interaction.”<sup>116</sup> So it can be said that the main function of the western societies is to export the system. The liberal societies who observed that the proposals of the traditional Soviet economic theories that had been inherited by the states were generally inadequate tried to evaluate this filling as an opportunity and opportunity to reach their strategic goals. This economic cooperation and aid process is one of the techniques to protect the liberal system in terms of its political and military consequences.

At this point we are giving up on the unity that has transformed militarization. The militarization process under SRS is broadly against China, Russia and Iran. SRS is making the following call: “The development of strong political, economic and security ties between the countries of the South Caucasus and Turkistan and the West will encourage a very sensitive stabilization of political and economic pressures to the south, north and east in this region.”<sup>117</sup> In short, strategists should

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<sup>116</sup> *Silk Road Strategy Act*, <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/s2749/text>

<sup>117</sup> M. Chossudovsky, *Eurasian Corridor: Pipeline Geopolitics and the New Cold War*, <http://www.koxuz.org/home/node/1921>, [accessed: 15.03.2016]

be able to access the energy resources of the South Caucasus and Turkistan as an alternative to the observation that the US could produce enough oil to reduce the energy dependency from the Middle East region. The SRS includes the following statements: The South Caucasus and the Central Asian region can produce enough oil and gas to reduce the US dependency on energy in the Basque Gulf region.<sup>118</sup>

But besides that, we have to add that the strategies of global forces are a real historical phase and transformation. If we want to express in a more general context of subject, An important part of the New Silk Road literature consists of explanations made under the name of humanitarian aid, but in fact it has military and political objectives: "In this subsection, humanitarian assistance means help to meet human needs, including food, medicine, medical equipment and equipment, education and clothing needs. Support activities: Providing humanitarian needs for conflict victims. Facilitate the transformation of homes and refugees and displaced persons. Helping the restructuring of housing and economic infrastructure destroyed by war. In the Congress, it announced that it should not support the establishment of neutral, multinational peacekeepers to implement peace agreements between the archers in the United States, South Caucasus and Central Asia.<sup>119</sup> History knowledge is created by the contents of documents based on real incidents and events. Attempts to test the above proposals are considered humanitarian unless these projects are proven to be wrong. However, at the end of the experience, the military

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<sup>118</sup> *Silk Road Strategy Act*, <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/s2749/text>.

<sup>119</sup> *Silk Road Strategy Act*, <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/s2749/text>.



interventions, sometimes made in a region, seem to have created inhuman situations on the contrary.

For example, the SRS is against Moscow and to prevent the former Soviet republics from forming political and military co-operation ties with China, Russia and Iran in the new world order.<sup>120</sup> In this respect, the formation of the GUAM<sup>121</sup>, which was established in 1997, is aimed at integrating the former Soviet republics into the military cooperation agreements with the US and NATO. In this way, these countries would be blocked again in creating ties with the Russian Federation. Thus, it seems that the new world order theory developed in this way, in practice, is more under the SRS Declaration of 1999 than it is concerned with the South Caucasus and Turkistan countries. Nevertheless, it can be said that the SRS theory has raised some of the above countries' standard of living after Soviet. Whatever the case, we think that it is inevitable for global strategies to produce policies that fulfill their very valuable functions.

The United States did not primarily deal with the Turkestan region in the first years following the collapse of the Soviet Union, while producing very good political instruments with the SRS after 1999. It was seen that during the 1990s, the Gulf wars that emerged with the invasion of Kuwait of Iraq and the events of Bosnia and Kosovo would lead to lethal consequences. While Washington was busy with these

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<sup>120</sup> M. Chossudovsky, *America's War on Terrorism*, Global Research, Quebec 2005, p. 69.

<sup>121</sup> GUAM was born as a regional alliance by Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova, and became a GUUAM with the participation of Uzbekistan (Uzbekistan) in the NATO summit in Washington in April 1999. Activation of TRACECA is one of its main objectives. See. B. Çörten, *Current Geopolitics of Black Sea*, Ankara University Printing House, Ankara 2009, p. 26

developments, the restructuring of NATO come to agenda again and Turkestan region fell to second place in terms of importance. However, Russia's efforts to increase its effectiveness with the "Near Neighborhood Doctrine" announced in 1993 made the geopolitics of the Caucasus and Turkistan a priority. The European Union's development of TRACECA<sup>122</sup> and INOGATE<sup>123</sup> projects, As China began to become active in the region, factors such as the growing interest of US-based oil companies in the region gradually increased the US interest in the region from the mid-1990s.<sup>124</sup>

In the Middle East, where USA has a great interest in Middle Eastern energy resources it has faced really serious and significant difficulties. By contrast, from the middle of the 1990s, the US has surprisingly turned towards interests in the Caucasus and Turkestan. The 1998 National Security Strategy is a document that emphasizes this issue: "A stable and affluent Caucasus and Central Asia will contribute to stability and security in a large region extending from the Mediterranean to China. and the Caucasus gas and oil reserves to be transferred to world markets with the enormous commercial participation of the United States. Countries in this region have reforms that must be carried out in a democratic and economic context. All of this is important for American interests. We provide billions of dollars to the region to reach these targets."<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> For further information see Transport Corridor Europe (Caucasus-Asia, TRACECA). E. Tutar, F. Tutar, M. V. Eren, *A New Opening in the International Transportation Corridor: TRACECA Project and Turkey*, "Journal of Legislation", Issue 139, [www.mevzuatdergisi.com](http://www.mevzuatdergisi.com), July 2009

<sup>123</sup> Interstate Oil and Gas Transport to Europe (INOGate).

<sup>124</sup> Interstate Oil and Gas Transport to Europe (INOGate).

<sup>125</sup> The White House, National Security Strategy for a New Century, Washington, October 1998, p. 39-41

Theses about the filling of the gap that the Soviets caused in the Turkestan region were put forward by the USA. Those who advocate these views wanted Turkey to be effective in these areas. It is true that Turkey, which is at the center of energy corridors, is one of the indispensable elements of geopolitical and geo-economic choice. But there were no giant examples of practical projects as Turkey had predicted by the USA. Since the 1990s, there has been no project equivalent to the US national security strategy document and the Silk Road Strategy. For this reason, the essence of the US Eurasian policy<sup>126</sup> is checking energy corridors and US is seen as a distraction policy to Turkey. Since the breakup of the Soviet Union, Turkey has made some extent from its hand, but did not confine itself to adapt to the current situation rather than develop alternative strategies to increase the activity in the Caucasus and Turkestan countries.<sup>127</sup> As it can be understood from this sentence, Turkey has been pioneering the realization of the East-West Energy Corridor, which aims to transport the large Caspian Basin hydrocarbon resources directly to Western markets and presented as the Silk Road of the 21st Century.<sup>128</sup> Despite everything, it can not be said that the US strategy can achieve the above-mentioned goals.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> A. Ergin, *Yeni Ipek yolu strategileri ve Transavasya güvenlik sistemi*, Tarih ve gelecek dergisi cilt :2 sayi:3 <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/263549> p. 17-20

<sup>127</sup> I. Kalaycı, *Maritime Trade and Global Financial Crisis: New Strategies for Turkey in the Silk Road*, Eurasia Survey Silk Road Special Issue, Hangar Marka İletişim Reklam Hizmetleri Publishing Ltd. Şti., Ankara 2014/1, p. 87-122

<sup>128</sup> On 16 June 2006, Kazakhstan officially participated in the Baku Tbilisi Ceyhan oil pipeline project. See. T. C. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, January 2009, p. 2.

<sup>129</sup> In this process, for example, Kyrgyzstan formed an alliance with Moscow. In 2005, Uzbekistan leader Kerimov banned the activities of

## Conclusion

In this study, Modern Silk Road strategies were examined within the framework of Trans-Eurasian security systems. Under this subheading of working for this purpose The United States, the EU and China have been dealing with the new Silk Road strategies. Thinking about the unidirectional shape of the 21st Century within the time frame since the 1990s, producing strategies for the New World Order has become absolutely necessary for the countries. On the one hand, as the Soviet World collapses, the countries in the vast geographies of the independent and historical Silk Road are as evident as they face the most severe economic, political and social problems in keeping up with the New World Order and finding themselves in a desperate situation. In this process, even when Russia and China are shaken, it turns out that the New Silk Road is needed more than ever to ensure the economic integration of the countries with the west. In this context, transit corridors should be improved with infrastructure investments. Railway investment should be made to the countries of the region, especially Afghanistan. Logistics centers need to be built in the corridor of Silk Road. In order to develop transport networks in the Central Asian region, a holistic constructive perspective is needed of all relevant

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the SOROS Foundation in his country. Upon this development, the US announced that it stopped the economic aid that Uzbekistan had done every year. Uzbekistan went to military and economic co-operation with the Russian Federation against the behavior of the United States (Kodaman-Birsel, 2006, 433). As a result of these developments, the Eurasian Economic Union, established in May 2014, is a member of Russia, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan by 2015. The Union foresaw free movement of goods, services and capital in a 170 million- Turkic-Weekly-8-Turkish, p. 3, [accessed: 16.08.2015]

countries. Turkey can play a leading role in bringing the relevant Central Asian countries together. With the development of the Silk Road economies, it will appear that the problem of underdevelopment and poverty in the world economy will be reduced and this will help to overcome economic poverty in the backward regions of the world.

The new Silk Road Project is very closely related to China. However, China's growing economic power is creating security concern in the countries on the belt. That is why they must doubt the fact that many of the countries that lived under the economic pressure of China in the historical past have repeated it. It is still being debated whether Russia, which was originally unrecognized in the project, would last until the end of its alliance with China. The way the US views the administrations on the Silk Road will be determined by certain parameters. Among these variables are the attitude of Russia in the region, the future of the Sino-Russian strategic alliance, and the level of integration of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. One of the important transit centers of the historical Silk Road was Turkey. Turkey has the necessary infrastructure and conditions to cooperate with China. The railway line starting from China and reaching to Europe through Turkey is a very preferable project.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> A. Ergin, *Yeni Ipek yolu strategileri ve Transavasya güvenlik sistemi*, Tarih ve gelecek dergisi cilt :2 sayi:3 <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/263549> pp. 22-3

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