論文名稱:上海合作組織之研究

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論文提要內容:

蘇聯解體後,中亞地區出現哈薩克斯坦、烏茲別克斯坦、吉爾吉斯坦、塔吉克斯坦與土庫曼斯坦五個新興國家。中亞不但擁有豐富的自然資源及重要的地緣戰略位置,傳統上屬於俄羅斯勢力範圍的地區,並與中國這個崛起中的國際強權爲鄰,這樣一個特殊的地區,自然吸引各種國際勢力競相進入。911事件後,美國軍事力量正式進駐中亞,使其得以牽制俄羅斯與中國,中亞地區再次成爲國際政治中的焦點。

上海合作組織是一個成立於 2001 年新興的國際組織,成員國涵括中國、俄羅斯、哈薩克、烏茲別克、吉爾吉、塔吉克。本文透過「地緣政治研究途徑」,來觀察上海合作組織的發展過程與前景,911 事件後中亞地區情勢的變化,以及美國駐軍中亞對於上海合作組織發展的影響。

首先,本文說明上海合作組織的發展過程,以觀察各成員國爲解決共同問題的實際運作情形,以及介紹上海合作組織的組織結構。同時,探討上海合作組織的合作基礎,說明上海合作組織的成立是各國間基於共同利益與解決共同問題所形成的結果,並進一步分析各成員國自身加入上海合作組織的地緣政治考量。

其次,本文討論極端主義在中亞發展的情形,藉此探討上海合作組織中亞地區成員國之間的內部關係,以及對上海合作組織發展的影響。上海合作組織成立的首要目標是要打擊中亞的極端主義,以維護中亞地區的穩定。

最後,本文說明美國中亞政策的演變,討論 911 事件後美國駐軍中亞的地緣 戰略意涵,及其對中國和俄羅斯的衝擊,最後探討 911 事件對上海合作組織的發 展及中亞情勢的影響。

本文認為:冷戰後,中亞地區在全球地緣戰略格局中的地位顯著上升,成為國際強權爭奪的場域,中國與俄羅斯成立上海合作組織的目的,是為追求在中亞地區中取得優勢地位,911事件後美國駐軍中亞,影響了上海合作組織的發展。911事件後,俄羅斯、中國和美國以中亞地區為場景的地緣政治大競賽中,美國暫時取得優勢地位,俄羅斯將會後來居上,中國則必須繼續藉由上海合作組織加強與中亞國家的經濟與軍事合作,以維持在中亞地區的影響力。

關鍵字:上海合作組織、費爾加納山谷、911 事件、中亞、地緣政治

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## Abstract:

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, five new states emerged in Central Asia: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Adjacent to China and traditionally being viewed as part of Russia's sphere of influence, Central Asia not only has vast natural resources, but also occupies important geostrategic position, which lures the international powers to engage in the area's affairs. In the aftermath of the 9/11 event, the U.S. acquired the opportunity to deploy their military in Central Asia. By means of military presence, the U.S. found the way to counteract the influence of Russia and China in Central Asia. Consequently, Central Asia has become the focus of international politics.

Applying a geopolitical approach to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) established by China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan in 2001, the thesis examines the origins and prospects of the SCO, analyzes the variation of geostrategic situation in Central Asia, and discusses how the U.S. military presence in Central Asia has influenced the development of the SCO.

After the end of the Cold War, post-Soviet Central Asia has played a significant role in the global geostrategic maneuver. The motive of China and Russia to initiate the formation of the SCO in 2001 is to seek their predominance in Central Asia. After the 9/11 event, the U.S. military presence in Central Asia has indeed affected the development of the SCO. China, Russia and the U.S. are the three main actors of the New Great Game in Central Asia. The results of the ongoing New Great Game are as follows: The U.S. temporarily stands on a vantage point. Russia takes the second place and tries to catch up by controlling the CIS Collective Security Treaty Organization. China still strives to maintain its influence in Central Asia by enhancing the economic and political ties with Central Asian countries through the SCO.