

**Shanghai Cooperation
Organization (SCO):
Opportunities for Pakistan**

NUST Journal of International
Peace & Stability
2019, Vol. II (1) Pages 15-26
njips.nust.edu.pk

Sarwat Rauf¹**Abstract**

Pakistan's inclusion in Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is optimistically seen as a turning point in the changing geopolitical landscape of the Eurasian belt, as well as bringing new opportunities for Pakistan. This paper explores the prospects of economic development and political cooperation that Pakistan's membership of SCO offers. The practice of multilateral diplomacy has helped in mitigating regional tensions and augmenting collaboration in the world history, therefore, the paper explores the possibilities of SCO as the best multilateral forum for Pakistan. Although SCO is perceived as an anti-Western alliance, its extended membership is building on the allies (old and new) of the US, particularly inclusion of India and Pakistan is challenging the stance. Moreover, SCO has shunned the notion of anti-Western outlook and the widespread perception to balance out the supremacy of US at the regional, as well as global level. Even so, SCO is catering all prerequisites of the collaboration of regional actors in Central and South Asia and furthering cooperation in the economic field. In this setting, the paper is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the analytical framework of new regionalism in South and Central Asia. The second part examines core factors that have led to the extension of the SCO. Finally, the paper evaluates the impact of the extension of the SCO on Pakistan. The study concludes that notwithstanding challenges, the SCO provides opportunities for economic development and political cooperation between states.

Keywords

Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), development opportunities, Central Asia, South Asia

Introduction

Political and security developments in Pakistan have been of great interest since 2015 because of the fast track implementation of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The period from 2013 to 2018 has been decisive for Pakistan because of the cascading effects of growing interdependence and regional transformation. The interdependence has not only brought changes in Pakistan's foreign policy but its domestic politics has also been modified. Pakistan is an important stakeholder of regional security and integration, therefore, its national level renewal is dependent on regional development and the crucial regional alignment. The SCO has plans to improve connectivity between its member states and same is the purpose of CPEC.

¹ *Sarwat Rauf* (PhD) is an Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations, National University of Modern Languages (NUML), Islamabad, Pakistan.
E-mail: srauf@numl.edu.pk

Presently CPEC is being considered as the opportunity of economic development for Pakistan. However, severe security challenges seem to curb economic activities. In this regard, SCO can prove to be instrumental in improving the security situation in Pakistan, precisely in eliminating networks of terrorists.

The SCO encourages its member states to establish an economic order; it ensures security and lays emphasis on the promotion of peace. However, some political analysts have compared SCO with the Warsaw Pact and predicted that SCO will turn into a counterbalance to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (Haas, 2007; Daukeev, 2011). Therefore, this is regarded as a beginning of a new Eastern Bloc (Haas, 2007). Peter Brooks of the heritage foundation asserted that Russia may be looking to create a new and improved Asian Warsaw Pact, wielding large armies, big economies, nukes and lot of oil and gas (Brooks, 2013). Contrary to the Western views, the policymakers of SCO and analysts of member states, especially in China and Russia have stressed that SCO is not a military alliance; particularly membership of Pakistan and India has validated that even allies of US (old and new) are in it. They counteracted that this organization is not working against any state and this alliance is only curbing three problematic issues namely terrorism, separatism and extremism. A Russian intellectual Alexander Lukin stated that attempts to turn this organization into an anti-Western or anti-US bloc are doomed to fail because this would contradict the fundamental interests of its members who are interested in cooperating with the West in many areas (Swanström, 2012). So the purpose of this alliance is not to create an anti-American bloc, nevertheless, it aims to increase regional collaboration. A leading authority of Central Asian affairs asserted that over the years SCO has tried to contribute to regional peace and stability (Song, 2016).

Keeping in view it's economic and security strengths, it is plausible that SCO can help Pakistan in reducing border tensions and zone of peace will be extended to South and Central Asia. Pakistan has made achievement in mitigating interstate skirmishes since the joining of SCO such as the opening of Kartarpur border (Narowal district) between India and Pakistan (Dawn, 2018). Thus, the study underlines the advantages of joining SCO for Pakistan. Generally, small states are compelled to cooperate with external powers for certain reasons of communication, development, security and technology (Eder, 2001). The underpinning idea is that regional security cooperation has brought medium and great powers together on the platforms of collaboration. It intends to explore China, Russia and Central Asian state's efforts of regionalization and impending opportunities for Pakistan.

The SCO charter and public statements repeatedly accentuate that this organization respects its members' sovereignty and rejects interference in their domestic affairs (Cooley, 2012). This paper examines the factors fostering SCO and it endeavors to find the relevance of model (China-Russia intimacy) with Pakistan and India for the settlement of bilateral issues. It also evaluates the strengths of the SCO signaling strong economic bonds in future. Nevertheless, this paper revolves around the questions; why is SCO so important for Pakistan and to what extent this foreshadows benefits for Pakistan? To answer these questions, an attempt has been made to prove SCO as an instrument of the improvement of relations between antagonist states by providing them with a political and economic platform.

The Concept of New Regionalism

Since the end of the World War II, the formation of regional organizations for security drives has been increased worldwide (Bailes, 2007). Currently, regional organizations are equally important for small and great powers and do have strengths and weaknesses. A number of related theoretical viewpoints are needed for understanding the intricacies of present-day regionalism. The new regional approach is featured in neo-realist and liberal institutionalist paradigm. Liberal institutionalists believe that maintaining mutual benefit and promoting cooperation among state is vital, whereas neo-realists consider state interests determine the decision whether states compete or cooperate (Baylis, 2001). Liberal institutionalists recognize the anarchic system, the primacy of military power and the importance of states' interests. They contend that organizations are scaffolding cooperation, which cognize the security competition between states and endorse peace and stability (Baylis, 2001; Burchill, 2005). Furthermore, they assert that organizations provide security related information to states so that they can reduce uncertainty and other risks that could emerge out of anarchy (Bayeh, 2014). This discourse helps to understand the role of SCO in mitigating tensions between (rival) member states.

Under the light of a new regionalism approach, the empirical factors of the formation of SCO are explained with the key assumption that a hegemon power has included weak (relatively) powers in an alliance for the sake of influence (Gordetsky, 2003) whereas in response to the proximity of hegemonic power, the smaller states have tried to adopt balancing strategies in regional formats (Allison, 2004). The partnership of China, Russia, Central Asian Republics (CARs) and Pakistan set in new regionalism in South and Central Asia where China appears as a leading state. The new regionalism approach helps in understanding regional integration of Asian states; it focuses on exogenous features influencing other states' policies. It also expounds that once a great power joins in regional integration, it changes the influence procedure and growth of integration. Besides, the integration process causes other states to change their response strategies and their interaction with each other (Sanaei, 2011).

In the given context, it is evident that a regional hegemon is important for the process of regionalization. Major organizations are exhibiting the control of hegemons, such as Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC), and North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in which Indonesia, India and USA are dominant, respectively. Similarly, SCO exhibits China's supremacy in SCO in which its bordering states are members. SCO has featured some tenets that differentiated it from other (mostly Western lead) multilateral organizations and caused its popularity. Russia and China have successfully coped with diverging interests in the region and they not only coexist but encourage other member states to cooperate. The extension of SCO and the consequent response strategies of other states indicate upcoming prosperity to Pakistan as it is opening up new avenues of economic cooperation and frequent trade with Central and South Asian states.

The collaboration of Russia and China, in SCO, is certifying the principle that great powers' presence is important factor for regional integration where other states are ready to cooperate with them. Push and pull factors are dominating features of SCO and all neighboring countries have learnt to operate in an integrated system for example, despite difficulties Central Asian states are surviving with new

members. The Central Asian region has been used as a hunting ground for geopolitical influence by regional and global players (Laruelle, 2010); however, regional prosperity and integration were largely ignored before the disintegration of Soviet Union.

In the early 1990s, Moscow and Beijing had developed congenial relations as they realized the need of teamwork would be the solution of regional tensions. China used cooperative means (trade) and brought other states in its influence peacefully. Before the 1990s, the two regional giants, China and the Soviet Union, were indulged in hostile relations; however, gradual understanding of the regional complexities drove two nations closer to each other. Both states along with the heads of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, signed the treaty of 'Deepening Military Trust in Border Regions' in 1996 and balanced settings in the region appeared (Weiqing, 2016). Thus, in 1996, *Shanghai Five* provided an ideal vehicle to accomplish the goal of regional stability which later on turned into SCO. In April 1997, these states signed the treaty on the reduction of 'Military Force in Border Regions' and subsequently annual summits of the *Shanghai Five* occurred in the capitals of Kazakhstan (1998), Kyrgyzstan (1999) and Tajikistan (2000) (Xiangyang, 2005). In 2001, the annual summit was held in Shanghai (China), and the organization named 'Shanghai Cooperation Organization' was formed, with the inclusion of Uzbekistan. Hence, an informal border settlement mechanism upgraded as a formal regional organization (Weiqing, 2016). In June 2002, the charter of SCO was signed which expounded the organization's purposes, structure and principles.

Subsequently, China and Russia moved to gradual improvement in their relations and finally entered into a strategic partnership. It continued to expand physically and the inclusion of other countries, observers, guests and permanent members made it a huge organization. Overall, SCO offers a platform from which the complexity of relations and existing conflicts of South and Central Asian states can be settled down, under the leadership of Russia and China. Therefore, it is anticipated that SCO will be helping in reducing tensions between Afghanistan, Pakistan and India.

Peaceful Coexistence with Divergences

Member states of SCO belong to different cultures and religions (Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism) but the geographical linkages are binding them together. However, CARs are entrapped in internal issues such as the agitation developed in Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan because of the political, socio-economic glitches, the horrors of civil war in Tajikistan and dreads of post-revolution in Kyrgyzstan are alive in the minds of neighboring nations. Similarly, Pakistan thirsts for energy as its economic development is dependent on continuous energy supply. Hence, pull factors have converged all regional powers and it steered Pakistan and CARs together to harmonize their interests as a solution to their problems. Despite the inter-state conflicts, member states agreed that enlargement of the SCO can prove to be fortunate for them. Furthering this argument, the Indian External Affairs Minister, Salman Khurshid, stated that it is an assured conviction that an expanded SCO will be more effective body to address the numerous security and developmental challenges that our region faces (Jha, 2015).

The SCO member states are subsisting with huge dissimilarities as they are followers of different religions, Orthodox Christianity, Islam, Hindu, Buddhist, yet

coexisting for economic betterment. Undoubtedly, common security concerns brought these countries together, common threat perception had steered Russia and China on a podium and now SCO unites countries with straying agendas. Moreover, *Shanghai spirit* is the underpinning of SCO, characterized by 5Cs namely 'Cooperation', 'Confidence', 'Coexistence', 'Communication' and 'Common interests' (Kavalski, 2016). The organization seeks shared interests resulting in all members benefiting from it. The rapid development of SCO attests to the fact that cooperation among countries can transcend differences in ideology, values and different geopolitical understanding (Xiangyang, 2005).

Indeed, SCO has become an attractive platform for regional states as several countries have applied for its membership. The organization, after giving full membership to both Pakistan and India in 2017, is embarking on a new journey towards common security, shared prosperity and now representing the largest part of the world (Bedeski, 2012). It is not only focused on fighting the three major previously identified issues of terrorism, extremism, and separatism but shaping a web of regional affluence has become its directive. The presence of major and regional powers along with Central Asian countries, indicate the prominence of regional cooperation, which is essential to the growth and development of the region.

Nevertheless, the inescapable competition has converted into the contribution of states in regional economic growth. The proactive role of patron states has made this organization an Asian titanic. The vast energy resources in the region naturally make the SCO an important organ to procure the world energy economy; considering Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan are energy rich states. Although Uzbekistan is not to the whims of oil and gas market, its natural gas exports are balanced in comparison to Turkmenistan's. For instance, 1.5 billion cubic meters gas is going to Kazakhstan, 5 billion cubic meters gas is for Russia, and 4.3 billion cubic meters is being transported to China (Putz, 2017). The resource rich Central Asia is not only advantageous for China but for the other members of SCO. Members can get a chance to expand their businesses as Business Council of SCO is a good centre for the member states. In addition, Interbank Consortium of SCO has allotted 80 billion USD and 114 billion Yuan (equal to 17.81 billion USD) for carrying out development projects in the member states of SCO (Asia Plus, 2017). However, the geographical positioning of Afghanistan between South and Central Asia is perturbing the economies and hampering trade.

Despite the fact that Afghanistan has always remained as an insulator between South Asia and Central Asia, China is making distinct efforts to keep Afghanistan into the limelight. The reason can be the fact that China seeks cooperation of member states to not sponsor separatist groups in China (Kavalski, 2016). Evidently, Afghanistan's observer status in SCO and at the same time in Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), shows Russian-Chinese endeavors to indulge locals in concrete solutions.

Regional Peace and Connectivity

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, China quickly recognized CARs. It was largely due to its shared borders with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. China's arrangements were primarily security driven and resulted in the normalization of relations with newly emerged neighboring states. Beijing was of the view that engaging Moscow would be substantially fruitful and it will facilitate negotiations

with Central Asian states. In the early years of independence of CARs, Beijing was actively involved in increasing its presence in the region because it wanted to make CARs a counter-balance to both Russia and US (Olcott, 2005). From the Strategic point of view, the engagements between China and CARs have expanded rapidly and made a neighborhood, Pakistan and India, convinced that Beijing seeks a region of peace and prosperity and harmony of interests.

Energy cooperation is the linchpin of China-CARs and Pakistan-CARs relations, China has completed the construction of important pipelines to transport Central Asia's resources eastward (Hanks, 2010) and Pakistan has signed several energy projects with CARs (Sadat, 2015). So far, China is the most powerful and active country in the SCO and have potential to shape, indirectly, the domestic policies of the whole Central Asian Region and helping bringing them close to South Asian nations. Although, Moscow desires to exercise its traditional influence through the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and CSTO of which China is not a member. However, CSTO and SCO have agreed to cooperate (Dermott, 2007). In addition, CIS is also a guest attendee of the SCO which represents harmonious setting.

In short, both states have realized that the collaboration is the only way to settle down issues and materialize their desired objectives in the region. Beijing and Moscow would like SCO to carry on monitoring and reviewing different ways, to defuse extremist activities and to increase economic interaction. For example, two projects of Pakistan and CARs exist in blueprint, 'Central Asia, South Asia 1000' (CASA-1000) electricity transmission line with Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India (TAPI) gas pipeline project with Turkmenistan. Both projects were expected to begin, however both face challenges and have already delayed their work for years because of lack of security. Stakeholders are skeptical that in the absence of security, such expensive projects would be taken hostage by militants for ransom (Sadat, 2015). In such circumstances, China, in order to ensure the security and stability, took a great leap westward and all relatively weak bordering states have become members of the SCO as it functions for making a secure region.

Pakistan is facing a number of challenges at national, regional and global levels, and membership of SCO can prove to be helpful in resolving the issues. Islamabad and Moscow are visibly becoming close to each other. In 2017, the meeting between Pakistan's Prime Minister (former) Shahid Khaqan Abbasi and his Russian counter-part on the side-lines meeting of SCO pronounced their contentment with the start of bilateral relations and cooperation (Zeb, 2018). From this vantage, Pakistan can convince more and more states to support Islamabad's stance on membership in the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) can be raised (Zeb, 2018), grievances with Afghanistan and Kashmir dispute can also be discussed. This affiliation will make more opportunities for Pakistan to expand its relations with other SCO members, observers and guest members during their head of states, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister level meetings.

Risks and Opportunities for Pakistan

SCO can be a helpful forum for Pakistan; however, several glitches are attached to it which will be discussed in this section. Full membership of the SCO was a long-time desire of Pakistan, it has been the observer member of SCO since 2002 and after fifteen years the country was granted the memberships of the organization. Pakistan

and India, as observer members of the SCO, had participated in security cooperation and upheld the *Shanghai Spirit* which emphasizes on mutual trust, equality, common development and respect for cultural diversity (Xiaoqiang, 2018). The extension in the membership of the SCO marks the regional growth as SCO had long been centered only on Central Asia. Pakistan could not make significant economic ties with CARs in more than twenty five years as their economic activities remained halted due to the stubborn behavior of Afghanistan. Moreover, India is not willing to cooperate with Pakistan rather it is against the growing linkages of CARs with Pakistan. Notwithstanding some tensions, it is evident that in order to get connected with CARs, India cannot bypass Pakistan.

There is an anticipation of several rewards to the members of the SCO and so is for Pakistan. The full membership of SCO provides the opportunity to work together and increase bilateral as well as multilateral trade. Especially after the completion of the CPEC, it would be practicable to increase the volume of trade. Therefore, new opportunities for businesses and economic development are expected for Pakistan. Certainly, SCO is a solution to the energy crisis of Pakistan as SCO is distinctive in holding together energy producers including Kazakhstan, Russia, Iran and Uzbekistan as well as energy consumer states such as China, Pakistan and India. Pakistan would be able to establish close relations with ‘SCO Energy Club’ (Haas, 2010) and it can control energy deficit. Hence, while working together with energy producers and consumer, Pakistan would be able to learn to manage its resources and ensure sustainable development.

Access to Central Asian markets would be easy for Pakistan and the frequency of import and export will increase. Pakistan already has bilateral ties with CARs and full membership of the SCO will be helpful for Pakistan to enhance its relations, it will enable Pakistan to strengthen its trade. Pakistan is also a member of the Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation (CAREC) (Nakao, 2017), however unfortunately, this forum is thriving on the functions of Karachi and Gwadar port but geographical constraints halted direct linkage of CARs with Pakistan. Since Gwadar port is functional, Pakistan can persuade all members of the SCO to join CPEC and become part of international trade through the sea. Furthermore, Pakistan’s several connectivity projects with CARs such as CASA 1000 and CPEC are irksome for India, however networking through the SCO will reduce hostility in relations owing to the common friends in the alliance.

The SCO has twofold meanings; first, to attain economic advantages, second, to strengthen security. The alliance, regarded as the handy diplomatic lubricant (Berry, 2007), can steer states on one page. Hence, SCO membership can bring Pakistan and India closer and their long-standing issues can be settled down with the help of their cohorts. The 18th SCO summit took place in June 2018 in Qingdao (China) where leaders of the two states—Pakistan and India—sat together and important issues, including peace in Afghanistan, were discussed. Earlier, foreign ministers of the two states met in Foreign Ministers’ meeting of SCO (held in April 2018). Under the auspices of SCO, there was a joined military drill in September 2018, to dismantle terror networks. This was the first military exercise in which both Pakistan and India participated (Hali, 2018). Although, the combatants of the two states work together under the aegis of United Nations Peacekeeping Forces (UNPF), however, for the first time they engaged together in a counter-terrorism exercise (Sengupta, 2018).

Pakistan and India have joined such a platform where, unlike South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), they are not two dominant poles rather they are working with other powers. Thus, SCO membership can soothe tension between India and Pakistan; both get an opportunity to sit together under one roof for the solution of regional problems. Projects of mutual benefits will fascinate both the states to conciliate such as TAPI which is equally beneficial for Pakistan and India. Moreover, this situation possibly can spur cooperation and both states may be ready in future to restart Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI). These projects are central to regional development and can be helpful in knitting ties. Most likely China and Russia's influence on Pakistan and India can help to improve their relations as India is the importer of Russia's military hardware and Pakistan is a close ally of China.

Apparently, military exercises may not be taken seriously in academia; however, these can be expected to be building confidence and trust among the partaker states (seen as an important part of confidence-building measures). This will be promoting companionship between the soldiers of two nations. Such pieces of training may also be helpful in promoting and projecting soft power between India and Pakistan.

Some of the principals of the SCO are exemplary such as respect of sovereignty and non-interference of states in internal matters (Song, 2016). This will help Pakistan to seek the assistance of other member states and no country will interfere in each other's internal matters. The organization has remained active in directing its members not to intervene in internal policies of other member states. Instead of the critical evaluations of other states matters, the organization should help other governments. All key documents of the SCO, including the charter of the organization, focus on the rule of non-interference.

To deal with the issue of extremism, terrorism and separatism, member states are very conscience. Extremism itself is a vague term and it needs to be wisely handled. For pragmatic cooperation, fighting against terrorism, separatism and extremism is an important objective of the organization. The focus of SCO is on increased military support, intelligence sharing and counterterrorism exercises, it is poised to play a significant role in international efforts to curb terrorist activities. Pakistan along with CARs, at a definite point, may want to retain the Islamic practices for nation-building purposes which are internally important. Nevertheless, some leading experts in Russia and China have articulated unconventional views considering the SCO would be more effective because its roots are in Central Asia and the influence of the organization will increase with the participation of new states in SCO (Torkunov, 2006). Russia and China are skeptical about taking any position that equates Islamic practices with extremism and even not too assertive. However, all the member states are concerned because of the issue of separatism in their border areas and members have high hopes that SCO would promote security and stabilization in a partnership against terrorism, separatism, and extremism.

The new membership of the bordering countries of Afghanistan may be helpful to settle down the problem of terrorism in the region. The SCO members are determined to turn Afghanistan into a genuinely peaceful state as they are currently stakeholder of it. All stakeholders are ready to hold talks for finding peaceful solutions in war-ridden Afghanistan. Peace in Afghanistan is the key to development in the region because terrorist organizations, such as ISIS, are trying to set its feet in Afghanistan which is dangerous for world peace. The organization ensures sending

strong warnings to extremist elements in Central Asian states, China and Russia. The dire need of the hour is to make states to collaborate for the exchange of information to counter the threat of ISIS in any country of Central and South Asia.

Pakistan's accessions to the SCO will strengthen its ties to China, Russia, CARs and South Asian states. In terms of energy trade, Pakistan is important for the other South Asian States as for imports of gas from Iran and Turkmenistan can be transported through a pipeline across Pakistan. Apparently, there will be no overt opposition by Russia against such a route but Moscow's fears about new South Asian members will be a concern for it and other members of the SCO.

Conclusion

The formation of the SCO has proven that a strategic and financial rapprochement is possible between opposite poles. Moscow and Beijing have extended bilateral trade and negotiated arrangements in the field of energy, with members of SCO and their relations, have appeared to be frequently on a winning streak. The inclusion of India and Pakistan envisages regional stability. Despite many obstacles, SCO is growing efficiently because it negotiates issues whilst hampering regional development. The organization is considerably influential in the region, as it bolsters the capacity of neighboring countries of Afghanistan to defend their borders. Since, the main efficient area of the organization is security that is to fight against three evils, terrorism, extremism and separatism; it would help Pakistan in its ongoing efforts to eliminate terrorist structures. For Pakistan, the underlying cause of becoming a full member of SCO was the security and protection of CPEC.

The organization is a model for Pakistan and India as it exemplifies a unique reconciling model of Chinese-Russian relations with a positive indication of continuous decline in antagonistic gestures between these two powers. Pakistan can use this platform to address its issues with India, conflict prevention and initiation of pacific dialogue among its member states is also anticipated. Since SCO has offered opportunities to Pakistan to strengthen its trade relations with Eurasian countries, it must harness its business community. Moreover, in order to ensure regional peace and stability, a proactive role of SCO is indispensable in Afghanistan. India and Pakistan must understand that this alliance is an opportunity for them as the SCO is not directed against any area but a network to settle conflicts and promote peace within the region.

The local governments of the members of SCO have been keen to get the economic advantages and to ensure peace in the region. The SCO has strong potential to function as a vehicle for building the economies of CARs and to take along them into the global showground through Pakistan. It is therefore regarded as a network for the promotion of peace and stability within the region. It can be anticipated that the signing of commercial/ energy projects with CARs, tensions between India and Pakistan will be mitigated as both are stakeholders. With the growing interaction of the leaders of SCO member states, prospects of mutual collaboration and harmony of interests have been increased. Pakistan should take SCO as a valuable forum to resolve energy crisis as some energy projects are already started under CPEC. Undoubtedly, it is a platform for Pakistan to address its issues to mitigate its adversarial relations with neighboring countries. Pakistan's direct interaction with Russia and China, India and Central Asian states will open new opportunities for economic development. However, India and Afghanistan should join peace talks to

attain common objectives. Pakistan must seize this moment to address its challenges as all the members are ready to cooperate. The greater consensus is direly needed to earn profits as lots of benefits can be achieved through prudent policies and utilization of the organization's mandate.

References

- Allison, R. (2004). Regional Structures and Security Management in Central Asia. *International Affairs*. Retrieved from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2004.00393.x>
- Bailes, A. (2007). Regional Security Cooperation, *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute*. Retrieved from www.sipri.org/yearbook/2007/files/SIPRIB0704.pdf
- Bayeh, E. (2014) Theories on the Role of International Organizations in Maintaining Peace and Security. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development*,1(7), 347-350
- Baylis, S. (2001). International and Global Security in the Post-Cold War Era. In *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bedeski, R. & Swanstorm, N. (2012). *Eurasia's Ascent in Energy and Geopolitics: Rivalry or Partnership for China, Russia and Central Asia?* London: Routledge.
- Berry, V. R. (2007). New Power Politics in Asia: Briefing Note On The Shanghai Cooperation Organization. *Global South*. Retrieved from <https://focusweb.org/content/new-power-politics-asia-briefing-note-shanghai-cooperation-organization>
- Brooks, P. (2013). Club for Dictators. *Military*. Retrieved from <http://www.military.com/opinion/0,15202,100702,00.html>
- Burchill, S. (2005). Liberalism. In *Theories of International Relations*, Burchill, et al., Macmillan: Palgrave.
- Cooley, A. (2012). *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dauekeev, B. T. (2011). *Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a Counterbalance against the United State*. Master's thesis, Institute of Oriental Studies, Wright State University, Dayton,OH). Retrieved from https://corescholar.libraries.wright.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1914&context=etd_all
- Dermott, R. M. (2007). Kazakhstan Notes Afghanistan's Emerging Security Agenda. *Eurasia Daily Monitor*. Retrieved from <https://jamestown.org/program/kazakhstan-notes-afghanistans-emerging-security-agenda/>
- Eder, S. M. (2001). *New Regionalism and Increasing Cost of Integration*. Retrieved from www.victoria.ac.nz/.../Regionalism-and-NZ-choices-SBP-Vol7-P2-Jun20.
- Gordetsky, G. (2003). *Russia between East and West: Russian Foreign Policy on the Threshold of the 21st Century*. London: Frank Cass.

- Haas, M. D. (2007). The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Towards a Full-Grown Security Alliance. *Netherlands Institute of International Relations*. Retrieved from www.clingendael.nl/.../2007/20071100_cscp_security_paper_3.pdf.
- Haas, M. D. (2010). *Russia's Foreign Security Policy in the 21st Century: Putin, Medvedev and Beyond*. London: Routledge.
- Hali, S. (2018). Peace Mission 2018 bringing Antagonists Together. *Daily Times*. Retrieved from <https://dailytimes.com.pk/291048/peace-mission-2018-bringing-antagonists-together/>
- Hanks, R. R. (2010). *Global Security Watch-Central Asia*. Santa Barbara: Greenwood Publishing.
- Huisken, R. (2009). *The Architecture of Security in the Asia-Pacific*. Canberra: Australian National University.
- DAWN. (2018). Indian gov't decision to open Kartarpur crossing is 'victory of peace': Information Minister. *DAWN*. Retrieved from <https://www.dawn.com/news/1447016>
- Jha, D. S. (2015). *Transitions and Interdependence: India and its Neighbours*. New Delhi: KW Publishers.
- Kavalski, E. (2016). *China and the Global Politics of Regionalization*. New York: Routledge.
- Laruelle, M. (2010). *India and China in Central Asia: Mirroring their Bilateral Relations*'' *China and India in Central Asia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nakao, T. (2017). New Era of Cooperation for Central Asia. *The Express Tribune*. Retrieved from <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1543107/6-new-era-cooperation-central-asia/>
- Olcott, M. B. (2005). *Central Asia's Second Chance*,. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Putz, C. (2017). Energy in Central Asia: Who Has What? *The Diplomat*. Retrieved from <https://thediplomat.com/2017/06/energy-in-central-asia-who-has-what/>
- Rugenstein, A. Z. (1995). *Regional Power Rivalries in the New Eurasia: Russia, Turkey, and Iran*. New York: M. E Sharpe.
- Sadat, S. M. (2015). TAPI and CASA-1000: Win-Win Trade between Central Asia and South Asia. *Norwegian Institute of International Affairs: OSCE Academy*. Retrieved from http://www.osce-academy.net/upload/file/Policy_Brief_25.pdf
- Sanaei, M. (2011). China, Iran, Russia and New Regionalism. *Iran Review*. Retrieved from www.iranreview.org/content/Documents/China_Iran_Russia_and_New_Regionalism.htm
- Sengupta, R. (2018). India-Pak joint exercise to create history. *The New Indian Express*. Retrieved from <http://www.newindianexpress.com/thesundaystandard/2018/may/05/india-pak-joint-exercise-to-create-history-1810743.html>.
- Shen, S. (2007). *China and Anti-terrorism*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- Song, W. (2016). *China's Approach to Central Asia: The Shanghai Co-operation Organization*. New York: Routledge.
- Swanström, R. B. (2012). *Eurasia's Ascent in Energy and Geopolitics: Rivalry or Partnership for China, Russia and Central Asia*. New York: Routledge.

- Tanrisever, O. F. (2013). *Afghanistan and Central Asia: NATO's Role in Regional Security Since 9/11*. Amsterdam: IOS Press.
- Torkunov, A. (2006). Groundwork for the Future. *International Affairs: Moscow*.
- Weiqing, S. (2016). *China's Approach to Central Asia: The Shanghai Co-operation Organization*. New York: Routledge.
- Xiangyang, C. (2005). Evolution of SCO and its Future Prospects: The Emerging Asian Century. *Institute of Strategic Studies*.
- Xiaoqiang, F. (2018). SCO to boost mutual trust and benefit. *China Daily*. Retrieved from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201806/09/WS5b1b2fb9a31001b82571f112_2.html
- Zeb, R. (2018). Pakistan in the SCO: Challenges and Prospects. *The CACI Analyst*. Retrieved from <https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/13496-pakistan-in-the-sco-challenges-and-prospects.html>

