

BUILDING PEACE BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN: THE ROLE OF THE
SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION

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ABSTRACT

BUILDING PEACE BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN; THE ROLE OF THE SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION

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The Shanghai Cooperation Organization was created in 2001 in order to promote economic, security and political cooperation between the member states. Pakistan and India became observer states to the SCO as the most influential countries in South Asia and as nuclear powers. The relations between Pakistan and India are hostile since their birth, which led to wars, continuous arms race which caused a major threat to the regional peace. The most influential members of the SCO are China and Russia. While Pakistan has close relations with China, India has the same with Russia. In the recent SCO-BRICS joint Summit held in Ufa, Russia in July 2015, Pakistan and India have been recognized as permanent members of the SCO taking effect in 2016. This development increases the possibility of the SCO to play the role of an arbitrator between Pakistan and India and help resolving the frozen conflicts between them. This thesis aims to answer the following questions: Are terrorism, extremism and separatism joint threats to all the members of the SCO? Would it be possible to create a joint strategy to fight the current and the potential pressures? Can Russia and China bring India and Pakistan on the same page through the SCO's forum? Can joint economic motives and energy club within the SCO help Pakistan and India in maintaining peace? Will the SCO be able to overcome its current limitations and cope with the Western criticism?

Keywords: South Asia, Central Asia, Eurasia, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Peacekeeping.

ÖZ

HİNDİSTAN VE PAKİSTAN ARASINDAKİ BARIŞIN KORUNMASI: ŞANGAY İŞBİRLİĞİ ÖRGÜTÜNÜN ROLÜ

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Şangay İşbirliği Örgütü (ŞİÖ) üyeleri arasında ekonomik, güvenlik ve siyasi işbirliğini geliştirmek amacıyla 2001 yılında kuruldu. Pakistan ve Hindistan ŞİÖ'nün en önemli gözlemci devletleridir ve Güney Asya'nın nükleer silaha sahip en etkin aktörlerdir. Pakistan ve Hindistan arasındaki ilişkiler bu ülkelerin bağımsızlık yıllarından beri gergindir. İki ülke arasındaki sonu gelmeyen silahlanma bölgesel barışı tehdit etmektedir. Rusya ve Çin, ŞİÖ'nün en etkin aktörleridir. Pakistan'ın Çin ile yakın ilişkileri bulunurken; Hindistan ise Rusya ile iyi ilişkilere sahiptir. En son Temmuz 2015'te Rusya'nın Ufa şehrinde düzenlenen ŞİÖ-BRICS zirvesinde Hindistan ve Pakistan ŞİÖ'nin daimi üyeleri olarak tanınmıştır ve bu statü 2016'da etkinlik kazanacaktır. Bu son gelişme ŞİÖ'nün Pakistan ve Hindistan arasında etkin bir rol oynama ve devletler arasında var olan çatışmalara çözüm üretme ihtimalini arttırmaktadır. Bu tez aşağıdaki soruları yanıtlama eğilimindedir: Terörizm, radikalizm ve ayrılıkçılık ŞİÖ üyelerinin tümü için ortak tehditler midir? Var olan ve potansiyel baskılara karşın ortak bir strateji geliştirmek mümkün müdür? Rusya ve Çin, Pakistan ve Hindistan'ı ŞİÖ vasıtasıyla bir araya getirebilir mi? ŞİÖ içerisindeki ekonomik enerji işbirliği Hindistan ve Pakistan'ı bir araya getirebilir mi? ŞİÖ halihazırdaki sorunlarını aşabilecek mi ve Batıdan gelen eleştirilere çözüm bulabilecek mi?

Anahtar Kelimeler: Güney Asya, Orta Asya, Avrasya, Şangay İşbirliği Örgütü, Barışı Koruma.

To Ammi Abbu and my Late Brother Usman

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As George Bernard Shaw says “A happy family is but an earlier heaven.” I can never pay off the debt to my parents and siblings; I could achieve nothing without the love and support of my family. Last but not the least I am thankful to all my friends who always proved to be at my side in rainy days. Special thanks go to Ibrahim Muradov who helped me translating some particular parts of this thesis in Turkish Language.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
BRICS	Brazil Russia India China South Africa
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
RATS	Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure
USA	United States of America
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
USD	United States Dollar
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organization
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
ETIM	Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
MQM	Muttahida Qaumi Movement
TTP	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan
FATA	Federally Administrated Tribal Areas
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Asam
NSCN-U	Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland Unification

NSCN-IM	Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland -Isak-Muivah
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
IS	Islamic State
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
CNPC	China National Petroleum Corporation
IBA	Interbank Association
BOOT	Build Own Operate Transfer
ISAF	International Security Assistance Forces
IP GAS	Iran-Pakistan Gas pipeline
TAPI	Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–Pakistan–India Pipeline
FDCS	Federal Drug Control Service of Russia
BBC	The British Broadcasting Corporation
LOC	Line of Control
UN	United Nations
IWT	Indus Water Treaty
SAARC	South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation
UAE	United Arab Emirates
ETH Zurich	Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich
R2P	Right to Protect Doctrine

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

International politics had started changing when the World War I ended with the decline of the multipolar world order. The period after the World War II was very crucial; it witnessed the breakup of the major colonial empires and the emergence of the new sovereign countries on the political map of the world. A new realization emerged all over the world, and it was the realization of regionalism. Several regional security and economic alliances came into being with the establishment of the United Nations as the biggest international organization in terms of scope and membership. Nevertheless, the demise of the multipolar world order did not remove the threats to world peace. The United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the only superpowers in the world; both were in competition in every walk of life. This competition led to a deadly arms race and proxy wars; which were fought in different parts of the world and caused serious damage to humanity. The Cold War was not merely a rivalry of the powerful; rather it was a war between the ideologies of Capitalism and Socialism. Eventually, the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, which brought the Cold War to an end and the United States emerged as the sole super power.

There were two Socialist major powers located in the East, China and the USSR and their relations were not very pleasant from 1969 until 1991. The dissolution of the USSR gave birth to fifteen newly independent states. It was a critical time for China while dealing with the internal problem created by the Uyghur (Turkic Muslim) population which has a different religion as well as culture compared to the Han

Chinese people. Before 1991, China was sharing a major part of its borders with the Soviet Union (one country); however with the independence of Central Asian states new countries were added to the Chinese neighborhood. Although the Central Asian countries in Chinese neighborhood were secular, the majority of Muslim population was a reason of worry for China because the Uyghur population which is believed to be separatist by the Chinese establishment could get support and sympathies from the Central Asian Muslims.

In 1996 Shanghai Five was inaugurated as a security alliance between China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, three Central Asian countries. This alliance was shaped into the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in 2001 and Uzbekistan also became a member. Later Mongolia, Pakistan, India, Iran, Afghanistan and Belarus were recognized as observers while Turkey, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Cambodia, Azerbaijan and Armenia became the dialogue partners of the SCO. With the passage of time the size and the responsibilities of the SCO grew. Initially it was a security alliance but later with the efforts of China, it took the responsibility to promote regional economic and political cooperation. It is debatable whether the SCO is primarily dealing with the economic or security cooperation. I will discuss this issue in the following parts in more detail.

The membership of the SCO was kept limited for a long time. It was decided initially that this organization would not accept new members, even the criterion for the acceptance of the observers was quiet difficult and somehow ambiguous. In 2005 the United States applied for the observer status, which was declined by the SCO. With such structure, the importance of the existing observer states became very high. The key players in the SCO are Russia and China yet the observer countries are also very important. Pakistan and India are nuclear powers, which cover a massive area, have

huge population, natural resources and major economies with a potential of growth in the future. Combined with the members, observers, and the dialogue partners the SCO contains more than half of the world's population, four nuclear powers, largest military (comprising of all the countries), more than half of the whole world's GDP and big part of the total energy reserves on earth.

There are four main reasons, which make India and Pakistan very significant within the SCO. Firstly, in the Ufa Summit held in 2015 in Russia, Pakistan and India have been recognized as full time members starting from 2016. Secondly, Pakistan and India opens the access of the SCO to South Asia, both are neighbors and have historical hostilities with each other. Pakistan and India have fought four full-scale wars and experienced several quasi war situations; usual border aggression is a routine between both countries. Thirdly, India and Pakistan are nuclear powers, they developed nuclear weapons to deter each other, and this poses serious threat to the regional peace. Fourthly, India is not only at daggers drawn with Pakistan rather it has a history of hostilities with China also; they also fought a full scale war in 1962. Finally, the relations of Pakistan with China are very close for the last many decades, and the relations of India with Russia are very cordial for a very long time. As China and Russia are the most important members of the SCO, I will analyze their impact on peacemaking between India and Pakistan through the SCO's forum.

The main reason of conducting this research is to find out the ways that the SCO can adopt to bring sustainable peace between India and Pakistan. For this purpose, the first step will be to determine the common threats and the interests of the members and the observers. The common threats to all the countries connected to the SCO are terrorism, extremism and separatism, which are also the main menaces to fight as per the official charter of the SCO. In addition to this, all the members and the observers

of the SCO are struggling economies, most of the countries belong to the third world; hence economic development is the common interest which can be achieved through regional economic cooperation. This argument can be further narrowed down on India and Pakistan, both countries have large populations and the economies of these countries are moving towards industrialization. Both are thirsty for energy sources, Pakistan is currently going through the worst energy crisis since the last decade, the situation of India is also not very satisfactory in meeting energy requirements.

After the 9/11 attacks in the United States, terrorism became the common problem for all the countries in the world. Pakistan, India, China, Russia and the Central Asian countries were already dealing with the internal insurgencies mainly related to religious extremism and separatism. Fighting the three evils of terrorism, extremism and separatism together is the first and the last option for all these countries. For this purpose the SCO has been active in the past years, the Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) was established and the joint military exercises were initiated. Since Pakistan and India are the members of the SCO, it is expected that the military relations will develop between them, and possibly fighting the common threats can help resolving their mutual distrust.

Since the beginning, the SCO was not expanding which was an issue of criticism. However, the recent expansion can give a new direction to this organization because its area of influence has extended officially up to South Asia. The addition of the two democratic countries can change the organization labeling as a “club of autocrats”. Pakistan and India can also help improving the democratic condition of the other members.

Despite all the potential of the SCO, it has many limitations because member countries are facing the problems of mutual distrust, internal security challenges, lack of democracy, declining human rights situation and the absence or limited presence of the civil society organizations. The functionality of the SCO in the past in conflict resolution has also been limited, which is often criticized by the Western observers. It is important to determine whether the SCO can be able to deal with all the current and the future challenges, and how instrumental this forum can be to deal with the internal as well as external threats of the member states.

The strengths and weaknesses of India and Pakistan are very important to study to ascertain the role of the SCO in resolving their conflicts. Pakistan and India have fundamental differences in the foreign policies and national philosophies. Pakistan started as a theocratic country and adopted the name of “Islamic Republic of Pakistan” in the constitution of 1956. Despite being an Islamic republic, the foreign policy priorities of Pakistan remained quite interesting, during most of the years of the Cold War, Pakistan remained on the side of the Western Bloc. From 1972 to 1977, Pakistan changed its foreign policy and Muslim nationalism overshadowed the Western alignment. Although it was reversed to being pro-Western with the military coup in 1977, more or less the same foreign policy is followed until now. On the other hand, due to continuity of democracy, India preferred to remain non-aligned which was reflected in the Indian foreign policy. India maintained good relations with the USA, along with keeping the close relations with the USSR. The foreign policy priorities of India kept changing under different leaderships however; such changes were moderate and gradual and achieved through diplomatic ways.

Pakistan and India have had various territorial conflicts mainly on the disputed region of Jammu and Kashmir. Kashmir is strategically very important for both countries and none is ready to give up the region. Four out of three wars were fought with issues related to Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan and India have several water conflicts too, most of the rivers enter Pakistan through Kashmir from India. Pakistan argues that India breaches the water treaties, and this is also a bone of contention between the two countries. It is feared that the future armed conflicts between India and Pakistan would be due to water disagreements. Pakistan and India are also in a very lethal arm race; both maintaining huge armies, weapon arsenals and both have produced nuclear weapons to use on each other at any time of need. Despite having many similarities in the culture and the language, both countries have mutual distrust which has grown over the past several decades. The anti-Pakistan political agenda of the political parties in India and the frequent military coups in Pakistan have hindered the two countries in resolving their disputes through dialogue.

There is a contrast in the opinions of the Western and the local researchers regarding the role, functionality and the scope of the SCO. Although it was made clear right from the beginning that the intentions of the SCO were not anti-western, the increased military cooperation between the member states have made the West feel insecure. Until the 2005 summit the impression of the SCO was just of a regional organization trying to solve regional differences. This impression changed when the NATO and the US were asked formally by the organization to make a timetable to leave Afghanistan.¹ The most important players in the SCO, China and Russia are also the members of the BRICS which is also considered an anti-west economic

¹ Zurich, E. (2009). "Shanghai Cooperation Organization: an Anti-Western Alignment? ." Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich 66(12): 1-3, <http://www.css.ethz.ch/publications/pdfs/CSS-Analyses-66.pdf> (Accessed on June 27, 2015)

alliance, though BRICS denies such claims. When the SCO is discussed in connection with the BRICS, the anti-western approach is not only highlighted regarding the military terms, it is also thought that the BRICS will try to break the economic domination of the West in the future.² Russia and China have been vetoing the humanitarian intervening actions in Syria, it is clear that Russia and China are in favor of multi-polarity in the world order. Over the past years the US has shown strategic interest in Central Asia, which is a matter of concern for Russia and China.³

There are several versions of criticism on the SCO by the western analysts for example; any organization where the presence of the US is overshadowed is defined as anti-western or anti-US. The human rights record of the members of the SCO is also criticized and it is called a club of autocratic rulers which is making an alliance against the USA. Granting observer status to Iran is presented as an evidence for the above arguments. It has also been argued that Russia and China have created this alliance to maintain the balance of power with the USA despite having mutual distrust on each other. The same is the reason which keeps the SCO silent on regional human rights breaches. The USA advocates keeping the SCO under close

² Ebbighausen, R. (2014). Anti-Western alliance in Asia. Deutsche Welle. Berlin, <http://www.dw.com/en/anti-western-alliance-in-asia/a-17914677> (Accessed on June 27, 2015)

³ Hessbruegge, J. A. (2004). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: A Holy Alliance For Central Asia?" The Fletcher School Online Journal for issues related to Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilization 2: 3, <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/~media/Fletcher/Microsites/al%20Nakhlah/archives/pdfs/hessbruegge%202.pdf> (Accessed on June 28, 2015)

examination to make sure that it does not remain under the full control of Russia and China by ignoring the Central Asian countries.⁴

There are several events which can increase the western insecurity towards the SCO. In Ufa summit held in July 2015 in Russia, the SCO has finally decided to expand the sphere of the organization. Iran is also being considered for the allowance of the membership provided it comes to an agreement with the west regarding its nuclear program. On the other hand, the policy of Iran and Russia in Syria is in favor of Assad's regime, Russia is conducting airstrikes to target the rebels. It is expected that China will also support Russia regarding the Syrian issue because China has also been threatened by the Islamic State (IS) with reference to the Uyghur region. China is sensitive regarding the security of the Xinjiang province considering the clashes in the past years which claimed many lives. Apart from this, China has substantial investment in oil fields in Iraq and the presence of IS (Islamic State) is a serious threat to Chinese investments. The China National Petroleum Cooperation is being forced to leave the oil fields in Syria, which would lead to a big economic cost.⁵

On November 24, 2015 Turkey shot down a Russian Sukhoi-24 fighter jet which is believed to violate the Turkish airspace.⁶ This plane was engaged in the Russian airstrikes against the rebels against Assad in Syria, this event has seriously affected

⁴ Aris, S. (2009). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: 'Tackling the Three Evils'. A Regional Response to Nontraditional Security Challenges or an Anti-Western Bloc?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 61(3): 458-459, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09668130902753309> (Accessed on June 28, 2015)

⁵ Virtue, Rob. "Putin's Boost in Battle against Isis: China Preparing to 'Team up with Russia in Syria'." *Daily Express* November 19 2015, <http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/610286/China-preparing-to-team-up-with-Russia-in-Syria-Boost-for-Putin-in-battle-against-ISIS> (Accessed on November 26, 2015)

⁶ BBC. "Turkey Shoots Down Russian Warplane on Syria Border." *BBC News* November 24 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-34907983> (Accessed on November 26, 2015)

the Russian-Turkish relations. Turkey is the member of NATO, this clash is not as simple as to be called between Turkey and Russia rather it can have serious repercussions in the future. The geopolitical situation of the Middle East is changing with a fast pace, the Russian and Chinese presence was already suspicious for the West. This recent event between Turkey and Russia can also be referred as a clash between Russia and the NATO which can seriously affect the peace in the Middle East and Eurasia. This event can increase the distrust of the West on Russia and somehow on China.

The terms ‘terrorist’, ‘extremist’, and ‘separatist’ are used in compliance with the definition of the governments of the member and the observer states or the charter of the SCO.

This thesis consists of seven chapters; the first chapter focuses on the introduction of the main argument of this study. The second chapter details the history, structure, areas of operation, current challenges and the importance of the observer countries in the SCO. The third chapter determines the common threats and the interests of the member as well as observer countries of the SCO. It further focuses on how the SCO can enhance the security and economic cooperation, the current developments regarding security collaboration and the economic projects in progress in the region. In the fourth chapter, the limitations of the SCO are discussed, through the perspectives of Western and local scholars. The fifth chapter is about the facts, reasons, nature, current situation and the future consequences of the conflicts between India and Pakistan. In the sixth chapter I examined the fifteenth and the most important summit of the SCO held in Ufa, Russia in July 2015. This chapter investigates different dimensions of the outcomes after the full time membership of India and Pakistan on the SCO itself, as well as the potential role the SCO can play

in the region with reference to peacekeeping between India and Pakistan. The last chapter concludes this thesis after the thorough review of the strengths and weaknesses, current role and the future prospects of the SCO in bringing peace and prosperity in the region.

While writing this thesis, different academic sources were consulted such as books, journals, newspaper articles and performance reports which contribute primarily to the bibliography. I relied on the local sources of information particularly from Pakistan and India such as “The Daily Dawn”, “The Daily Express Tribune”, “The Daily Hindu”, “The Indian Express” and the speeches of the important politicians of Pakistan and India, and some local journals from both countries.

CHAPTER 2

THE SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION AS A REGIONAL ORGANIZATION: HISTORY, INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AND GOALS

This chapter focuses on the history of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and analyzes the reasons, which justified establishing this alliance. The establishment of the Shanghai Five was a milestone, which enabled China, Russia and some Central Asian countries to join hands. It was the start of regionalism between China and the post-Soviet countries. Later the Shanghai Five, which was a security alliance, shaped into the Shanghai Cooperation organization in 2001. By the passage of time this organization grew, different countries were added as observers and dialogue partners; liaison was extended with the United Nations as well as the other regional organizations. The SCO currently does not merely deal with the security issues; rather its responsibilities now cover increased economic cooperation among the members of the SCO.

Several dimensions of the SCO have been studied by different scholars with respect to its security and economic functions. Substantial resources are available which analyses the role of the SCO with reference to India or Pakistan individually, however very little has been done to determine the role of the SCO in bringing peace between India and Pakistan. In this chapter I will discuss about the historical conflicts between India and Pakistan and the reason of those conflicts. I will further analyze the relations of India and Pakistan with the key players within the SCO;

China and Russia, and analyze how they can help with melting the ice between India and Pakistan. In the end the current challenges that the SCO is facing, will be discussed.

2.1. History of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization

After the collapse of the USSR, new alliances came into existence with respect to security, economics and regionalism. There were historical border conflicts between the USSR and China, which kept both of them away from having warm relations with each other. After 1991 the insecurity of China was somehow decreased but the post-Soviet Central Asian countries were still a reason for worry for China because borders were shared with them and they were naturally supposed to be aligned with Russia. This mutual insecurity and distance eventually made these countries to think of having an alliance which could bring harmony as well as regional cooperation among Russia, China and the Central Asian countries. Eventually in 1996 all these countries except Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan came into an agreement to build a regional cooperation named as “Shanghai Five”, aiming to eliminate border hostilities, increase economic cooperation and to improve mutual trust. Initially China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan became the members; later Uzbekistan also joined as a full time member which changed the mechanism of the organization from “Shanghai Five” to the “Shanghai Cooperation Organization” on the 15th of June 2001. The aims and objectives of the organization were also enhanced and primarily it was signed to fight against the three evils of terrorism, separatism, and extremism. Due to the post 9/11 events, the concentration of the SCO remained primarily towards fighting and deterring terrorism, and enhancing the security cooperation among members, which gave birth to Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS). It was a milestone towards the success of the SCO when the

United Nations recognized it as an observer in 2004. Later the SCO increased its cooperation with the Association of the Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Though the SCO remained very limited in accepting memberships to new countries, it recognized Mongolia, Pakistan, Iran and India as observers.⁷

2.2. The General Structure of the Organization

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization consists of six members, Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, six observers Pakistan, Iran, Mongolia, India, Afghanistan and Belarus and six dialogue partners, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Nepal, Cambodia, Azerbaijan and Armenia.⁸ The membership of Pakistan and India has been approved in the recent summit held in Ufa, Russia on July 2015. Pakistan and India will start functioning as fulltime members in 2016 after going through with the formal procedures.⁹

The charter of the SCO defines several aspects as the primary goals to achieve for example; strengthening mutual trust, maintenance of peace in the region, fighting terrorism, extremism, separatism, drugs and arms trafficking and controlling illegal migration. The SCO also aims to increase the regional economic, political, cultural,

⁷ Marcel de Haas, Frans-Paul van der Putten. "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation; Towards a Full-Grown Security Alliance?" Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael. (2007), http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20071100_cscp_security_paper_3.pdf (Accessed on March 30, 2015)

⁸ Organization, the Shanghai Cooperation. "Current News" <http://www.sectSCO.org/EN123/Newmeg.asp> (Accessed on November 22, 2015)

⁹ "India, Pakistan Become Full SCO Members " The Hindu, July 10, 2015, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/india-gets-full-membership-of-the-shanghai-cooperation-organisation-along-with-pakistan/article7407873.ece> (Accessed on November 22, 2015)

scientific, educational and financial cooperation by achieving efficient means of transportation, energy and technological resources. The guiding principles of the SCO are based on the mutual respect of sovereignty, peacemaking between the member states without military intervention and safeguarding the interests of the SCO. The main bodies of the SCO are; the council of Heads of the States, the council of the Head of the Governments, a Business Council, an Interbank Consortium and the Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure.¹⁰

The SCO has a permanent anti-terrorism unit working within it called as Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS). The secretariat of the SCO is situated in Beijing, China. The post-9/11 situation made the SCO to focus on security issues as a priority, which was emphasized in the 2001 convention of the SCO, and later in 2009 summit where the issues related to terrorism were discussed in the convention. The SCO has constantly been formulating the parameters for joint intelligence and law enforcement in the region, regarding the exchange of information, maintenance of a joint database having the details of the international terrorists, and interstate permissions to allow the security forces to enter the territory of member states in pursuit of suspects. Apart from the security mechanism, the SCO equally concentrates on economic cooperation. Through economic recovery assistance, the organization advances the loans up to 10 Billion USD to the member states. China-Central Asia pipeline and Russia-China energy supply agreements are the parts of the same series. The structure of the SCO can be seen at a glance in the following figure

¹⁰ Organization, Shanghai Cooperation. "Brief Introduction to the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation." <http://www.sectSCO.org/EN123/brief.asp>.

taken from an article published by the Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich.¹¹



Figure 1 (Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Members and Observers)¹²

¹¹ Zurich, E. (2009). "Shanghai Cooperation Organization: an Anti-Western Alignment? ." Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich 66(12): 1-3, <http://www.css.ethz.ch/publications/pdfs/CSS-Analyses-66.pdf> (Accessed on April 09, 2014)

¹² *ibid*

2.3. Is the SCO an Economic or a Security Alliance?

There is a lot of discussion whether the objectives of the SCO are more economic or security in nature; it is hard to say because of the highly volatile situation of the region. Most of the member states are energy rich particularly the economic progress of China cannot be denied. Currently China is the second largest economy in the world and the largest economy in the SCO space. The aim of China is to become economically pervasive in the region in a peaceful way by increasing investments abroad and establishing its financial hegemony. However the internal conflicts such as the Xinjiang region insurgencies and separatist events have never let China forget about the importance of the internal and external security of the country. The Islamic extremist outlets operating within this particular province are a constant threat to the multi-ethnically composed Chinese nation state; moreover the geographic position of the said province is ideal for the separatists. After the occurrence of the 9/11 attacks, the religious intolerance increased which made the situation more complicated for China because the cross border terrorist recruitment became easy. Chinese government does not want Turkic origin Muslim Uygur citizens in Xinjiang to earn the sympathies from the neighboring Muslim countries where mass population considers them freedom fighters.¹³ There are several incidents of collusion between the government and the Muslim citizens in the province of Xinjiang. For them most of the time Eastern Turkestan Islamic Movement, which is recognized as a terrorist entity by the Chinese government, is considered responsible. Though the operation of this organization has been contained by the Chinese law enforcement institutions nevertheless its threat exists. The disintegration of the USSR heightened many

¹³ Bhattacharya, A. "Conceptualizing Uyghur Separatism in Chinese Nationalism." *Strategic Analysis* 27 (2003): 357-81, http://www.idsa.in/strategicanalysis/ConceptualisingUyghurSeparatismInChineseNationalism_a_bhattacharya_0703.html (Accessed on April 09, 2015)

concerns for China because; it was a country which was already very conscious about its internal security along with a history of the hostility on the borders. There was a possibility that the fall of the USSR could ignite the spark of independence, which could result in a massive rebellion among the non-Han population living in Xinjiang.¹⁴

The post-Soviet Russia was also not living in peace because new countries were coming into existence, which made the Muslim population of North Caucasus think about their own independence too. This was due to the Soviet nationalities policy as well as due to the policies under Gorbachev, 'Perestroika' and 'Glasnost', during the final years of the Soviet Union that brought the culture of openness in the USSR. Chechnya and Dagestan containing Muslim majorities became the main area of concern because Chechnya declared independence from Russia after the fall of the USSR. This situation, when the indigenous population of the North Caucasus was challenging the writ of the State, led to many bloody conflicts between the government and the Muslim separatist groups.¹⁵

Insecurity increased in Russia and the growth of religious intolerance also accelerated in the areas of Chechnya and Dagestan. The members of such groups were dealt with an iron hand, which caused them to react even with more intensity, the terrorist and anti-terrorist activities equally damaged the internal security

¹⁴ Potter, P. B. K. "Terrorism in China Growing Threats with Global Implications." *Strategic Studies Quarterly* (2013), www.au.af.mil/au/ssq/About.asp (Accessed on April 22, 2015)

¹⁵ George, J. A. . "Separatism or Federalism? Ethnic Conflict and Resolution in Russia and Georgia." The University of Texas at Austin, 2005, <https://www.lib.utexas.edu/etd/d/2005/georgej75009/georgej75009.pdf> (Accessed on April 23, 2015)

situation of Russia. Massive human and material loss was experienced by Russia as an outcome of the attacks on hospitals, train station and theaters.¹⁶

The security threats after the disintegration of the USSR were not limited to Russia and China rather the newly independent states were also at stake because of the volatile situation. The borders were unsafe, the Afghan war was recently finished, and the radical Muslim warriors were free, the independence of the new Muslim states was an opportunity for them to enforce the Salafi ideology of Islam. All the Central Asian states were concerned preemptively to stop the growth of the radical Islamic factors. Moreover switching from socialism to market economy was also a challenge, which could not be fulfilled without collective effort. The Shanghai Five, later the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, was established initially to promote the mutual security and economic cooperation through scientific, technological, environmental and educational means among the member states. The role of the SCO has been changing with respect to the international scenario and the priorities of the major members; China and Russia. Though internal security is of a great interest to China, the major strength of China is its economy, which has become the primary source for establishing hegemony in several parts of the world. Being thirsty for the energy resources, China has perceived it inevitable to invest as much as possible in the Central Asian countries that are not only energy rich but rather insufficient in tapping the energy resources. On the other hand, after the fall of communism, Russia cannot let her influence go from the post-Soviet countries especially Central Asian countries which are also considered as the backyard of Russia. Therefore, from the Russian perspective the major role of the SCO is related to security while it is more

¹⁶ Cohen, A. "A Threat to the West: The Rise of Islamist Insurgency in the Northern Caucasus and Russia's Inadequate Response." Backgrounder 1, no. 17 (2012), http://thf_media.s3.amazonaws.com/2012/pdf/bg2643.pdf (Accessed on April 23, 2015)

of economic nature as per Chinese perspective, rest of the members are in dire need of both security and economic assistance.¹⁷

2.4. Importance of the Observer States

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a whole including the members as well as the observers makes a large and powerful alliance. China, Russia, Pakistan and India are the nuclear powers; Iran is also anticipated to be one. Moreover population wise this alliance comprises of a large part of the world. The observer states have a very important position within the SCO because the membership has remained limited rather almost restricted for the new members since the SCO was established. During the summit held in September 2014 it was proposed that India, Pakistan and Iran should be offered full time memberships within the organization. The participation of the observers and members is not only valuable regarding economic cooperation through the Silk Road project rather these countries carry high weight regarding antiterrorism affairs. The unstable security condition in Afghanistan is a worry for all the regional actors, especially in case the NATO fails to maintain peace, the terrorism can spread beyond the borders where religious extremism is already at rise. Almost the whole region is combating with the threats of religious intolerance in this

¹⁷ Carroll, William E. "China in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Hegemony, Multi-Polar Balance, or Cooperation in Central Asia." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 1, no. 19 (2011): 1-8, http://www.ijhssnet.com/journals/Vol_1_No_19_December_2011/1.pdf (Accessed on March 27, 2015)

situation a combined security mechanism becomes inevitable to guarantee stability and peace.¹⁸

The observer states are the most obvious to get the SCO full membership, if it happens the regional circumstances can be improved to a major extent, all the countries suffering with several kind of atrocities would be able to help each other. For example, India is one of the largest energy consumers in the world, and already striving to improve the relations with the energy rich Central Asian countries. The full membership in the SCO will not only help India to reach successful deals in energy perspective rather, the dependence over the Gulf States would also be curtailed.¹⁹

If Pakistan becomes a member of the SCO, it will improve its trade through the silk route moreover China's Great Western Development Strategy would be implemented with ease, which is beneficial for China as well as for Pakistan. One of the major problems Pakistan is facing nowadays is the power crisis. Therefore, direct contact with the Central Asian countries and Russia will enable Pakistan to achieve more reliable deals to manage its energy crisis hence the dependence over the Gulf States will be reduced.²⁰

¹⁸ Tiezzi, Shannon. "The New, Improved Shanghai Cooperation Organization." *The Diplomat*, 13/09/2014 2014, <http://thediplomat.com/2014/09/the-new-improved-shanghai-cooperation-organization> (Accessed on April 01, 2015)

¹⁹ Saha, Swagata. "The Future of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation." *East Asia Forum* 2014, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2014/10/17/the-future-of-the-shanghai-cooperation-organisation> (Accessed on 03/04/2015)

²⁰ *ibid*

Russia and China somehow share the views regarding the unipolar world order, in the past years Russia and China have improved their mutual relations and concluded several joint economic and security agreements. China-Russia gas deal is one of the milestones achieved recently. In addition to this, India has already given approval to Russian interference in Crimea and called it as the Russian legitimate interest. The SCO is sometimes seen as the NATO of the East however the mutual conflicts between the members and the observers are to be seriously addressed.²¹

The primary question which may come into the mind of the reader is why this research is important to be conducted especially with reference to the observer countries within the SCO? What has actually happened during the past years, which made the SCO as well as its observers so important? Why the SCO has been quite stagnant in the past and all of a sudden how its functionality is going to be vitalized? The post-9/11 events and the presence of the ISAF military forces in Afghanistan the geopolitical situation of the whole region changed. All the countries in this region endorsed the actions of the coalition forces. Pakistan especially was the most instrumental country in South Asia in the war against terror. China and Russia were facing almost the same problems of conflict and secessionism. The war against terror was seen as a tool by these countries to fight the extremism, however the presence of the West in the region was a reason of worry for the regional powers. In this situation the SCO was being used as a common platform for security and economic cooperation. China, Russia and India are the members of BRICS which is a huge economic alliance, the SCO and BRICS work quite closely which can be seen from their joint summits which happened more than once. The constantly changing situation of this region requires all the countries to maintain close cooperation, which

²¹ Saha, Swagata. "The Future of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation." East Asia Forum 2014, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2014/10/17/the-future-of-the-shanghai-cooperation-organisation> (Accessed on 03/04/2015)

makes the case of India and Pakistan very strong because both are nuclear powers with huge armies and are at daggers drawn all the time. Any instability between Pakistan and India can destroy the peace of the whole region, through the SCO and the BRICS forum it is expected that the aggression can be controlled.

Pakistan and India must be brought to believe in peaceful coexistence, same goes with India and China who have been rivals for the last several decades. The role of Russia and China is very important for the resolution of the conflicts in the region. The membership of Pakistan and India in the SCO would bring changes to the power dynamics within the organization. The Central Asian states were once the part of the USSR and are still under the Russian influence, also Chinese economic influence is increasing in Central Asia. On the other hand Pakistan and India are densely populated countries and big military powers equipped with nuclear technology, sharing borders and having serious historical conflicts. The Chinese-Pakistani relations and the Russian-Indian relations can be helpful in resolving or minimizing the conflicts between India and Pakistan, but this can only happen through an organized platform like the SCO. It is also important that after becoming members, if Pakistan and India again gets hostile with each other then it can seriously undermine the functionality of the SCO. Pakistan and India are the most crucial observers of the SCO because these are the only two countries, which can help making this organization influential in South Asia.

2.5. History of the Conflicts between India and Pakistan

Pakistan and India, gained independence from the British in 1947 together, Pakistan called itself an Islamic republic and India started the journey as a secular country. It was declared after the time of independence by the founder of Pakistan Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah that he seeks good neighborhood between India and Pakistan just like the one between the United States and Canada. The reality turned out absolutely contrary to that, both countries acted blood thirsty to each other and left no stone unturned to delete the other from the map of the world. Pakistan and India fought three full-scale wars in 1948, 1965 and in 1971, two mini-wars during 1965 and 1999, and faced two quasi-war situations in 2002 when the armies almost came face to face on the borders.²²

The war of 1948 on Kashmir Issue was finalized by the United Nations through calls of plebiscite to decide on the basis of the desires of the people of Kashmir, which actually never let to be happened by India. The hot and cold continued between the two countries along with several treaties and agreements which could not last long. For example in 1950, the premiers of India and Pakistan, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan agreed to protect the minorities living in their countries for example the Hindus in Pakistan and the Muslims in India. In 1959 Field Marshal, Ayub Khan from Pakistan offered India help to cater the northern threat, which was turned down by Mr. Nehru. In 1962, Pakistan and India came to an agreement on the distribution of water through Indus Water Treaty. Just three years after this, in 1965

²² Sayyed, Mushahid Hussain. "Pakistan India Relations; the Conflicted Relationship ". Lahore Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, 2003, <http://www.millat.com/democracy/Foreign%20Policy/brief3eng.pdf> (Accessed on 15 Jan, 2015)

both countries were again at war for seventeen days in Punjab, which concluded in 1966 after signing the Tashkent declaration with the help of Moscow.²³

The efforts of Pakistan to become a bridge between China and the United States were seen as a threat by India and the Soviet Union. They signed a mutual defense treaty in 1971, during the same year Indian Airline's flight "Ganga" which was hijacked by the two Kashmiris, and brought to Lahore badly affected the Indian and Pakistani relations. This incident resulted in banning of all the Pakistani flights over Indian air space. During the same year, India and Pakistan were again at war in East Pakistan for fourteen days which led to the creation of Bangladesh (once East Pakistan). After this, in a series of incidents both countries got involved in a nuclear arms race when India officially tested and declared its nuclear weapons in 1974. In 1984 the relations became more hostile when Indian forces secretly captured the Siachin Glaciers in Kashmir; hostility continued until 1992 when the hotline was established between the Indian and Pakistani armies. In 1998 India tested its nuclear weapons and Pakistan did the same in response, which made South Asian region more dangerous and raised the international concerns. In 1999 Indian Prime Minister Mr. Vajpayee came to Pakistan and initiated the dialogue process which could not last long because of the Kargil Conflict that was finalized through the Washington Declaration. After the military coup in Pakistan in 1999, and the events of 9/11, the scenario changed altogether. Though India and Pakistan remained conventional enemies, Pakistan

²³ Sayyed, Mushahid Hussain. "Pakistan India Relations; the Conflicted Relationship ". Lahore Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, 2003, <http://www.millat.com/democracy/Foreign%20Policy/brief3eng.pdf> (Accessed on 15 Jan, 2015)

became more insecure after involving in the war against terror and the wave of terrorism was seen in the country which has implications over the whole region.²⁴

2.6. Mutual Relations of India and Pakistan with Russia and China

2.6.1. Relations of India with China and Russia

The ancient history of the relations between China and India is quite interesting. Despite being powerful and wealthy both countries were living peacefully, the economic, military, agricultural and cultural growth of both giants was at rise until the arrival of the European colonizers. China during the era of Song (960-1279), and Qing (1644-1912) dynasties, and India during Guptas (320-550) and Mughals (1526-1857), prospered positively and became the center of attention for the expansionists and explorers from Europe. The arrival of the Europeans hence affected the indigenous growth of India which became one of the greatest conquests of Britain. The British rule continued from 1757 to 1947, when India was divided into two countries, Pakistan and today's India.²⁵

The division of India brought new territorial issues, at one part it was at war with Pakistan in 1948, on the other hand China occupied Tibet in 1950 which affected the diplomatic relations between India and China. China and India fought a full scale war in 1962, which could not be settled on peace, rather the confrontation continued. Both countries came face to face in 1967 and in 1987, many efforts done to solve the

²⁴ Sayyed, Mushahid Hussain. "Pakistan India Relations; the Conflicted Relationship ". Lahore Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, 2003, <http://www.millat.com/democracy/Foreign%20Policy/brief3eng.pdf> (Accessed on 15 Jan, 2015)

²⁵ Guānxì, Zhōng-Yìn wàijiāo. "India-China Relations." Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (2009): 1143-47, http://www.apcss.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/India-China_Relations.pdf (Accessed on 10th of April, 2015).

issues through dialogue were unsuccessful. This Indian-Chinese conflict brought Pakistan and China closer, because they had the same enemy which in turn increased the mistrust of India and became one of the reasons of today's unresolved conflicts.²⁶

Apart from the border conflicts, there is close economic competition between India and China. Both are huge economies with massive populations, and depend on the Western markets for the trade of products and services. India is not only dependent on the west regarding the import of capital goods rather this dependence extends upon China too, being the closest supplier of the cheapest goods. India and China are also in arms race and competing in military capabilities, the strategic investments of China in Gwadar Deep Sea Port in Pakistan, and deployment of the navy in Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Bangladesh are very alarming for India. This situation has led India to search for Western partners for the attainment of the latest military and navel equipment and arm supplies. Both countries are large consumers of energy and depending on the Middle East and Africa both are in pursuit of curtailing such dependence by looking for new energy suppliers such as Central Asia.²⁷

The relations of India with Russia (formerly with the Soviet Union) have been pleasant throughout the history the non-aligned position of India and the secular state structure became the source of attraction for the USSR during the Cold War era. In 1955 Prime Minister Nehru visited the USSR and shared his intention to adopt socialist state patterns in India. This was the same era when the USSR was trying to block the Western influence in the newly independent states. The Soviet Union was supporting the developing countries through technological aid and trade assistance to

²⁶ Guānxì, Zhōng-Yìn wàijiāo. "India-China Relations." Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (2009): 1148, http://www.apcss.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/India-China_Relations.pdf (Accessed on 10th of April, 2015).

²⁷ *ibid*

limit their dependence on the Western Bloc. In 1962 when India was at war with China, the Soviet Union preferred to remain neutral because China was already a neighbor and socialist ally, and India had very good relations with the USSR. In order to maintain relations with both countries the USSR chose the policy of silence.²⁸

The tilt of China towards making relations with the United States alarmed the USSR and India. Therefore they signed the treaty of peace in 1971, which aimed to respond to any kind of military action against India and/or Russia. During the same year Pakistan and India fought the war in the East Pakistan the position of the Soviet Union was totally in support of India. The USSR was ready to send naval support to Indian Ocean to respond the threats of American Seventh Fleet, which was on its way to support Pakistan.²⁹

The nature of relations kept changing as per the occurrence of new events in the international arena. The Soviet attack on Afghanistan in 1979 put India in an awkward position, it became difficult for India to remain non-aligned. After the disintegration of the USSR there was a feeling of disassociation in the relations, because Russia was occupied much in solving the domestic issues. In addition to this it was badly suffering from economic and political instability. Russia was a new country far different from the USSR, like others, it was also striving towards market based capitalist economy which was entirely dependent on the western markets. The economic crisis of Russia could not let it support the developing countries, because

²⁸ Sachdeva, Gulshan. "India's Relations with Russia." In Handbook of India's International Relations edited by David Scott, 213-21. London: Albert House, 2011, http://www.jnu.ac.in/SIS/MakingSISVisible/Publications/India%20Russia_%20Handbook%20G%20Sachdeva.pdf (Viewed on 11th of April, 2015)

²⁹ *ibid*

the Communist bloc was broken and the Cold War ended with the Soviet demise. This situation continued till 1998 when Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov visited India, and suggested a new alliance between India, China and Russia, which could not be established because of the lack of trust between India and China. Russia always supported India on the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan, though during this era India has substantially improved its relations with the West especially with the United States, and Russia and China developed close relations through several trade and energy deals.³⁰

2.6.2. The Relations of Pakistan with China and Russia

After the independence from Britain, Pakistan preferred to join the Western Bloc. Despite this, Pakistan was the first Muslim and non-Communist country that recognized China in the first place. The relationship between Pakistan and China initially could not grow with a reasonable pace. The main reasons were that Pakistan was the signatory of the SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization) and the CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) agreements. Moreover the criticism of communism and calling it as the major threat to the world peace by the Pakistani Prime Minister Mr. Suhrawardy added concerns to the China. In addition to this, China was in good relations with India because till that time the border conflicts did not arise between the two countries. In 1959 the Field Marshal General Ayub Khan of Pakistan offered India to join into a joint defense agreement against China, which was strongly turned down by the Indian Prime Minister of that time Mr. Nehru. However the circumstances changed and China and India had later a border conflict

³⁰ Sachdeva, Gulshan. "India's Relations with Russia." In Handbook of India's International Relations edited by David Scott, 213-21. London: Albert House, 2011, http://www.jnu.ac.in/SIS/MakingSISVisible/Publications/India%20Russia_%20Handbook%20G%20Sachdeva.pdf (Viewed on 11th of April, 2015)

in 1962, in which the United States extended its full support to India and neglected Pakistan. These developments brought China and Pakistan closer.³¹

Pakistan's vote in favor of the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations became the milestone in increasing the cooperation and confidence building measures between the two countries. All these led to many agreements between China and Pakistan regarding the territory, trade, communications, and enhanced diplomatic relations. In 1965, when Pakistan and India were at war, China offered full support to Pakistan, to deal with the mutual enemy, India. Later in 1969, the Ussuri River conflict between China and the USSR, became another reason for Pakistan to play its role. The conflict was seen as an opportunity by the United States and Pakistan was used in the backdoor diplomacy in the form of arranging the secret trip of the US president Henry Kissinger to China.³²

China remained supportive of Pakistan in 1971, when Pakistan lost the war as well as the Eastern part of it China vetoed the recognition of Bangladesh's independence in the Security Council. Though the leading years were the era when China started changing the economic policies of openness towards other countries, the relations with India were also improved during this time after the visit of Indian Foreign Minister Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee. During the Afghan war, Pakistan and China both recognized the presence of the Soviet troops as a threat to the whole region, this cooperation continued in conventional manner till 2001. After the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan's foreign as well as defense policies were changed and the United States appeared as the key player in the region and Pakistan joined the war against terror as

³¹ Zeb, Rizwan. "Pakistan-China Relations: Where They Go from Here?" UNISCI Discussion Papers 29 (2012): 45-58, <http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/767/76724487004.pdf> (Accessed on April 11, 2015)

³² *ibid*

a non-NATO ally. Since the Muslim separatist extremism prevails in China, it supported this move of Pakistan, and the Pakistani-Chinese relations kept flourishing. In 2006 Pakistan and China signed the agreement to “build co-operation in the peaceful application of nuclear power”. The United States has many times complained that Pakistan does not fully recognize the favors that the USA has been extending in the past decades, rather Pakistan see China closer and cherishes Chinese relationship more than that of the American.³³

Pakistan and China are in close cooperation regarding defense. China is one of the largest suppliers of the defense equipment to Pakistan, and recently both countries have successfully launched JF-17 Thunder fighter jet. Both countries are in several trade deals, China is one of the largest investors in Pakistan in different sectors like telecommunication, energy, construction, mining and the mega project of constructing a deep seaport in Gawadar, Pakistan.³⁴

The era when Pakistan came into existence was the time when the Cold War was at its peak between the USA and the USSR. Being a newly independent country and haunted by the ruling elite of the colonial times, Pakistan chose to be aligned towards the western bloc. This approach started from the official visit of Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan the first Prime Minister of Pakistan to the United States, after turning down the invitation of the USSR at the same time. From the very initial days the relations of Pakistan with the USSR went sour; in addition to this India chose to remain non-aligned and kept neutral relations with the USSR as well as with the USA. One of the main reasons of such distrust to the USSR was the legacy Pakistan adopted in the

³³ Zeb, Rizwan. "Pakistan-China Relations: Where They Go from Here?" UNISCI Discussion Papers 29 (2012): 45-58, <http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/767/76724487004.pdf> (Accessed on April 11, 2015)

³⁴ *ibid*

form of the elite who were trained by the British. Britain was the largest colonial power of its time and communism was always perceived as a political as well as a social threat to the whole empire. The same ideology was adopted by the Pakistani elite who ignored the fact that the ideology of Pakistan's independence is altogether different as compared to that of the British Empire.³⁵

The most frequently used device in formulating the foreign policy of Pakistan has always been the Indian factor. The relations with the USSR were not kept on priority because India already had good relations with the Soviet Union, though Pakistan could have been the primary beneficiary. The efforts to stay away from the Eastern Alliance brought Pakistan closer to the Western Bloc consequentially Pakistan signed the two military pacts called SEATO (South East Asian Treaty Organization) and CENTO (The Central Treaty Organization), although these pacts could not help Pakistan in the time of need. The aim of Pakistan was never to go anti-Soviet, all of these steps were taken to remain safe from Indian aggression, but it made Pakistan vulnerable to be used against the USSR during the Cold War era. For instance in 1962 Pakistan allowed the USA to use Pakistani airbase to take off the spy plane to the Soviet Union, that plane was captured and Pakistan was considered as enemy by the USSR.³⁶

The 1971 Indian-Pakistani war and the Soviet stance in favor of India, later vetoing Pakistan's resolutions regarding Bangladesh in the United Nations, were the evidences that Pakistan was seen as dangerous by the USSR. With the rise of

³⁵ Hussain, Nazir. "Pak-Russia Relations: Lost Opportunities and Future Options " *Journal of Political Studies* 19, no. 1 (2012): 79-89, http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/pdf-files/Pak-russia%20relations,%20opportunities%20Nazir_Vol_19_Issue_1_2012.pdf (Accessed on April 12, 2015)

³⁶ *ibid*

democracy, the Prime Minister Bhutto attempted to repair the relations with the USSR. Mr. Bhutto himself was a fan of socialism and wanted to modify Pakistani economy on socialist grounds. Therefore, he convinced the Soviet Union to establish a billion dollar worth project of Pakistan Steel Mills. The Pakistani-Soviet friendship era did not last long and ended with the military coup, which further led Pakistan to join the United States in the war against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan. Afghan war finished, Soviet forces returned to the USSR, however Pakistan being supportive to the anti-Soviet forces, accepted the legitimacy of the Taliban government in Afghanistan. This era can be called as the era of the most strained relations between Pakistan and the USSR.³⁷

The disintegration of the USSR later made Russia to formulate new policies according to the new geopolitical circumstances. Meanwhile the martial law in Pakistan was also over, the democratic government again attempted to reconnect with Russia. These efforts were welcomed and the relations improved. The change of Pakistani policy regarding Taliban after the events of 9/11, were supported by Russia because religious intolerance was also a threat to the Russian domestic peace. The visit of the Russian Prime Minister Mikhail Fradkov in 2007 was an evidence of the relations going in the positive flow, though in the past decades there is not much trade or defense cooperation between Pakistan and Russia. However, the induction of Pakistan in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as an observer, and the

³⁷ Hussain, Nazir. "Pak-Russia Relations: Lost Opportunities and Future Options " *Journal of Political Studies* 19, no. 1 (2012): 79-89, http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/pdf-files/Pak-russia%20relations,%20opportunities%20Nazir_Vol_19_Issue_1_2012.pdf (Accessed on April 12, 2015)

endorsement of Putin in 2011 regarding the importance of Pakistan in South Asia, and the potential role of Pakistan in the SCO are good signs for the future.³⁸

2.7. Current Challenges of the SCO

While the Shanghai Cooperation Organization was established as a full-scale body, its role in eliminating the inter-state conflicts even in member countries remained limited. There is a history of conflicts between the member and observer states such as China-Soviet Split in 1969, China-India Conflict, Pakistan-China Alliance and its repercussions on India and strategic cooperation of India with Russia (former Soviet Union). Each member country within the SCO determines its priorities differently, which makes the functionality of this organization limited. For example the Chinese priorities are more economic whereas Russia focuses on security as the primary option. The Central Asian countries also have mutual disagreements, and for example the policies of Uzbekistan are objectionable for Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The same kind of disagreements can be seen between Russia and China regarding the energy priorities. Russia prefers Trans-Siberian Railways as a link between Europe and Asia, whereas China emphasizes on the use of Central Asia-Transcaucasia-Turkey, as the route to connect Europe based on more commercial grounds.³⁹ The role of the SCO was seen as limited during the Osh crisis of

³⁸ Hussain, Nazir. "Pak-Russia Relations: Lost Opportunities and Future Options " *Journal of Political Studies* 19, no. 1 (2012): 79-89, http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/pdf-files/Pak-russia%20relations,%20opportunities%20Nazir_Vol_19_Issue_1_2012.pdf (Accessed on April 12, 2015)

³⁹ Ahmad, Ishtiaq. "Shanghai Cooperation Organization: China, Russia, and Regionalism in Central Asia " In Conference on 'Inter-Asian Connections' Dubai Social Sciences Research Council, University of Dubai, UAE, 2008, http://ishtiaqahmad.com/downloads/SCO_Dubai_Feb_08.pdf (Accessed on April, 20, 2015)

Kyrgyzstan, where the SCO did not directly intervene to control the situation; rather helped in the form of humanitarian aid to the refugees.

There are many questions regarding the potential role and efficiency of the SCO as it can easily be judged that the leading role in this organization is played by China and Russia. Therefore, the Central Asian countries that are not very advanced economically as well as technologically naturally tend to depend upon China and Russia. The Central Asian countries that already lack water routes to connect with the world unfortunately produce almost the same range of export products which actually make them competitors with each other. Hence, the dependence upon China and Russia is one of the few limited options for these countries. Beside the economic issues, most of the Central Asian countries have highly autocratic governments; this has not let the institutional setup to grow in these countries. The limited or no existence of the civil society organizations has led to limited human rights of the individuals. The ideas about democracy are also not welcomed especially after the color revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan. Though democracy exists on paper, in reality the consolidation of the authoritarian regimes is in progress in most of the Central Asian republics. The SCO has also been not very successful in settling the inter-state disputes between the member states. Moreover the problems over giving new memberships in the organization also posed this alliance to have a limited functionality.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Ahmad, Ishtiaq. "Shanghai Cooperation Organization: China, Russia, and Regionalism in Central Asia " In Conference on 'Inter-Asian Connections' Dubai Social Sciences Research Council, University of Dubai, UAE, 2008, http://ishtiaqahmad.com/downloads/SCO_Dubai_Feb_08.pdf (Accessed on April, 20, 2015)

The recent summits disclosed the intention of China and Russia to include new members in SCO which certainly looks like a ray of hope for the region for the settlement of the prevailing problems. Apart from the history silver lining can be seen after the Ufa Summit held in Russia in July 2015, where Pakistan and India have been accepted as full time members taking effect by 2016. Before this, the number of observers was also increased in 2012 when the status of Afghanistan was recognized as an observer country.

CHAPTER 3

HOW CAN THE SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION PLAY ITS ROLE?

The sphere of the SCO is vast. Along with the security cooperation it has equal responsibility to enhance the economic cooperation among its members. Almost all the member and the observer countries are more or less facing the same problems. The SCO has the official aim to fight with terrorism, extremism and separatism. Although violence and separatism were already prevalent in the region, after the 9/11 attacks, terrorism emerged as the biggest threat to the world peace. In the past decade, the ratio of terrorism has increased all-around the world, especially the region under study was mostly affected. In this chapter I will analyze to what extent terrorism, extremism and separatism are common problems of the members as well as the observers of the SCO. I will further analyze the current anti-terrorism structure of the SCO and its performance during the past years, and how effective it can be in the future.

While facing security threats, the members and observer countries of the SCO are equally facing economic challenges. In the member and observer countries of the SCO, almost half of the world's population resides, there are four nuclear powers, and huge natural reserves are present, and some countries are technologically and economically developing very fast. However, all the economies are in the development stage, which makes it inevitable for them to seek regional economic cooperation. I will discuss the current economic cooperation and the future aspects among the countries of the SCO. This chapter will also focus on the current and the

future prospects of energy cooperation, and the functions of the energy club within the SCO. I will also discuss the recent expansion of the SCO in detail and will define its effects not only on Pakistan and India as well as on the SCO itself.

3.1. Fighting the Three Evils of Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism

The members and the observers of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, all belong to a region which has been very vulnerable to violence and terrorism. The past events starting from the dissolution of the USSR, the emergence of the newly independent republics, the border insecurity of China and the Uyghur problem as well as the post 9/11 events and their implications especially on Pakistan, India and Afghanistan are all clear indicators of this. All have contributed to increase terrorism hence forming it as a common threat to the whole region. Initially Shanghai Five which later became the SCO, was mainly established to counter the joint threats, reduce border conflicts, and to establish a mechanism to fight against the three evils of terrorism, separatism and extremism.

This chapter focuses on the extent of the existence of terrorism, violence, separatism and extremism in the members as well as in the observer states belonging to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. If all the countries of this region are suffering more or less from the same kind of problems, then a collective mechanism is inevitable to be developed. I will analyze this issue in the next chapter where I will discuss what SCO has to offer in response to this situation as well as responses that the SCO plan for the near future with collective efforts with and for members as observer countries.

3.1.1. The Extent of the Existence of Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism in the Region

In the past, the Soviet Union started experiencing violence as of 1980s during the tenure of Michael Gorbachev when the famous doctrines of ‘Glasnost’ and ‘Perestroika’ were introduced. The new rules not only brought openness and reconstruction in the Union but also the knowledge among the people about their rights, which led to unrest in the Soviet Union. The Almaty riots in 1986 and the ethnic conflicts in Uzbekistan in 1989 which further led to the clashes in between Uzbeks and the Meskhetian Turks in Fergana Valley, also the Uzbek and Kyrghyz clashes in Osh and Uzgan in Kyrghyzstan in 1990 are the examples of the violent acts in the region. After the dissolution of the USSR many post-Soviet countries were involved in civil wars.⁴¹

The religious policies of the Soviet Union were also a matter of unrest among the citizens. The value of Orthodox Christianity was very high during the Tsarist era and the state was totally dependent on the church which was involved in all kind of politics and national decision making. In this period any deviation from the Orthodoxy was considered rebellious. Along with many factors such position of the religion gave birth to the sentiments against the religious beliefs and the Tsars, which further resulted in the Bolshevik revolution. After the establishment of the Soviet Union, the religion was dealt with an iron hand, and it was not only made separated from the state rather it was discouraged for the individuals to practice and preach.

⁴¹ Anna Matveeva, Antonio Giustozzi. "The Sco: A Regional Organisation in the Making." In Crisis States Working Papers Series No.2 London: Destin Development Studies Institute 2008, <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/22937/1/wp39.2.pdf> (Accessed on April 20, 2015)

Along with Christianity, all religions suffered during the Soviet period.⁴² After the dissolution of the USSR, the post-Soviet countries were free to practice any religious belief. In Central Asia due to the deep tradition of Islam and due to a majority Muslim population, Islam was the dominant religion. The events before the dissolution of the USSR in the near neighborhood were very crucial regarding the implementation of Islam on state level. The Afghan war was over and the newly independent Central Asian countries were a paradise for the radical Islamists (Wahhabis).

Though all the religions were treated with limited tolerance during the Soviet Period, Islam survived as a result of underground practice up to a certain extent. After the introduction of the 'Perestroika' all the so-called taboos came into discussion, the same happened with Islam. After the dissolution of the USSR, several Islamic movements emerged in the Central Asian countries such as the Adolat Movement in the Farghana Valley of Uzbekistan which demanded Islam as a state religion. Several terrorist events occurred as a result in 1999 in Uzbekistan. Later Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan approached the mountains of Kyrgyzstan and was declared responsible for various blasts in Bishkek and Osh. "During the period of 1992-2011, there were a total of 238 terrorist attacks registered in this region compared to 383 in East Asia, 4,628 in Southeast Asia, 15,683 in South Asia, and 15,567 in the Middle East. For the same period, Uzbekistan experienced a total of twenty terrorist attacks, compared

⁴² Spasov, G. "Freedom of Religion in The USSR." THE USSR Information Bulletin (1951), <http://collections.mun.ca/PDFs/radical/FreedomOfReligionInTheUSSR.pdf> (Accessed on April 21, 2015)

to fifty-nine in Syria and 538 in Yemen, both of which are comparable to Uzbekistan in terms of the size of their population".⁴³

Currently there are several terrorist groups in Central Asian countries having ties with the international terrorist networks like Al-Qaida. East Turkistan Islamic Movement and Jund al-Khalifa, which is responsible for plotting threats on Kazakhstan for being secular and not emphasizing the pure Islamic values, are among such groups. Hizb-ut-Tahrir is another example, which aims to gather all the Muslims together under the umbrella of Islam; though the organization claims that it does not have any violent agenda, it is still banned in all Central Asian countries. Tableeghi Jammāt is another non-violent group calling to spread the reformed faith through missionary activities; this organization is functioning in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.⁴⁴

The dissolution of the USSR did not only awaken the religious sentiments in the Central Asian region, rather it directly became a domestic problem in the North Caucasus region of Russia where Muslims are in majority. This region became the center of radical Islam, which highly damaged the internal security of Russia. There are several separatist and extremist instances from the North Caucasus region. From the very beginning Chechnya declared its independence from Russia. Dagestan while located in the same region, did not declare independence but the anti-Russia

⁴³ Omelicheva, Mariya. "Terrorism in Central Asia; Dynamics, Dimensions, and Sources." *The Association for Asian Studies (AAS)* 18, no. 3 (2013): 1-6, <https://www.asian-studies.org/aaa/18-3-Supplemental/Omelicheva.pdf> (Accessed on April 21, 2015)

⁴⁴ *ibid*

sentiments were common in there too, moreover the radical Islamic movements were also at rise.⁴⁵

There were several terrorist attacks in Russia as the result of the separatist activities in the North Caucasus Region. In 1999 after the twin bomb attacks in Moscow; Putin officially launched a grand operation against the terrorists. The terrorist attacks from the North Caucasus continued despite the strict operations being carried out by the Putin regime. As a result Putin achieved popularity and power with his stern stance against the terrorists. In the meantime, the 9/11 attacks occurred in the United States and the war against terror was announced by the USA, which was also endorsed by Russia. It was conceived as an opportunity by Russia because religious intolerance was equally challenging for the Russian internal security. Russia still remains susceptible to terrorism, the hostage situation in 2002 which lead to a year and half long suicide bombings, several attacks on train stations, theaters and hospitals are evidences of the internal security threats to Russia.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the transportation of drugs from Afghanistan into Russian land is another matter of concern, because these drugs are meant to service the economy of terrorists, separatists and criminals so the drug smuggling is comparatively a major issue for Russia compared to the other countries.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ George, Julie Alynn. "Separatism or Federalism? Ethnic Conflict and Resolution in Russia and Georgia." The University of Texas at Austin, 2005. <https://www.lib.utexas.edu/etd/d/2005/georgej75009/georgej75009.pdf> (Accessed on April 21, 2015)

⁴⁶ Baev, Pavel K. "Has Russia Achieved a Victory in Its War against Terror?" International Peace Research Institute (PRIO), Oslo (2006), http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/pm_0415.pdf (Accessed on April 22, 2015)

The existence of terrorist and separatist trends in China is not unknown. The nationalistic demands of the Turkic origin, Muslim Uyghur people have remained an ongoing security crisis for China. After the disintegration of the USSR, the borders once China used to share with the Soviet Union became the borders being shared with many sovereign states of Central Asia, the population of which were dominantly Muslim. The end of the Afghan war made many religious extremists free to move anywhere for their religious adventures, therefore, the Central Asian countries were the best targets for them. Since the Uyghur people share a similar culture and the same religion with the neighboring Central Asian people, this added to China's worries because this region was prone to attract external support in the name of religion and common ethnicity. There are many terrorist organizations based in the Xinjiang province of China especially Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM), which are joining hands with the international terrorist networks such as Al-Qaida and the Taliban. In October 2009, Abu Yahya al Libi a senior Al-Qaida leader addressed the Uyghurs living in China to initiate a full scale Islamic war against China, which shows that the number of terrorists is increasing day by day in the region. It is also suspected that the Uyghur separatists have links with the terrorists present in Pakistan.⁴⁸

Pakistan is currently one of the most affected countries from terrorism, there are several kinds of terrorism that prevail within the country, the worst and the strongest wave of terrorism spread in the country under the rule of General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-

⁴⁷ Stepanova, Ekaterina. "Illicit Drug Trafficking and Islamic Terrorism as Threats to Russian Security." Institute for World Economy and International Relations, Moscow, Russia (2005), http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/pm_0393.pdf (Accessed on April 22, 2015)

⁴⁸ Potter, Philip B. K. "Terrorism in China Growing Threats with Global Implications." Strategic Studies Quarterly (2103), http://www.au.af.mil/au/ssq/digital/pdf/winter_13/2013winter-Potter.pdf (Accessed on April 22, 2015)

1988). 1977 was the year when General Zia snatched power from the elected Prime Minister Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on the charges of terrorism, it was said that Mr. Bhutto was providing patronage to a terrorist organization named as “Al-Zulfikar”. Mr. Bhutto was later sentenced to death on the same charges during Zia’s era. Mr. Bhutto was the head of the most successful political party of the time “Pakistan People’s Party” (PPP) which has roots in the province of Sindh. Zia, in order to diminish the influence and the popularity of PPP supported another political party named as Muhajir Qoumi Movement (MQM now named as Muttahida Qaumi Movement), which demanded the rights of Muhajirs (Refugees) who migrated from India when Pakistan came into existence. MQM is currently considered supporting terrorism on ethnic basis, and keeping militant wings within it in the name of safeguarding the rights of Indian migrated Muslims. Later, General Zia introduced Islamic (Sunni) laws in the country which were not much welcomed by the large Shia population in Pakistan. Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan, an anti-Shia organization also became powerful during the same era. When sectarian conflicts shaped into militant and armed conflicts, Pakistan became a proxy war playground for Saudi Arabia (supporting Sunni militants), and Iran (supporting Shia militants).⁴⁹

The terrorists found another heaven in Afghanistan during the Soviet invasion in 1979. This was the time when terrorists were presented as “Mujahideen” and heroes, six billion US Dollars were spent by the USA and Saudi Arabia in order to recruit, train and deploy the potential fighters through Madrassas (Islamic schools) in Afghanistan against the Soviet forces. The Afghan war finished leaving the mercenaries (Mujahideen) unemployed, who were used by the USA. On the other

⁴⁹ Hussain, Syed Ejaz. "Terrorism in Pakistan: Incident Patterns, Terrorists' Characteristics, and the Impact of Terrorist Arrests on Terrorism." University of Pennsylvania, 2010, <http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1163&context=edissertations> (Accessed on April 23, 2015)

hand, Afghanistan was being ruled by the Taliban, who were the same people trained by the USA and Saudi Arabia with the help of Pakistan. After the end of the Afghan war, the USA simply ignored the Taliban, which enraged them and they plotted the events of 9/11, which led to the War against Terror. Pakistan being the natural ally of the USA joined the coalition forces against Taliban, which aggravated countless terrorist attacks which took thousands of lives in Pakistan.⁵⁰

Terrorism is the primary issue faced by Pakistan now, which has almost crippled the whole country. Foreign direct investments have been substantially reduced, tourism has severely affected, law and order in the whole country is volatile. All of these contributing the weak internal security having a negative affect on the well being of a common man. In December 2014 an army school was attacked in Peshawar which took 141 lives, 132 of them were children. This was the most severe terrorist attack in Pakistan.⁵¹ Pakistan is currently conducting a joint military operation against the extremist elements in the North Waziristan, which is situated in the South Western part of Pakistan. The cost of this operation has been estimated as 1.9 billion USD out of which 800 Million USD were allocated to rehabilitate the one million internally displaced people from the area where the operation is being carried out.⁵²

⁵⁰ Hussain, Syed Ejaz. "Terrorism in Pakistan: Incident Patterns, Terrorists' Characteristics, and the Impact of Terrorist Arrests on Terrorism." University of Pennsylvania, 2010, <http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1163&context=edissertations> (Accessed on April 23, 2015)

⁵¹ BBC. "Pakistan Taliban: Peshawar School Attack Leaves 141 Dead." BBC News December 16, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-30491435>

⁵² Haider, Mehtab. "Zarb-E-Azb Cost \$1.9 Billion: Dar." The News August 29, 2015, [http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-13-39340-Zarb-e-Azb-cost-\\$19-billion-Dar](http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-13-39340-Zarb-e-Azb-cost-$19-billion-Dar)

The conventional rivalry of Pakistan with India is also considered one of the reasons for escalated terrorism in Pakistan. It has been argued that India is involved in sponsoring various terrorist organizations in Pakistan. India is suspected to support the Baloch separatist forces in Baluchistan, ethnic intolerance in the largest city of Karachi, and Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) to organize and execute the terrorist attacks specifically in Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) and generally all over Pakistan. There are several instances, when Indian made weapons were recovered from the terrorist outlets.⁵³

The situation of India regarding the toll of terrorism is not much different from the countries discussed above. Having the world's second largest population living in a massive area subdivided into 29 different states, constitutionally secular but there is a variety of religious beliefs prevalent along with a large diversity of languages and cultures.⁵⁴

With all the above features India is facing several extremist, terrorist and separatist movements within the country. According to the State Department's Annual Report published in 2007, India was ranked after Iraq being the second most affected country by terrorist violence. Various separatist organizations are operating within the country such as the United Liberation Front of Asam (ULFA), involved in ethnic violence and instrumental in preaching the separatist agenda. Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland Unification (NSCN-U) and Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland -Isak-Muivah (NSCN-IM) are the two groups in the state of Nagaland

⁵³ Cheema, DR. Iqtidar. "Indian Raw-Sponsored Terrorism in Pakistan." ARY News Blog, <http://blogs.arynews.tv/indian-raw-sponsored-terrorism-pakistan> (Accessed on April 24, 2015)

⁵⁴ Congress, the Library of. "Country Profile: India." In American Memory edited by Federal Research Division, 2004, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/India.pdf> (Accessed on April 25, 2015)

fighting with each other, which has damaged the writ of the state and took lives of civilians.⁵⁵

The most crucial terrorist outfits in India are considered in Jammu and Kashmir, which is the conflicted territory between India and Pakistan. While India claims that the separatist movements in India are sponsored by Pakistan, the Government of Pakistan has always denied this. Jammu and Kashmir is the part where Muslims are in majority and they want either a separate state or unification with Pakistan. Urban violence and terrorism is also at rise in India, the Indian Mujahedeen took responsibility of various bomb blasts in the cities Jaipur, Ahmedabad and New Delhi.⁵⁶

The most lethal terrorist attacks occurred in Mumbai in 2008, which claimed 164 lives while leaving 308 people injured, 26 of the injured were foreigners.⁵⁷ India held Pakistan responsible for this event however Pakistan denied Indian allegations, which lacked evidence.

The existence of the terrorist, separatist and the extremist elements can be seen in all the countries, which are either the members, or the observers of Shanghai Cooperation Organization. This similarity can increase the opportunities for them to

⁵⁵ Srivastava, Devyani. "Terrorism & Armed Violence in India" in an Analysis of Events in 2008. New Delhi, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, http://www.ipcs.org/pdf_file/issue/SR71-Final.pdf Conflict Studies 2009, http://www.ipcs.org/pdf_file/issue/SR71-Final.pdf (Accessed on April 25, 2015)

⁵⁶ Ibid

⁵⁷ Ghosh, Samarjit. "Mumbai Terror Attacks, an Analysis " New Delhi, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (2009): 2, http://www.ipcs.org/pdf_file/issue/SR66-Samarjit-Final.pdf (Accessed on April 25, 2015)

join hands to eliminate these threats together. The events occurred during the past few decades have changed the geo-politics of the world. An increase in the arms race, border conflicts, extremism, religious intolerance and separatist movements are the common problems of all the key players in SCO. This specific region has been directly exposed to the power play of the world powers during the Cold war Era. In the period after the 9/11 attacks, the volatility increased and brought new challenges which are very hard to meet without having a collective mechanism.

3.1.2. The Anti-Terrorist Strategy and Mechanism of the SCO

As the analysis above suggests terrorism, extremism and separatism exists in the whole region, and almost all the countries under study are suffering from these evils. The post-9/11 events have changed the geo-political situation of the whole world. Especially South Asia and Central Asia are deeply affected regions, which has made this region an arena between the international powers and the international terrorists. In Eurasia, there are already established joint security mechanisms such as the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), Russia, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan are the members of this organization. Despite the presence of this alliance, its membership structure is limited because it does not include any countries other than the post-Soviet countries. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization can perform a vital role in combating against the prevalent threats to the region, because this organization is not only more resourceful but it also includes the important actors in international politics. From an economic and security perspective, these countries can hardly afford any threat to their well-being.

After the withdrawal of the NATO forces from Afghanistan, Central Asia, Pakistan and China will become more susceptible to the terrorists attacks. Since there is existence of the links of the Afghan Taliban with other terrorist organizations present within South Asia and Central Asia, it will not be difficult for these outfits to strengthen their base in these areas. As Putin stated in an informal summit in Bishkek, 'we will confer about the developments in Afghanistan and the steps we must take to respond to any changes in the situation there and ensure the security of our nations.'⁵⁸

The initial reason for the formulation of the Shanghai Five later the SCO was to create a security alliance, in order to counter the terrorist activities at the borders of the member states. Despite several statements from the officials of the organization regarding its *raison d'être*, that it is not only of security nature rather it is of more economic in nature; it can be argued that though it is not a security alliance like NATO, it has a well-established anti-terrorist mechanism. The Peace Mission 2007 is a very good example that justifies that SCO having a full-scale antiterrorist mechanism to deter any potential terrorist activity. During the Peace Mission, combined military exercises were performed and military assistance was also offered. Additionally it was discussed that SCO should increase its mutual cooperation with the CSTO which was not decided during the summit. The increased frequency and size of the war games since 2002 makes it clear that apart from the economic agenda SCO is determined not to ignore the importance of joint security.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Nechepurenko, Ivan. "Russia Aims to Boost Security Alliance in Central Asia." *The Moscow Times* May 29, 2013, <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/news/article/russia-aims-to-boost-security-alliance-in-central-asia/480669.html> (Accessed on 29 April, 2015)

⁵⁹ Marcel de Haas, Frans-Paul van der Putten. "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation; Towards a Full-Grown Security Alliance?" *Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Clingendael*. (2007), http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20071100_cscp_security_paper_3.pdf (Accessed on April 29, 2015)

The joint exercises took place in 2007, 2009 and 2010, in all of them Russian and Chinese military troops participated and in some of the exercises, Central Asian countries except Uzbekistan took part.⁶⁰

In order to deal with terrorist threats, a specialized anti-terrorist unit named Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) was established which is operational since 2004.⁶¹ The responsibility of this unit is to monitor and track the activities and the movement of the terrorists. It is also responsible to exchange any kind of information on terrorists and share it with the other member states. During the combined military exercises, the RATS has emerged as an instrumental unit within the SCO. In addition to this, this department provides full assistance in formulating anti-terrorism policies.⁶²

Contemporary terrorist networks are interconnected and pose threat to different countries. Therefore no country can alone fight with all terrorist threats, the terrorist organizations mainly arrange their finances through criminal activities in which drug dealing is at the top of the list. The center of drug production and dispatch is Afghanistan, where the NATO forces are already present. The main concern is that

⁶⁰ Aris, Stephen. "The Response of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation to the Crisis in Kyrgyzstan." Taylor & Francis Online 14, no. 3 (2012): 455, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13698249.2012.706954> (Accessed on November 19, 2015)

⁶¹ Haas, Marcel de. "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and the OSCE: Two of a Kind? ." Helsinki Monitor: Security and Human Rights 3 (2007), http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20071100_cscp_art_haas.pdf (Accessed on April 30, 2015)

⁶² Marcel de Haas, Frans-Paul van der Putten. "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation; Towards a Full-Grown Security Alliance?" Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael. (2007), http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20071100_cscp_security_paper_3.pdf (Accessed on April 29, 2015)

when the NATO forces withdraw from Afghanistan, then these terrorists and the drug cartels will become unchallenged with an effect on the whole region. In the near future the SCO is supposed to be more functional to deal with all these issues.

The volatile situation in the Middle East is also a matter of concern because the wave of terrorism travels very fast from one region to another. Pakistan and Afghanistan share borders with Iran who is believed to be instrumental in supporting Bashar al-Assad's regime against the Syrian civil war. Russia is also a supporter of the Bashar al-Assad's regime in Syria. Russia is not only supplying weapons to Assad's regime, it also launched airstrikes against the rebels and the IS (Islamic State). Russia already has a naval presence in the Syrian port of Tartous, and Iran is supporting Assad's regime to safeguard Shia ideology in Syria. Iran and Russia both have been suggesting that the Syrian crisis will end through dialogue and political ways.⁶³

While the terrorist activities of the IS (Islamic State) have up to now have been limited to the Middle East, they are marching towards different regions. The IS has recently claimed the responsibility for the attacks that happened in Paris in November 2015 which claimed 129 lives and injured 352 people.⁶⁴

The IS has recently threatened Russia in response to its airstrikes in Syria. Russia is already dealing with religious extremism in North Caucasus of the same nature. The IS has enough ground to survive in this region because of the presence of its sympathizers in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Central Asian Countries, in Russia, as well as in China and India. Therefore these facts create a very strong justification for the

⁶³ BBC. "Syria Crisis: Where Key Countries Stand." BBC News, October 30 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-23849587> (Accessed on November 23, 2015)

⁶⁴ BBC. "Paris Attacks: As They Happened." <http://www.bbc.com/news/live/world-europe-34815972> (Accessed on November 23, 2015)

formulation and improvement of a joint anti-terrorism structure to deter any terrorist hazard in the future.

3.2. Joint Economic Motives

Although the Shanghai Cooperation Organization was established primarily as a security alliance, the joint economic benefits are a priority since all the member states and the observers are important economies. China has achieved a phenomenal economic growth during past decades, Russia is rich in energy resources and uses them as a political tool. Central Asian countries also have substantial energy and other natural resources. The observer states under study also consist of undeniable economic worth. India is a member of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and one of the fastest growing economies in the world. While Pakistan's economy has seriously been affected by terrorism and insecurity, it is still growing. After a successful election period in 2013, it is expected that political stability will be achieved in the coming years, and economy will grow Pakistan is also identified one of the Next Eleven countries.⁶⁵

China is making huge investments in the Central Asian countries and South Asia. For a long while China has been planning to establish economic routes through its neighboring countries. The reason for development of the three different corridors Southern, Central, and Northern, was not only to broaden the opportunities of mobility, rather to make sure that the supply of the goods cannot be stopped because

⁶⁵ Next eleven was a study conducted by the Goldsmith Sachs Investment Bank. Political maturity, openness to investment, and quality of education, macroeconomic stability were the parameters of this study. This research paper identified eleven countries Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Turkey, South Korea and Vietnam, having potential to become the largest economies in the world.

of any unforeseen event. The Southern Corridor starts from the Chinese city Guangzhou passing through Kashgar and connects with Pakistan in Khunjab. This route is the most suitable one because it can be connected with the Gawadar port of Pakistan in the Baluchistan province. The central corridor connects Shanghai with Tashkent and enters into Iran through the Persian Gulf. Finally the Northern corridor connects China with Russia and passes towards Europe.⁶⁶

Pakistan and China have signed deals in the context of “China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)” worth 46 Billion US dollars investments planned for the infrastructure and energy sector of Pakistan. Pakistan will provide access to China from Kashgar through Gawadar deep sea port. As a substitute route to reach Middle East, the length of this trade route is of 3000 kilometers, which will be constructed in the next fifteen years. China will also help Pakistan generating 10400 megawatts of energy under the power projects of CPEC. This will not only solve the dire energy crisis in Pakistan but also its industry will also improve. The Gawadar deep sea port is already being constructed by China, its supervision was completely handed over to China in 2013.⁶⁷

The aims of this CPEC deal are multidimensional; firstly the idea is to develop the highly underdeveloped areas of Pakistan and China, Gawadar (Baluchistan) and Kashgar (Xinjiang) respectively. Both areas are in dire economic condition and the standard of living of the people is quite low. Thus the CPEC aims to bring economic

⁶⁶ Rana, S. (2015). China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Lines of development – not lines of divide. The Express Tribune Karachi, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/887949/china-pakistan-economic-corridor-lines-of-development-not-lines-of-divide/> (Accessed on May 20, 2015)

⁶⁷ Hashim, A. (2015). China's Xi Jinping in Pakistan to unveil trade plan. The Al-Jazeera News, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/04/china-xi-jinping-pakistan-trade-150420075730666.html>, (Accessed on May 20, 2015)

betterment for the people. Secondly, China has constant threats of containment and isolation from the Western world especially from the USA. Being the largest oil importer it depends on the Middle East for 60% of the oil imports mostly through Indian Ocean and South and East of China Sea. Pakistan is a contingent route for China, just in case the regular routs are blocked the China Pakistan Economic Corridor will still be available for the successful transportation of goods.⁶⁸ Figure No.2 contains the detail of the whole plan.

⁶⁸ Silva, A. (2015). "China invests \$46 billion in strategic Pakistan-China Economic Corridor." Retrieved May 20, 2015, from <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2015/04/28/paki-a28.html>.

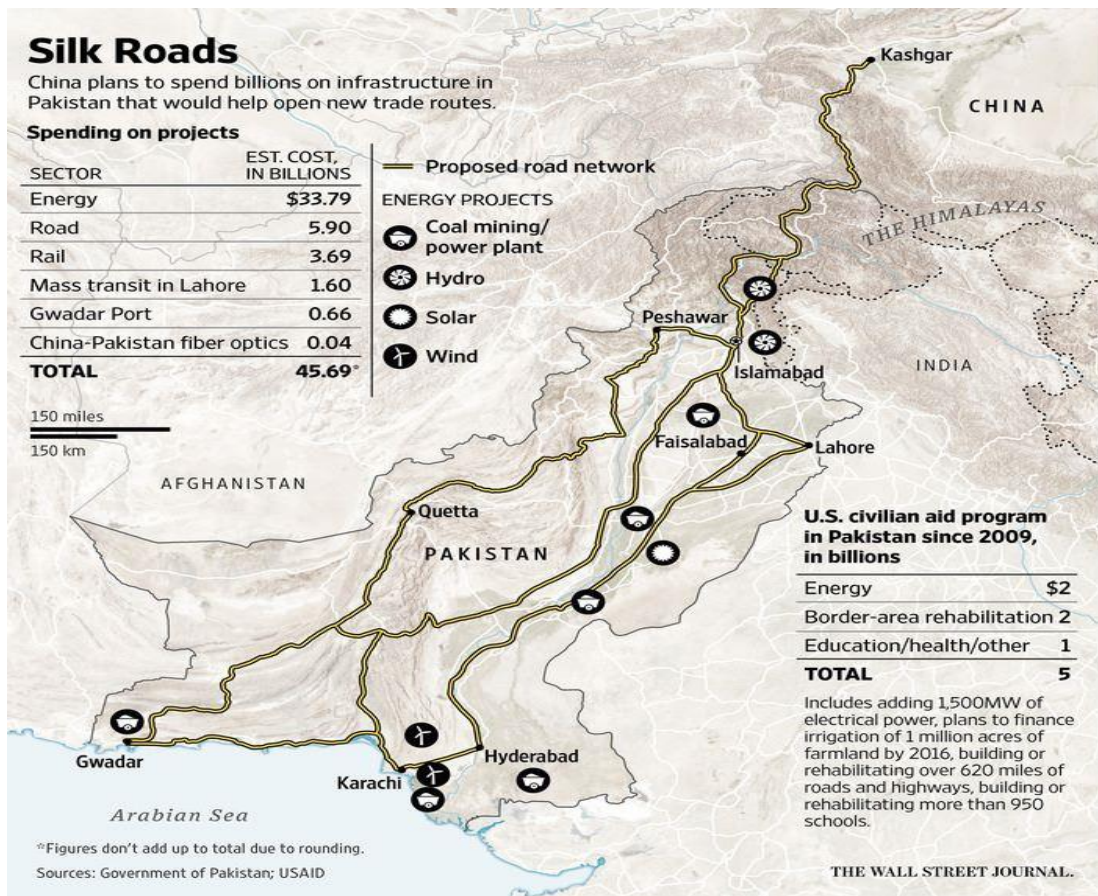


Figure 2 (Silk Road Project; China-Pakistan Economic Corridor)⁶⁹

Apart from massive trade contracts with Pakistan, China has huge trade deals with India too. Despite all tensions currently India and China are doing trade worth almost 70 Billion US dollar annually.⁷⁰ India has recently signed 22 Billion dollar worth agreements with China during the visit of Prime Minister Modi to China, regarding

⁶⁹ Journal, T. W. S. (2015). China Makes Multibillion-Dollar Down-Payment on Silk Road Plans. New York, The Wall Street Journal, <http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2015/04/21/china-makes-multibillion-dollar-down-payment-on-silk-road-plans/> (Accessed on May 21, 2015)

⁷⁰ BBC. "Indian Pm Narendra Modi to Visit China in May." BBC News, London, Feb 2, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-31087807> (Accessed on May 21, 2015)

education, railway infrastructure and scientific research and development. China and India are also in the process of solving the decades' long border disputes which will further help straightening the trade environment of the whole region.⁷¹

India and China, and India and Pakistan have historical conflicts; which led to wars in the past; currently China is heavily investing in Pakistan as well as in India. Having joint investments and for the sake of its security China will probably need to help keeping peace between India and Pakistan. These trade agreements can become the best source of bringing prosperity, social well-being and stability in the whole South Asian region which is the future corridor for trade and transportation.

After China, the most important actor in the region as well as in Shanghai Cooperation Organization is Russia because it is not only a powerful economy but Russia indeed shapes the role of the SCO in its own way. During the past decade Russia has been using the energy resources very smartly and utilized them as a political tool. The main interest of Russia is the maintenance of hegemony as a security state which helps the country to keep the post-Soviet space under its sphere of influence. Russian interests in the regionalization and trade are clear. As an industrial economy and energy producer, generating revenues from the new markets is very crucial for Russia. The trade relations of Russia with India are good since the Soviet times, Central Asian countries still depend on the Russian energy resources and energy exploration as well as infrastructure for the supply of goods and services. Recently Russia and China have signed deals regarding energy products on a large scale.

⁷¹ Patience, M. (2015). India and China sign deals worth \$22bn as Modi ends visit. BBC News Beijing, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-32762930> (Accessed on May 21, 2015)

During the past decade Central Asian countries and China have established strong trade ties. Turkmenistan is already selling a huge supply of gas to China; Kazakhstan signed 30 billion US dollar worth of trade deals with China conditional to Chinese stake in one of the largest oil fields in Kashagan. Uzbekistan has also signed deals with China regarding energy products and uranium worth 15 Billion US dollar. Except for Uzbekistan rest of the four Central Asian countries have China as their largest trade partner. The trade flow exceeded 46 billion US dollar in 2012, and China is handling most of the large infrastructure projects in Central Asia. This is also to be noted that Central Asia shares a large border with the most sensitive territory of China, called Xinjiang.⁷²

After the disintegration of the USSR, the relations between Russia and China improved which were cold for a long while. After 1991 the trade volume between China and Russia kept increasing in different sectors of products and services. The major increase was seen when Putin assumed power in 1999 while in 2000 the bilateral trade increased by 41%. Most of the trade deals were related to the raw material, energy products and military equipment. China and Russia were both not interested to deal in consumer goods with each other considering the quality of the goods which were inferior to that of South Korean or Japanese. Until 2012 China's investments reached 7.7% of the total foreign direct investments flow in Russia.⁷³ It will not be wrong to say that Russia and China have used trade as a bridge to keep

⁷² (2013). Rising China, sinking Russia. *The Economist* 1.
<http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21586304-vast-region-chinas-economic-clout-more-match-russias-rising-china-sinking> (Accessed on May 22, 2015)

⁷³ Kumar, S. (2013). Russia-China Economic Relations: An Analysis. International Conference on International Trade and Investment. Mauritius, Centre for Russian & Central Asian Studies, School of International Studies Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi 11-17,
<http://sites.uom.ac.mu/wtochair/attachments/article/83/SujitKumar-Russia-China%20Economic%20Relations%20An%20Analysis.pdf> (Accessed on May 21, 2015)

the mutual relations smooth. In 2014 a deal was signed between China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) and the Russian energy company Gazprom for the annual supply of 38 billion cubic meters gas annually, and this supply will continue till 2047, therefore the total worth of this agreement is 400 billion dollars.⁷⁴

All the countries in the region are interdependent and have substantial economic cooperation on bilateral level. The reason for establishing the SCO was to redefine the trade cooperation on collective grounds. There is a strong relation between the economic security and internal peace that is why in 2003, 120 projects were signed through the SCO platform for multilateral trade among the members. The SCO business council was established in 2006 in Moscow, which provides assistance for finance, scientific research, communications systems, agriculture and transportation infrastructure to the member countries. In 2007 a specialized project of “Health Train” was launched. The health ministries, medical professionals and the pharmaceutical companies of the member states coordinated together, the aim of this service was to provide health facilities to the far flung areas. An Interbank Association (IBA) also works as part of the SCO, which interconnect the banks of the member states, and plan investment projects. Until 2006 IBA has planned projects worth of 742 million dollar. In 2009 China announced the debt facility for the SCO member states as 10 billion US dollar. Several transportation infrastructure projects are also in progress through the SCO platform, which will help connecting

⁷⁴ Weitz, R. (2104). "The Russia-China Gas Deal: Implications and Ramifications." *World Affairs Journal* (5): 1, <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/issue/mayjune-2015> (Accessed on May 22, 2015)

all the member states through rapid transit systems to enhance trade and investments.⁷⁵

Before the disintegration of the USSR, Central Asia was dependent on Russia on education, trade and development of infrastructure. After the dissolution though these Central Asian countries attained independence, the reliance upon Russia continued. The establishment of the SCO not only helped decreasing the insecurity in the region, it also boosted the economic progress, and the concept of mutual benefit was realized. This was the era when China's economy was developing with great pace and it was in need of the new trade markets and partners. China heavily invested in all the neighboring countries which brought economic progress in the region. The relations between China and Russia also improved because of mutual economic contracts. This region is full of resources and needs investment and marketability. Therefore the SCO can be an effective forum, which can help attaining collective interests and the consciousness of free trade. It will improve the social and economic well-being of the people, literacy rate will increase, terrorism and internal security threats will decrease and the region will grow as a whole.

The Chinese investments regarding the CPEC will not only boost the trade between Pakistan and China, it is also expected to bring the economic well-being in the Pakistani province of Baluchistan. For a long while Baluchistan has been suffering with low living standards because of lack of education, health, infrastructure and social well-being provisions. For these reasons there are many separatist movements in progress in Baluchistan, also the low standard of life is responsible for many social

⁷⁵ Boland, J. (2-11) Ten Years of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: A Lost Decade? A Partner for the U.S? Foreign Policy at Brookings Volume, 14-15
http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2011/6/shanghai%20cooperation%20organization%20boland/06_shanghai_cooperation_organization_boland (Accessed on May 22, 2015)

problems such as terrorism and high crime rate above all. Since, this project has a lot to do with the Gawadar port which is situated in Baluchistan; it will somehow provide better economic opportunities to the Baluch people. It is expected that better economic situation will help maintaining peace in the province of Baluchistan.

3.3. The SCO Energy Club

Energy sector can be the main point of agreement among all the members as well as observer states and the dialogue partners. All the countries connected to the SCO are either huge and inelastic users of energy products or the large producers of it. Overall the member states of the SCO hold 20% of the world oil reserves, more than 50% of the gas reserves, 35% of coal reserves and 50% of the uranium reserves. The member states comprise of vast land with a population of 1.5 Billion people. Their GDP almost equals to 25% of the world's GDP. The concept of the 'Energy Club' was first introduced by Vladimir Putin in 2006, which was highly supported by Kazakhstan. The aims of the energy club were proposed as; formulations of energy strategies with respect to the member and observer states, energy security and supply mechanism, and formulation and implementation of the policies for the sale of energy products on global level. Although the ideas of Energy Club could not achieve much consensus among the member states, it has to be well planned because this initiative can bring more multilateralism in the region.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ SCO, Info (2015). "SCO Energy Club: structure ready for international interaction, not Shanghai Six's elite club." The Central Web Portal of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Retrieved 23/05/2015, 2015, from <http://infoshos.ru/en/?idn=13913>.

In the context of energy politics and cooperation through energy reserves the position of the SCO member and observer states is very interesting. Russia, China, India and Pakistan are nuclear powers whereas Iran is also eager to be one. In this case energy can be produced apart from the conventional resources, the technological support from Russia and China can help to overcome the energy needs and fulfill the shortage of energy in these countries. Russia and Kazakhstan have planned to establish a uranium enrichment center, which will be utilizing the vast uranium reserves of Kazakhstan, which accounts almost 20% of the whole global reserves. Russia has long been using energy resources as a political tool and one of the main determinants of her foreign policy. The same is happening in the case of the SCO Energy Club. Russia is of the view to combine the energy producing companies belonging to the SCO countries at one platform and control the world oil supplies. However the way China looks at the energy club idea is different. China is one of the largest consumers of energy resources, and hence the first priority is to secure the supply of raw materials in order to fulfill the huge demand of energy within the country.⁷⁷

Despite everything, the USA is the combined competitor for all the key players in the region. The increasing influence of the USA in the region can be a threat to the energy security of Russian supply, and Chinese demand mechanism because China is also depending on Russia and the Central Asian countries for energy. The USA's presence can put Chinese interests at stake. China and Kazakhstan have already constructed an almost 3000 km long oil pipeline which is capable to discharge 20 million tons oil per year. China aims to invest in Siberian energy resources, in 1996 a

⁷⁷ Kundu, N. D. (2013). "Russia pushes for strengthening SCO's energy club." Russia and India Report", Retrieved on May 24, 2015, from http://in.rbth.com/russian_india_experts/2013/08/12/russia_pushes_for_strengthening_scos_ene_rgy_club_28363.html.

‘pan-Asian continental oil bridge’ was planned to be constructed. It could combine the energy supply lines of Middle East, Central Asia, and Russia and these supplies could be used not only by China but by several Asian countries.⁷⁸ The fast growth of India cannot be ignored, consisting of a huge population it is expected to be the first competitor to China in energy consumption, hence the SCO must formulate a combined mechanism for energy issues.⁷⁹

The role of Russia is getting more and more active in defining the energy politics in the region, thanks to the substantial energy resources it owns. The creation of Energy Club within the SCO is not only a reason to increase the cooperation and energy trade between the member and the observer states, rather the discovery of the shale gas in the USA is a potential threat which will cause serious harm to the energy business of Russia. Pakistan is the center of attention as a big market not only for Russia but also for the USA as well. There are several reasons of being so, firstly, Pakistan is suffering with serious energy shortage and can be a huge buyer of energy products in which both the USA and Russia are dealing. Secondly, Pakistan is also in process of constructing a gas pipeline in collaboration with Iran which is not very much welcomed by the USA, on the other hand this project is encouraged by Russia and China. Because of these reasons Pakistan is expected to become a member of the

⁷⁸ Marketos, T. N. (2009). *China's Energy Geo Politics; the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Central Asia*, Routledge,
https://books.google.com.tr/books?hl=en&lr=&id=Fth9AgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP8&dq=shanghai+cooperation+organization%2Benergy&ots=Bp9CreEchz&sig=pDNWrEX5goC-5GLKZSAqcTrL3ZY&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=shanghai%20cooperation%20organization%2Benergy&f=false. (Accessed on May 24, 2015)

⁷⁹ Chung, C. P. (2014). "China and the Institutionalization of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization." *Problems of Post-Communism* 1(6): 12,
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.2753/PPC1075-8216530501> (Accessed on May 24, 2015)

Energy Club and in the same context Russia offered out of the way financial as well as energy resource assistance to Pakistan.⁸⁰

Pakistan and Russia signed an inter-governmental agreement to construct North-South gas pipeline which will connect the two most populated cities of Pakistan, Karachi and Lahore for the supply of the Liquefied Natural Gas. Both countries came to this agreement in October 2015 where Russia pledged to invest 2 billion US dollars and will build this gas pipeline in compliance of the BOOT model (Build Own Operate Transfer). This project is planned to be executed in three stages, the first stage ends with the building of the pipeline in mid-2018, in the second stage compressor stations will be installed by the mid-2019, and in the third and final stage the compressor stations will be utilized to use the pipeline to its full capacity, which is 12.4 billion cubic meters annually, everything is expected to be done by mid-2020.⁸¹

Pakistan is currently facing the worst energy crisis in its history, which has badly affected the industry, transportation and even the household needs. Despite having 105 trillion cubic feet shale gas reserves, Pakistan only generates four billion cubic feet of gas per day which is far lower than the demand.⁸² The infrastructure for the exploration, extraction and transportation for gas is scarce in Pakistan and it is hard

⁸⁰ Bhutta, Z. (2013). Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: Pakistan poised to become member of SCO energy club. The Express Tribune Karachi, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/647975/shanghai-cooperation-organisation-pakistan-poised-to-become-member-of-sco-energy-club/> (Accessed on June 22, 2015)

⁸¹ Dawn. "Pakistan, Russia Sign Agreement for Construction of North-South Gas Pipeline." The Daily Dawn October 16, 2015, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1213460> (Accessed on October 15, 2015)

⁸² Houreld, Katharine. "Pakistan Pins Hopes on Gas Imports, but Snags Slow Progress" Reuters, April 30 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/04/30/pakistan-gas-idUSL4N0XP46420150430#ir1Z72uxLbs12z3B.97> (Accessed on November 26, 2015)

to find new investors because of the volatile security situation. It is expected that after becoming the part of the energy club of the SCO, Pakistan can initiate more energy projects with China and Russia.

3.4. Expansion of the SCO: Effects on the New Members as well as on the SCO Itself

It was very clear from the beginning of the SCO, that new memberships will not be opened. However the highly volatile situation of the world affairs has made the leadership to invite potential important players to join the SCO as members. The summit held in 2014 in Dushanbe was conclusive regarding the inclusion of the new members; several protocols were signed in this context. The interest was expressed by China and Russia to take Pakistan and India as full time members of the SCO.⁸³ Pakistan had been openly showing intentions towards joining the SCO as a fulltime member which is clear from the statement of the President of Pakistan Mr. Mamnoon Hussain, 'Pakistan has been an active Observer in the SCO. All eyes are set on the forthcoming the SCO Summit in Ufa [Russia] in July, where important decisions will be taken, including the induction of new full members. We hope that relevant procedures will be completed in time for Pakistan's inclusion in the organization as full member'.⁸⁴

During the last decade the phenomenal economic growth of India and the Chinese interests in Pakistan regarding the economic corridor through Silk Road made these

⁸³ Kucera, J. (2014). "What Does Adding India And Pakistan Mean For The SCO?" Retrieved 22/06/2015, 2015, from <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/14733>.

⁸⁴ Alexandrova, S. (2015). Pakistan Hopes to Become Full-Fledged SCO Member. Sputnik News Moscow, <http://sputniknews.com/politics/20150316/1019559080.html> (Accessed on June 22, 2015)

two countries more important in the region. In addition to this the potential energy market in Pakistan makes it attractive for Russia, and it can be seen that Russia has again started taking interest in the SCO, expressing her interest in taking Pakistan into the Energy Club is an instance for this. The expansion of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization will give an impression that this Union is not in isolation. In the past it was being considered as a lame duck, it will also normalize and make the role of Russia and China clear in the organization. In the past Russia seemed to be more interested in the security responsibilities of the cooperation whereas the primary interest of China seemed to be the economic expansion.⁸⁵ In the recent summit held in Ufa, Russia in July 2015 Pakistan and India have been accepted as full time members in effect from 2016. The inclusion of Pakistan and India will increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the SCO and can bring a positive change in the whole region.

The circumstances of Pakistan and India both are very interesting individually. India at one side has very close relations with Russia, on the other hand to maintain the economic growth India needs to be in good relations with the Western Bloc. Pakistan has been inclined towards the Western Bloc during the past several years after the events of 9/11. However the Pakistan-China relations have constantly been growing and currently after signing the agreement of the Economic Corridor worth 46 Billion US dollar with China, Pakistan is seen as the next political battle field between the West and the East.⁸⁶ The Russian ambassador in China Mr. Denisov stated, 'Russia welcomed the expansion of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. The main

⁸⁵ Kucera, J. (2014). "What Does Adding India And Pakistan Mean For The SCO?" Retrieved 22/06/2015, 2015, from <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/14733>.

⁸⁶ Simonyan, Y. (2014). "India and Pakistan expected to become full members of SCO." Russia and India Report, http://in.rbth.com/world/2014/09/15/india_and_pakistan_expected_to_become_full_members_of_sco_38295.html (Accessed on June 22, 2015)

candidates are our partners from India, Pakistan and Iran'.⁸⁷ It is possible that Pakistan and India after coming on the same page through the SCO can solve their historical conflicts.

⁸⁷ Tass (2015). Process of accession of India, Pakistan, Iran to SCO may start this year-diplomat. Russia and India Report, http://in.rbth.com/news/2015/02/10/process_of_accession_of_india_pakistan_iran_to_sco_may_start_this_year_d_41277.html (Accessed on June 22, 2015)

CHAPTER 4
PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE SHANGHAI COOPERATION
ORGANIZATION

Despite having a lot of potential, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization still has many limitations. The most influential members in this organization are China and Russia. While they currently have close cooperation in several areas, their relationship is unpredictable in the future. While sharing common interests and threats, they are at close competition with each other. The phenomenal economic growth of China has overshadowed the power of Russia. China has even won economic influence in the Central Asia, which was once called the ‘back yard’ of Russia. The Chinese supremacy does not stop at Central Asia; it has huge economic presence in South Asia, Middle East, Africa, and in Latin America. Thus, having said all this, Russia and China are working together for joint interests however mutual trust is lacking in their marriage of compromise. This situation undermines the functionality of the SCO.

After the occurrence of the 9/11, the US and the NATO forces got involved in Afghanistan to conduct the “War on Terror”. The War on Terror engaged many countries connected to the SCO which affected the Russian and Chinese hegemony in the region. The energy rich countries became the center of attention of the big powers and a competition of policies started among them. Another issue is that the entry of the Western powers, especially the USA was not allowed in the SCO. Hence, this organization is criticized greatly by the western scholars, moreover the competition between the big powers affect the well-being of the mediocre economies who are left with no option except taking the side of Eastern or the Western bloc.

The members and the observers of the SCO are facing extensive security challenges. The withdrawal of the ISAF from Afghanistan after 2016 leaves a question mark on the effectiveness of the SCO in dealing with the security issues and drug smuggling. Democracy is either lacking or absent in most of the members of the SCO and the human rights situation is at decline. The SCO is usually criticized for absence of appropriate actions in conflict resolution between the member countries in the past. In this chapter, I will discuss all these limitations of the SCO in detail, the western perspective about the SCO will be compared with the Eastern notions about the functionality of the SCO.

4.1. Power Play among the Great Powers

The amount of natural resources, geographical importance and the human resources of Eurasia has made this region an important place in international politics. Economic giants like China, India and Russia are situated in the region and already in competition for economic and political hegemony simultaneously. All the countries of this region are struggling economies, and somehow dependent on each other which bounds them to cooperate mutually. The SCO is the best example where all the major countries of the region are connected together in different roles. It is clear that this region will become more important in the future, considering the fact that all the big powers are eyeing to get maximum out of it, it is expected that in the coming years this region will be a political battle field between the Eastern and the Western bloc.

There is a vast list of the events going on in Eurasia which are indicating towards the start of a new cold war between the East and the West. The exclusion of China and Russia from the Trans-Pacific Partnership project of the USA and the new Silk Road

project plans of China can become the major reason for the East-West split. The Silk Road project of China is already of an overwhelming nature which is supposed to connect Shanghai with Berlin, expected to generate 21 trillion USD worth of revenue while covering the major part of the world population. In addition to this the increasing energy ties between China, India and Iran through gas pipelines are also not much welcomed by the USA, since Iran is under international economic sanctions.⁸⁸

Another East-West power play can be seen in Iran-Pakistan (IP) gas pipeline project versus the Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India (TAPI) gas pipeline project. The United States has been highly skeptical on the construction of IP gas pipeline, which is the need of the hour for Pakistan, the same project has been highly supported by Russia and China. The United States is pressuring Pakistan to roll back the IP gas pipeline agreement (which will not only cause Pakistan the loss of energy; Pakistan will also have to pay penalty for such action), and emphasizing that Pakistan should go for the TAPI pipeline project which is discouraged by Russia. India already left the IP gas pipeline project because of immense pressure of the USA.⁸⁹

Now China is expected to finance the construction of the IP gas pipeline from Pakistan's end. Currently Pakistan is in negotiation process with Chinese Petroleum

⁸⁸ Sputnik. "New Silk Road Vs Tpp: East and West Enter 'War' for Dominance in Eurasia." Sputnik News May 22, 2015, <http://sputniknews.com/business/20150522/1022463416.html> (Accessed on June 23, 2015)

⁸⁹ Fazl-e-Haider, S. (2014). Big powers block Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline plans. The Nation Islamabad 2, <http://www.thenational.ae/business/energy/big-powers-block-iran-pakistan-gas-pipeline-plans> (Accessed on June 23, 2015)

Pipeline Bureau.⁹⁰ This advancement is supposed to bring the relations of Pakistan with the USA in more jeopardy since the IP gas project is already not much liked by the USA, moreover China is going to be the stakeholder of this project which is strategically very important and supposed to hurt the various interests of the USA. Pakistan has substantial shale gas reserves which are unexplored, the western investors have however neglected to invest in this opportunity because of the volatile security conditions of Pakistan.

4.2. Russian versus Chinese Perspective: Changing Priorities and Mutual Distrust

A history of conflicts between China and Russia tended to change after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. China's extreme concentration towards economic prosperity and Russia's attention towards security matters brought both of the countries closer. Moreover the border threats to China through the Soviet Union reduced after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Russia is one of the highest energy producing countries in the world and China is one of the largest consumers of the energy products, doing a marriage of compromise was inevitable for the two countries by forgetting the past differences. The separatist movements in both countries made them think to come on the same page to fight these internal insurgencies. As a result Shanghai Five came into existence to reduce the border hostility, increase cooperation and promote regional harmony between the member states especially Russia and China.

⁹⁰ RT (2015). China to build \$2bn Iran-Pakistan pipeline. Russia Today Moscow, <http://rt.com/business/248313-china-iran-pakistan-gas-pipeline/> (Accessed on June 24, 2015)

The success of Shanghai Five made this organization to become a full scale regional alliance in the form of Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Though the focus of China was more on economic cooperation and Russia was emphasizing on security issues. The aim of the organization was ambiguous until it defined its prime goal to fight three evils: separatism, extremism, and terrorism. After the summit of 2009 held in Yekaterinburg, Russia; the division of labor was formally defined between the member states, which made this organization as representative of the region as well as a source of liaison with the United Nations. The partnership in BRICS has also great economic, political and social effects where the largest growing economies have formed an alliance, the role of Russia and China is vital in this association.

While sharing the same threats and benefits, there is also a clear conflict of interest between Russia and China. Until the disintegration of the USSR, China was seen as the younger brother, but during the last two decades the economy of the country has multiplied manifold. China has a huge economy and it is one of the major investors in Central Asia, Africa, South Asia, the Middle East and Latin America. China is spending huge sums of fortune on weapons and warfare equipment, having the largest army in the world; all of these factors have contributed China to be called more powerful and hegemonic potential holder compared to Russia.

During the past years the clear divide between the Chinese and Russian perspectives can be seen. For example during the 2005 Summit held in Astana, China offered interest free loans to the member states worth 900 Million dollar. This offer was though accepted by Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan but Russia strongly discouraged and eventually rejected this offer because of the condition to buy Chinese goods in exchange. On the other hand Russia is seen very influential in the Energy Club

affairs within the SCO which undermines the access of China to the Russian market for sale of its goods.⁹¹

There is a close competition between China and Russia for the dominance in Central Asia. Historically this region was very dear to Russia, before and during the Soviet times this region remained under the thumb of Moscow. However, the situation is changing very rapidly, Russian economy is at decline. In 2009 it declined by 7.9% as it is highly dependent on energy exports, which makes it vulnerable to the changes of energy product price in international market. The economic passiveness affected Russian dominance in Central Asia and at the same time it was replaced by China whose economy grew by 8.7% during the same year.⁹²

China Petroleum Cooperation bought half of the stakes in Kazakhstan's largest oil company, by beating Russian Gazprom in bids. The Chinese investments in gas sector of Turkmenistan are also increasing constantly; hence China is hitting Russia where it hurts the most. Apart from economic hegemony, China took political lead to Russia in 2008 during Georgia-Russian war when Central Asian states refused to recognize the Russian led de-facto states of Abkhazia and South Ossetia.⁹³

Though Russia and China are seen as partners, the relation of trust is missing between them because both know that one's opportunity is the loss of the other. By

⁹¹ Aris, S. (2008). "Russian-Chinese Relations through the Lens of SCO." Institut français des relations(34): 12-13, https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/Ifri_RNV_Aris_SCO_Eng.pdf (Accessed on June 24, 2015)

⁹² Jeffrey Mankoff, L. R. M. (2010). "China-Russia Competition Opens A Door For America." Retrieved 25/06/2015, from <http://www.forbes.com/2010/04/22/china-russia-politics-tension-markets-economy-oil-gas.html>.

⁹³ ibid

losing dominance in Central Asia, Russia will be facing competitors in the energy sector. This loss of Russia is silently celebrated by China by investing more and more in Central Asia hence diminishing the Russian sphere of influence in the very back yard of Russia. In this matter China has less to gain as Russia has to lose, which makes China highly untrustworthy for Russia. Their mutual cooperation is highly dependent as long as they have the combined threats such as Islamic extremism. China also has trust issues with Russia. While Russia sells large number of defense goods to China, at the same time it sells larger number of the same to India who is the conventional foe of China. China is unable to purchase the highly sophisticated security equipment from Russia, because Russia does not sell it considering it a threat to the intellectual property rights of it.⁹⁴

“One mountain cannot contain two tigers”, the relationship between Russia and China can best defined by this Chinese proverb. The historical mistrust continues and expected to continue in the future. Despite having common threats, China and Russia will still keep an eye on each other because they hardly share common interests when it comes to economy and political hegemony. Though China has gained influence in Central Asia, Russia has also extended its energy deals to Japan, India, Mongolia, Vietnam, South and North Korea. This move is painful for China, though they both have anti-West sentiments but still China is not ready to lose the US market and Russia will not compromise on the European market.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Cossa, V. M. A. (2014). "China and Russia's Great Game in Central Asia." Retrieved 25/06/2015, from <http://nationalinterest.org/about-the-national-interest>.

⁹⁵ Feng, Huiyun. "China and Russia Vs. The United States?" The Diplomat 2015, <http://thediplomat.com/2015/03/china-and-russia-vs-the-united-states> (Accessed on November 26, 2015)

4.3. Security Challenges, Religious Extremism and Drug Smuggling

All the members and the observer states of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization are primarily suffering due to the security threats of religious extremism. Russia, China and Central Asian countries are also insecure because of the existence of terrorists. Pakistan is at war with terrorists in several parts of its territory and India is also under the threat from the separatist and terrorist movements. These issues are expected to multiply as soon as the International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) will leave Afghanistan. According to the announcement of the US President Obama in May, 2014, the ISAF troops will leave Afghanistan in 2016. In this case the security assistance from the West to Afghanistan would be remained to a minimum, and the Afghan security forces lack power and capability to deal with the potential threats. The growth of religious extremism will increase which will affect the neighboring countries and eventually the whole region. The coming situations are going to be tough for all the countries, and the role of the SCO is needed to be more exclusive because the Central Asian countries seriously lack the capabilities in fighting these potential threats, hence the SCO is the only platform which can push the terrorist forces away from the region.⁹⁶

Another important challenge for the SCO is the drug trafficking. Currently Afghanistan has the monopoly in the production of drugs such as opium, morphine and heroin. The fact was shown by the Federal Drug Control Service of Russia (FDCS) that Afghanistan produces 800 tons of heroin annually which is transported into Russia through the Central Asian countries. The interesting thing is that during

⁹⁶ Reeves, J. (2014). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: A Tenable Provider of Security in Post-2014 Central Asia? ." Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies: 3-6, <http://www.apcss.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/SCO-REEVES-2014.pdf> (Accessed on June 25, 2015)

the last ten years the cultivation of poppy (used for heroin production) in Afghanistan has increased by 40 times compared to the period before anti-Taliban operations started. Though there is an anti-drug trafficking mechanism present within the SCO, it needs to be improved. Pakistan, Iran and Central Asian countries should be specially taken onboard because they share borders with Afghanistan which can help controlling the drug trafficking in the region.⁹⁷

The security challenges, drug trafficking and the religious extremism are strongly interconnected problems. The main source of earning for the terrorist outfits is the sale of drugs; these drugs are mainly produced in Afghanistan and transported to all the neighboring countries. The terrorists have a network, which utilizes the returns from the sale of the drugs to buy ammunition, hire and train human resources and use it to destabilize the different countries. Curbing the drug transportation is the hottest challenge for the SCO members this is the only way to cease the terrorist from buying resources.

4.4. Partially Democratic Systems and Poor Human Rights Condition

The SCO is often criticized on the fact that the member states are not fully democratic whether it is China, Russia or any Central Asian country. One of the basic principles of the SCO is noninterference in the internal affairs of the member states, which somehow encourages the authoritarian regimes which are in power in all the member states of SCO. The development and promotion of a real democratic system is hardly seen as the main aim of the cooperation. The dictatorships of the

⁹⁷ Rozanov, A. A. (2013). The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Central Asia's Security Challenges, The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces 45-46, <http://www.dcaf.ch/Publications/The-Shanghai-Cooperation-Organisation-and-Central-Asia-s-Security-Challenges> (Accessed on June 26, 2015)

Central Asian countries have not been seen as a problem by Russia or China for security and economic interests respectively.⁹⁸

The attack on the democratic opposition, silencing the voice of civil society organizations, and controlling the media outlets are not new for Russia and China. In the name of fighting against the three evils; terrorism, extremism and separatism, the list of the wanted organizations and the individuals is getting long every year. From the year 2006 to 2010 the number of wanted individuals increased to 1100, and organizations from 15 to 42. It is assumed that the authoritarian rulers try to settle their scores with the opponents through this platform.⁹⁹

The human rights situation of the member states is also criticized, whereas the stance of the SCO is ambiguous. The suspects can be exchanged by the member states with minimal evidence. According to the Minsk Convention which came into being in 1993, today's member states of the SCO are forced not to allow political asylum to the nationals of other member states. In 2010 Kazakhstan returned 29 asylum seekers to Uzbekistan. Handing over Uyghur individuals to China from Russia and Central Asia and handing over people to Central Asian countries from Russia has also recorded as a practice.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Alyson J. K. Bailes, P. D., Pan Guang and Mikhail Troitskiy (2007). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization " Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (17): 38, https://www.academia.edu/485042/A_Russian_Perspective_on_the_Shanghai_Cooperation_Organization (Accessed on June 26, 2015)

⁹⁹ Cooley, A. (2013). The League of Authoritarian Gentlemen. Foreign Policy, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/01/30/the-league-of-authoritarian-gentlemen/> (Accessed on June 26, 2015)

¹⁰⁰ *ibid*

The non-interference principles of the SCO basically incline with China and Russia, rather it in a way supports the authoritarian regimes in the other member countries of the SCO. Despite signing several human rights treaties, all the members of the SCO commit human rights violations mainly targeting the disadvantaged groups.¹⁰¹ Before this, according to the analysis conducted by the Freedom House in 2007, except Kyrgyzstan all the countries in the SCO are “Not Free” whereas Kyrgyzstan is “Partly Free”. Though the SCO maintains rules in its charter for safeguarding the human rights, the human rights situation in the member states is not very good particularly in China. Almost 45% of the world population lives in the member states of the SCO. After the disintegration of the USSR, the role of Russia has been instrumental in bringing, supporting and prolonging the power of authoritarian regimes in the post-Soviet countries. There are occasions where the SCO did not play the role it was supposed to play such as in Andijan massacre. The deportation of people from Russia to Uzbekistan despite the injunction of European Human Rights Court is another incident on the issue. The pro-Russian civil society organizations have also started working in Uzbekistan. The Chinese repression on the Uyghur population has also been overlooked by the SCO and other member states. China did not actively react on the Crimean crisis, which shows that the democratization within the SCO is compromised.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ HRIC. "Counter-terrorism and Human Rights: the Impact of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization ", 122-23. New York Human Rights in China 2011, http://www.hrichina.org/sites/default/files/publication_pdfs/2011-hric-sco-whitepaper-full.pdf

¹⁰² Murphy, D. (2007). The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Threatening Human Rights or Providing Regional Cooperation and Stability? . Washington Freedom House 4, https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/inline_images/DMSCOtestimony.pdf (Accessed on June 26, 2015)

It is often common practice that when a member state conducts a violent operation against the anti-governmental forces, the other key players either remain silent or support such actions. Russian actions against Chechens and the Chinese actions against the Uyghur population support this argument. The concept of separatism is ambiguously defined in the charter, because the differentiation between the violent and non-violent self-determination movement is not defined clearly, both are considered to be nailed by the same hammer. Hence, human rights and democracy are two big questions which have not been answered yet by any member state so far.¹⁰³

4.5. The Role of the SCO in Regional Conflicts Resolution

The reason of establishing the Shanghai Five and later converting it into the SCO was to diminish the difference between the regional actors, to solve the historical conflicts and to avoid future territorial conflicts. The SCO has been successful to overcome the long lasted Chinese-Russian conflict after the disintegration moreover China secured its borders with the Central Asian countries. However, as a whole the SCO has not been very successful or interested to solve the bigger conflicts which do not only affect regional security rather can pose threat to the world peace.

Several instances can be quoted where the SCO could have played its role but did not on the basis of the principle of noninterference in the matters of sovereign states no matter whether those states were almost committing crimes against the humanity. During the Russian-Georgian war in 2008, though China criticized Russian actions

¹⁰³ Hessbruegge, J. A. (2004). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: A Holy Alliance For Central Asia?" The Fletcher School Online Journal for issues related to Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilization 2: 2, <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/~media/Fletcher/Microsites/al%20Nakhlah/archives/pdfs/hessbruegge%202.pdf> (Accessed on June 26, 2015)

and the member countries followed Chinese lead. The actions to contain the aggression were understated on the SCO's part. The same happened during the Russian annexation of Crimea, the SCO was seen as supporting Russian interests by keeping silent. The SCO also stayed out of the matter when 2000 people died and 400,000 persons became internally displaced in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan because of the ethnic conflicts. The SCO preferred not to intervene in the internal matter of the country. It seems that Russia allows China to have influence through the SCO in exchange of its influence through the CSTO on Central Asian countries.¹⁰⁴

There are interstate conflicts between the Central Asian countries which must be addressed by the SCO, for example the tensions are continued on the Uzbek-Kyrgyz border. Severe disagreements are found between the two countries regarding the distribution of gas, oil, water and electricity resources. In such scenarios the sole solution opted by China is to heavily invest in Central Asian countries, which for the time being works. The SCO seems unable to bring the Central Asian countries on the same page with strategic solutions regarding the border conflicts, natural resources and infrastructure.¹⁰⁵ The Uyghur Crisis in China and the Chechen issue in North Caucasus have also remained unresolved, although China and Russia have somehow internally controlled the separatist campaigns but the role of the SCO has not been seen very substantial to find out the permanent solution for these matters.

¹⁰⁴ Saksena, A. R. (2014). The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Central Asian Security. The Diplomat Tokyo, <http://thediplomat.com/2014/07/the-shanghai-cooperation-organization-and-central-asian-security/> (Accessed on June 27, 2015)

¹⁰⁵ Kley, D. v. d. (2013). China's SCO Challenges. The Diplomat Tokyo, <http://thediplomat.com/2013/12/chinas-sco-challenges/> (Accessed on June 27, 2015)

The role of the SCO was indifferent during the Osh ethnic conflicts of 2010 which happened in Kyrgyzstan. The riots took the shape of the ethnic conflict between the Kyrgyz and the Uzbek people which took hundreds of lives and thousands of people were displaced. Despite the official request of the Kyrgyz President Roza Otunbayeva from Russia for the military interference, Russia preferred not to intervene, neither China could do anything despite having massive investments at stake. Although consultation was taken during the annual summit of the SCO, it was decided that the support will remain limited through diplomatic channels and humanitarian aid.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Aris, Stephen. "The Response of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation to the Crisis in Kyrgyzstan." Taylor & Francis Online 14, no. 3 (2012): 452-453, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13698249.2012.706954> (Accessed on November 19, 2015)

CHAPTER 5

DIALOGUE REGARDING THE FUTURE OF THE SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION WITH RESPECT TO INDIA AND PAKISTAN

The history of Pakistan and India is full of conflicts; both countries are at war since the first day of their birth. The militaries faced each other several times, which resulted in full scale wars as well as quasi-war situations. As a result India and Pakistan are in a never ending arms race; both have nuclear arsenals and are always ready to use them on each other. The Pakistan-India border is considered one of the most dangerous borders in the world. Despite the ceasefire agreements, the situation remains unpredictable, ceasefire violations are very common and both countries blame each other for this.

The bone of contention between Pakistan and India is the region of Kashmir. The primary interest of Pakistan in the Jammu and Kashmir (Indian Occupied and disputed) is to safeguard the well-being of Muslims who are in majority in Kashmir. The Kashmir conflict is as old as Pakistan and India: in 1948 after the war between Pakistan and India over Kashmir, it was decided by the United Nations that a plebiscite will be conducted in Kashmir. The people of Kashmir were supposed to decide which side they wanted to join or whether they wanted an independent country. However, the referendum has never been allowed by India to happen, which remains the basic reason of twist in Pakistan-India relations.

Pakistan has substantial interests in Kashmir, above all is that most of the rivers enter Pakistan through Kashmir from India. India has been violating the water treaties for many decades, which badly affects the agriculture in Pakistan. This is feared that in future Pakistan and India will be fighting wars on the water issues if they do not come up with some viable solution. Several water disagreements were resolved after the involvement of international arbitrators but India is still largely breaching the agreed terms on many projects in Kashmir and other border areas.

Pakistan and India also blame each other for supporting the internal insurgencies and the separatist movements. Pakistan is of the view that India supports the separatists in Baluchistan through financial as well as weaponry means. The TTP (Tahreek-i-Taliban Pakistan) is also believed by Pakistan to be a creation of India. Pakistan also suspects a large political party Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) to be supported financially by India and its militant wings are provided trainings in Indian camps. On the other hand India blames Pakistan for the Mumbai attacks occurred in 2008, and the attack on the Indian parliament. India also blames Pakistan for supporting the Sikh community in their demands for an independent country (Khalistan). A proxy war is being fought between India and Pakistan in Afghanistan to win influence there; hence both countries are in competition on every ground.

India being a secular country and Pakistan being theocratic used different foreign policy determinants throughout the history. Pakistan kept changing its foreign policy direction from 1947 to 1970 yet remained within the Western bloc. From 1970 to 1977 the Muslim nationalism and socialism were the parameters of the foreign policy. From 1979 onwards Pakistan kept supporting the western bloc until the end of Cold War. Interestingly Pakistan remained in warm relations with China after 1962 till now, because Pakistan and China viewed India as the common enemy. India

remained non-aligned, neither chose Western nor Eastern bloc, however remained in good relations with the Soviet Union.

In this chapter the conflicts between Pakistan and India will be discussed in detail, I will try to identify external factors which keep these conflicts unresolved. I will also try to analyze that how the SCO can be helpful in bringing a common understanding between India and Pakistan.

5.1. Hot and Cold on Border Issues

Pakistan and India share a vast border area, collectively having the length of almost of 1800 miles. The LOC (Line of Control) segregates Indian occupied Kashmir and Azad Kashmir (governed by Pakistan). In the north, Punjab is the center of division, in the south the Indian states such as Gujarat and Rajasthan connects the Pakistani province of Sindh. Pakistan shares coastal borders with India in the Arabian Sea through Manora Island.

Since 1947, Pakistan and India have never been able to settle their border conflicts, tensions continued on both sides because of the feeling of insecurity from either side. Several wars have been fought, for which the main conflict was Kashmir. Both countries claim Kashmir as their integral territory. Kashmir is currently divided into two parts which are Jammu Kashmir under the Indian influence and the Azad Kashmir which is controlled by Pakistan. The larger part of Kashmir remains with India, which is a disputed territory between India and Pakistan.

5.1.1. Kashmir and Siachen Conflict

In 1947 when Pakistan and India came into existence as independent countries, the Maharaja Hari Singh (Prince) of the Jammu and Kashmir preferred to establish Jammu and Kashmir as an autonomous and independent territory. When the British left India, the riots between Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs started all over the region including Kashmir. In Kashmir, Muslims were in majority and because of the riots against them Pakistan sent its military to occupy Kashmir and save Muslims from aggression. When Pakistan attacked, Maharaja Hari Singh requested India to intervene and help him. India accepted to intervene on the condition that Maharaja will sign the instrument of accession, which gives the right to India to annex Kashmir as its part. On the complaint of Indian Prime Minister of that time Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru to UN Security Council in 1948, a resolution was passed to conduct plebiscite in Kashmir after immediate ceasefire; this was the same year when Line of Control (LOC) was defined.¹⁰⁷ Despite the UN resolution, India did not let the plebiscite happen. It is also said that Pakistan and India had different interpretations of the UN's directive, which kept this issue unresolved till today.

Since 1947 Pakistan and India have fought four full scale wars (1948, 1965, 1971, and 1999) and many incidents when both militaries faced each other on the borders. In 1998 Pakistan and India tested nuclear weapons, and during the Kargil war in 1999, it was feared that they will use nuclear weapons on each other. Prior to the use of these deadly weapons, the war was stopped through international arbitration. The whole region is still in danger because of the historical rivalry of Pakistan and India and their never ending arms race. India holds Pakistan responsible for supporting the

¹⁰⁷ Rao, T. N. "India-Pakistan Relations: Issues, Problems and Recent Developments" Retrieved 05/07/2015, 2015, from https://www.academia.edu/4402526/India-Pakistan_Relations_Issues_Problems_and_Recent_Developments.

Islamist terrorists in Jammu Kashmir, whereas Pakistan is of the view that India supports the insurgents and separatists in Pakistan especially in Baluchistan.¹⁰⁸ Pakistan also claims that the TTP (Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan) is supported by India to create insecurity in Pakistan through terrorist attacks on the civilian as well as military outfits.

Another frozen conflict between Pakistan and India is on the glaciers of Siachen, which is the highest war ground in the world situated in the Karakorum mountain range. The length of the glacier is 47 miles and the width is between two to four miles, with the temperature which drops down to -40 degree Fahrenheit. In 1980s this territory was shown on the North American maps as the part of Pakistan, before 1980 this it was shown in dotted lines in the maps of Pakistan, India and USA. India initiated operation Maghdoot in April, 1984 and took control of the major part of the glacier. Pakistan responded but could not fully restore control over the territory. The Indian aggressive actions in Siachen were against the Shimla Agreement signed between Pakistan and India in 1972.¹⁰⁹

The main reason for the continuous and unresolved conflicts in South Asia is the drawing of the borders by the British at the time of their departure. Kashmir is not only a conflict zone between India and Pakistan, but China also have claims on some parts of Kashmir which led to a war with India in 1962. Afghanistan also has historical disagreements with Pakistan in recognition of the Afghan-Pakistan border called Durand Line. The British Empire is criticized for leaving the responsibility of

¹⁰⁸ Manjeet S. Pardesi, S. G. (2007). "The Rise of India and the India-Pakistan Conflict." *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 21(1): 132, dl.tufts.edu/file_assets/tufts:UP149.001.00063.00009 (Accessed on July 5, 2015)

¹⁰⁹ Mir, M. A. (2014). "India-Pakistan; the History of Unsolved Conflicts." *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science* 19(4): 106-108, <http://iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol19-issue4/Version-2/O01942101110.pdf> (Accessed on July 5, 2015)

the division of the borders in the hands of civil servants which had limited knowledge of the geography of the region. Figure No. 3 shows the disputed territories between India and Pakistan, and figure No. 4 shows the major disputed territories in the region.



Figure 3 (Disputed Territories between India and Pakistan)¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Frontiers, F. (2012). "The Economist" Retrieved July 06, 2015, from http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/05/indian_pakistani_and_chinese_border_disputes.



Figure 4 (Disputed Territories between India and Pakistan and India and China)¹¹¹

The major argument of this thesis is that all the countries that are somehow connected with the SCO have more or less same kind of problems, such as terrorism, extremism and separatism. Above all these issues, the largest countries have frozen conflicts with each other, top of the list are India, Pakistan and China. The maintenance of peace is not only inevitable for Pakistan and India but also carries major weight for China to achieve the ambitious trade targets it has. It is a proven fact that without peace and security it is almost impossible to achieve growth in long term. This is expected that the SCO can be helpful to find some strategic solution which would bring all the members and the observers at the same page to bring prosperity in the entire region.

¹¹¹ Frontiers, F. (2012). "The Economist" Retrieved July 06, 2015, from http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/05/indian_pakistani_and_chinese_border_disputes.

5.1.2. The Cost of Wars and Arms Race between India and Pakistan

The wars fought between Pakistan and India incurred huge costs to countries where a big part of the population is living in highly drastic and below average conditions. The four wars fought during the period between 1947 and 2015 claimed 8733 Indian and 13,896 Pakistani lives. In Siachen, every fourth day one Pakistani soldier is killed whereas every second day one Indian soldier loses his life. The economic cost which is afforded by the tax payer, estimated between the years 2003 to 2007 was 73 billion rupees for India and 18 billion rupees for Pakistan.¹¹²

The growth of terrorism has increased in India and Pakistan in the last several decades, and both countries hold each other responsible for the terrorist acts. Pakistan has suffered four military coups since 1947, which caused serious harm to the country and to the growth of democracy. The military governments operated the state in autocratic style, as a result terrorism grew and the expenses on defense were elevated at the cost of the tax paid by the poor citizens.¹¹³ The military regimes of Pakistan preferred transforming Pakistan into a security state; the policies formulated under military rules dragged Pakistan into international conflicts such as the Afghan-Soviet war in 1979. Due to Afghan war Pakistan accommodated millions of Afghan refugees which put extra load on the economy and brought several social problems in the country. Pakistani policies which were once pro-Taliban abruptly changed to anti-Taliban after the 9/11 attacks when Pakistan joined the coalition forces in Afghanistan.

¹¹² Ilmas Futehally, S. B. (2004). "Cost of Conflicts between India and Pakistan." International Centre for Peace Initiatives: 14-15,
http://www.strategicforesight.com/publication_pdf/91581Cost%20of%20Conflict%20Between%20India%20and%20Pakistan.pdf (Accessed on July 6, 2015)

¹¹³ Ibid, 25

The terrorist elements already existed in Pakistan after the Afghan-Soviet war; the participation of Pakistan in War against Terror enraged them and a new wave of terrorism spread all over the country. It is believed that India took advantage of this situation and started supporting the terrorist outfits in Pakistan such as the TTP (Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan) who is responsible of taking thousands of civilian lives.

The TTP took refuge in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan (FATA) where Pakistani military conducted operations in six different districts of the FATA. Huge losses occurred to Pakistan, hundreds of soldiers died and material losses happened.¹¹⁴

The trade has also suffered because of the instable relations; India and Pakistan are big markets and can exchange huge quantity of goods and services. Pakistan and India share large area in the form of border which can bring the cost of transportation of goods at minimum. Pakistan and India are naturally most suitable to each other as trade partners. The never ending arms race is costing a lot to both countries; moreover the nuclear weapons will continue to be a threat for the whole region unless peace comes in the region.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Zahid, Farhan. "The Successes and Failures of Pakistan's Operation Zarb-E-Azb." The Jamestown Foundation 13, no. 1 (2015): 5, http://www.jamestown.org/uploads/media/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue14_02.pdf (Accessed on November 26, 2015)

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 43,77

5.2. Water Conflicts

Pakistan and India both mainly depend on agriculture, having fertile lands and ample manpower both countries deal in producing crops and exporting all over the world. The most important element in agricultural sector is the continuous supply of water. Apart from the border disputes, water conflict is one of the frozen issues between India and Pakistan. Keeping these conflicts in view “Indus Water Treaty” was signed between India and Pakistan in September, 1960. According to this treaty, the three western rivers of Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab were apportioned to Pakistan, and with limited water allocation to India. India was given full rights on the eastern rivers such as Ravi, Sutlej and Beas. The massive size of agriculture, industry, power generation, and population of Pakistan and India has increased the need for water in Pakistan. India has been constantly constructing dams on the western rivers which have shortened the supply of water to Pakistan hence it has become the core of discord between India and Pakistan.¹¹⁶

Indian policy is totally against its neighbors that construct dams: for example India exhibited huge pressure on Nepal with an intention to cause damage to upper-riparian Nepalese dams. On the contrary during the past several decades India has been constantly violating the Indus Water Treaty. The construction of Baghliar dam by India is an example which made Pakistan to take this matter to the World Bank for arbitration in 2005. India was seen again violating the IWT in construction of the Kishnaganga Hydro Electric project on Neelam River which is a major division of

¹¹⁶ Ahmad, S. (2012). Water Insecurity: A Threat for Pakistan and India Washington, DC, The Atlantic Council: 1-3, www.atlanticcouncil.org/en/publications/issue-briefs/water-insecurity-a-threat-for-pakistan-and-india (Accessed on July 7, 2015)

Jhelum River, the clash of interest occurs because on the same river Pakistan is also carrying out the Neelam-Jhelem Hydroelectric Power Project.¹¹⁷

The construction of Indian project will drastically affect the supply of water to Pakistan and will cause serious harm to the agriculture to the Azad Kashmir which majorly depends on the Neelam River. India has planned to build a 21 kilometer long tunnel which will divert the river towards the Wuller Lake. This is clear violation of the IWT, and such act will reduce the supply of water to Pakistan by 27%. Pakistan took this issue to the International Court of Arbitration, which issued its verdict in the light of IWT and directed India to stop any advancement for Kishnaganga Hydro Electric Project.¹¹⁸

The water conflicts between India and Pakistan are supposed to increase due to several reasons. Firstly, Pakistan depends upon the single river basin, which leaves the supply of the water in the hands of India through rivers. India uses the water resources as a foreign policy tool, despite being in agreement (IWT) India violates it. Secondly, Pakistan is seriously lacking in construction of new dams, many dams were planned but could not be constructed because of lack of domestic consensus for example the Kalabagh Dam. Finally, Kashmir is already the bone of contention between Pakistan and India, and most of the rivers flow through Kashmir from India. Consequently the water conflict is connected to the Kashmir dispute. Until and

¹¹⁷ Khan, M. R. (2013). "Crucial Water Issues between Pakistan and India, CBMs, and the Role of Media." *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies* 28(1): 215-216, http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/csas/PDF/15_V28_1_2013.pdf (Accessed on July 7, 2015)

¹¹⁸ *ibid*

unless it is not solved, it is very hard to build confidence between India and Pakistan, in such a situation Pakistan is expected to suffer more as compare to India.¹¹⁹

The platform of the SCO can be very helpful in overcoming these differences and promoting mutual trust between India and Pakistan. The stakes of China and Russia in Pakistan and India are high as well as peace is the most desired objective for the whole region. If Pakistan and India gets ready to come on the same page through the SCO, it can serve as a very valuable arbitration device because the normality of the relations between Pakistan and India are in interest of all the stakeholders in the region.

After the Ufa Summit held in Russia, Pakistan and India are formally the members of the SCO, it is expected that Russia and China can persuade Pakistan and India for the resolution of the conflicts. The peace between Pakistan and India is not important only for them rather all the SCO members have stakes in South Asia considering the future trade potential.

5.3. Current Relations between India and Pakistan

There were many occasions in the history when Pakistan and India were very near to resolve major issues but somehow the talks transformed into wars. Although Pakistan and India share many common cultural values, languages, ethnicities and even habits, their political conditions are quite different to each other. Different political regimes have different foreign policy priorities which highly affect the relations between India and Pakistan. When nationalist parties are in power in India,

¹¹⁹ Lipschutz, K. (2010). "Global Insider: The India-Pakistan Water Dispute." World Politics Review(July 07, 2015): 1-2,
http://johnbriscoe.seas.harvard.edu/files/johnbriscoe/files/112._briscoe_world_politics_review_the_india-pakistan_water_dispute_2010.pdf

or when military is influential in Pakistan, the relations between India and Pakistan can only be predicted to go in decline.

In the past two years the political regimes of Pakistan and India changed so did the foreign policy of both countries. Pakistan has been silent on Kashmir issue from 2008 to 2013 during Mr. Asif Ali Zardari's regime. In 2013 Mr. Nawaz Sharif was elected as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, also military leadership was changed during the same year. In Pakistan, military holds a very important role in the formulation of the foreign policy towards India; the current military leadership has kept Kashmir issue on a priority. In the recent meeting of the UN Security Council, Pakistan has criticized the role of India in blocking the execution of referendum in the Indian occupied Kashmir. Also the human rights situation in Kashmir was criticized by the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Pakistan severely opposed the expansion of the permanent seats in the UN Security Council. Pakistan believes that India has been violating the UN charter regarding Kashmir so it does not deserve to hold a permanent seat in the UN Security Council.¹²⁰

On the other hand Prime Minister Modi after taking office in 2014 criticized the previous foreign policy of the Congress regime specifically with reference to Pakistan. He has increased the defense budget, and continuously uses the anti-Pakistan card to win domestic support. India has been holding Pakistan responsible for supporting terrorism, the statement of the Defense Minister of India Mr. Manohar Parriker discloses the Indian perspective: "we should neutralize terrorists through

¹²⁰ Zamarayeva, Natalya. "Pakistan-India Relationship in 2015 " *New Eastern Outlook* (2015): 3, <http://journal-neo.org/2015/05/25/rus-pakistan-indiya-status-otnoshenij-v-2015-godu/> (Accessed on November 27, 2015)

terrorists only”.¹²¹ India has been supporting the MQM (Muttahida Qaumi Movement) in Pakistan, MQM was not only being financially helped by India rather its militant wing was being provided trainings in India.¹²²

Pakistan and India are at a proxy war in Afghanistan; both countries want to increase influence in Afghanistan considering fulfilling the potential vacuum after the US forces leave. The relations of Afghanistan with Pakistan and India are currently unpredictable because both countries are inevitable for Afghanistan. Pakistan not only shares the border with Afghanistan rather is the only country that can be a bridge between Taliban and the Afghan government. Moreover, Islamabad and Beijing are in close cooperation in Kabul context. China has substantial investments in Afghanistan and the influence of Islamabad will be important to safeguard those investments.

In the current year Pakistan and India have had a lot of hot and cold on the borders, there are several cease fire violations for which both put blames on each other. It will be too early to seek the outcomes of the SCO membership on Pakistan-India relations. However, becoming members of the SCO is important for both countries because after the limited functionality of the SAARC the SCO can be considered as a ray of hope where Russia and China can play an instrumental role for arbitration and peacekeeping.

¹²¹ Bano, Saira. "Modi's Worrying Pakistan Policy." *The Diplomat* (2015), <http://thediplomat.com/2015/07/modis-worrying-pakistan-policy/> (Accessed on November 27, 2015)

¹²² Bennett-Jones, Owen. "Pakistan's MQM 'Received Indian Funding'." *BBC News*, June 24 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-33148880> (Accessed on November 27, 2015)

CHAPTER 6

EVENTS AFTER JULY 2015: PAKISTAN AND INDIA AS FULL TIME MEMBERS

As discussed above the month of July 2015, was being considered very important for both Pakistan and India regarding their status in the SCO. The 2015 Ufa Summit of the SCO holds extra weight because it was held along with the summit of the BRICS. It was the year 2009 when Russia hosted the summits of the SCO and the BRICS in Yekaterinburg, the same happened again in 2015.

This year's summit for the SCO has been different compared to the previously held summits because the SCO changed its basic structure by increasing the number of the member states. Pakistan and India have been accepted as the full time members of the organization which is expected to enhance the sphere of the SCO in South Asia also. The BRICS as well as the SCO are well connected with the South Asian region because India is an active member of the BRICS as well as now of the SCO, and the recent developments of the BRICS can also directly or indirectly have influence on the South Asia.

6.1. The SCO and BRICS Summit, Ufa 2015

The SCO provided Pakistan and India a platform for talks in Ufa as the members of the SCO, several issues were discussed between the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Prime Minister Narendra Moodi. The recent situation regarding terrorism, border instability, improving tourist exchange and confidence building measure were discussed between the two premiers. Pakistan invited India to attend the SAARC summit going to be held in 2016 in Pakistan, which was accepted by India.¹²³

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization is the largest regional platform where India and Pakistan are now members, it is expected that the differences will be curtailed and the cooperation will be increased in the future. It is important to consider that the common interests of the two neighbors are more than the conflicted interests. Both countries are struggling economies and facing almost the same internal problems such as poverty, population explosion, unemployment, inflation etc.

The SCO is often seen skeptically for its stagnant role in the region, but if it is analyzed in detail for its function during the past years it is clear that it has changed its dimensions from security oriented organization towards an economic alliance. Although in the past years China has become more instrumental because of its economic strength and came up with several economic integration ideas such as the suggestion of establishment of the SCO development bank.¹²⁴

¹²³ "Summary of Modi-Sharif Talks in Ufa, Russia." The Indian Express, Noida, July 10, 2015, <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/summary-of-modi-sharif-talks-in-ufa-russia> (Accessed on October 14, 2015)

¹²⁴ Shtraks, Greg. "Sco-Brics: A Big Summit in Ufa." The Diplomat (2015), <http://thediplomat.com/2015/06/sco-brics-a-big-summit-in-ufa/> (Accessed on November 17, 2015)

In the Ufa summit the members signed the declaration to establish a development bank or a developmental fund for the creation of the Silk Road economic belt which will pass through the SCO member states.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, the SCO has not overridden its security dimension, the joint military exercises and the promoting the RATS structures. The SCO members are economically challenged yet they equally face security threats, which need substantial attention through a consolidated platform like the SCO.

The huge Chinese investments in Pakistan, India and Central Asian countries can help channelizing the trade in a better way since all these countries are on the same page through the SCO. Pakistan and India can now reach the markets of Central Asia through the SCO and the trade can be improved in a more regulated and disciplined way. Since Pakistan and India both have severe energy needs which can be fulfilled by Central Asian countries, this will further reduce the dependence on the oil rich gulf countries.

The landlocked Central Asian countries can get access to the sea ports of Pakistan and India to further enhance the trade opportunities. After the Ufa Summit, it is also being speculated that China can take interest in getting membership in the SAARC, which can help China securing its investments in South Asia and can further help in melting the ice from the frozen regional conflicts. All the members of the SCO are interdependent, which can open ways for the conflict resolution, cooperation through trade and joint security measures.

¹²⁵ RFE/RL. "After BRICS, Putin Hosts Shanghai Cooperation Organization Summit in Ufa." Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty July 20, 2015, <http://www.rferl.org/content/russia-putin-shanghai-cooperation-organization-summit-brics-ufa/27120442.html> (Accessed on November 18, 2015)

The expansion of the SCO can be a matter of concern for the West, considering the key players of the organization; China and Russia; it is expected to affect the Western influence in the region. The SCO members can prefer China or Russia for buying defense equipment, which can pose a threat to the interests of the US.¹²⁶ For example, Russia has recently lifted the embargo to sell defense equipment to Pakistan, and signed a contract to supply MI 35 attack helicopters.¹²⁷ Apart from this, Pakistan and Russia signed another defense cooperation agreement in November, 2014.¹²⁸

The expansion of the SCO can be seen with another perspective with reference to the regional security. After the withdrawal of the US and the NATO security forces Afghanistan will become more vulnerable and prone to instability. The already present drug market and the presence of the militants in the country can emerge as a new threat to the peace of the whole region since Afghanistan is situated on a very crucial geographical position. Although Afghanistan has expressed its interest in becoming a member of the SCO, still it has not been offered membership by the

¹²⁶ Swanström, Nicklas Norling & Niklas. "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Trade, and the Roles of Iran, India and Pakistan." *Central Asian Survey* 26, no. 3 (2007): 441-42, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02634930701702779> (Accessed on November 18, 2015)

¹²⁷ Gady, Franz-Stefan. "Confirmed: Pakistan Is Buying New Attack Helicopters from Russia." *The Diplomat* August 21, 2015, <http://thediplomat.com/2015/08/confirmed-pakistan-is-buying-new-attack-helicopters-from-russia/> (Accessed on November 18, 2015)

¹²⁸ Haider, Mateen. "Pakistan, Russia Sign Landmark Defence Deal " *Dawn*, August 20, 2015, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1201473> (Accessed in November 18, 2015)

organization yet. Thus it remains difficult to exercise any influence there by the SCO.¹²⁹

The inclusion of India and particularly Pakistan within the SCO can help establishing control in Afghanistan through preventing drug trade with the bordering countries as well as the spread of Islamic militancy. Pakistan is currently carrying out a huge operation against terrorists in North Waziristan, which is situated in the North-Western part of Pakistan. Pakistan has also facilitated the talks of Afghan President Mr. Ashraf Ghani with the Taliban. India and Pakistan are in competition over influence in Afghanistan, which is heading towards a proxy war. However the membership in the SCO can marginalize the Pakistan-India difference in Afghanistan. This will not only be in favor of Afghanistan rather it will be beneficial for the whole South Asia because Afghanistan's condition is alarming after 2016 when the security forces will hand over the full charge to the Afghan government.

¹²⁹ Aris, Stephen. "The Response of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation to the Crisis in Kyrgyzstan." Taylor & Francis Online 14, no. 3 (2012): 472, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13698249.2012.706954> (Accessed on November 19, 2015)

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I analyzed the role of the SCO in promoting security and economic cooperation among member states with a particular focus on the role of mitigating tense relations between the two new member states, Pakistan and India. In order to do this, I studied the role of the SCO from different perspectives in seven chapters. The thesis starts with the history of the SCO and discusses the reasons, which proved inevitable for the members of the SCO to form a security alliance. This chapter enabled me to further analyze the structure, aims, scope and the current status of the SCO as a full-scale regional organization. The main reason to conduct this research was to ascertain the viability of the SCO to practice its effectiveness in resolving the conflicts between India and Pakistan. When I started working on this topic, India and Pakistan was holding observer status, however in July, 2015 both countries were recognized as full time partners. This development helped me narrowing down my research in a clear direction. The next step was to identify the initiatives that the SCO can take to establish peace and to increase regional cooperation.

I ascertained the common threats and the interests of the SCO member and observer states, and further progressed depending on the facts regarding the issue. In the proceeding chapters I emphasized on the three basic mandates, which the SCO must achieve, firstly to deal with terrorism and extremism which are common threats to all member and the observer states. Secondly to promote economic cooperation among

the countries connected to the SCO, and finally to use ‘energy’ as a diplomatic tool. Examining all these issues directed me further to look for the limitations of the SCO which I discussed in a separate part in detail. Further I talked about the Pakistan-India relations in detail with reference to the past and the current conflicts and how these disputes will affect the fate of the two nations in the future. I have put my utmost effort to remain unbiased while writing this chapter, as being a native of Pakistan might have affected my objectivity as a scholar. The last chapter accounts the recent events occurred after the joint SCO-BRICS Summit held in Ufa, Russia in July, 2015. I have analyzed the future prospects of the SCO after its expansion.

After all the above discussion this is clear that the terrorism, extremism and separatism are the joint threats to all the countries related to the SCO. Every country is somehow trying to fight these three evils individually, but this is not enough to achieve sustainable peace. After the end of the Afghan war and the break-up of the Soviet Union the extremist outfits kept moving from one country to another by leaving a continuous threat to whole Eurasia. Dealing with the above mentioned troubles through a joint strategy is inevitable, which can only be possible through a joint forum where all the countries can share and use the resources and the information. The Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) within the SCO can be used as the main instrument to contain the threats to the regional peace. This is also important to destroy the economy of the extremist outfits; the main source of their income is the sale of drugs which is expected to increase after the joint security forces leave Afghanistan.

Currently Afghanistan and Pakistan are the most affected countries due to terrorism; and the terrorist organizations were freely operating on the Pakistan-Afghan border before Pakistan started a conclusive operation against the religious extremist groups in 2014. It is expected that the regional terrorism can decrease provided all the

regional players mutually cooperate. The last decade has been very important regarding the regional cooperation, because two huge regional alliances the BRICS and the SCO appeared which function closely. Another challenge which has appeared over the past years is the rise of the IS (Islamic State) which has consolidated its power in Middle East and constantly threatening the Eurasian countries too. In this situation the role of the SCO becomes more important for building peace through deterring the extremist threats of the Islamic State. The joint military exercises, and the intelligence cooperation among the member states of the SCO through RATS is a good sign which can help designing a worthy strategy to fight the resident as well as external threats.

Pakistan-China and India-Russia nexus can be helpful to lessen down the aggression between India and Pakistan. The question arises that this nexus is present for the last several decades, then why it has failed to do any better in the past? As a response, the new developments can be considered. For example the above mentioned nexus was present before but it was working on the joint interests of the respective pairs: Pakistan-China and India-Russia. Now the SCO is a platform where all these countries are related to each other in an equal status, moreover the functionality of the SCO has extended officially to the South Asia where it can exercise its arbitrary role. If peace prevails in South Asia, it will be in the interest of all the members of the SCO because Pakistan and India carry a huge market potential for the Chinese, Russian and Central Asian goods and services. This is also to be considered that India, China and Russia are at the same time the main members of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), which can persuade India to honor any peacemaking step taken through the forum of the SCO. Besides it is important to mention that currently China has substantial investments in Pakistan and India. Russia already has a vast list of cooperation agreements with India, recently the relations of Pakistan and Russia are also started heading on the positive track. Russia

has signed several agreements related to military supplies and the construction of energy infrastructure in Pakistan.

Although the main aim of the SCO was to improve the security situation of the member states, with the passage of time its role has been extended to economic cooperation too. It has been realized that the main cause of all the above discussed problems is economic disparity. There is a direct relation between poverty and extremism, all the areas which are most affected from terrorism, extremism and separatism are quite poor. Considering this, the SCO is supposed to come up with viable plans for economic cooperation among the member states. The Business Council and the Interbank Consortium must be effectively used for the regional economic cooperation. In addition to this the massive investments of China specifically in Central Asia and South Asia can help improving the quality of life and trade in the member states. It is a matter worth being discussed in detail that China is day by day gaining hegemony in the region, which can further create complications because of the potential clash of interest with the large regional players such as Russia and India.

The massive energy reserves can be contributory in solving the energy crisis of China, India and Pakistan. The idea of energy club was presented by Russia to influence the international energy politics by formulating the uniform demand and supply policy for the energy rich members of the SCO. It is not wrong to say that economic cooperation is the last resort for all the countries related to the SCO, the recent developments regarding the Silk Road project can be very beneficial for the land locked Central Asian countries and as a whole for South Asia because this route practically passes through South Asia.

Some scholars argue that the SCO is an anti-West alliance, 'a club of autocrats', a monotonous organization which restricts the entry of new members or a misguided alliance with confused priorities hijacked by Russia and China. This is true that since having large natural resources and highly important geographical location the region under study can be called a playground for Western and the Eastern powers where they are continuously at war on policies to win influence. This war of hegemony is not only between the West and the East rather China and Russia are also in a close hegemonic competition. It is clear that China has economically flourished substantially in the past and currently it takes the lead to Russia even in Central Asia which was once called the 'backyard' of Russia. Therefore, it is very hard to predict the Chinese-Russian relations in the future. Furthermore, the situation of human rights in the member countries of the SCO is not satisfactory, after the color revolutions, the civic rights such as the freedom of expression and speech, the rights to demonstrate and the civil societies were dealt with an iron hand. In most of the member countries of the SCO, authoritarian regimes are enjoying power for a long while; democracy is not welcomed rather seen as a threat which drastically affects the overall progress of the countries.

The past role of the SCO is also not very satisfactory in dealing with the inter-state conflicts despite having influence over its members. The example of the Osh crisis can be referred in this regard, which occurred in 2010 in Kyrgyzstan where the SCO abstained taking any military action rather only provided aid. There is a contrast of opinions between the Western and non-Western scholars on this event. Some Western scholars harshly criticize the role of the SCO regarding the Osh crisis in the light of R2P (Response to Protect) doctrine, however the some non-Western scholars argue that the SCO's mandate is not to practice military intervention in the sovereign countries. The mentioned limitations of the SCO seriously hinders its effectiveness,

if the SCO does not deal with the hurdles in its progress then the opinions of the Western scholars will naturally be proved right.

The gradual change in the inelastic posture of the SCO by adding new members, observers and dialogue partners and establishing liaison with the United Nations are very positive steps. Despite all the mentioned prospects, the SCO still has a long mile to go. It would be very early to say that this alliance can surely achieve what it has planned because it has to work hard on its limitations as the top most priority. In addition to this, the external factors especially the Syrian crisis and the direct Russian involvement in it can further increase the vulnerability of this region.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY

Soğuk Savaş'ın ardından SSCB on beş ülkeye parçalanmış ve Avrasya'da güvenlik krizi ortaya çıkmıştı. İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası ilk kez dünya siyasi haritasında bu kadar ciddi değişiklikler ortaya çıkmıştı. Bu değişim 1969 yılından beri Sovyetler Birliği ile pürüzlü ilişkilere sahip olan Çin için son derece önemliydi çünkü artık tek devlet yerine birçok yeni devletle komşu oluyordu. Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönem yeni bölgesel oluşumlara gebe oluyordu ve bunlarda bir de Şangay İşbirliği Örgütü idi.

Şangay Beşlisi 1996 yılında Çin, Rusya, Kazakistan, Kırgızistan ve Tacikistan arasında güvenlik ittifakı olarak kuruldu. 2001 yılında bu ittifak Özbekistan'ı da üye olarak kabul ederek Şangay İşbirliği Örgütü içerisinde şekillendi. Daha sonra Hindistan, Pakistan, Moğolistan, İran ve Beyaz Rusya gözlemci statüsü Türkiye, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Kamboçya, Azerbaycan ve Ermenistan diyalog partnerleri oldular. Zaman geçtikçe ŞİÖ genişledi ve bununla beraber sorumluluğu da arttı. İlk başta sadece güvenlik ittifakı olan örgüt daha sonra Çin'in girişimleri sonucunda bölgesel güvenlik, ekonomik ve siyasi işbirliği konularını içeren bir birlikteliğe dönüştü. Hatta özellikle örgütün ekonomik mi yoksa askeri bir ittifak olduğu tartışma konusu haline gelmiştir.

Uzun süre ŞİÖ'ye yeni üye kabulü sınırlı tutulmuştur ve hatta ilk başlarda yeni üye alınmaması ile ilgili karar alınmıştır. Bunun da ötesinde gözlemci statüsünü elde etmek bile çok zor hale getirilmiştir. ABD'nin 2005 yılında gözlemci statüsü için başvurusu reddedilmiştir. Gözlemci statüsünün de önemli olduğu ŞİÖ içerisinde Rusya ve Çin kilit ülkelerdir. Pakistan ve Hindistan nükleer silaha sahip, büyük

coğrafi alanı, nüfusu, doğal kaynakları ve ekonomik potansiyelleri bakımından gelecek vaat etmektedirler. Üye devletleri, gözlemcileri ve diyalog partnerleri ile birlikte dünya nüfusunun yarısından fazlasını oluşturan bu örgüt, dört nükleer gücü içeren devasa askeri güce, dünya GSYİH'nin yarısında fazlasına ve en çok enerji rezervlerine sahip bir birliktelik olarak bilinmektedir.

ŞİÖ içerisinde bütün gözlemci devletler önemli olmasına rağmen bu çalışma özellikle Hindistan ve Pakistan üzerine odaklanmaktadır. İlk önce şunu belirtmemiz gerekir ki Rusya'nın Ufa şehrinde 2015 yılında düzenlenen zirvede Hindistan ve Pakistan tam üye olarak kabul edildi ve 2016 yılından sonar bu karar yürürlüğe binecektir. İkinci olarak vurgulamamız gereken nokta Pakistan ve Hindistan'ın örgütün Güney Asya'ya açılan birer kapısıdır fakat bu iki devlet birbirlerine karşı kuruluşlarından beri düşmanca tavır almışlardır. Dört kere ciddi savaş yapmış bu iki ülke arasında sınır çatışmaları süreklilik kazanmış durumdadır. Bir diğer özellik ise Pakistan ve Hindistan'ın nükleer silaha sahip olduklarıdır ve bu güçlerini birbirlerine karşı caydırıcı güç olarak kullanmaktadırlar ve dolayısıyla bu durum bölgesel barışı ciddi bir biçimde tehdit etmektedir. Son olarak ise belirtmemiz gereken nokta ise Hindistan'ın sadece Pakistan ile değil tarihsel olarak Çin ile de ciddi sorunları vardır. Bu iki devlet 1962 yılında ciddi bir biçimde savaşa girmişlerdir.

Bu çalışmanın en önemli nedeni ŞİÖ'nün Hindistan ve Pakistan arasında kalıcı bir barışı sağlayabilecek için nasıl bir yol izlemesi gerektiğini ortaya çıkarmaktır. Bu bakımdan ilk başta yapılması gereken tam ve gözlemci üyeler arasında ortak çıkar ve tehditleri belirlemektir. Bu bakımdan en büyük ortak tehditler terörizm, aşırıçılık ve ayrılıkçılıktır. Buna ek olarak tüm ŞİÖ üye ve gözlemci ülkeler ekonomik sorunlarla uğraşmaktadırlar ve hatta bunlardan çoğu üçüncü dünya ülkeleri sayılmaktadır. Bu açıdan ekonomik gelişim bir diğer ortak çıkar alanıdır ve bu sorun bölgesel işbirliği

yapılarak azaltılabilir. Bu argüman Pakistan ve Hindistan için daha da daraltılabilir, her iki ülke de yoğun nüfusa sahipler ve ekonomileri hızla sanayileşme sürecindedir. Her iki ülkenin de enerji ihtiyaçları hergeçen gün artmaktadır. Hatta Pakistan son on yılda çok büyük enerji krizleri yaşadı ve durum Hindistan'da da çok farklı değildir.

ABD'de yaşanan 9/11 saldırısı sonrasında terörizm sorunu küresel bir şekle bürünmüştür. Pakistan, Hindistan, Çin, Rusya ve Orta Asya devletleri zaten daha önceden de kendi içlerinde aşırıcılık ve ayrılıkçılıkla mücadele içerisinde idiler. Terörizm, aşırıcılık ve ayrılıkçılık gibi kâbuslarla birlikte mücadele artık zorunlu bir hal almıştır. Bu amaçla son yedi senedir aktif olan Bölgesel Terörizmle Mücadele Yapısı (RATS) kurulmuştur ve bu kapsamda bütünleşik askeri eğitimler de başlatılmıştır. Bu bakımdan ŞİÖ'nün tam üyeleri oldukları zaman Hindistan ve Pakistan'ın ortak tehditlere karşı askeri ilişkilerinin gelişeceği ve bunun da kendi aralarında var olan sorunların ortadan kalkmasına vesile olması beklenilmektedir.

ŞİÖ'nün Pakistan ve Hindistan arasındaki çatışmayı sonlandırabilmesi için bu devletlerin ortak ve zıt yönlerini doğru belirlemesi gerekmektedir. Pakistan ve Hindistan'ın dış politikaları ve milli görüşleri birbirlerinden çok farklıdır. Pakistan teokratik devlet olarak kuruldu ve 1956 Anayasası ile "Pakistan İslam Cumhuriyeti" ismini benimsedi. İslam cumhuriyeti olması rağmen Pakistan dış politikası ilginçtir ki soğuk savaş boyunca Batı bloğunda yer almayı seçmiştir. 1971 ve 1977 yılları arasında ise dış politika değişikliğe uğramış ve Batı müttefikliği Müslüman milliyetçiliğinin gölgesinde kalmıştır. 1977 askeri darbe sonucunda dış politika yeniden yapılandırılmaya çalışılsa da hemen hemen aynı çizgi şüana kadar devam etmektedir. Diğer taraftan Bağlantısız(lar) dış politikasını sürdürmekte olan Hindistan aynı zamanda ABD ve SSCB ile de iyi ilişkiler içerisinde olmuştur.

Hindistan dış politikası da zamanla değişime uğramıştır fakat bu değişimler ılımlı, zaman içinde ve de diplomatik yollardan gerçekleşmiştir

Pakistan ve Hindistan Jammu ve Kashmir bölgesi üzerinde çok ciddi çatışmalar yaşamaktadırlar. Kashmir her iki taraf için de stratejik açıdan oldukça büyük öneme sahiptir ve taraflardan hiçbiri buradan vazgeçme niyetinde değildir. Dört savaştan üçü bu iki bölge üzerinden yaşanmıştır. Bununla birlikte Pakistan ve Hindistan arasında ‘su krizleri’ de yaşanmaktadır. Pakistan’daki nehirlerin çoğu Hindistan üzerinden (Kashmir) ülkeye dahil olmaktadır ve aynı zamanda Hindistan da Pakistan’ın su anlaşmalarını ihlal ettiğini dile getirmektedir. Bunlar ise bu iki ülke arasında var olan krizlere ek olarak yansımaktadır. Hatta bir sonraki askeri çatışmaların su yüzünden ortaya çıkacağından korkulmaktadır. Pakistan ve Hindistan askeri olarak da yarış içerisinde bulunmaktadırlar. Biriktirilmiş silah mühimmatı ve nükleer silahlar zamanı geldiği zaman kullanılmak üzere hazır bekletilmektedir. Birçok kültürel benzerlikleri bulunan bu iki devlet arasındaki güvensizlik kuruluşlarından itibaren artmaktadır. Hindistan’daki Pakistan karşıtı siyasi partiler ve Pakistan’daki Hindistan karşıtı askeri yönetimler sonucunda ortak zeminde buluşmak neredeyse imkânsız bir hal almıştır.

Pakistan-Çin ve Rusya-Hindistan arasındaki bağlar bu gerilimi düşürmede yardımcı olabilir. Bu noktada şu soru akıllara geliyor “bu bağ yarım asırdan fazla bir süredir ve neden daha iyi ilişkiler geliştirilemedi?” Bu durum şöyle açıklanır ki, aslında şimdiye kadarki durum bu ikili ilişkilerin ayrılıkta kendi menfaatleri çerçevesinde yürütülmekte idi. Fakat şuanda var olan durum bundan farklıdır ve ŞİÖ bu ülkeleri ortak zeminde buluşturmakta ve de eşit statü tanımaktadır. Güney Asya’da barışın süreklilik kazanması hem Rusya’nın hem de Çin’in menfaatleri içerisinde olduğu için bu bölge çok büyük Pazar olma potansiyeli taşımaktadır.

Batı ve yerli arařtırmacılar arasında ŐİÖ'nün rolü, işlevselliđi ve kapsamı aısından fikir ayrılıđı vardır. Kuruluşunun başlangı yıllarında ŐİÖ'nün Batı karřıtı duruşu olmasa da üye devletleri arasında gelişen askeri işbirlikleri Batı'yı endişeye sokmuştur. 2005 yılı zirvesine kadar ŐİÖ sadece bölgesel sorunları çözmeye yönelik bir örgüt izlenimini veriyordu. Örgütünün bu izlenimi NATO ve ABD'den Afganistan'ı terk etmeleri için bir zaman çizelgesi talep etmesiyle deđişmiş oldu. ŐİÖ'nün en önemli üyeleri olan Rusya ve Çin aynı zamanda Batı ekonomilerine rakip olarak düşünölen (BRICS bu iddiayı reddediyor) BRICS'in de üye devletleri arasındalar. ŐİÖ ve BRICS arasında ne zaman bir ilişki kurulursa Batı karřıtı görüş sadece askeri aıdan deđil aynı zamanda gelecekte BRICS'in Batı'nın ekonomik anlamda ađırlıđını da çökertebileceđi konuşulmaktadır.

ŐİÖ'nün insan haklarını koruma adı altında yapılan müdahalelere karřı olması, Rusya'nın ve Çin'in Suriye'ye müdahaleye karřı olmaları bu devletlerin çok kutuplu bir dünyadan yana olmalarının aıka göstergesidir. Son yıllarda ABD'nin kendisinin stratejik çıkar odađı olarak belirlediđi Orta Asya aynı zamanda Rusya ve Çin'nin de ilgi alanları kapsamındadır.

Batı analizcileri tarafından ŐİÖ, bir çok aıdan eleřtirilere tabii tutulmaktadır. Bunlardan en önemlisi bu örgütün ABD'yi kendi çatısı altına almaması olarak gösterilmektedir. ŐİÖ üye ölkelerinin insan hakları ihlalleri sicilleri de bu yazarlar tarafında eleřtirilirken otokratik rejimler topluluđu olarak isimlendirmektedir ve bu da örgütü otomatik olarak ABD karřıtı yapar. İran'a gözlemci statüsünün verilmesi yukarda belirtilen argümana kanıt olarak ileri sürölmektedir. Bunların ötesinde, Çin ve Rusya'nın bir birlerine karřı güven sorunları olmalarına rađmen ŐİÖ'yü ABD hegemonyasını dengelemek için kurdukları tezi de savunulmaktadır. ŐİÖ'nün bölgede yařanan insan hakları ihlallerine karřı susması da bu yüzdendir. ABD,

Rusya'nın ve Çin'in Orta Asya devletlerini ihmal ederek ŞİÖ'yü tamamen kontrol altına almamaları için örgütü yakından takip etmektedir. Bununla birlikte ABD'nin gözlemci statüsü için yaptığı başvuru da örgüt tarafından reddedilmiştir.

Batı'nın ŞİÖ'ye karşı şüpheli tavrı sergilemesinin birçok sebebi vardır. Temmuz 2015 tarihinde, Rusya'nın Ufa şehrinde ŞİÖ'nün etki alanının genişletilmesi kararı alınmıştır. Aynı zamanda Batı ile nükleer programıyla ilgili yaşadığı sorunlarını çözmekte olan İran'ın da örgüte üye olması ihtimali yükselmektedir. Diğer yandan Rusya ve İran'ın Suriye çıkmazında Assad rejiminin yanında yer alırken Rusya aynı zamanda muhalefeti hava bombardımanına tutmaktadır.

Çin'in de Uygur bölgesinde yaşanan terör olayları nedeniyle Rusya'ya IŞİD'le yapılan mücadelede destek vermesi beklenmektedir. Uygur bölgesinde son yıllarda yaşanan güvenlik endişeleri Çin'i bu konuda çok daha hassas bir konuma sokmuş bulunmaktadır. Bunların dışında, Çin'in Irak'ın petrol bölgelerinde ciddi yatırımları bulunmakta ve IŞİD bu yatırımlara ciddi tehdit oluşturmaktadır. Çin Milli Petrol Şirketi Suriye'deki petrol alanlarını terk etmeye zorlanmaktadır ve bu da ciddi ekonomik kayıplara neden olabilir.

24 Kasım 2015 tarihinde Türkiye Rusya'ya ait olan Sukhoi-24 uçağını hava sınırlarını ihlal ettiği gerekçesiyle düşürdü. Rusya'nın Suriye'deki hava operasyonları nedeniyle orada bulunan uçağın düşürülmesi Rusya-Türkiye ilişkilerini ciddi bir biçimde sarstı. Türkiye'nin NATO ülkesi olması bu olayı sadece Türkiye-Rusya arasında bir sorun olmaktan öteye taşımakta ve gelecekte bu olayın yankılarının sürebileceği mesajını vermektedir. Ortadoğu'da jeopolitik durum çok hızlı bir biçimde değişirken Rusya ve Çin'in burada varlık göstermeleri de şüpheleri üzerlerine çekmeye başlamıştır. Türkiye ve Rusya arasında yaşanan uçak krizi Rusya

ve NATO arasında yaşanan bir çatışma olarak da yorumlanabilir ve bu da Ortadoğu ve Avrasya'da barışa yönelik adımları baltalar niteliktedir. Bu olay Rusya (ve belli ölçüde Çin) Batı arasındaki güven sorununu daha da artırabilir.

Kullanılmakta olan 'terörist', 'aşırıci' ve 'ayrılıkçı' kavramları ŞİÖ'nün üye ve gözlemci ülke hükümetleri tarafından tanımlanmaktadır. Bazı gruplar tarafından bu kavramlar altında mücadele verenlerin aslında özgürlük savaşçıları olarak görülebilir fakat bu tartışma bu tezin tartışma alanının dışına çıkması sebebiyle bu kavramlar sadece resmi olarak tanımlandıkları biçimiyle değerlendirilmektedir.

Bazı akademik çevreler ŞİÖ'yü Batı karşıtı, otokratik rejimler topluluğu ve demokratik olmayan bir örgüt olarak yorumlamaktadırlar. Bu örgütün sadece Rusya ve Çin tarafından domine edildiğini, diğer üye ülkelere pek fazla söz hakkı tanınmadığı iddia edilmektedir. Bu tarz iddiaları araştırmak için ŞİÖ'nün zayıf noktalarını araştırmayı da bu çalışmada konu edindim. Bu araştırma, bölgenin Batı ve Doğu arasında egemenlik çekişmesi alanı olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bununla birlikte, bölge sadece Batı ve Doğu arasında nüfuz kurma mücadelesine sahne olmamaktadır, aynı zamanda Çin ve Rusya kendi aralarında bile bir çıkar çatışması veya egemenlik kurma mücadelesine girmişlerdir. Çin'in son yıllarda sergilemekte olduğu ekonomik performans bir zamanlar Rusya'nın arka bahçesi olarak nitelendirilen Orta Asya'da da kendi etkisini göstermektedir. Bu yüzden, Rusya ve Çin ilişkilerinin geleceğini tahmin etmek de çok daha zor bir durum bürünmektedir.

Aynı zamanda insan hakları konusunda üye devletlerinin sınıfta kaldığını tespit ettim. Renkli Devrimler sonrası ifade özgürlüğü ve gösteri yürüyüşleri ile ilgili kararlar demokratik değerlerle örtüşmemektedir. ŞİÖ üyesi çoğu ülkelerin otoriter

rejimlere sahip olduđu ve demokrasileri kendilerine tehdit olarak algıladıkları ortaya çıkmıştır.

ŞİÖ devletlerarasında çıkan çatışmaları çözmede de başarısız olmuştur. Buna örnek olarak Osh krizi verilebilir. 2010 yılında Kırgızistan'da çıkan bu krize askeri bir müdahale gerçekleştirilmeyen ŞİÖ insani yardımla yetinmiştir. Bu olayla ilgili Batılı ve Doğulu akademik çevreler ikiye ayrılmış durumdadır: Batılı çevrelerin Osh krizinde ŞİÖ'nün müdahale etmemiş olmasını (Response to Protect) eleştirmekte Doğulu yazarlar ise devletin iç işlerine müdahale etmek ŞİÖ'nün görevi değildir diyerek yanıt vermektedirler. Ben var olan kısıtlamaların ŞİÖ'nün etkinliğini azalttığını düşünmekte bu durumda Batılı yazarlara hak vermekteyim.

Ekonomik ve güvenlik işbirliği bölgede barışı sürdürmek için en iyi yoldur. Terörizm, aşırıcılık ve ayrılıkçılık gibi üç mühim konu ile savaşmak tüm üye ülkeleri açısından kaçınılmazdır. Şu bir gerçekçi terörist gruplar kolaylıkla sınırları aşabilmektedirler. Bu sadece RATS'in etkin rol almasıyla önlenemez. Güney Asya artık yatırımcılar için en uygun mekâna çevrilmiştir ve bu sadece barış yolu ile devam ettirilebilir. ŞİÖ üyesi olduktan sonra iki ülke de bölgesel barışın getirdiği avantajların farkına varmaları beklenmektedir ve yalnız buyolla gelecek nesillere iyi bir dünya bırakabilirler.

ŞİÖ Pakistan ve Hindistan arasında çok önemli rol üstlenebilir ve bu ülkelerin geleceklerine etki edebilir. Artık Çin'in Pakistan ve Hindistan'da çok ciddi yatırımları bulunmaktadır. Rusya açısından da durum çok benzerdir. Bu ülke Hindistan'la ve Pakistan'la birçok konuda işbirliği anlaşmaları yapmaktadır. Rusya Pakistan'la birçok askeri ve enerji altyapıları konularında anlaşmalara varmış durumdadır. Diğer taraftan Orta Asya da Hindistan ve Pakistan açısından çok büyük

öneme sahiptir. Bu ülkelerin Hindistan ve Pakistan'ın enerji alanında körfez ülkelerine bağımlılıklarını azaltma potansiyelleri vardır.

Yukarıdaki tartışmalarımızın sonucunda şu açıkça söylenebilir ki, terörizm, aşırıcılık ve ayrılıkçılık ŞİÖ ülkelerinin hepsi için birer tehdit niteliğindedirler. Her ülke politikaları çerçevesinde bu sorunlarla mücadele içerisinde fakat bu çabalar kalıcı barışı sağlamada yetersiz kalmaktadır. Afgan savaşı ve Sovyetler Birliği'nin çöküşü sonrası sınırlar yasadışı örgütler açısından geçirgen hale gelmiştir ve de bu durum Avrasya'da terör tehdidini kalıcı bir sorun haline dönüştürmüştür. Yukarıda saydığımız sorunlar ülkelerin ayrı ayrılıkta verdikleri mücadeleler sonucunda çözülmesi imkansız olduğu için bu sorunlar sadece ülkelerin kaynaklarını ve bilgilerini birbirleriyle paylaşmaları sonucunda ortadan kalkabilir. ŞİÖ'ye bağlı olan Bölgesel Terör Karşısı Yapı (RATS) bu ortak tehditlere karşı bir araç olarak kullanılabilir. Yasadışı örgütlerle mücadelede onların kullandıkları kaynakları yok etmek mali açıdan bu örgütlere ağır darbe vurmak anlamına geliyor. Bu örgütler gelirlerinin önemli bir kısmını uyuşturucu ticaretinden elde etmektedir. Bu konunun önemi ortak güvenlik güçlerinin Afganistan'ı terk etmesi sonrası daha da artacağı beklenmektedir.

Şuanda bölgede terör dolayısıyla en çok zarar gören iki ülke Pakistan ve Afganistan'dır ve teröristler Pakistan'ın sınırda terörle mücadele başlamadan önce en rahat ihlal ettikleri sınır bu iki ülke arasındaki sınırdır. Bütün bölge ülkelerinin birlikte hareket etmesi terörizmin bölgede faaliyetlerini azaltmak zorunda kalacağı beklentisini ortaya koymaktadır. Son on yılda iki dev örgütün BRICS ve ŞİÖ'nün bölgede boy göstermesi bölgesel işbirliği açısından çok ciddi bir kat edildiğini göstermektedir. Son yıllarda ortaya çıkmış olan ve Ortadoğu'da ciddi tehditler oluşturan IŞİD Avrasya için de bir tehdit niteliği kazanmıştır. Bu bakımdan ŞİÖ IŞİD'ı bölgeden caydırmak için çok önemli role sahiptir. ŞİÖ çatısı altında RATS

vasıtasıyla yapılan ortak askeri çalışmalar ve bilgi paylaşımı bölgede kalıcı barışı sağlama açısından olumlu gelişmeler olarak görülebilir.

Güvenlik gerekçeleriyle geliştirilmiş olan ŞİÖ zamanla içeriği genişletilmiş ve ekonomik alanda da işbirliğini kendisine hedef edinmiştir. Yukarıda bahsedilen sorunların büyük bir kısmı ekonomik eşitsizliklerden kaynaklandığı zamanla anlaşılmıştır. Terörün, aşırıcılığın ve ayrılıkçılığın boy gösterdiği bölgelerin daha az gelirlere sahip olduğu gözlemlenmiş ve bu yüzden ekonomik gelir dağılımı ve terör arasında bir bağ kurulmuştur. Bu anlamda ŞİÖ'nün ekonomik işbirliğini teşviki üye ülkeler arasındaki eşitsizliği de belli ölçüde azaltacağı söylenebilir. Biznes Konsey ve Interbank Konsorsiyum (The Business Council and the Interbank Consortium) bölgesel işbirliğini güçlendirmede daha etkin kullanılabilir. Buna ek olarak, Çin'in özellikle Orta ve Güney Asya'da yaptığı ekonomik yatırımlar bölge halklarının refahını arttıracaktır. Bu anlamda Çin'in bölgesel güç olarak yükselişe geçmesi ilerleyen yıllarda Rusya ve Hindistan gibi rakiplerin belirmesine ve bu devletlerle egemenlik yarışına girilmesi ihtimali de göz önünde bulundurulması gereken noktalardan biridir.

ŞİÖ üye ülkeleri arasında ekonomik işbirliği son çare olarak görülmektedir ve bu konuda yapılmakta olan İpek Yolu projesi tüm Orta Asya ülkeleri ve Güney Asya ülkeleri açısından çok büyük fırsatlar sunmaktadır. Zengin enerji rezervlerine sahip olunması Çin, Hindistan ve Pakistan'ın enerji sorunlarını gidermede kullanılabilir. Rusya tarafından ŞİÖ üye devletleri arasında, uluslararası enerji politikalarını etkilemek ve onları şekillendirmek açısından enerji topluluğu fikri gündeme getirilmiştir.

Yeni üye, gözlemci ve diyalog partnerleri kabulü konusunda politikalarını revize etmesi ve Birleşmiş Milletlerle ilişkiler kurması ŞİÖ'nün pozitif adımları olarak nitelendirilebilir. Yatacağı barış ve refah ortamından söz etmemize rağmen bu

konuda ŐİÖ'nün alması gereken çok uzun bir yol vardır. Bunu dışında dış faktörler özellikle Rusya'nın Suriye müdahalesinin bölgede güvenlik açıklarını arttırabilir.

B. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

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Bölümü : Avrasya Çalışmaları

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