

Shanghai Cooperation Organisation

The **Shanghai Cooperation Organisation** (**SCO**) is a Eurasian political, economic, international security and defence organization established by China and Russia in 2001. It is the world's largest regional organization in terms of geographic scope and population, covering approximately 80% of the area of Eurasia, 40% of the world population. As of 2021, its combined GDP was around 20% of global GDP.

The SCO is the successor to the **Shanghai Five**, formed in 1996 between the <u>People's Republic of China</u>, <u>Kazakhstan</u>, <u>Kyrgyzstan</u>, <u>Russia</u>, and <u>Tajikistan</u>. In June 2001, the leaders of these nations and <u>Uzbekistan</u> met in <u>Shanghai</u> to announce a new organization with deeper political and economic cooperation. In June 2017, it expanded to eight states, with <u>India</u> and <u>Pakistan</u>. Iran joined the group in July 2023. Several countries are engaged as observers or dialogue partners.

The SCO is governed by the Heads of State Council (HSC), its supreme decision-making body, which meets once a year. The organization also contains the so-called Regional Antiterrorist Structure (RATS).

Origins

The Shanghai Five

The Shanghai Five group was created on 26 April 1996 when the heads of states of China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan signed the Treaty on Deepening Military Trust in Border Regions in Shanghai. [7]

On 24 April 1997 the same countries signed the Treaty on Reduction of Military Forces in Border Regions in a meeting in Moscow, Russia. On 20 May 1997 Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Chinese President Jiang Zemin signed a declaration on a "multipolar world".

Subsequent annual summits of the Shanghai Five group occurred in Almaty, Kazakhstan in 1998, in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan in 1999, and in Dushanbe, Tajikistan in 2000. At

Shanghai Cooperation Organisation

<u>Chinese</u>: 上海合作组织 <u>Russian</u>: Шанхайская Организация Сотрудничества





Abbreviation	SCO
Predecessor	Shanghai Five
Formation	15 June 2001
Туре	Mutual security, political, and economic cooperation
Legal status	Regional cooperation forum $^{[\underline{1}]}$

the Dushanbe summit, members agreed to "oppose intervention in other countries' internal affairs on the reason of 'humanitarianism' and 'protecting human rights;' and support the efforts of one another in safeguarding the five countries' national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and social stability." The Shanghai Five structure helped speed up the members' resolution of border disputes, agree on military deployments in border areas, and address security threats. [10]:95

Developing institutional forms

In 2001, the annual summit returned to Shanghai and the group was institutionalized. [10]:95 The five member nations first admitted <u>Uzbekistan</u> in the Shanghai Five mechanism. [10]:95 On 15 June 2001, all six heads of state signed the *Declaration of Shanghai Cooperation Organisation*, praising the role played thus far by the Shanghai Five mechanism and aiming to transform it to a higher level of cooperation. [3] From 2001 to 2008, the SCO developed rapidly, establishing a number of permanent bodies and *ad hoc* initiatives dealing with economic and security matters. [10]:95

In June 2002, the heads of the SCO member states met in <u>Saint Petersburg</u>, Russia and signed the *SCO Charter* which expounded on the organisation's purposes, principles, structures and forms of operation. It entered into force on 19 September 2003. [11]

In July 2005, at the summit in <u>Astana</u>, Kazakhstan, with representatives of India, Iran, <u>Mongolia</u> and Pakistan attending an SCO summit for the first time, <u>Nursultan Nazarbayev</u>, the president of the Kazakhstan, greeted the guests in words that had never been used before in any context: "The leaders of the states sitting at this negotiation table are representatives of half of humanity". [12]

By 2007 the SCO had initiated over twenty large-scale projects related to transportation, energy and telecommunications and held regular meetings of security, military, defence, foreign affairs, economic, cultural, banking, and other officials from its member states. [13]

In July 2015, in <u>Ufa</u>, Russia, the SCO decided to admit India and Pakistan as full members. In June 2016 in <u>Tashkent</u>, both signed the memorandum of obligations, thereby starting the process of joining the SCO. [14] In June 2017, at a summit in Kazakhstan, India and Pakistan officially joined SCO as full members. [15][16]

Headquarters
Beijing, China
(Secretariat)
Tashkent, Uzbekistan
(RATS Executive
Committee)

Membership

China

___ India

== Iran

Kazakhstan

Kyrgyzstan

C Pakistan

Russia

Tajikistan

z Uzbekistan

Observers:

Belarus

Mongolia Mongolia

Dialogue partners:

Armenia

Azerbaijan

Bahrain

Cambodia

Egypt

Kuwait

Maldives

🚃 Myanmar

Nepal

Qatar

Saudi Arabia

III Sri Lanka

Turkey

United Arab

Emirates

Guest attendees:

ASEAN

CIS

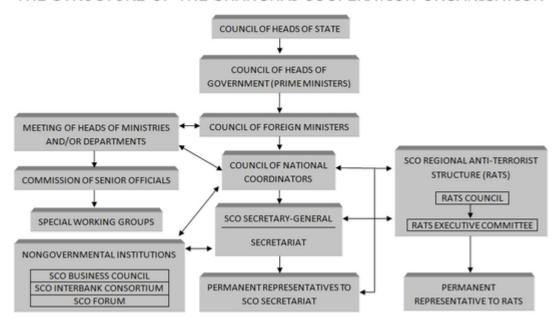
Turkmenistan

In 2004 the SCO established relations with the <u>United Nations</u> (where it is an observer in the <u>General Assembly</u>), the <u>Commonwealth of Independent States</u> in 2005, the <u>Association of Southeast Asian Nations</u> (ASEAN) in 2005, the <u>Collective Security Treaty Organization</u> in 2007, the <u>Economic Cooperation Organization</u> in 2007, the <u>United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime</u> in 2011, the <u>Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA) in 2014, and the <u>United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) in 2015. [17] in 2018, SCO Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) has established relations with the <u>African Union's African Centre</u> for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT). [18]</u></u>

Organisational structure

	w UN	
	Inactive:	
	Mfghanistan ^[2]	
Official language	Chinese · Russian ^[3]	
Secretary- General	Zhang Ming	
Deputy	Grigory Logvinov	
Secretaries- General	Sobirzoda Gulmakhmad	
	Sohail Khan	
	Shri Janesh Kain	
	Nurlan Yermekbayev	
RATS Executive Committee Director	Ruslan Mirzaev	
Website	eng.sectsco.org (http://e	
	ng.sectsco.org/)	

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANISATION



As of 2020, the Council of Heads of State was the top decision-making body in the SCO, meeting at the annual SCO summits in one of the member states' capital cities. Because of their government structure, the prime ministers of the parliamentary democracies of India and Pakistan attend the SCO Council of Heads of State summits, as their responsibilities are similar to the presidents of other SCO nations. [19]

As of the 4 July 2023 meeting, the Council of Heads of State consists of: [20]

- Xi Jinping (China)
- Narendra Modi (India)

- Ebrahim Raisi (Iran)
- Kassym-Jomart Tokayev (Kazakhstan)
- Sadyr Japarov (Kyrgyzstan)
- Shehbaz Sharif (Pakistan)
- Vladimir Putin (Russia)
- Emomali Rahmon (Tajikistan)
- Shavkat Mirziyoyev (Uzbekistan)

The Council of Heads of Government is the second-highest council in the organisation. This council also holds annual summits, at which time members discuss issues of multilateral cooperation and approves the organisation's budget. As of the 1 November 2022 meeting, Council of Heads of Government consists of:

- Li Qiang (China)
- Narendra Modi (India) (usually sends a deputy, such as <u>EAM</u> <u>Subrahmanyam Jaishankar</u> at the 2021 summit)^[23]
- Alihan Smaiylov (Kazakhstan)
- Akylbek Japarov (Kyrgyzstan)
- Shehbaz Sharif (Pakistan) (usually sends a deputy, such as Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs Andleeb Abbas at the 2020 summit)^[19]
- Mikhail Mishustin (Russia)
- Qohir Rasulzoda (Tajikistan)
- Abdulla Aripov (Uzbekistan)

As of 2007, the Council of Foreign Ministers also held regular meetings, where they discussed the current international situation and interaction with other international organisations. [24] As of 2021, the Council of National Coordinators coordinated the multilateral cooperation of member states within the framework of the SCO's charter. [25]

The Secretariat of the SCO, headquartered in Beijing, China, is the primary executive body of It organisation. serves to implement organisational decisions and decrees, proposed documents (such as declarations and agendas), function as a document depository for the organisation, arranges specific activities within SCO framework, and promotes the disseminates information about the SCO. The SCO Secretary-General is elected to a three-year term. [26] Zhang Ming of China became the current Secretary-General on 1 January 2022. [26]

Directors of SCO RATS Executive Committee

Years in office	Name	
15 June 2004 – 2006	Vyacheslav Kasymov	
2007–2009	Myrzakan Subanov	
2010–2012	Dzhenisbek Dzhumanbekov	
2013–2015	Zhang Xinfeng	
2016–2018	Yevgeniy Sysoev	
2019–2021	Jumakhon Giyosov	
2022–present	Ruslan Mirzaev	

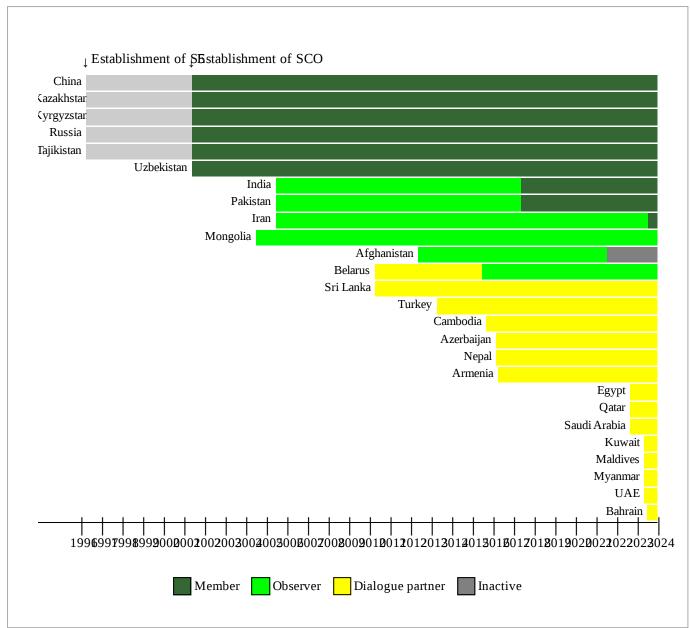
The Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) Executive Committee, headquartered in <u>Tashkent</u>, Uzbekistan, is a permanent organ of the SCO which serves to promote cooperation of member states against the <u>three evils</u> of <u>terrorism</u>, <u>separatism</u> and <u>extremism</u>. The Director of SCO RATS Executive Committee is elected to a three-year term. Ruslan Mirzaev of Uzbekistan became the current Director on 1 January 2022. Each member state also sends a permanent representative to RATS. [27]

The official languages of the SCO are $\underline{\text{Chinese}}$ and Russian. $\underline{^{[3]}}$

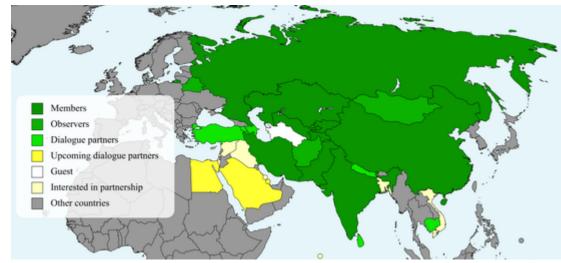
Membership

Heads of SCO Secretariat

Years in office	Name		
Executive Secretary			
15 January 2004 – 2006	Zhang Deguang		
Secretaries-General			
2007–2009	Bolat Nurgaliyev		
2010–2012	Muratbek Imanaliyev		
2013–2015	Dmitry Mezentsev		
2016–2018	Rashid Alimov		
2019–2021	Vladimir Norov		
2022-present	Zhang Ming		



Member states



Country	Accession started	Member since
China		
Kazakhstan	_	45 June 0004[a]
Kyrgyzstan		
Russia		15 June 2001 ^[a]
Tajikistan		
Uzbekistan		
India	10 June 2015	0 June 2017
C Pakistan	10 June 2015	9 June 2017
<u>Iran</u>	17 September 2021	4 July 2023 ^[30]
Acceding members		
Belarus	16 September 2022	TBD

Observer states

Country	Status Granted		
Mongolia Mongolia	2004 ^[31]		
Belarus	2015		
Former Observers			
India	5 July 2005	Fully Joined in 2017 ^[31]	
<u>C</u> Pakistan	5 July 2005	Fully Joined in 2017 ^[31]	
<u> Iran</u>	5 July 2005	Fully Joined in 2023 ^[31]	
Manistan Afghanistan	7 June 2012	Inactive since 2021	

■ Maristan [32]

Afghanistan received observer status at the 2012 SCO summit in Beijing, China on 7 June 2012. No country has yet provided diplomatic recognition to the $\underline{\text{Taliban}}$, and its representatives have not participated in SCO meetings so far. The Afghanistan head of state first attended the 2004 SCO summit as a guest

attendee.

■ **Belarus**[33]

In 2008, Belarus applied for partner status in the organisation and was promised Kazakhstan's support towards that goal. However, Russian Defence Minister Sergei Ivanov voiced doubt on the probability of Belarus' membership, saying that Belarus was a purely European country. Despite this, at the 2009 SCO Summit in Yekaterinburg a decision was made to grant Belarus the dialogue partner status, which it officially received on 28 April 2010. After applying in 2012 for the observer status, Belarus received it in 2015. On 14 June 2022, Russia's Special Presidential Representative on SCO Affairs Bakhtiyor Khakimov confirmed that Belarus had applied for membership.

Pakistan, India and Iran received observer status at the 2005 SCO summit in <u>Astana</u>, Kazakhstan on 5 July 2005. [31] India and Pakistan became full members of the Shanghai Cooperative Organization in 2017. [31]

Dialogue partners

The status of dialogue partner was created in 2008. [36]

Country	Status approved	Status granted ^[b]
Sri Lanka	15 or 16 June 2009 ^{[37][38]}	6 May 2010 ^[39]
Turkey	7 June 2012 ^[32]	26 April 2013 ^[40]
Cambodia	10 July 2015 ^[41]	24 September 2015 ^[42]
Azerbaijan		14 March 2016 ^[43]
Nepal Nepal		22 March 2016 ^[44]
Armenia		16 April 2016 ^[45]
Egypt	16 September 2021	14 September 2022 ^{[46][47]}
Qatar Qatar		
Saudi Arabia		
Kuwait	16 September 2022 ^[47]	5 May 2023 ^[48]
Maldives		
Myanmar		
United Arab Emirates		
Bahrain		15 July 2023 ^{[49][50]}
Former dialogue partners		
Belarus	15 or 16 June 2009	28 April 2010



Afghan President <u>Hamid Karzai</u> at an SCO summit in 2004.

Guest attendances

Multiple international organisations and one country are guest attendances to SCO summits.

- Association of Southeast Asian Nations
- Commonwealth of Independent States
- **Turkmenistan**
- United Nations

Future membership possibilities

Country	Status applied for	Date
Bangladesh	Observer	2012 ^{[51][52]}
East Timor	Observer	2012 ^[51]
Syria	Dialogue Partner ^[c]	2015 ^{[53][54]}
srael	Dialogue Partner	2016 ^[53]
Iraq	Dialogue Partner	2019 ^[55]
Algeria	Observer	July 2023 ^{[56][57]}

In 2010, the SCO approved a procedure for admitting new members. [58] In 2011, Turkey applied for dialogue partner status, which it obtained in 2013. Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has stated that he has discussed the possibility of abandoning Turkey's candidacy of accession to the European Union in return for full membership in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. This was reinforced again on 21 November 2016, after the European Parliament voted unanimously to suspend accession negotiations with Turkey. Two days later, on 23 November 2016, Turkey was granted the chairmanship of SCO energy club for the 2017 period. That made Turkey the first country to chair a club in the organisation without full membership status. In 2022, 22nd summit of the Shangai Organization on 15 and 16 September in Samarkand. Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his Azerbaijani counterpart, Ilhan Aliev were particularly expected. Asked by media, the Turkish president said that Turkey would seek full SCO membership status. [62]

In 2011, Vietnam expressed interest in obtaining observer status (but has not applied for it). [59]

In 2012, <u>Ukraine</u> expressed interest in obtaining observer status. However, since the deposition of President <u>Viktor Yanukovych</u> and <u>increased tensions with Russia</u>, no application has been submitted and there are no current plans to incorporate Ukraine into the organization. [63][64]

<u>Turkmenistan</u> has previously declared itself a permanently <u>neutral country</u>, which was recognized by a resolution adopted by the <u>United Nations General Assembly</u>, thus precluding its membership in the SCO. [65][66] Turkmenistan head of state has been attending SCO summits since 2007 as a guest attendee.

United Nations

In September 2023, the United Nations approved United Nations resolution A/77/L.107, titled "Cooperation between the United Nations and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization." The result of the vote was 80 in favour to 2 against with 47 abstentions. $\frac{[67][68]}{}$

The United States and Israel were the only countries to vote against the resolution.

Activities

Cooperation on security

As of 2023, the SCO is primarily centered on security-related concerns, describing the main threats it confronts as being <u>terrorism</u>, <u>separatism</u> and <u>extremism</u>. It has addressed regional <u>human trafficking</u> and weapons trafficking and created terrorist blacklists. [10]:96

At SCO summit, held in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, on 16–17 June 2004, the Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) was established. On 21 April 2006, the SCO announced plans to fight cross-border drug crimes under the counter-terrorism rubric. [69]

In October 2007, the SCO signed an agreement with the <u>Collective Security Treaty Organization</u> (CSTO), in the Tajik capital of Dushanbe, to broaden cooperation on issues such as security, crime, and drug trafficking. [70]

As of 2010, the organisation was opposing <u>cyberwarfare</u>, saying that the dissemination of information "harmful to the spiritual, moral and cultural spheres of other states" should be considered a "security threat". An accord adopted in 2009 defined "<u>information war</u>", in part, as an effort by a state to undermine another's "political, economic, and social systems". [71] <u>The Diplomat</u> reported in 2017 that SCO has foiled 600 terror plots and extradited 500 terrorists through RATS. [72] The 36th meeting of the Council of the RATS decided to hold a joint anti-terror exercise, Pabbi-Antiterror-2021, in Pakistan in 2021. [73]

Military activities



SCO leaders at Peace Mission 2007.

<u>Hu Jintao, Vladimir Putin, Nursultan</u>

<u>Nazarbayev</u> and Islam Karimov

As of 2009, the organisation's activities expanded to include increased military cooperation, intelligence sharing, and counterterrorism. [74] At the same time, leaders of SCO states repeatedly stated that the SCO was not a military alliance. [75]

As of 2023, the SCO had not provided military support in any actual conflicts. However, as of 2017, military exercises have regularly been conducted among members to promote cooperation and coordination against terrorism and other external threats, and to maintain regional peace and stability. There have been a number of SCO joint military exercises. The first of these was held in 2003, with the first phase taking place in Kazakhstan

and the second in China. Since then China and Russia have teamed up for large-scale war games in Peace Mission 2005, Peace Mission 2007 and Peace Mission 2009, under the auspices of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. More than 4,000 soldiers participated at the joint military exercises in Peace Mission 2007, which took place in Chelyabinsk, Russia near the Ural Mountains, as was agreed upon in April 2006 at a meeting of SCO Defence Ministers. In 2010, Russian Defence Minister Sergei Ivanov said that the exercises would be transparent and open to media and the public. Following the war games' successful completion, Russian officials began speaking of India joining such exercises in the future and the SCO taking on a military role. Peace Mission 2010, conducted 9–25 September at Kazakhstan's Matybulak training area, saw over 5,000 personnel from China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan conduct joint planning and operational maneuvers.

The SCO has served as a platform for larger military announcements by members. During the 2007 war games in Russia, with leaders of SCO member states in attendance including Chinese President <u>Hu Jintao</u>, Russia's President <u>Vladimir Putin</u> used the occasion to take advantage of a captive audience. Russian strategic bombers, he said, would resume regular long-range patrols for the first time since the <u>Cold War</u>. "Starting today, such tours of duty will be conducted regularly and on the strategic scale", Putin said. "Our pilots have been grounded for too long. They are happy to start a new life".

In June 2014, in the Tajik capital Dushanbe, the idea was brought up to merge the SCO with the <u>Collective Security Treaty Organization</u>. However, as of late 2022, in the wake of <u>Russian invasion of Ukraine</u> in 2022, many SCO and even CSTO members had distanced themselves from military cooperation with Russia. [79]

Economic cooperation

In September 2003, a Framework Agreement to enhance economic cooperation was signed by the SCO member states. At the same meeting the <u>Premier of China</u>, <u>Wen Jiabao</u>, proposed a long-term objective to establish a <u>free trade area</u> in the SCO, while other more immediate measures would be taken to improve the flow of goods in the region. [80][81] A follow-up plan with 100 specific actions was signed one year later, on 23 September 2004. [82]

In October 2005, during the Moscow Summit of the SCO, the Secretary General of the Organisation said that the SCO would prioritise joint energy projects; including in the oil and gas sector, the exploration of new hydrocarbon reserves, and joint use of water resources. The creation of the SCO Interbank Consortium was also agreed upon in order to fund future joint projects. In February 2006, the first meeting of the SCO Interbank Association was held in Beijing. [83][84] In November 2006, at *The SCO: Results and Perspectives*, an international conference held in Almaty, the representative of the Russian Foreign Ministry announced that Russia was developing plans for an SCO "Energy Club". [85] in November 2007, Moscow reiterated the need for this "energy club" at an SCO summit. Other SCO members, however, did not commit themselves to the idea. [86] During the 2008 summit it was stated that "Against the backdrop of a slowdown in the growth of world economy pursuing a responsible currency and financial policy, control over the capital flowing, ensuring food and energy security have been gaining special significance". [87]

At the 2007 SCO summit, Iranian Vice President <u>Parviz Davoodi</u> addressed an initiative that had been garnering greater interest when he said, "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation is a good venue for designing a new banking system which is independent from international banking systems". [88]

President Putin included these comments:

We now clearly see the defectiveness of the monopoly in world finance and the policy of economic selfishness. To solve the current problem Russia will take part in changing the global financial structure so that it will be able to guarantee stability and prosperity in the world and to ensure progress.

The world is seeing the emergence of a qualitatively different <u>geo-political</u> situation, with the emergence of new centers of economic growth and political influence.

We will witness and take part in the transformation of the global and regional security and development architectures adapted to new realities of the 21st century, when stability and prosperity are becoming inseparable notions. [89]

In June 2009, at the Yekaterinburg Summit, China announced plans to provide a US\$10 billion loan to other SCO member states to shore up the struggling economies of its members amid the global financial crisis. [90] The summit was held together with the first BRIC summit, and the China–Russia joint statement said that they want a bigger quota in the International Monetary Fund. [91]

In 2014, the <u>Eurasian Economic Union</u> was founded in which Russia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are members.

During the 2019 Bishkek summit, <u>Pakistani Prime Minister Imran</u>

<u>Khan</u> suggested taking steps to trade in local currencies instead of

U.S. dollars and setting up financial institutions including an SCO bank. [92]



Leaders present at the SCO summit in Yekaterinburg, Russia in 2009.

In June 2022, Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister for Economic Diplomacy Mehdi Safari suggested creating a single SCO currency to facilitate trade and financial transactions among SCO members. [93]

During 19–22 October 2022, Iran hosted SCOCOEX, an international conference and exhibition on economic cooperation opportunities available to the SCO member states and partners. [94]

As part of the SCO's economic agenda, it has established a relatively successful student exchange program called the SCO University. [10]: 95

Cultural cooperation

Culture ministers of the SCO met for the first time in Beijing on 12 April 2002, signing a joint statement for continued cooperation. The third meeting of the Culture Ministers took place in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, on 27–28 April 2006. [95][96]

An SCO Arts Festival and Exhibition was held for the first time during the Astana Summit in 2005. Kazakhstan suggested an SCO folk dance festival to take place in 2008, in Astana. [97]

SCO+

The SCO+ forum format was initiated by the <u>United Russia</u> party in October 2020. This format includes inter-party interaction not only of the countries of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (members, observers, candidates) but also of the CIS and BRICS countries.

It was first used during the SCO+ international inter-party forum "Economy for People" on 22–23 October 2020. [98] The forum was attended by speakers from 25 countries, including the chairman of the United Russia party, Dmitry Medvedey, ministers of the SCO countries, Serbian President Aleksandar Vučić, and ambassadors and diplomats of the CIS and BRICS countries. Russian President Vladimir Putin sent greetings to the forum participants. [99]

Summits

According to the Charter of the SCO, summits of the Council of Heads of State shall be held annually at alternating venues. The locations of these summits follow the alphabetical order of the member state's name in Russian. [100] The charter also dictates that the Council of Heads of Government (that is, the Prime

Ministers) shall meet annually in a place decided upon by the council members. The Council of Foreign Ministers is supposed to hold a summit one month before the annual summit of Heads of State. Extraordinary meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers can be called by any two member states. [100]



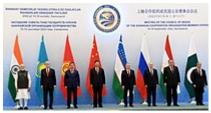
Summit of Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan) in 2007.



Heads of state of member Heads of states and in Qingdao, Shandong, China



states at the 2018 summit governments of the member states at the 2019 summit



Heads of states and governments of the member states at the 2022 summit in Samarkand, Uzbekistan

List of summits

Summits of heads of state

Date	Country	Location
14–15 June 2001	China	Shanghai
7 June 2002	Russia	Saint Petersburg
29 May 2003	Russia	Moscow
17 June 2004	Uzbekistan	Tashkent
5 July 2005	Kazakhstan	Astana
15 June 2006	<u>China</u>	Shanghai
16 August 2007	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek
28 August 2008	T ajikistan	Dushanbe
15–16 June 2009	Russia	Yekaterinburg
10–11 June 2010	Uzbekistan	Tashkent ^[101]
14–15 June 2011	Kazakhstan	Astana ^[102]
6–7 June 2012	China	Beijing
13 September 2013	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek
11–12 September 2014	Tajikistan	Dushanbe
9–10 July 2015	Russia	<u>Ufa</u>
23–24 June 2016	Uzbekistan	Tashkent ^[103]
8–9 June 2017	Kazakhstan	Astana
9–10 June 2018	China	Qingdao

14–15 June 2019	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek ^[104]
10 November 2020	Russia	videoconference ^[105]
16–17 September 2021	Tajikistan	Dushanbe ^[106]
15–16 September 2022	Uzbekistan	Samarkand
4 July 2023	<u>India</u>	virtual ^{[107][108]}
2024	Kazakhstan	Astana

Summits of heads of government

Date	Country	Location
14 September 2001	Kazakhstan	Almaty
_	_	_
23 September 2003	China	Beijing
23 September 2004	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek
26 October 2005	Russia	Moscow
15 September 2006	T ajikistan	Dushanbe
2 November 2007	Uzbekistan	Tashkent
30 October 2008	<u>Kazakhstan</u>	Astana
14 October 2009	<u>China</u>	Beijing ^[109]
25 November 2010	Tajikistan	Dushanbe ^[110]
7 November 2011	Russia	Saint Petersburg
5 December 2012	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek ^[111]
29 November 2013	Uzbekistan	Tashkent
14–15 December 2014	<u>Kazakhstan</u>	Astana
14–15 December 2015	<u>China</u>	Zhengzhou
2–3 November 2016	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek
30 November 2017	Russia	Sochi
11–12 October 2018	<u>Tajikistan</u>	Dushanbe
1–2 November 2019	<u>Uzbekistan</u>	<u>Tashkent</u>
30 November 2020	India	videoconference
25 November 2021	<u>Kazakhstan</u>	videoconference
1 November 2022	<u>China</u>	videoconference
26 october 2023	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek

Analysis

Relations with the West

The United States applied for observer status in the SCO, but was rejected in 2005. [112]

At the Astana summit in July 2005, with the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq foreshadowing an indefinite presence of U.S. forces in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, the SCO requested the U.S. to set a clear timetable for withdrawing its troops from SCO member states. Shortly afterwards, Uzbekistan requested the U.S. leave the K2 air base. [113]

A report in 2007 noted that the SCO has made no direct comments against the U.S. or its military presence in the region; however, some indirect statements at the past summits have been viewed by Western media outlets as "thinly veiled swipes at Washington". [114]

From 2001 to 2008, the Western reaction to the SCO was generally skepticism of the organization's goals. [10]:95 By the 2010s, however, the West increasingly began to view the SCO as a potential contributor to stability in the region, particularly with regards to Afghanistan. [10]:96

Although the <u>European Council on Foreign Relations</u> dubbed the SCO an "anti NATO alliance" in 2022, apparent inconsistencies among its member states have prevented it from becoming an effective geopolitical alliance. As of July 2023, India and Central Asian countries maintained friendly cooperation with both the West and Russia, India has had fierce conflicts with Pakistan and its ally China at the same time, which has been limiting the possibility of China and Russia forming the group into an anti-Western bloc. [117]

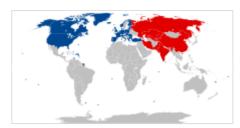
Geopolitical aspects

At a 2005 summit in Kazakhstan the SCO issued a Declaration of Heads of Member States of the SCO which said: "The heads of the member states point out that, against the backdrop of a contradictory process of globalisation, multilateral cooperation, which is based on the principles of equal right and mutual respect, non-intervention in internal affairs of sovereign states, non-confrontational way of thinking and consecutive movement towards democratisation of international relations, contributes to overall peace and security, and call upon the international community, irrespective of its differences in ideology and social structure, to form a new concept of security based on mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and interaction." [118]

In November 2005 Russian Foreign Minister <u>Sergey Lavrov</u> reiterated that the "Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) is working to establish a rational and just world order" and that "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation provides us with a unique opportunity to take part in the process of forming a fundamentally new model of geopolitical integration". [119]



SCO summit in Ufa, Russia in 2015



SCO and NATO Member States

In 2007, Matthew Brummer tracked the implications of SCO expansion into the <u>Persian Gulf</u>. [120] In 2008, one aim of SCO was to ensure that <u>liberal democracy</u> could not gain ground in these countries, according to political scientist <u>Thomas Ambrosio</u>. [121] In 2016, political scientist Thomas Fingar wrote that China took the lead in establishing the Shanghai Five primarily to limit Russia's ability to reassert its influence in Central Asia. [122]

In 2008, Iranian writer <u>Hamid Golpira</u> had this to say on the topic: "According to <u>Zbigniew Brzezinski</u>'s theory, control of the <u>Eurasian</u> landmass is the key to global domination and control of <u>Central Asia</u> is the key to control of the <u>Eurasian</u> landmass....Russia and China have been paying attention to Brzezinski's theory, since they formed the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation in 2001, ostensibly to curb extremism in the region and enhance border security, but most probably with the real objective of counterbalancing the activities of the United States and the rest of the NATO alliance in Central Asia". [123]

In 2008, the <u>People's Daily</u> wrote: "The Declaration points out that the SCO member countries have the ability and responsibility to safeguard the security of the Central Asian region, and calls on Western countries to leave Central Asia. That is the most noticeable signal given by the Summit to the world". [124]

In January 2023, India as SCO chair, invited Pakistan's Foreign Affairs Minister and Chief justice to attend a meeting in Goa in May 2023. As of May 2023, India and Pakistan continued to spar over terrorism, while Central Asian members Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have erupted in armed conflict over border disputes. The SCO was not a platform for resolving bilateral issues, and its members were also reluctant to mediate disputes multilaterally. Due to the widely divergent agendas among member states, Indian commentators even called it the "Shanghai Contradiction Organisation". [130]

Human rights issues

In the December 2015 United Nations General Assembly vote, all six members of the SCO voted against <u>human right violations in Iran</u>, expressing concern not only about religious persecution, but also the government's frequent use of the death penalty, failure to uphold legal due process, restrictions on freedom of expression, and ongoing discrimination against women and ethnic minorities. [131]

In July 2019, five of the eight SCO members were among the 50 countries that backed <u>China's policies in Xinjiang</u>, signing a joint letter to the <u>UNHRC</u> commending China's "remarkable achievements in the field of human rights", claiming "Now safety and security has returned to Xinjiang and the fundamental human rights of people of all ethnic groups there are safeguarded. [132][133] By June 2020, four of the eight SCO members were among the 53 countries that backed the <u>Hong Kong national security law</u> at the United Nations. [134]

Other analysis

A 2015 <u>European Parliamentary Research Service</u> paper concludes, "The SCO's main achievement thus far is to have offered its members a cooperative forum to balance their conflicting interests and to ease bilateral tensions. It has built up joint capabilities and has agreed on common approaches in the fight against

terrorism, separatism and extremism. However, major shortcomings, such as institutional weaknesses, a lack of common financial funds for the implementation of joint projects and conflicting national interests have prevented the SCO from achieving a higher level of regional cooperation in other areas." [135]

Gallery of leaders of member states



People's Republic of
China
Xi Jinping
President of China



Republic of India
Narendra Modi
Prime Minister of India



Islamic Republic of
Iran
Ebrahim Raisi
President of Iran



Republic of
Kazakhstan
Kassym-Jomart Tokayev
President of Kazakhstan



Kyrgyz Republic
Sadyr Japarov
President of Kyrgyzstan





Russian Federation
Vladimir Putin
President of Russia



Republic of Tajikistan
Emomali Rahmon
President of Tajikistan



Republic of
Uzbekistan
Shavkat Mirziyoyev
President of Uzbekistan

See also





- Asia Cooperation Dialogue
- Asia—Europe Meeting
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations
- Belt and Road Initiative
- Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
- BRICS
- China–Russia relations
- Collective Security Treaty Organization
- Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia
- Continental union
- Eurasian Economic Union
- Eurasianism
- South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

Notes

- a. China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan were members of the Shanghai Five mechanism since 26 April 1996. Uzbekistan was included in the Shanghai Five mechanism on 14 June 2001. The six states then signed a declaration establishing the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation on 15 June 2001.
- b. A country officially becomes a SCO dialogue partner after its minister of foreign affairs and SCO Secretary-General sign a memorandum granting the status.
- c. Syria has initially applied for observer status, but "it was explained that first it is necessary to become a dialogue partner of the organization". [53]

References

- 1. Lars Erslev Andersen (4 November 2022). "Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" (https://www.diis.dk/en/research/shanghai-cooperation-organisation#:~:text=The%20Shanghai%20Cooperation%20Organisation%20has%20been%20described%20in,forum%20for%20cooperation%20that%20includes%20security%20policy%20issues.). Danish Institute for International Studies. Retrieved 4 November 2022. "However, it is not a defence alliance but rather a forum for cooperation that includes security policy issues."
- 2. Seiwert, Eva (30 September 2021). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization Will Not Fill Any Vacuum in Afghanistan" (https://www.fpri.org/article/2021/09/the-shanghai-cooperation-organization-will-not-fill-any-vacuum-in-afghanistan/). Foreign Policy Research Institute. Retrieved 24 July 2022. "So far, the SCO has not officially recognized the Taliban regime and did not invite its representatives to the summit in Dushanbe in mid-September."
- 3. "About SCO" (http://eng.sectsco.org/about_sco/). Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20171028182720/http://eng.sectsco.org/about_sco/) from the original on 28 October 2017. Retrieved 9 June 2017.

- 4. "The evolution of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" (https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13567888.2018.1495424). Strategic Comments. **24** (5): vii–ix. 2018. doi:10.1080/13567888.2018.1495424 (https://doi.org/10.1080%2F13567888.2018.1495424). S2CID 219696506 (https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:219696506).
- 5. "Iran looks east after China-led bloc OKs entry" (https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/202 10918-iran-looks-east-after-china-led-bloc-oks-entry). France 24. 18 September 2021. Retrieved 14 July 2022.
- 6. Gill, Bates (30 November 2001). "Shanghai Five: An Attempt to Counter U.S. Influence in Asia?" (http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2001/05/04china-gill). Brookings. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20150503173641/http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2001/05/04china-gill) from the original on 3 May 2015. Retrieved 26 April 2015.
- 7. Albert, Eleanor (14 October 2015). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization" (https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/shanghai-cooperation-organization). Council on Foreign Relations.

 Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20181016032848/https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/shanghai-cooperation-organization) from the original on 16 October 2018. Retrieved 15 October 2018.
- Al-Qahtani, Mutlaq (2006). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Law of International Organizations". *Chinese Journal of International Law*. Oxford University Press.
 (1): 130. doi:10.1093/chinesejil/jml012 (https://doi.org/10.1093%2Fchinesejil%2Fjml012). ISSN 1540-1650 (https://www.worldcat.org/issn/1540-1650).
- 9. "Russian-Chinese Joint Declaration on a Multipolar World and the Establishment of a New International Order" (http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/52/plenary/a52-153.htm). *United Nations General Assembly*. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20170623154322/http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/52/plenary/a52-153.htm) from the original on 23 June 2017.
- 10. Proń, Elżbieta (2023). "China in Central Asia: New Developments in 2013-2021". *China and Eurasian Powers in a Multipolar World Order 2.0: Security, Diplomacy, Economy and Cyberspace*. Mher Sahakyan. New York: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781003352587-11 (https://doi.org/10.4324%2F9781003352587-11). ISBN 978-1-003-35258-7. OCLC 1353290533 (https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/1353290533).
- 11. "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" (http://eng.sectsco.org/about_sco/20170109/1908 57.html). Shanghai Cooperation Organization Secretariat. Retrieved 5 July 2023.
- 12. Kazinform, 5 July 2005.
- 13. Agostinis, Giovanni; Urdinez, Francisco (20 October 2021). "The Nexus between Authoritarian and Environmental Regionalism: An Analysis of China's Driving Role in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization" (https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2021.1974887). Problems of Post-Communism. 69 (4–5): 330–344. doi:10.1080/10758216.2021.1974887 (https://doi.org/10.1080%2F10758216.2021.1974887). ISSN 1075-8216 (https://www.worldcat.org/issn/1075-8216). S2CID 239486136 (https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:239486136).
- 14. "India, Pakistan edge closer to joining SCO security bloc" (http://tribune.com.pk/story/112953 3/india-pakistan-edge-closer-joining-sco-security-bloc/). Agence France-Presse. 24 June 2016. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20160625124459/http://tribune.com.pk/story/112 9533/india-pakistan-edge-closer-joining-sco-security-bloc/) from the original on 25 June 2016. Retrieved 24 June 2016 via The Express Tribune.
- 15. Bhattacherjee, Kallol (9 June 2017). "India, Pakistan become full members of SCO" (https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/india-pakistan-become-full-members-of-shanghai-coopera tion-organisation-sco/article62067467.ece). *The Hindu*. ISSN 0971-751X (https://www.world cat.org/issn/0971-751X). Retrieved 11 April 2023.
- 16. "Pakistan's Membership of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (https://mofa.gov.pk/pakistans-membership-of-the-shanghai-cooperation-org anization-sco/). 9 June 2017. Retrieved 11 April 2023.

- 17. "External communication" (http://eng.sectsco.org/cooperation/). Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20170605174306/http://eng.sectsco.org/cooperation/) from the original on 5 June 2017. Retrieved 9 June 2017.
- 18. "AU, SCO anti-terror organs sign cooperation deal on fighting terrorism" (https://timesofislam abad.com/12-Dec-2018/au-sco-anti-terror-organs-sign-cooperation-deal-on-fighting-terrorism). Times of Islamabad. 12 December 2018. Retrieved 16 December 2018.
- 19. Haidar, Suhasani (28 November 2020). <u>"India to host SCO Heads of Government meet; Modi, Imran to skip" (https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/six-pms-to-attend-sco-heads-of-government-summit-hosted-by-india/article33201037.ece)</u>. *The Hindu*. THG PUBLISHING PVT LTD. Retrieved 15 June 2021.
- 20. "Regular SCO Heads of State Council Meeting" (http://eng.sectsco.org/politics/20230704/94 8760/Regular-SCO-Heads-of-State-Council-Meeting.html). Shanghai Cooperation Organization Secretariat. Retrieved 5 July 2023.
- 21. "The Council of Heads of Government (Prime Ministers)" (http://eng.sectsco.org/about_sco/2 0220810/909124.html). Shanghai Cooperation Organization Secretariat. Retrieved 5 July 2023.
- 22. "21st SCO Heads of Government Council meeting" (http://eng.sectsco.org/economy/202211 01/921909/21st-SCO-Heads-of-Government-Council-meeting-.html). Shanghai Cooperation Organization Secretariat. Retrieved 5 July 2023.
- 23. "EAM S Jaishankar to represent India at SCO heads of govt meeting" (https://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/eam-s-jaishankar-to-represent-india-at-sco-heads-of-govt-meeting-121112401424_1.html). 25 November 2021.
- 24. "Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers from Member States of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" (https://web.archive.org/web/20120208154821/http://www.malaysia.mid.ru/press2007/e_22.html) (Press release). Kuala Lumpur: Embassy of the Russian Federation in Malaysia. 9 July 2007. Archived from the original (http://www.malaysia.mid.ru/press2007/e_22.html) on 8 February 2012.
- 25. Embassy of the Republic of Tajikistan in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (29 January 2021).
 "The First SCO Council of National Coordinators Meeting Chaired by Tajikistan" (https://mfa.t j/en/islamabad/view/7076/the-first-sco-council-of-national-coordinators-meeting-chaired-by-t ajikistan). mfa.tj. Embassy of the Republic of Tajikistan in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Retrieved 15 June 2021.
- 26. "Who is the current Secretary General SCO?" (https://freshmcqs.com/secretary-general-sc o/). Fresh MCQs. 11 December 2022. Retrieved 28 July 2023.
- 27. "Information on Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure of Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" (htt ps://web.archive.org/web/20081211154326/http://www.sectsco.org/fk-03.html). Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. Archived from the original (http://www.sectsco.org/fk-03.html) on 11 December 2008.
- 28. Совместное заявление глав государств Республики Казахстан, Китайской Народной Республики, Кыргызской Республики, Российской Федерации, Республики Таджикистан, Республики Узбекистан (http://kremlin.ru/supplement/3404) [Joint statement of heads of state of Republic of Kazakhstan, People's Republic of China, Kyrgyz Republic, Russian Federation, Republic of Tajikistan, Republic of Uzbekistan]. President of Russia (in Russian). 14 June 2001.
- 29. Главы государств «Шанхайского форума» приняли Декларацию о создании нового объединения Шанхайской организации сотрудничества (http://kremlin.ru/events/preside nt/news/41570) ["Shanghai Forum" heads of state have adopted the Declaration on creation of a new association the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation]. *President of Russia* (in Russian). 15 June 2001.

- 30. <u>"Iran to become 'full-fledged' SCO member in July" (https://thecradle.co/article-view/25525/iran-to-become-full-fledged-sco-member-in-july)</u>. The Cradle. 2 June 2023. Retrieved 3 June 2023.
- 31. Zhao, Suisheng (2023). *The dragon roars back : transformational leaders and dynamics of Chinese foreign policy* (https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/1332788951). Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. p. 70. ISBN 978-1-5036-3415-2. OCLC 1332788951 (https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/1332788951).
- 32. "SCO accepts Afghanistan as observer, Turkey dialogue partner" (http://english.peopledaily.c om.cn/90883/7839137.html). Xinhua News Agency. 7 June 2012. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20121128073821/http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90883/7839137.html) from the original on 28 November 2012. Retrieved 7 June 2012 via *People's Daily*.
- 33. "Belarus gets observer status in Shanghai Cooperation Organization" (https://web.archive.org/web/20150731103354/http://eng.belta.by/all_news/politics/Belarus-gets-observer-status-in-Shanghai-Cooperation-Organization_i_83108.html). Belarusian Telegraph Agency. 10 July 2015. Archived from the original (http://eng.belta.by/all_news/politics/Belarus-gets-observer-status-in-Shanghai-Cooperation-Organization_i_83108.html) on 31 July 2015. Retrieved 8 August 2015.
- 34. Lantratov, Konstantin; Orozaliev, Bek; Zygar, Mikhail; Safronov, Ivan (27 April 2006). <u>"The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation acquires military character" (https://web.archive.org/web/20161127140639/http://www.kommersant.com/page.asp?idr=527&id=670100). *Kommersant.* No. 75. p. 9. Archived from the original (http://www.kommersant.com/page.asp?idr=527&id=670100) on 27 November 2016.</u>
- 35. "Belarus prepares bid to join SCO Russian presidential envoy" (https://interfax.com/newsro om/top-stories/80179/). *Interfax*. 14 June 2022. Retrieved 15 June 2022.
- 36. "Regulations on the Status of Dialogue Partner of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" (https://web.archive.org/web/20120214203708/http://www.sectsco.org/EN/show.asp?id=64). The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. 28 August 2008. Archived from the original (http://www.sectsco.org/EN/show.asp?id=64) on 14 February 2012. Retrieved 11 June 2016.
- 37. "Sri Lanka gains partnership in SCO members welcome end to terror in country" (https://web.archive.org/web/20160304083026/http://defence.lk/new.asp?fname=20090618_05). Ministry of Defence, Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. 30 December 2010. Archived from the original (http://defence.lk/new.asp?fname=20090618_05) on 4 March 2016.
- 38. Bedi, Rahul (2 June 2007). "Sri Lanka turns to Pakistan, China for military needs" (https://web.archive.org/web/20070604170848/http://www.indianmuslims.info/news/2007/jun/02/sri_lanka_turns_pakistan_china_military_needs.html). IANS. Urdustan.com Network. Archived from the original (http://www.indianmuslims.info/news/2007/jun/02/sri_lanka_turns_pakistan_china military_needs.html) on 4 June 2007. Retrieved 2 June 2007.
- 39. "Russian MFA Spokesman Andrei Nesterenko Response to Media Question about the Signing of a Memorandum Granting the Status of SCO Dialogue Partner to Sri Lanka" (https://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/250874). Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Russia). 12 May 2010.
- 40. "No: 123, 26 April 2013, Press Release Concerning the Signing of a Memorandum with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization" (https://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_-123_-26-april_-2013_-press-release-concerning-the-signing-of-a-memorandum-with-the-shanghai-cooperation-organization.en.mfa). *Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Turkey)*. 26 April 2013.
- 41. Kucera, Joshua (10 July 2015). <u>"SCO Summit Provides Few Concrete Results, But More Ambitious Goals" (https://eurasianet.org/sco-summit-provides-few-concrete-results-but-more-ambitious-goals)</u>. *Eurasianet*. Retrieved 16 October 2021.
- 42. "Cambodia becomes dialogue partner in SCO" (https://tass.com/economy/823294). TASS. 24 September 2015.

- 43. "Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Rashid Alimov, Secretary General of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization within his working visit to the People's Republic of China" (https://mfa.gov.az/en/news/xarici-isler-naziri-elmar-memmedyarov-cin-xalq-respublik asina-isguzar-seferi-cercivesinde-sanxay-emekdasliq-teskilatinin-bas-katibi-resid-alimov-ilegorusub). *Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Azerbaijan)*. 14 March 2016.
- 44. "Press Release issued by Embassy of Nepal, Beijing on Nepal officially joined the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) as a dialogue partner" (https://mofa.gov.np/press-release-is sued-embassy-nepal-beijing/). Government of Nepal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 22 March 2016. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20180804103547/https://mofa.gov.np/press-rele ase-issued-embassy-nepal-beijing/) from the original on 4 August 2018. Retrieved 4 August 2018.
- 45. "Armenia was granted a status of dialogue partner in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" (https://www.mfa.am/en/press-releases/2016/04/16/sco-dial-part/6038). *Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Armenia)*. 16 April 2016.
- 46. "SCO member states signed memorandums on granting SCO dialogue partner status to the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Qatar" (http://eng.sectsco.org/politics/20220916/912 890/SCO-member-states-signed-memorandums-on-granting-SCO-dialogue-partner-status-to -the-Arab-Republic.html). Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Retrieved 16 September 2022.
- 47. "President Xi Jinping Attends the 22nd Meeting of the SCO Council of Heads of State and Delivers Important Remarks" (https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx_662805/202209/t2022091 6_10767162.html). Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC. Retrieved 16 September 2022.
- 48. "New SCO dialogue partners" (http://eng.sectsco.org/politics/20230506/942021/-New-SCO-dialogue-partners.html). Shanghai Cooperation Organization Secretariat. Retrieved 6 May 2023.
- 49. Bahrain granted the status of SCO dialogue partner (https://www.bna.bh/en/Bahraingrantedt hestatusofSCOdialoguepartner.aspx?cms=q8FmFJgiscL2fwIzON1%2BDIDCMEcGKMPY4r KOqGpdTL4%3D#:~:text=Shanghai%2C%20July%2015%20(BNA)%3A,People's%20Repu blic%20of%20China%20Dr.)
- 50. "Shanghai Cooperation Organisation | SCO" (http://eng.sectsco.org/politics/20230718/95165 9/The-SCO-signs-a-memorandum-on-granting-the-Kingdom-of-Bahrain-the-status-of-dialogu e-partner.html).
- 51. Moskovskij Komsomolets (15 September 2012). "Azerbaijan asks to join a new alliance of China and Russia" (https://web.archive.org/web/20141222201738/http://azeridaily.com/politics/957). Azeri Daily. Archived from the original (http://azeridaily.com/politics/957) on 22 December 2014. Retrieved 22 December 2014.
- 52. |url=https://arab.news/5c83v
- 53. "Syria, Israel, Egypt willing to join SCO's activity president's special envoy" (https://web.arc hive.org/web/20160816144553/http://www.interfax.com/newsinf.asp?id=683491). Interfax. 23 June 2016. Archived from the original (http://www.interfax.com/newsinf.asp?id=683491) on 16 August 2016. Retrieved 23 June 2016.
- 54. "Egypt applies to become dialogue partner of Shanghai security bloc Kremlin aide" (http://t ass.ru/en/world/806320). TASS. 6 July 2015. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/2015082 0191812/http://tass.ru/en/world/806320) from the original on 20 August 2015. Retrieved 15 August 2015.
- 55. "'SCO family' widening? Many candidates share 'Shanghai spirit', but expansion not a goal" (https://tass.com/world/1076750). *TASS*. 5 September 2019. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20190906165359/https://tass.com/world/1076750) from the original on 6 September 2019. Retrieved 6 August 2022.

- 56. "Algeria Submits an Application to Join the SCO" (https://www.echoroukonline.com/algeria-s ubmits-an-application-to-join-the-sco). *Echorouk*. 21 June 2023.
- 57. "L'Algérie veut intégrer le capital de la banque des BRICS et l'organisation de Shanghai" (htt ps://lalgerieaujourdhui.dz/lalgerie-veut-integrer-le-capital-de-la-banque-des-brics-et-lorganis ation-de-shanghai/). L'Algérie Audjourd'hui. 21 June 2023.
- 58. Wu, Jiao; Li, Xiaokun (12 June 2010). "SCO agrees deal to expand" (http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2010-06/12/content_9968565.htm). *China Daily*. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20100617082428/http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2010-06/12/content_9968565.htm) from the original on 17 June 2010. Retrieved 15 June 2010.
- 59. Radyuhin, Vladimir (2 December 2011). "Vietnam bids to join SCO" (https://www.thehindu.co m/news/international/vietnam-bids-to-join-sco/article2681358.ece). The Hindu. Moscow. Retrieved 6 August 2022.
- 60. Dalay, Galip (14 May 2013). "Turkey between Shanghai and Brussels" (https://web.archive.org/web/20160206085447/http://www.thenewturkey.org/turkey-between-shanghai-and-brussels/). The New Turkey. Translated by Öz, Handan. Archived from the original (http://www.thenewturkey.org/turkey-between-shanghai-and-brussels) on 6 February 2016. Retrieved 1 July 2013.
- 61. Butler, Daren (21 November 2016). "Fed up with EU, Erdogan says Turkey could join Shanghai Group" (https://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-europe-erdogan-idUSKBN13F0 CY). Reuters. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20170621032937/http://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-europe-erdogan-idUSKBN13F0CY) from the original on 21 June 2017. Retrieved 21 November 2016.
- 62. "Turkey Seeks to Be First NATO Member to Join China-Led SCO" (https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-09-17/turkey-seeks-china-led-bloc-membership-in-threat-to-nato-allies?srnd=fixed-income). Bloomberg.com. 17 September 2022. Retrieved 17 September 2022.
- 63. "Yanukovych Tells Putin Kyiv Wants SCO Observer Status" (https://www.rferl.org/a/yanukovych-tells-putin-kyiv-wants-sco-observer-status/24687868.html). Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. 25 August 2012. Retrieved 6 August 2022.
- 64. Grigoryan, Gurgen (8 October 2012). "Why Ukraine wants to become SCO's partner" (http://infoshos.ru/en/?idn=10558). InfoSCO. Retrieved 6 August 2022.
- 65. United Nations General Assembly Session 90 Resolution 50/80. Maintenance of international security AIRES/50/80 (http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/R ES/50/80) 12 December 1995. Retrieved 18 February 2019.
- 66. Shubham (7 June 2018). "SCO Summit 2018: Why Turkmenistan is not part of the Eurasia security bloc" (https://www.oneindia.com/feature/sco-summit-2018-why-turkmenistan-is-not-part-of-the-eurasia-security-bloc-2711428.html). oneindia.com. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20190220002956/https://www.oneindia.com/feature/sco-summit-2018-why-turkmenistan-is-not-part-of-the-eurasia-security-bloc-2711428.html) from the original on 20 February 2019. Retrieved 19 February 2019.
- 67. "General Assembly Adopts 5 Resolutions, 3 Decisions, including Text Urging States to Consider Need for Woman Secretary-General | UN Press" (https://press.un.org/en/2023/ga1 2523.doc.htm).
- 68. "General Assembly: 99th Plenary Meeting, 77th session | UN Web TV" (https://media.un.org/en/asset/k1y/k1y1t01783). September 2023.
- 69. Luan, Shanglin, ed. (22 April 2006). "SCO to intensify fight against cross-border drug crimes" (https://web.archive.org/web/20150515211539/http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-04/2 2/content_4459199.htm). Beijing. Xinhua News Agency. Archived from the original (http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-04/22/content_4459199.htm) on 15 May 2015. Retrieved 11 June 2016.

- 70. "Security alliances led by Russia, China link up" (http://fp.brecorder.com/2007/10/200710066 34365/). Business Recorder. Dushanbe. 6 October 2007. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20180804170100/http://fp.brecorder.com/2007/10/20071006634365/) from the original on 4 August 2018. Retrieved 4 August 2018.
- 71. Gjelten, Tom (23 September 2010). "Seeing The Internet As An 'Information Weapon'" (https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=130052701). National Public Radio. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20100924110725/http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=130052701) from the original on 24 September 2010. Retrieved 23 September 2010.
- 72. Desai, Suyash (5 December 2017). "India's SCO Challenge" (https://thediplomat.com/2017/1 2/indias-sco-challenge/). The Diplomat. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20180406230 817/https://thediplomat.com/2017/12/indias-sco-challenge/) from the original on 6 April 2018. Retrieved 16 June 2019.
- 73. PTI (21 March 2021). "India, Pakistan, China to participate in SCO joint anti-terrorism exercise" (https://theprint.in/diplomacy/india-pakistan-china-to-participate-in-sco-joint-anti-ter rorism-exercise/625869/). *ThePrint*. Retrieved 27 March 2021.
- 74. Scheineson, Andrew (24 March 2009). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization" (https://web.archive.org/web/20100511042105/http://www.cfr.org/publication/10883/). Council on Foreign Relations. Archived from the original (http://www.cfr.org/publication/10883/) on 11 May 2010. Retrieved 21 July 2015.
- 75. Tugsbilguun, Tumurkhuleg (2008–2009). "Does the Shanghai Cooperation Represent an Example of a Military Alliance?" (https://www.mongoliajol.info/index.php/MJIA/article/download/32/32). The Mongolian Journal of International Affairs. 15–16: 59–107. Retrieved 6 August 2022. "In contrast, the political leaders and most analysts in the SCO member states, especially those in its two most influential members, Russia and China, have repeatedly emphasized that the SCO is not a military alliance, since it is not directed against a third party and is only interested in combating threats posed by terrorism, separatism and extremism."
- 76. Hutzler, Charles (26 April 2006). "China, Russia, Others to Hold Joint Drills" (https://web.archive.org/web/20150904133349/http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P1-122597957.html).

 Associated Press. Archived from the original (http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P1-122597957.html) on 4 September 2015. Retrieved 12 June 2015 via HighBeam Research.
- 77. Yu, Bin (17 October 2007). "Common exercise, different goals" (https://www.nytimes.com/20 07/10/17/opinion/17iht-edbin.1.7927841.html?_r=0). The New York Times. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20150614172225/http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/17/opinion/17iht-edbin.1.7927841.html?_r=0) from the original on 14 June 2015. Retrieved 12 June 2015.
- 78. Boland, Julie (29 October 2010), Learning From The Shanghai Cooperation Organization's 'Peace Mission-2010' Exercise" (https://web.archive.org/web/20110628085252/http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2010/1029_asia_war_games_boland.aspx), The Brookings Institution, archived from the original (http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2010/1029_asia_war_games_boland.aspx) on 28 June 2011
- 79. Hess, Maximilian (9 October 2022). "Putin is fighting alone" (https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2022/10/9/putin-is-increasingly-fighting-alone). Retrieved 5 July 2023.
- 80. Kyodo News (23 September 2003). "LEAD: Central Asian powers agree to pursue free-trade zone" (http://www.thefreelibrary.com/LEAD%3A+Central+Asian+powers+agree+to+pursue+free-trade+zone.-a0108316611). Beijing: Kyodo News International, Inc. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20150717215118/http://www.thefreelibrary.com/LEAD%3a+Central+Asian+powers+agree+to+pursue+free-trade+zone.-a0108316611) from the original on 17 July 2015. Retrieved 21 July 2015.

- 81. "China Intensifies Regional Trade Talks" (https://web.archive.org/web/20071024121832/htt p://www.ictsd.org/weekly/03-10-01/story3.htm). Archived from the original (http://www.ictsd.org/weekly/03-10-01/story3.htm) on 24 October 2007. International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD)
- 82. China Foreign Ministry (23 September 2004). "Joint Communique of the Council of the Governmental Heads (Prime Ministers) of Shanghai Cooperation Organisation Member States" (https://web.archive.org/web/20090330053454/http://www.shaps.hawaii.edu/fp/russia/2004/20040923_sco_jc.html) (Press release). Archived from the original (http://www.shaps.hawaii.edu/fp/russia/2004/20040923_sco_jc.html) on 30 March 2009.
- 83. Blagov, Sergei (31 October 2005). "Shanghai Cooperation Organisation Eyes Economic, Security Cooperation" (https://web.archive.org/web/20071101021114/http://www.jamestown.org/edm/article.php?article_id=2370411). Eurasia Daily Monitor. The Jamestown Foundation. Archived from the original (http://www.jamestown.org/edm/article.php?article_id=2370411) on 1 November 2007.
- 84. "SCO Ministers of Foreign Economic Activity and Trade to meet in Tashkent" (https://web.arc hive.org/web/20110815171922/http://eng.nbu.com/news/read.php?id=421). National Bank of Uzbekistan. Archived from the original (http://eng.nbu.com/news/read.php?id=421) on 15 August 2011.
- 85. "Russia's Foreign Ministry develops concept of SCO Energy Club" (http://eng.gazeta.kz/art.a sp?aid=84086). Kazakhstan Today. Almaty, Kazakhstan: Gazeta.kz Internet Agency. 1 December 2006. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20071007075148/http://eng.gazeta.kz/art.asp?aid=84086) from the original on 7 October 2007. Retrieved 3 December 2006.
- 86. Blagov, Sergei (6 November 2007). "Russia Urges Formation of Central Asian Energy Club" (https://web.archive.org/web/20160304063714/http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav110707a.shtml). Eurasianet. The Open Society Institute. Archived from the original (http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav110707a.shtml) on 4 March 2016. Retrieved 11 June 2016.
- 87. "Chronicle of Main Events of 'Shanghai Five' and Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" (http s://web.archive.org/web/20081014132514/http://www.sectsco.org/html/00030.html). The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. 2008. Archived from the original (http://www.sectsco.org/html/00030.html) on 14 October 2008.
- 88. Mehr News Agency, 31 October 2008.
- 89. Russia Today, 30 October 2008
- 90. Deng, Shasha, ed. (16 June 2009). "China to provide 10-billion-dollar loan to SCO members" (https://web.archive.org/web/20160304073311/http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-06/16/content_11552439.htm). Yekaterinburg, Russia. Xinhua News Agency. Archived from the original (http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-06/16/content_11552439.htm) on 4 March 2016. Retrieved 21 July 2015.
- 91. Yan, ed. (18 June 2009). "China, Russia sign five-point joint statement" (https://web.archive.org/web/20090620111314/http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-06/18/content_11558133.htm). Xinhua News Agency. Archived from the original (http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-06/18/content_11558133.htm) on 20 June 2009. Retrieved 23 June 2009. "They also said that a new round of the IMF quota formula review and the reform schemes of the World Bank should be completed on time and that the emerging markets and developing countries should have a bigger say and broader representation in the international financial institutions."
- 92. "Shanghai Cooperation Organization summit kicks off in Bishkek" (https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/shanghai-cooperation-organization-summit-kicks-off-in-bishkek/1504148).
 www.aa.com.tr. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20190929213418/https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/shanghai-cooperation-organization-summit-kicks-off-in-bishkek/1504148)
 from the original on 29 September 2019. Retrieved 29 September 2019.

- 93. پیشنهاد ایران به سازمان شانگهای برای ایجاد پول واحد (http://www.tabnak.ir/fa/news/1122205) [Iran's proposal to the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation to create a single currency]. *TABNAK* (in Persian). 2 June 2022. Retrieved 12 July 2022.
- 94. "SCOCOEX Event in Iran Deferred to October" (https://www.tasnimnews.com/en/news/2022/ 06/21/2731950/scocoex-event-in-iran-deferred-to-october). *Tasnim*. 21 June 2022. Retrieved 12 July 2022.
- 95. "Culture Ministers of SCO Member States Meet in Beijing" (http://english.people.com.cn/200 204/13/eng20020413_93954.shtml). People's Daily. People's Daily Online. 13 April 2002. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20130426094709/http://english.people.com.cn/20020 4/13/eng20020413_93954.shtml) from the original on 26 April 2013. Retrieved 11 June 2016.
- 96. "SCO Culture Ministers to Meet in Tashkent" (https://web.archive.org/web/20090418125956/ http://eng.gazeta.kz/art.asp?aid=74059). *Kazakhstan Today*. Almaty, Kazakhstan: Gazeta.kz Internet Agency. 17 April 2006. Archived from the original (http://eng.gazeta.kz/art.asp?aid=74059) on 18 April 2009.
- 97. "Kazakhstan Backs Promotion of SCO Cultural Ties" (https://web.archive.org/web/20160303 195124/http://www.inform.kz/eng/article/2141605). *KazInform*. KazInform International News Agency. Archived from the original (https://www.inform.kz/eng/article/2141605) on 3 March 2016.
- 98. "Официальный сайт форума ШОС+" (https://iiip.online/shos.html) [Official website of the SCO+ forum]. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20201123161140/https://iiip.online/shos.html) from the original on 23 November 2020. Retrieved 4 November 2020.
- 99. "Путин направил приветствие участникам межпартийного форума ШОС+" (https://rg.ru/2020/10/22/putin-napravil-privetstvie-uchastnikam-mezhpartijnogo-foruma-shos.html) [Putin sent a greeting to the participants of the SCO+ inter-party forum]. Rossiyskaya Gazeta. 22 October 2020. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20201101113858/https://rg.ru/2020/10/22/putin-napravil-privetstvie-uchastnikam-mezhpartijnogo-foruma-shos.html) from the original on 1 November 2020. Retrieved 4 November 2020.
- 100. "Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" (https://web.archive.org/web/20140713 224811/http://www.sectsco.org/html/00096.html). Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. Archived from the original (http://www.sectsco.org/html/00096.html) on 13 July 2014.
- 101. "Joint Communiqué of Meeting of the Council of the Heads of the Member States of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" (https://web.archive.org/web/20140710232015/http://www.sectsco.org/EN/show.asp?id=88). Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. Archived from the original (http://www.sectsco.org/EN/show.asp?id=88) on 10 July 2014.
- 102. Tang, Danlu, ed. (11 June 2010). "SCO vows to strengthen cooperation with its observers, dialogue partners" (https://web.archive.org/web/20121106123408/http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2010-06/11/c_13345841.htm). Tashkent, Uzbekistan. Xinhua News Agency. Archived from the original (http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2010-06/11/c_13345841.htm) on 6 November 2012. Retrieved 11 June 2016.
- 103. Song Miou (10 July 2015). "Uzbekistan to host 16th SCO summit in 2016" (https://web.archive.org/web/20151003103344/http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-07/10/c_134401944.htm"). Ufa, Russia. Xinhua News Agency. Archived from the original (http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-07/10/c_134401944.htm) on 3 October 2015. Retrieved 11 June 2016.
- 104. "Kyrgyzstan to host SCO summit in June 2019" (https://akipress.com/news:615057/).

 AKIpress News Agency. 11 January 2019. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/201904241

 51843/https://akipress.com/news:615057/) from the original on 24 April 2019. Retrieved 24 April 2019.
- 105. "Заседание Совета глав государств членов ШОС" (http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/64385). 10 November 2020. Retrieved 10 November 2020.

- 106. "PM to attend SCO head of states meeting in Dushanbe" (https://www.brecorder.com/news/amp/40115796). 26 August 2021.
- 107. Indian Ministry of External Affairs; press release (30 May 2023). "SCO Summit under India's Chairmanship" (https://mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/36622/SCO_Summit_under_India s_Chairmanship). mea.gov.in. Retrieved 5 July 2023.
- 108. Pierson, David; Kurmanaev, Anatoly; Yasir, Sameer (4 July 2023). "Putin, Xi and Modi Meet on Camera, but With No Signs of Greater Unity" (https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/04/world/asia/putin-xi-modi-shanghai-summit.html). The New York Times. ISSN 0362-4331 (https://www.worldcat.org/issn/0362-4331). Retrieved 5 July 2023.
- 109. Ho, Stephanie (14 October 2009). "Shanghai Cooperation Organization Summit Concludes in Beijing" (https://web.archive.org/web/20091026210050/http://www.voanews.com/english/2 009-10-14-voa14.cfm). Beijing: Voice of America. Archived from the original (http://www.voanews.com/english/2009-10-14-voa14.cfm) on 26 October 2009. Retrieved 11 June 2016.
- 110. "Wen arrives in Tajikistan for SCO meeting" (http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010-11/25/content_11607534.htm). China Daily. Dushanbe, Tajikistan. Xinhua News Agency. 25
 November 2010. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20160807200114/http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010-11/25/content_11607534.htm) from the original on 7 August 2016.
 Retrieved 11 June 2016.
- 111. "SCO Meeting Expected to Boost Cooperation Among Members" (http://www.satrapia.com/n ews/article/sco-meeting-expected-to-boost-cooperation-among-members/). The Gazette of Central Asia. Satrapia. 2 December 2012.
- 112. Hiro, Dilip (16 June 2006). "Shanghai surprise: The summit of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation reveals how power is shifting in the world" (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2006/jun/16/shanghaisurprise). The Guardian. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20140923025607/http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2006/jun/16/shanghaisurprise) from the original on 23 September 2014. Retrieved 19 June 2019.
- 113. Varadarajan, Siddharth (8 July 2005). "Central Asia: China and Russia up the ante" (https://web.archive.org/web/20090529184633/http://www.hindu.com/2005/07/08/stories/2005070800711400.htm). The Hindu. Archived from the original (http://www.hindu.com/2005/07/08/stories/2005070800711400.htm) on 29 May 2009. Retrieved 13 December 2007.
- 114. Kucera, Joshua (19 August 2007). "Shanghai Cooperation Organisation Summiteers Take Shots at US Presence in Central Asia" (https://web.archive.org/web/20160304083232/http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav082007a.shtml). Eurasianet. The Open Society Institute. Archived from the original (http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav082007a.shtml) on 4 March 2016. Retrieved 11 June 2016.
- 115. Oertel, Aslı Aydıntaşbaş, Marie Dumoulin, Ellie Geranmayeh, Janka (16 September 2022).

 "Rogue NATO: The new face of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" (https://ecfr.eu/artic le/rogue-nato-the-new-face-of-the-shanghai-cooperation-organisation/). ECFR. Retrieved 4 July 2023.
- 116. Kaleji, Vali (13 November 2021). <u>"The Shanghai Cooperation Organization Is No 'New Warsaw' or 'Eastern NATO' " (https://nationalinterest.org/feature/shanghai-cooperation-organization-no-%E2%80%98new-warsaw%E2%80%99-or-%E2%80%98eastern-nato%E2%80%99-196138). *The National Interest.* Retrieved 4 July 2023.</u>
- 117. KIRAN SHARMA and CK TAN (4 July 2023). "Putin claims unity, Xi slams decoupling at India-hosted SCO talks" (https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-relations/Putin-claims-unity-Xi-slams-decoupling-at-India-hosted-SCO-talks). *Nikkei Asia*. Retrieved 5 July 2023.
- 118. "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" (https://web.archive.org/web/20140804191808/htt p://www.sectsco.org/news_detail.asp?id=407&LanguageID=2). 13 July 2005. Archived from the original (http://www.sectsco.org/news_detail.asp?id=407&LanguageID=2) on 4 August 2014.

- 119. UzReport, 28 November 2005
- 120. Journal of International Affairs. 2007. The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and Iran: A Power-full Union. Matthew Brummer
- 121. Ambrosio (October 2008). "Catching the 'Shanghai Spirit': How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia". *Europe-Asia Studies*. **60** (8): 1321–1344. doi:10.1080/09668130802292143 (https://doi.org/10.1080%2F09668130802292143). S2CID 153557248 (https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:153557248).
- 122. Fingar, Thomas (2016). "China's Goals in South Asia". The new great game: China and South and Central Asia in the era of reform. Thomas Fingar. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. p. 41. ISBN 978-0-8047-9764-1. OCLC 939553543 (https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/939553543).
- 123. Golpira, Hamid (20 November 2008). "Iraq smoke screen" (http://www.tehrantimes.com/new s/182891/Iraq-smoke-screen). Tehran Times. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/2018080 4105127/http://www.tehrantimes.com/news/182891/Iraq-smoke-screen) from the original on 4 August 2018. Retrieved 4 August 2018.
- 124. People's Daily Online (8 July 2008), "Opinion: SCO sends strong signals for West to leave Central Asia" (http://en.people.cn/200507/08/eng20050708_194907.html), People's Daily, archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20160809060939/http://en.people.cn/200507/08/eng20050708_194907.html) from the original on 9 August 2016, retrieved 11 June 2016
- 125. "India invites Pak FM Bilawal Bhutto, Chief Justice for SCO meet" (https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/india-invites-pak-fm-bilawal-bhutto-chief-justice-for-sco-meet-101674629 291592.html). *Hindustan Times*. 25 January 2023. Retrieved 26 January 2023.
- 126. "India sends Pakistan a message, Russia slams West at SCO meeting" (https://asia.nikkei.c om/Politics/International-relations/India-sends-Pakistan-a-message-Russia-slams-West-at-S CO-meeting). *Nikkei Asia*. Retrieved 9 May 2023.
- 127. "Clash erupts between Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan border guards" (https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/9/14/clash-erupts-between-kyrgyzstan-and-tajikistan-border-guards). *Al jazeera*. Retrieved 4 July 2023.
- 128. "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization's Limited Role In Easing Tensions Between China and India" (https://jamestown.org/program/the-shanghai-cooperation-organizations-limited-role-in-easing-tensions-between-china-and-india/). *Jamestown*. Retrieved 5 July 2023.
- 129. Alexei, Kupriyanov (8 December 2020). <u>"The SCO and the conflict between India and Pakistan" (https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/sco-conflict-between-india-pakistan/?amp).</u> ORF.
- 130. "A Shanghai Contradiction Organisation Let's call it what it is" (https://www.moneycontrol.c om/europe/news/opinion/sco-shanghai-contradiction-organisation-lets-call-it-what-it-is-1091 3571.html). *Moneycontrol*. Retrieved 7 July 2023.
- 131. "Ongoing human rights violations in Iran spotlighted in UN vote" (https://www.bic.org/news/ongoing-human-rights-violations-iran-spotlighted-un-vote). 17 December 2015.
- 132. "Who cares about the Uyghurs" (https://www.economist.com/sites/default/files/images/print-e dition/20190727 CNM997.png). *The Economist*.
- 133. "Letter to UNHRC" (https://ap.ohchr.org/documents/E/HRC/c_gov/A_HRC_41_G_17.DOC X). Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.
- 134. Lawler, Dave (2 July 2020). <u>"The 53 countries supporting China's crackdown on Hong Kong"</u> (https://www.axios.com/countries-supporting-china-hong-kong-law-0ec9bc6c-3aeb-4af0-803 1-aa0f01a46a7c.html). *Axios*. Retrieved 3 July 2020.

135. Grieger, Gisela (26 June 2015). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" (http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2015/564368/EPRS_BRI(2015)564368_EN.pdf) (PDF). European Parliament Think Tank. p. 1. Archived (https://web.archive.org/web/20190527103951/http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2015/564368/EPRS_BRI(2015)564368_EN.pdf) (PDF) from the original on 27 May 2019. Retrieved 14 January 2018.

Further reading

- Adıbelli, Barış (2006). "Greater Eurasia Project". Istanbul: IQ Publishing House.
- Adıbelli, Barış (2007). Turkey–China Relations since the Ottoman Period. Istanbul: IQ Publishing House.
- Adıbelli, Barış (2007). *The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation Dream of Turkey*. Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Strateji.
- Adıbelli, Barış (2007). <u>The Eurasia Strategy of China (http://www.barisadibelli.com/)</u>. Istanbul: IQ Publishing House.
- Adıbelli, Barış (2008). *The Great Game in Eurasian Geopolitics*. Istanbul: IQ Publishing House.
- Chabal, Pierre (2019), La coopération de Shanghai : conceptualiser la nouvelle Asie,
 Presses de l'Université de Liège, 308 p; 2019 Presses Universitaires de Liège La coopération de Shanghai (http://www.presses.uliege.be/jcms/c_21617/la-cooperation-de-shanghai)
- Chabal, Pierre (2016), L'Organisation de Coopération de Shanghai et la construction de "la nouvelle Asie" (https://web.archive.org/web/20160205211755/http://www.peterlang.com/dow nload/datasheet/90256/datasheet 574297.pdf), Brussels: Peter Lang, 492 p.
- Chabal, Pierre (2015), Concurrences Interrégionales Europe-Asie au 21ème siècle (https://web.archive.org/web/20160205210548/http://www.peterlang.com/download/datasheet/89167/datasheet_574277.pdf), Brussels: Peter Lang, 388 p.
- Cohen, Dr. Ariel. (18 July 2001). "The Russia-China Friendship and Cooperation Treaty: A Strategic Shift in Eurasia?" (https://web.archive.org/web/20100307024438/http://www.heritage.org/research/russiaandeurasia/bg1459.cfm). The Heritage Foundation.
- Cohen, Dr. Ariel. (24 October 2005). "Competition over Eurasia: Are the U.S. and Russia on a Collision Course?" (https://web.archive.org/web/20100302231849/http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/hl901.cfm). The Heritage Foundation.
- Colson, Charles. (5 August 2003). "Central Asia: Shanghai Cooperation Organisation Makes Military Debut" (http://www.rferl.org/features/2003/08/05082003154708.asp). Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.
- Daly, John. (19 July 2001). "'Shanghai Five' expands to combat Islamic radicals" (http://www.janes.com/security/international_security/news/jtsm/jtsm010719_1_n.shtml). Jane's Terrorism & Security Monitor.
- Douglas, John Keefer; Matthew B. Nelson, and Kevin Schwartz; ""Fueling the Dragon's Flame: How China's Energy Demands Affect its Relationships in the Middle East" " (https://w eb.archive.org/web/20121212004708/http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2006/China_ME_FINAL.pdf) (PDF). Archived from the original (http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2006/China_ME_FINAL.pdf) (PDF) on 12 December 2012. (162 KiB), United States—China Economic and Security Review Commission, October 2006.
- Fels, Enrico (2009), Assessing Eurasia's Powerhouse. An Inquiry into the Nature of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, Winkler Verlag: Bochum. ISBN 978-3-89911-107-1

- Gill, Bates and Oresman, Matthew, China's New Journey to the West: Report on China's Emergence in Central Asia and Implications for U.S. Interests (https://web.archive.org/web/2 0061129202941/http://www.csis.org/component/option,com_csis_pubs/task,view/id,15/), CSIS Press, August 2003
- Kalra, Prajakti and Saxena, Siddharth "Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and Prospects of Development in Eurasia Region" (https://web.archive.org/web/20150716174240/http://www.turkishpolicy.com/images/stories/2007-02-centraleurasia/TPQ2007-2-kalra%2Bsaxena.pdf) Turkish Policy Quarterly, Vol 6. No. 2, 2007
- Plater-Zyberk, Henry; Monaghan, Andrew (2014). <u>Strategic Implications of the Evolving Shanghai Cooperation Organization</u> (https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep11392). Strategic Studies Institute and U.S. Army War College Press.
- Oresman, Matthew, "Beyond the Battle of Talas: China's Re-emergence in Central Asia" (http s://web.archive.org/web/20100326123906/http://www.ndu.edu/ctnsp/tamerlane/Tamerlane-C hapter19.pdf) (PDF). Archived from the original (http://www.ndu.edu/ctnsp/tamerlane/Tamerla ne-Chapter19.pdf) (PDF) on 26 March 2010. (4.74 MiB), National Defence University Press, August 2004
- Sznajder, Ariel Pablo, "China's Shanghai Cooperation Organisation Strategy" (https://web.ar chive.org/web/20150615224847/http://irps.ucsd.edu/assets/004/5367.pdf), University of California Press, May 2006
- Yom, Sean L. (2002). "Power Politics in Central Asia: The Future of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" (https://web.archive.org/web/20160304053738/http://www.asiaquarterly.com/content/view/129/5). Harvard Asia Quarterly 6 (4) 48–54.

External links

Official website (http://eng.sectsco.org/)

Retrieved from "https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Shanghai Cooperation Organisation&oldid=1192157407"