

# **Multilateralism and Security Problems in Central Asia**

## *The Role of SCO and CSTO*

*Hamid Rasool*

### **Abstract**

*Mankind has always been concerned about security and safety, whether it is the security of the individual, family, clan, tribe, region, nation, or the globe. So security has always remained the prime concern of any state. After the cold World War, international interdependence has forced the states to readjust their foreign policies in a multilateral context. Cooperation now has become more necessary and institutionalised. Multilateral regimes also tend to strengthen regional cooperation to play a more meaningful and proactive role in global processes. So the SCO and CSTO are two very important multilateral organisations which can act as guarantor for Central Asian States security.*

*After the collapse of the Soviet System the five Central Asian republics Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan have faced a disastrous scenario of security. During the last 27 years, they have been facing various security problems such as border security, ethnic problems, environmental problems, drugs trafficking, terrorism, extremism and radicalism. Commonly agreed set of norms and principles of multilateralism direct the behaviour of states to achieve a greater common good for all states and thus institutionalize multilateralism is for better international cooperation and that is good for central Asian states and their security, and this is the only solution.*

*In the present scenario, Central Asian states need a more robust mechanism to deal with new challenges to their traditional and non-traditional security issues. So this multilateral approach is the best in this context. To maintain the status quo in Central Asia has emerged as the main goal of SCO and CSTO. The deteriorating economic situation, rampant corruption and mass dissatisfaction, all are a source of serious social and political unrest. SCO and CSTO can act as guarantors for these projects like TAPI and energy sharing which will help in the infrastructure and human development in the region through multilateral cooperation.*

### **Keywords**

*Multilateralism, Central Asian Security, SCO, CSTO, Central Asia Geopolitics, Terrorism, Multilateral Cooperation*

### **Introduction and Theoretical Framework**

Multilateralism is largely a post World War II element of U.S. foreign policy. Multilateralism is a diplomatic term that refers to cooperation among several nations. Multilateralism is defined as when three or more than three countries try to coordinate themselves for certain desired outcomes or goal then it is known as multilateralism. Robert O Keohane defines multilateralism as the practice of coordinating national policies in groups of three or more than three states, through ad-hoc arrangement or

employing an institutional mechanism. The majority of the Central Asian states are involved in alliances in various spheres, including those set up for economic and military-political cooperation. The most active among them are the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) in Central Asia and most relevant (Marcel de Haas, 2017). The global nature of multilateralism and multilateral policies are diplomatically intensive but offer the potential for great payoffs. Though half of its eight members of SCO are nuclear powers, it focuses on economic issues and non-traditional security challenges, which are present in member states in one form or the other. From boundary issues to economy and security the SCO has evolved since its inspection. The Astana meeting 2017 can prove to be important to deal with the challenge, a concerted move, and SCO members signed the Convention on Countering Extremism on 9 June 2017. SCO members have also agreed to continue cooperation against the activities of individuals and organizations linked to terrorism (Zafar, 2017). All major industrialized contender countries are trying to get a foothold in the region, bringing with them social forces to which local actors must respond. In such a complex matrix of social forces, competition and cooperation are ad hoc and multilevel (Chwee, 2005). Multilateralism has taken a complementary rather than a supplementary role to bilateralism.

### **What is security?**

It is the nature of humankind that it is always concerned about his security and safety whether it is the security of the individual, family, clan, tribe, nation, region or the globe. Security is the pursuit of freedom from threats (Buzan's, 1991). The security studies are the core of International Relations, predominantly dealing with the issues of war and peace (Sulovic, 2010). People felt insecure whether it was in the state of nature as depicted by or in the civil society as portrayed by Locke in his *Treatise on Civil Society* or in the regime of the general will as depicted by Rousseau in his *Social Contract*. Traditionalist school of thought, define security as freedom from any objective military threat to the state survival in the international system. A nation is secure to the extent to which it is able if challenged to contain them by victory in a war (Lippmann, 1943). There are five security sectors as military, political, economic, societal and environmental (Buzan, 1983). The original definition of regional security complex (RSC) was that it is a set of states whose major security perceptions and concerns are so interlinked that their national security problems cannot reasonably be analysed or resolved apart from another. Regional security complex theory uses a blend of materialist and constructivist approaches. Post Second World War period took security as the protection of military threats from external power and emphasized the use of force as a means to resolve conflict (Buzan and Waever, 1991). Morgenthau considered that the security of the state was best achieved by the maximization of military power. Throughout the cold war period, security perspectives were based on the traditional approach, which considered the strengthening of military power as the pivot of national security. But the sources of insecurity are not

only external or the mutual competition of states but also the failure of states to provide security to citizens (Buzan, 1998).

In the context of the international system, security is about the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity (Schultze, 1973). The concept of collective security in international relations is quite old, it was sketched for instance by Immanuel Kant (1795) in his *Perpetual Peace* in the 18th century, where he proposed a league of nations that would control conflict and promote international peace among states.

### **Security Dynamics of Central Asia**

Security threats like drug trafficking, human trafficking large scale displacements, armed insurgencies, threats of terrorism, extremism and destabilization of trade, small arms smuggling, cross border terrorism, conflict arising out of environmental degradation and rise of radical forces and ethnic conflicts are the series problems which the Central Asian States are facing. Some of the chronic threats Central Asia have inherited and some insecurity issues appeared during the transition period and some have resulted from geopolitical changes in the region. The breakup of the Soviet Union and the subsequent establishment of nation-states on ethnic lines demonstrated how aggressive Ethno religious resurgence might pose a challenge to the establishment of multi-ethnic states. Border tensions have been a salient feature of Central Asian politics due to the undemocratic regimes (Akhtar, 2010). By 2005, most of the boundary disputes with China were resolved. A large amount of the processing of opium into heroin occurs in Afghanistan. Making large quantities of heroin available in the vicinity of the Central Asian states is a big threat. The continued presence of fissile and radioactive material and the presence of Highly enriched Uranium (HEU) remains at several places in Central Asia and is a potential proliferation threat (Kassenova, 2007).

Following the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), Central Asia a landlocked region has acquired geopolitical, geo-economic and geo-strategic significance. It is one of the world's earliest inhabited places and home of an ancient and highly developed civilization. Heartland theory of Sir Halford Mackinder is of great importance he postulated that "he who rules the heartland, rules Asia he who rules Asia, rules the world" (Mackinder, 1962). It is the largest landmass in the world and whosoever controls it, exercise enormous power. It is the centre of political gravity because it is enclosed more frontiers than any other region in the world there is a continuous struggle of power here. Central Asian region is the Geographical Pivot of History (Herodote, 1976).

All the Central Asian states are facing common security challenges like crime, corruption, drugs and terrorism (Max G. 2005). The problems of authoritarian regimes, crime, corruption, terrorism, and ethnic and civil tensions have jeopardized the security of all the new states of Central Asia. Uzbekistan faces escalating civil discontent. Ethnic Uzbeks and Kyrgyz clashed in 1990 in the Fergana Valley. All these states are harmed by

drug and human trafficking and associated corruption and health problems (Nichol, 2009). As per the United Nations Development programme report (2003) the region suffers from significant ecological disasters and the legacies of the past. Supply cotton crops to the Soviet Union, large-scale irrigation systems were built, contributed to the degradation of the Aral Sea and Caspian Sea (Walter S. Spells). Environmental risks and social and economic development are intertwined, leading to the emergence of environmental crises that the Central Asian states are facing now.

### **Security Issues in Central Asia Role of Sco and Csto**

SCO is the third most significant organisation after the EU and the UN. Originally designed to promote peace and stability in the region, but over the years it has become a forum for cooperation on political, economic and military matters (Roy, 2014). The formation of SCO was declared on 15 June 2001 in Shanghai as an intergovernmental multilateral platform with the inclusion of Uzbekistan in the group. Before this, it was called Shanghai Five with China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan as five members established in 1996. Presently the SCO is consisting of eight full members India, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Pakistan, Russian, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Afghanistan, Belarus, Iran, and Mongolia are the observer states. Armenia, Azerbaijan Cambodia, Nepal Sri Lanka Turkey are the dialogue partners. UN, ASEAN, CIS, Turkmenistan are the Guest attendants of SCO. On the other hand, the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) is a regional mutual defense alliance that consists of seven member states Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. The purpose of the CSTO is a collective defence of its member states, where security for one is security for all formed on 15 May 1992. In 1992, six post-Soviet states Russia, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan signed the Collective Security treaty in Tashkent. Treaty is also referred to as the Tashkent Pact or Tashkent Treaty. Azerbaijan and Georgia joined it in late 1993. Both SCO and CSTO are covering a large number of stakeholders who are serious about the security of the region.

SCO was formed with the signing of the treaty on deepening military trust in border regions and the treaty on the reduction of military forces in border regions. The Objectives of SCO members are to cooperate and coordinate in safeguarding and securing the region and to promote development by enhancing informed participation, contributing to policy development by stimulating local actions. The main objectives of SCO are to strengthen the relationship among member states and promotion of cooperation in political, economic, trade, scientific, technical, cultural and educational sphere as well as in energy, transportation, tourism and environmental protection involved in safeguard regional peace, security and stability. Russia energized CSTO by proposing the creation of the Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CRRF) in February 2009, a military establishment designed to conduct anti-terrorist activities, fight transnational crime including drug trafficking and repulse external military aggression. This was done only to curb the menace of terrorism in Russia and the Central Asian States. Russian

President Vladimir Putin argued that the CSTO will counter the threats posed by drug trafficking from Afghanistan and by radical Islamic groups in Central Asia. Due to the lack of armed forces among CSTO allies, Russia delivers the majority of the troops assigned under the banner of the CSTO (Mehtiyev, 2007). However, this also means that the Kremlin in return for its security umbrella demands a certain degree of political influence on the Central Asian member states. The CSTO also has moved rapidly to promote Uzbekistan's reintegration into the security organization. Tashkent was prepared to have Uzbek forces participate in the CSTO Rapid Deployment Force (Semerikov, 2007). Meanwhile, the CSTO is striving to develop a diplomatic and political component so that the desired result and objective of its formation could be achieved.

Asian powers like Russia, China and India prefer to solve regional problems at the regional level by keeping the US at bay. China is always uneasy about the presence of the US (Blagov, 2007). It, therefore, advocates a strong and credible UN system and perceives regional security mechanisms like the SCO guided by the UN Charter, and internationally recognized norms and CSTO. Joining of India and Pakistan to SCO is very good for regional cooperation. Expansion of SCO is a good sign and Iran should also be admitted to this grouping as soon as possible as a permanent member. SCO is building roads for future connectivity. PM Modi (9 June 2017) at Asthana declaration said that SCO is a vital organisation and India is joining it for security and stability in its extended neighbourhood and to further the cooperation. South China Sea conflicts Central Asian security concerns, International terrorism and transnational terrorism all these issues illustrate the importance of an organisation like SCO.

Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) the important organ of SCO based in Tashkent, which would help in gaining vital intelligence inputs on the movement of terror outfits, drug-trafficking, cybersecurity and Public information of the region (Phunchok Stobdan June 6, 2017). The SCO is an advantageous organization for the economic development of Central Asia since it is an opportune podium for doing business, especially with China. Security remains the first driver shaping Russia's involvement in Central Asia.

Furthermore, the tasking of the CSTO has moved from classical collective defence to modern security threats, which is similar to NATO's conceptual development. President Nursultan Nazarbayev emphasized that countering threats posed by international terrorist and extremist organizations was a priority for the CSTO, as well as the situation in Afghanistan. Nazarbayev supported the idea of increasing the fighting capacity of the CSTO's Collective Rapid Reaction Forces. Kazakhstan considers the CSTO as a vital organization for its security (Tengrinews, 2015). Regular military exercises has increased considerably aimed at conventional warfare, peacekeeping, anti-narcotics, counter-terrorism, and disaster relief, also gives evidence to the fact that the CSTO has become a professional security organization to that extent, by improving the combat readiness of its armed forces, as well as by providing a security umbrella, especially for the vulnerable states Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, the CSTO forms a valuable

military alliance for Central Asia (Haas, 2017). CSTO member states have little motivation to implement democratic reforms. Moreover, Russia extended its hand when some of the CSTO countries experienced financial meltdowns after the 2008 global financial crisis, when international institutions, such as the IMF, were imposing strict budgetary and reform pre-conditions before providing lending facilities to these states. CSTO has established a security relationship with Afghanistan and has moved forward with plans to establish a regional air defence system. The Afghan side is most interested in having their military and law enforcement officers trained in Russia and other CSTO member states, as well as in purchasing Russian weaponry (Blagov, 2007). Afghanistan's army and law enforcement representatives specifically stressed serious assistance in improving the border security of their state, in both technical and personnel training terms.

SCO is the best platform for the Central Asian States, the SCO has less demanding rules than the CSTO. The SCO is primarily an organization providing a platform for bilateral arrangements for its members, and thus offers a lot of liberty for the Central Asian states. CSTO is under the control of Moscow, without Beijing as a counterbalance (Haas, 2017). Moreover, Russia's military superiority in the CSTO limits the freedom of movement of the Central Asian member states. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are both militarily and economically reliant on Moscow, which further reduces the capability of fulfilling their national objectives. For that reason, Uzbek President Karimov more than once left the CSTO.

In the post 9/11 period, the SCO has gained more importance and it has intensified the process of multilateral cooperation. It will be the leading security organisation in security issues in the region because the post 9/11 developments have made countries of the region realize the mutuality of security interests (Karim, 2004). However, there is an internal division in SCO, where Uzbekistan and Tajikistan's tilt towards the US, creates constraints on the efficacy of SCO. China is the main driver of SCO and Russia has multiple interests in Central Asia. Russia wants and prefers to have multiple agreements between China and the Central Asian states where Russia is also a partner and have some stakes (Bakshi, 2002). Chinese multilateralism is a dual strategy to deal with superpowers and devise an alternative structure for its economic and strategic interests (Oliveira, 2014). China is cooperating to compete rather than racing to integrate. Whereas Russia needs China to counter the US, and Central Asia being in between two superpowers cannot antagonise two powerful neighbours to seek favour from the USA (Wu, 2008). The real purpose of the CSTO is to serve Russia's strategic interests in Europe and Central Asia, particularly to prevent CSTO members from seeking alternative national security solutions, such as forming military alliances with third parties. International organizations, journalists, civil society activists, and various other observers also agree that over time democratic reforms in the CSTO countries have stagnated (Gomtsyan, 2010).

Within the SCO, member states and observers have their agendas, based upon

national instead of common interests. For example, China is seeking Central Asian markets for the expansion of its economy and to acquire energy sources. Russia is eager to regain its leadership status within the CIS especially in Central Asia as well as that of a superpower in the international arena. Chinese multilateralism is a dual strategy to deal with superpowers and devise an alternative structure for its economic and strategic interests. China is cooperating to compete rather than racing to integrate. Whereas Russia needs China to counter the US, and Central Asia being in between two superpowers cannot antagonise two powerful neighbours to seek favor from the USA. This Political compulsion for Russia, Central Asia and China will be dealt with in this research work. And some of the Central Asian regimes consider the SCO as an instrument and especially the protection of Russia and China, as their guarantee for survival. There is sufficient literature on SCO's and CSTO's contribution and the geopolitics of the Central Asian States but the political compulsion of Central Asian States coming together under SCO and CSTO for a joined security vision and prosperous Central Asia is not highlighted much.

Expansion of SCO took place with the joining of India and Pakistan for the first time which has broadened its scope of a joint vision tackling three evils of separatism, extremism and terrorism. Russia needs China to counter the US, and Central Asia is in between two superpowers that cannot antagonise two powerful neighbours to seek favor from the USA. For the first time in 2017, the expansion of SCO took place by giving permanent membership to India and Pakistan. In between other major development took place as the formation of RATS and post 9/11 the establishment of US military bases in Central Asia are very important in this period. The process of multilateralism is very optimistic in the region. The notion that the SCO is anti-America or anti West is completely futile (Akiner and Akihiro, 2004). Akiner highlighted that Central Asian republics have become members of various organisations and that the formation of SCO should be placed in this evolutionary process instead of treating it as an isolated phenomenon. The creation of SCO is not simply the outcome of manipulation by Russia and China. It has the support of the Central Asian countries too. Regional cooperation will help in tackling extremism in the region. The threat of terrorism is severe now, Deeping unity, political, economic, humanitarian ties will help in dealing with separatism, terrorism and extremism for tackling all these issues nothing can be better than SCO and CSTO.

## References

- Acharya, A. (1992). Regional military-security cooperation in the Third World: A conceptual analysis of the relevance and limitations of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations). *Journal of Peace Research*, 29, 1, 7-21.
- Acharya, A. (1999). A concert of Asia?. *Survival*, 41, 3, 84-101.
- Acharya, A. (2004). Terrorism and Security in Asia: Redefining Regional Order?, *Working Paper* 113, IDSS: Nanyang Technological University.
- Addressing Environmental Risks in Central (Asia 2003). *United Nations Development Programme report* (UNDP). Regional Bureau, Berlin, Germany.

- Afzal, A. (2006). Security Cooperation in Central Asia: The Changing Role of Multilateral Organizations. *Strategic Studies*, 26, 4.
- Ajay, P. (2016). *Central Asia: Geopolitics, security and stability*. London: Routledge.
- Akhtar, U. (2010). Central Asia Security: Issues and Implications for US Interests, *ISSRA Paper*, 2010.
- Ambrosio, T. (2008). Catching the 'Shanghai Spirit': How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization promotes authoritarian norms in Central Asia. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60, 8, 1321-1344.
- Aris, S. (2009). A new model of Asian regionalism: does the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation have more potential than ASEAN?. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 22, 3, 451-467.
- Aris, S. (2009). The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: 'Tackling the three evils'. A regional response to non-traditional security challenges or an anti-Western bloc? *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61, 3, 457-482.
- Aris, S. (2013). *Shanghai Cooperation Organization*. New York: International Peace Institute.
- Azarkan, E. (2009). The Relations between Central Asian States and United States, China and Russian within the Framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, 8, 3, 21.
- Baizakova, Kuralai I (2013). The Shanghai Cooperation Organization's Role in Countering Threats and Challenges to Central Asian Regional Security. *Russian Politics & Law*, 51, 1, 59-79.
- Bakshi, J. (1999). Russian policy towards central Asia-1. *Strategic Analysis*, 22, 10, 1586.
- Bertsch, G. K., et al., eds. (2013). *Crossroads and conflict: security and foreign policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia*. New York: Routledge.
- Blagov, S. (2007). *The CSTO Moves Quickly to Bolster Its Security Role in Central Asia*. Eurasianet. org. [Online: Web]. Retrieved from [http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav\\_031507a.shtml](http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav_031507a.shtml) (Accessed 11 April 2016).
- Brzezinski, Z. (2016). *The grand chessboard: American primacy and its geostrategic imperatives*. Washington: Basic books.
- Buzan, B. (2008). *People, states & fear: an agenda for international security studies in the post-cold war era*, Ecpr Press.
- Buzan, B. and Waever, O. (2003). Regions and Powers- The Structure of International Security. *Cambridge Studies in International Relations* Cambridge.
- Buzan, B., Waever, O., De Wilde J (1998). *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. London and Colorado
- Charter, S. C. O. (2009). Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. (26 March 2015), [Online: Web]. Retrieved from [www.globalstrategyforum.org](http://www.globalstrategyforum.org) (Accessed 15th July 2017)
- Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organisation (n.d.) In: Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos- Ministerio de Defensa. Retrived from [http://www.ieee.es/Galerias/fichero/Varios/2002\\_Carta\\_de\\_la\\_OTSC.pdf](http://www.ieee.es/Galerias/fichero/Varios/2002_Carta_de_la_OTSC.pdf)
- Chung, C. P. (2006). China and the institutionalization of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 53, 5, 3-14.
- Chung, C. P. (2001). *Domestic politics, international bargaining and China's territorial disputes*, Hong Kong: Routledge.
- Cooley, A. (2012). *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Power Contest in Central Asia*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dadabaev, T. (2014). Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) regional identity formation from the perspective of the Central Asia States. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23, 85, 102-118.
- De Haas, M. (2007). The Shanghai Cooperation and the OSCE: Two of a kind. *Helsinki Monitor*, 18: 246.
- EIA, International Energy Agency (2012). *Country analysis brief Turkmenistan*. [Online: Web], Retrieved from <http://www.eia.gov/countries/cab/cfm?fips=TX> (Accessed 18 Jan 2016).
- EIA, U.S. Energy Information Administration (2013). *Kazakhstan* [Online: Web], Retrieved from <http://www.eia.gov/countries/analysubacefs/kazakhstan/kazakhstan.p> (Accessed 31 Dec 2016)
- EIA, US Energy Information Administration (2013). *Caspian Sea Region*. [Online: Web]. Retrieved from <http://www.eia.gov/countries/regionstopics.cfm?fips=csr> (Accessed 18 Jan 2016).
- Friedman, E., and Barrett L. M. (2015). *What if China doesn't democratize?: implications for war and peace*, New York: Routledge.
- Frost, A. (2009). The Collective Security Treaty Organization, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and Russia's Strategic Goals in Central Asia. *China & Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, 7, 3, 83-102.



- Kazakhstan and Central Asia Defence & Security Report Q1 (2012). *Central Asia Defence & Security Report*, Business Monitor International Ltd: 68.
- Krishnappa, V., and Princy George (2012). *Grand Strategy for India 2020 and Beyond*, IDSA, New Delhi
- Lanteigne, M. (2006). In *Medias Res: The Development of the Shanghai Co-operation Organization as a Security Community*. *Pacific Affairs*, 79, 4, 605-622.
- Lewis, D. (2012). Who's socialising whom? Regional organisations and contested norms in Central Asia. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 64, 7, 1219-1237.
- Majid, A. (2016). Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Expanding Horizons of Regional Cooperation *Pakistan Vision*, 17, 1.
- Manwaring, M. G. (2005). *Street gangs: the new urban insurgency*. Army War Coll Strategic Studies Inst Carlisle Barracks PA.
- Mehdi P. A. and Melanie van D. (2018). China's Statist Energy Relations with Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. *African and Asian Studies*, Online Publication.
- Mehtiyev, E. (2004). *Perspectives of Security Development in the South Caucasus*. Peace and Conflict Resolution Center, Baku.
- Micklin, P. (2000). *Managing Water in Central Asia*, London: Royal Inst of Intl Affairs.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the People's Republic of China (2004). *Shanghai Cooperation Organization*. 7 January 2004, [Online: Web]. Retrieved from [http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/topics\\_665678/sco\\_665908/t57970.shtml](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/sco_665908/t57970.shtml) (Accessed 6 July 2017).
- Modi, N. (2017). *PM's statement at SCO Summit in Astana, Kazakhstan*, (09 June 2017), [Online: Web]. Retrieved from [http://www.pmindia.gov.in/en/news\\_updates/pms-statement-at-sco-summit-in-astana-kazakhstan/](http://www.pmindia.gov.in/en/news_updates/pms-statement-at-sco-summit-in-astana-kazakhstan/) (Accessed 12 July 2017).
- Modi, N. (2017). *PM's opening remarks at the SCO Summit in Astana, Kazakhstan*, 09 June 2017, [Online: web]. Retrieved from <http://www.narendramodi.in/pm-s-opening-remarks-at-the-sco-summit-in-astana-kazakhstan-535799> (Accessed July 14, 2017)
- Nichol, J. (2010). *Central Asia's Security: Issues and Implications for US Interests*. Pennsylvania: DIANE.
- Panda, J. P. (2012). Beijing's Perspective on Expansion of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: India, South Asia, and the Spectrum of Opportunities in China's Open Approach. *Asian Perspective* 36, 493-530.
- Rakhimov, M. (2010). Internal and external dynamics of regional cooperation in Central Asia. *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 1, 2, 95-101.
- Roy, D. (1994). Hegemon on the horizon? China's threat to East Asian security. *International Security*, 9, 1, 149-168.
- Sajjanhar, A. (2016). *India and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization*, (19 June 2016), [Online: Web], Retrieved from <http://thediplomat.com/2016/06/india-and-the-shanghai-cooperation-organization/> (Accessed 12 March 2017).
- Schultze, C. L.(1973). The economic content of national security policy. *Foreign Affairs*, 51, 3, 529-530.
- SCO (2015). *Energy Club: structure ready for international interaction, not Shanghai Six's elite club*. (26 March 2015), [Online: Web]. Retrieved from <http://infoshos.ru/en/?idn=13913> (Accessed 17 July 2017).
- Shams-ud-din (1982). *Secularisation in the USSR: A Study of Soviet Cultural Policy in Uzbekistan*, New Delhi: South Asia Books.
- Shams-Ud-Din (1997). The new great game in Central Asia. *International Studies*, 34, 3, 329-341.
- Shirin, A. (2010).The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: A networking organization for a networking world. A report of Global Strategy Forum. *Global Strategy Forum*, 25.
- Singh, P. K. (2009). *Multilateralism and China's security concerns in the post-cold war era: the shanghai cooperation organisation and the Asean regional forum*, PhD thesis, New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru University.
- Srivastava, A. (2016). How India can benefit from joining Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, (23 June 2016), [Online: Web], Retrieved from <http://www.dailyo.in/politics/shanghai-corporation-organisation-foreignpolicy-narendra-modi-central-asian-republics-tashkent-terrorism-security/story/1/11346.html> (Accessed 10 June 2017).
- Stobdan, P. (2017). *SCO Membership Is a Stepping Stone, India's Real Destination is Central Asia*, (06 June 2017), [Online: Web], Retrieved from <https://thewire.in/144241/what-india-can-expect-from-shanghai-cooperation-organisation/> (Accessed 28 October 2017).

- Suhag, P. S. (2017). *India's Membership in Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: An Appraisal*, (29 August 2017), [Online: Web], Retrieved from <https://idsa.in/taxonomy/term/2261> (Accessed 17 November 2017).
- TASS (2017). Russian Politics & Diplomacy Lavrov believes accession of India, Pakistan to SCO will make history“ (21 April 2017), [Online: Web], Retrieved from <http://tass.com/politics/942502> (Accessed 28 June 2017)
- Wilhelmsen, J., and Geir F. (2011). Chinese–Russian Convergence and Central Asia”, *Geopolitics*, 16, 4, 865-901.
- Ying, A. (1997). New Security Mechanism Needed for Asian-Pacific Region. *Beijing Review*, 18, 6-7.
- Yuan, J. D. (2010). China's role in establishing and building the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). *Journal of Contemporary China*, 19, 67, 855-869.
- Zafar, A. (2017). SCO Expansion Boosts Prospects of inter-Regional Cooperation. *Indian Council of World Affairs*, Brief Issue.
- Zapotoczny Jr, W. S. (2009). *The Ecological Damage Inflicted on Central Asia by Russian Rule*, [Online: Web]. Retrieved from [http://www.wzaponline.com/yahoosite\\_admin/assets/docs/CentralAsia.292125803.pdf](http://www.wzaponline.com/yahoosite_admin/assets/docs/CentralAsia.292125803.pdf) (Accessed 11 September 2017).