

ROLE OF SCO IN THE SINO-RUSSIAN ENERGY COOPERATION

Author's Name: Ajit Kr Paswan

Affiliation: Ph.D. Scholar in Chinese Studies, at the Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India.

E-Mail: krajitjnu@gmail.com

DOI No. – 08.2020-25662434

Abstract

The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) was set up to engage regional players, aimed to accomplish bilateral and regional interests. It associates members on mutual terms that have been playing a significant role in the amelioration of Sino-Russian energy cooperation. It has ushered in the launch of an 'energy club' that accorded a robust platform to unriddle contentions between two countries. It deliberates on a mutual and complementary energy partnership instead of unilateral ones. Moreover, it integrates all the members against challenges such as "terrorism, separatism, and extremism". Additionally, it has been addressing various issues pertaining to energy cooperation. It maintained a fine balance between both the countries in the organisation to herald strong bonding in the realm of supply of energy.

Keywords: SCO, Sino-Russian energy cooperation, energy club, economic efficiency, energy security, bilateral relations.

INTRODUCTION

The SCO was founded as the "Shanghai Five" in 1996, with the signing of a treaty on 'Deepening Military Trust in Border Regions.' It was named as Shanghai Five because it consisted of the following five founding members- China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan and established a headquarter in Shanghai. The strategic relations of China and Russia crucially are shaped through this organisation.

In 2001, Shanghai Five was expanded and renamed SCO after the inclusion of Uzbekistan. Currently, this organisation consists of the following eight members including India, Kazakhstan, China, Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. It was formed for "strengthening mutual trust and neighborliness among the member states; promoting their effective cooperation in politics, trade, economy, research, technology, and culture, as well as in education, energy, transport, tourism, environmental protection, and other areas; making joint efforts to maintain and ensure peace, security, and stability in the region; and moving towards the establishment of a democratic, fair and rational new international political and economic order." (SCO 2018). The members of the group agreed upon certain common rules and regulations to strengthen cooperation and to pursue "an open alliance and joint position, as well as solving regional and global problems based on mutual interests. Russia and China have maintained cooperation in fields such as 'security and energy,' but have a different understanding of American influence, restraining NATO's progress in the East, and expansion of member countries' issues." (Yun and Park 2012). The SCO also provides an equal legal, financial, and termination framework for the group partners.

The SCO has put in place equal membership provisions. The principal guideline deliberates as

follows: First, “2.2.1. a) Meetings of heads of ministries and/or departments of the SCO member states responsible for areas of cooperation outlined in the Memorandum; b) Meetings of working groups, commissions of senior officials, and other mechanisms set up by the SCO member states with the aim of conducting cooperation in areas being the subject of partnership; c) Scientific and expert meetings (forums, conferences, workshops), days of culture, festivals, exhibitions, contests, sports competitions and other activities related to areas being the subject of partnership. Second, during the activities envisaged by paragraph 2.2.1. of the Regulations, the Partner is entitled to make statements on issues being the subject of partnership, to receive documents and materials circulated among participants of the activities (provided these documents and materials are not for limited circulation), to circulate their materials and documents with the consent of the SCO member states. Third, at the Partner’s request and with the consent of the member states of the Organisation the text of a statement of its official representative or documents envisaged by Paragraph 2.2.2. of the present Regulations can be posted on the website of the SCO Secretariat, the SCO Regional Economic Cooperation website, and/or the website of the Regional Anti Terrorist Structure of the SCO (hereinafter referred to as the RATS) together with other materials of a relevant activity.” (SCO 2008). Its cohesive framework accelerates cooperation among the members.

In the Sino-Russian energy cooperation, Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) provides a robust platform for negotiations and agreements. One of the major members of SCO, China seeks mutual support from other members as Chinese President Xi Jinping reaffirmed at the 18th SCO summit: “China will seek peaceful coexistence, common prosperity, shared aspiration, and win-win cooperation. We should promote open and inclusive cooperation for win-win outcomes. We should reject self-centered, short-sighted, and closed-door policies. We should uphold WTO rules and the trading system so as to build an open world economy” (Zia 2018).

Therefore, the central thrust of the study is to accentuate SCO’s role in the enhancement of energy cooperation between China and Russia and highlights major challenges and achievements of the organisation.

BILATERAL INTEREST AND SCO

China and Russia are very active members of this group. Both are considered as a driving force of the SCO. Both countries actively participate in the interactions of the organisation. The SCO has been playing a significant role in the deepening of bilateral relations between China and Russia. It has established a conducive atmosphere to sign long-term agreements for cooperation. The SCO became an umbrella organisation for Sino-Russian bilateral relations which has strengthened their long-term cooperation. Further, energy has emerged as a binding element for the two countries. Russia promotes energy cooperation as a fundamental element in its foreign policy which helps in the stability of state security. Russia has friendly bilateral relations with all the members of SCO. In the context of China, SCO promotes important deals which integrate its economy with the region. It also expands bilateral relations which ensures reliable and durable energy partnerships. They do ensure that their bilateral issues do not affect the functioning of SCO. For example, China and Russia have differences in tariff rates but they do not bring them to SCO. It encourages both nations to strive for a mutual agreement which is advantageous for both. SCO consists of two kinds of members. Those who consume energy more than what they have and others who produce more than domestic usage. China is the biggest consumer of energy and Russia is a huge supplier of energy. SCO provides a mechanism to facilitate smooth energy trade among the member states. There is no doubt that the

role of SCO is critical in deepening the energy cooperation between the two countries.

SINO-RUSSIAN ENERGY EQUATION IN THE SCO

There is a historical background to the Sino-Russian cooperation in the SCO. Before the disintegration, both were maintaining close relations. Both resolved their border issues, and their approach to Vietnam-Cambodia. The disintegration of Russia into fifteen republics had created a need for a regional organisation to evolve into a multipolar world and deepen bilateral relations with China. The existing situation is complicated by the global financial crisis of 2008.

The global financial crisis emerged as a challenge to China, Russia, as well as SCO. The SCO positively responded to this issue during the meeting of Heads of States in 2009. China also came forward to cooperate with other members of SCO. It enlarged the scope of financial investment to ensure further deepening of the relations among the members. In 2012, the World Economic Forum highlighted the economic challenges like major systemic financial failures; chronic fiscal imbalances; external volatility; recurring liquidity crisis, severe income disparity, and negative consequences of regulations. The crisis has vastly impacted SCO's member countries like Russia and Central Asian countries. So, SCO factored in these issues and framed a strategy to address them.

In addressing the economic challenges, the SCO has implemented various projects which can arrange sufficient funds for the development. But due to lack of a mutual and coherent mechanism in the organization and the dominance of China and Russia in the financial allocation did not allow these projects to fructify. In addition, the SCO faces difficulties in resource generation to enhance the productivity of multiple projects. Thus, the SCO decided to implement these projects at the bilateral level.

INSTRUMENTAL ROLE

The SCO is primarily established on the principle of mutual cooperation, benefit, equal participation, consultation, and respecting the cultures of member countries. "China and Russia have led the efforts to safeguard regional security through close strategic cooperation within the framework of the SCO. A relationship of mutual trust and promotion, enhanced by the strategic partnership of coordination between the two countries, has enabled them to facilitate and advance various measures within the organization, which in turn has enabled the steady and solid development of the SCO." (Xing 2018) Its policies and decision-making procedure support mutual benefit which encourages cooperation in the organisation and leads toward growth. It discusses regional issues of the member countries and strives to find a common path of development. It pays special attention to the issues of security, sovereignty, and development. The SCO members are encouraged not to enter into alliances with other multilateral organisations that work against them. Every member supports others in securing territorial sovereignty. Equality in the organisation makes it easy to make decisions. It also helps in the settlement of political, social, economic, and diplomatic issues. The cooperation among the members creates opportunities for all states. Especially, "The 'Shanghai Spirit', as the founding value of the SCO, features mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality, consultation, respect for cultural diversity, and pursuit of common development. As all SCO members are located along the ancient Silk Road, the organization can synergize with the Belt and Road Initiative, so as to catalyse growth and integrate more economies. The 'Shanghai Spirit' has offered a template for a new kind of cross-border cooperation" (Pan 2018). The SCO has certain core aims to strengthen relations at the regional level.

Under the supervision of SCO, China and Russia agreed on various essential issues. The SCO energy club was formed primarily to enlarge cooperation between Chinese and Russian energy industries and also to address the challenges at multilateral dialogues. They support projects “through active communication and learning from each other build a new type of relations between major countries and have made important contributions to the healthy development of the international landscape” (Cheng 2018) As major players in the organisation, a number of policies were inspired by China and Russia. Both countries contribute twenty-four percent of the total budget of SCO.

ENERGY CLUB

Energy resources have a fundamental place in the organisation. The organisation’s members share three-fifths of the total Eurasian market; the population capacity of this region is estimated at more than 1.5 billion. The energy capacity of the group members is estimated at “about 25% of global oil reserves, over 50% of gas reserves, 35% of coal, and about half of the world’s known uranium reserves” (SCO 2015). The idea of the Energy Club was first introduced by Russian President Vladimir Putin in 2006. Since 2006, leaders of the organisation discussed and formed mechanisms to set up a structure during the Bishkek Summit Russian President Vladimir Putin highlighted the importance of establishing the SCO Energy Club. “He said it would create additional opportunities for implementing promising energy projects between the SCO member states, observers and partners” (SCO 2015). In 2011, SCO launched the Energy club with the establishment of a senior working group for the energy club. Further, in 2013 SCO energy club was established in Moscow. The concept of the energy club was prepared by the Russian Academy of Science. It accentuates the development of the structure of the energy club with the appointment of a number of energy experts. The Energy structure provisioned tasks for Core members, Observers, and Dialogue partners. These members can get information regarding the agenda and club measures from representatives of countries that are included in the composition of the international organizations with which the SCO has cooperation agreements. It gives out “information to the worldwide energy community as well using mass media to provide the possibility to participate in Energy Club activities.” (Golobokov 2015).

With China’s rapid demand for energy growing by leaps and bounds, the establishment of the energy club provided an opportunity for China to acquire energy resources from the SCO members. The cooperation with SCO countries is considered very promising for the future growth of the energy market in China. Energy-rich countries like Russia and Central Asian countries ensure energy security. Sino-Russian energy cooperation is not only bilateral but participation in the SCO opens up new opportunities for multilateral support.

The growing Chinese energy market makes it necessary for China to broaden its participation in the organisation. It promotes the openness of the energy club and encourages government interaction to deepen cooperation. Frequent meetings among SCO members provide solutions for the Chinese energy market. The increasing Chinese energy consumption attracts Russia to build strong relations with China because Central Asia also has huge energy resources. If they succeed in establishing a strong foothold in the Chinese energy market then Russia will face a serious crisis. So, Russia is deeply engaged in energy cooperation with China. In 2014, the cooperation marked stable conditions by signing a gas deal at the estimated US \$400 as Kin Zhi (director of China’s economic Development Ministry) said “raw materials, oil, ore, and timber, represented 80% of the trade turnover between China and Russia. In May 2014, Russia’s Gazprom and China’s CNPC finally signed a historic gas deal

that will provide the world's fastest-growing economy with the natural gas it needs to maintain the pace for the next 30 years.” (Golobokov2015) The gas deal includes purchase, sale, technical advancement, intergovernmental cooperation, and timeline.

Thus, Chinese energy security is closely intertwined with the SCO members. The energy club is working on five crucial factors which would widen the scope for trade in energy resources.

- “Bolstering the cooperation in the nuclear sphere through the energy club.
- Promotion of hydro-energy cooperation through the Energy Club.
- Mechanical and power engineering sphere development.
- Expansion of financial and institutional contacts in the energy sphere.
- Creation of a unified information field in the energy sphere.” (Golobokov 2015)

These areas are very crucial for the stability of SCO. They lead to the structural transformation of the organisation. The structural reform makes the energy club central to Sino-Russian energy cooperation. Presently, it coordinates multilateral trade and bilateral relations. The energy club has also a key role in the development of energy cooperation among the member states. The following strategy is adopted to strengthen energy cooperation:

- “Modernization of existing generating capacities and power grids;
- Development of transport infrastructure in the region;
- Joint development of new hydrocarbon fields and geological exploration;
- Creation of conditions for mutual access to electricity markets and its transit;
- Energy saving and energy efficiency;
- Training and advanced training of energy specialists.” (SCO 2015).

These are various areas that improve cooperation and also resolve differences and initiate new projects. In the long term, the energy club needs political support for some milestone decisions like price, development of transportation system, tariff, common tax system, and the balance between export and import.

Therefore, some SCO members advocate that the energy club “should be harmoniously included in the sphere of the SCO member states’ intergovernmental relations, including the setup of a system of regional security and its important component, energy security. Given the ongoing instability of the global economy, the SCO’s proactive energy policy would play an important role in ensuring sustainable growth of the organization’s member states and would also become a positive factor in the global economy.” (SCO 2015).

CHALLENGES: SCO AND SINO-RUSSIAN ENERGY COOPERATION

The SCO participants occupy a substantial geographical space of the world with huge energy resources. It includes the world’s two most populated countries, China and India. Some of them have major military capabilities with serious implications for regional security.

Some of the challenges that SCO has been facing include “religious extremism, ethnic separatism, and international terrorism; improving trust and cohesion among members; better managing relations with external parties; developing an enlargement policy; improving policy implementation; facilitating greater economic interaction; and improving their slow pace of decision making.”

(Grainger 2012). To address these challenges, the organisation has to improve reliability, trust, close friendship, negotiation frequency, economic integration, and most importantly enhance robust leadership.

EXTREMISM, SEPARATISM, AND TERRORISM

Of these, extremism, separatism, and terrorism are the most critical challenges affecting SCO and they also impact bilateral relations as well as energy cooperation between China and Russia. Since 2001, SCO has been trying to address these issues. It defined these challenges in the document as follows:

"Extremism" means an act aimed at violent seizing or keeping power, and violently changing the constitutional system of a State, as well as a violent encroachment upon public security, including organization, for the above purposes, of illegal armed formations and participation in them, criminally prosecuted in conformity with the national laws of the Parties.

"separatism" means any act intended to violate the territorial integrity of a State including by annexation of any part of its territory or disintegrate a State in a violent manner, as well as planning and preparing, aiding and abetting such act, and subject to criminal prosecuting in accordance with the national laws of the Parties;

"terrorism" means any other act intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to a civilian, or any other person not taking an active part in the hostilities in a situation of armed conflict or to cause major damage to any material facility, as well as to organize, plan, aid and abet such act, when the purpose of such act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate the population, violate public security or compel public authorities or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act, and prosecuted in accordance with the national laws of the Parties;" (The SCO on Combating Terrorism, June 2001). In 2008, the SCO termed these issues as "three evils" that adversely affected regional security of the members of the organisation. In the present context, they continue to be a serious challenge for all members. The current SCO Secretary-General Rashid Alimov (2017) stated that "The threat of extremism is an urgent issue and must be removed without delay. We are witnessing an upsurge of extremist crimes all over the world. Countering this destructive phenomenon is a critical task of the entire international community.... The threat of extremism must be removed without delay". Therefore, the SCO members exchange intelligence information, and promote cyber security. While addressing cyber security issues on the "the 10th anniversary of the SCO, its participants paid special attention to the relevant goals and tasks of developing information support to the SCO's activities and to expanding cooperation between its member states in counteracting cyber threats, which pursue criminal, terrorist and military-political purposes." (SCO 2011). The establishment of the joint military, and police unit, to respond swiftly to extremism, separatism, and terrorism was undertaken. The establishment of a strong network of information exchange quickens the task of a physical joint force to counter "three evils". In this way, the SCO deepens the security framework among the members which in turn strengthens cooperation.

EXPANSION OF SCO

After more than fifteen years of its existence, some of the members felt the need for expansion. Thus, efforts were made to expand the membership of the organisation. The SCO'S structure has provisions

for three kinds of members full-time, observer, and dialogue. The SCO has documented the process of member expansion of the organisation. As regulation says “interested state that wants to join SCO should be in Euro-Asian region, it should have diplomatic relations with all SCO active members, it also should have observer’s or partner’s status, to develop trade-economic relations with SCO members as well as it should not be under sanctions of UN Security Council. Considering security issues and international responsibilities of observer countries. They have to be alongside international agreements and other SCO documents. Beside this Regulation, a country-applicant must not be in military conflict with other state or states.” (Berdibaevich 2015). The enlargement debate reflects the unique political culture of the SCO. The dominant members like China and Russia’s individual interests make the expansion process more complicated. According to China, expansion of the “organization as a first testing ground for promoting China’s interests through a multilateral platform in which China was the strongest (Gabuev 2017)” but other members’ decision also impacts this process. In the recent enlargement of SCO, during the 17th summit “The heads of state underscored the historical nature of granting full membership to the Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. In this regard, they noted that India and Pakistan fulfilled the memorandums of commitment to obtain the status of SCO member state dated 2016 and approved the decisions of the SCO Heads of State Council on granting them the status of SCO member state.” (SCO, The Astana declaration of the Heads of State of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, 2017). India’s participation provides some political opportunity for China to enter into India-led organizations such as the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) or the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). China’s membership in these organizations could dilute India’s position as well as its influence in the region.” (Desai 2017) On the other hand, Pakistan’s full membership is important for Russia as its recent relations deepen and “after the meeting between PM Abbasi and Russian PM Medvedev on the sidelines of the SCO meeting, both expressed satisfaction with the evolution of bilateral relations including defence cooperation. Other cases in point include Russia’s recent support for Islamabad’s positions on membership in the Nuclear Suppliers Group and terrorist sanctuaries on the Afghan side of the Durand line. Islamabad’s SCO membership will provide an opportunity to expand this bilateral relationship through the SCO platform, especially in the defence sector” (Zeb 2018).

In terms of Sino -Russian energy cooperation, the dominance of both countries enables them to put forward their interests and decisions. Both countries have regional issues with, and opportunities in, India and Pakistan. The enlargement of India and Pakistan ensures regional security and also reduces the pressure of “three evils” as well as a large market for manufacturing products and energy resources. Thus, this enlargement has potential benefits for both the members. However, to be able to expand SCO further and make it a successful proposition, “China and Russia should strengthen communication and coordination, firmly observe the “Shanghai Spirit,” boost solidarity among the SCO members, maintain regional security and stability, promote pragmatic cooperation, so as to constantly enhance SCO’s influence in the international and regional affairs.” (Liangyu 2017).

INADEQUATE FUNDING

The SCO members have been adversely affected by the economic crisis of 2008. Russia was also affected by the financial crisis of 2014. But the Chinese economy has been quite stable. In the Chinese economic development, energy architecture plays a vital role where Russia and other countries in the region do ensure its energy security.

The various projects of SCO like the building of highways, installation of pipelines, the transmission of energy, and other plans require huge financial support. The SCO has been facing the following major financial challenges.

- “The Partner shall bear all the costs of its participation in the SCO events.
- Issues of financial contributions by the Partner to the SCO’s exhibitions, days of culture, festivals, competitions, sport events, and other similar events shall be governed by the Memorandum.
- The costs related to the expert evaluation of the SCO’s joint multilateral projects participated by the Partner, as well as other costs agreed by the parties, shall be covered in accordance with the Memorandum.
- The funds of the non-governmental institutions operating under the SCO shall be used for partnership in accordance with the regulations of these institutions.
- Financial involvement of the Partner in the implementation of the SCO joint economic project shall be governed by the respective documents concluded in each separate case.” (SCO 2002).

These rules significantly shape the financial issues of SCO. The establishment of the Bank of SCO has huge potential. But Russia remains “opposed to this and its opposition is preventing the creation of what appears to be a much-needed mechanism for financing multilateral projects, managing FDI, increasing funds for investment, and better realising the economic potential of member countries. Such a bank holds great promise, however, the timeline to realise such advancement is currently undefined and this initiative has unrealized potential. To make this work the bank would not want to be primarily indebted to China.” (Grainger 2012). The SCO bank would have various positive outcomes. First, with the “creation of the SCO Bank, China has sought to tie the economic development in the Eurasian landmass with its strategic goals for the region. Second, the SCO Bank could quickly emerge as a competitor to the BRICS New Development Bank, given Russia's immediate interests in its neighborhood. Third, the prospect of the SCO Bank becoming a conduit for Russia-China efforts to jointly project economic power in the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) will ring alarm bells in Western capitals.” (Sukumar 2016). It remains to be seen how the establishment of SCO Bank will unfold in the future.

UNSTABLE LEADERSHIP

The SCO faces challenges in leadership because of the dominance of the two countries. Historically, the maximum members were previously part of the erstwhile USSR. They share a common border with Russia, and also have cultural similarities in language and identity. So, there is a general perception of the leadership of Russia. On the other hand, China was the main force behind the establishment of SCO and this has more say. Despite this “The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) led by China has lately grown its profile, affirming itself as a robust multilateral architecture in Eurasia. The grouping has picked up its propulsion in the recent years against the backdrop of (a) Russia’s resurgence and destiny as a Eurasian power and (b) China’s rise and expansion in Eurasia” (Stobdan 2008). There is a strong claim for leadership of SCO from both sides. In fact, SCO is dependent on China and Russia working together, building trust and sharing their points of view with greater transparency. They need to comprehend the mutual benefits they can enjoy by coming together to grow a strong, non-interfering, yet trusting base for its four smaller partners to build from. This growth will take time and needs strong leadership from these two economic giants if we are to realise the SCO’s full potential.” (Grainger 2012). Cooperation among the members provides

various opportunities for economic substantiality, energy security, infrastructural development, and regional cooperation. A great sense of optimism, therefore, exists about the SCO; there is also a stronger commitment by China to provide a leadership role, a vision, resources, and diplomatic skills to mobilize and sustain the grouping.” (Stobdan, 2008).

There are other issues such as decision making and its implementation, USA and NATO’s involvement, which pose a challenge to SCO and its role in the Sino-Russian energy cooperation that need to be addressed in the years to come.

CONCLUSION

The basic principle of a multilateral organisation is to deepen and strengthen the existing and future relations within the members of the group. SCO framed provisions for the members of the organisation to be effective agents of cooperation.

Principally, it focuses on the existing conditions, challenges, and future development. The dynamic strategy toward the bilateral and multilateral approach of the organisation aims to achieve substantial changes in the member countries. The SCO implemented the procedure of openness to enlarge the organisation. It has been striving to establish various financial institutions like the New Development Bank.

The financial institution enables China as well as Russia to address situations like the economic crisis as well as the slowdown of energy supply due to lower prices like in 2014 and 2020 which vastly impacted the Russian economy and energy cooperation with China.

The SCO is a regional organisation to address “three evils”. It focuses on issues such as energy security, economic efficiency, and military power at the global level. Its primary task is to broaden cooperation. These objectives have strengthened the SCO as a security organisation. In addition, it is actively involved in political and commercial issues. The rapid development of the SCO enhances energy cooperation between China and Russia. The SCO primarily endorses strong security within the organisation.

In the final analysis, despite various challenges from different quarters the SCO deepened Sino-Russian energy cooperation.

REFERENCES

- 1 Berdibaevich, S. S. et al. (2015), “The Main Problems of SCO Enlargement at the Present Stage”, *Asian Social Science*, 11 (13).
- 2 Cheng, cheng (2018), “China-Russia Relations Positively Evaluated at Thinktank Forum”, *Xinhua Net*, Beijing, 12 July 2018.
- 3 Gabuev, A. (2017), “Chair of the Russia in the Asia-Pacific Program, Carnegie Moscow Centre”, [web: online] Accessed 26 January 2018 URL: <http://carnegie.ru/experts/1017>.
- 4 Golobokov, S.A. (2015), “Various forms and mechanisms of Chinese-Russian cooperation in the energy sphere and the role of non-governmental structures”, *Pacific Science Review B: Humanities and Social Sciences*, (1) 1. PP 45-48.
- 5 Grainger, Stephen (2014), “Challenges and the future direction of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO)” Conference held on January 9 November 2014 at Singapore.

- 6 Liangyu (2017), “Xi, Putin Meet on Bilateral Ties, SCO Development”, *Xinhua Net*, Beijing, 12 July 2018.
- 7 Pan, Mengqi (2018), “‘Shanghai Spirit’ Basis of SCO Success”, *China Daily*, Beijing, 12 July 2018.
- 8 Stobdan, P. (2008), “Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Challenges to China's Leadership”, *Strategic Analysis*, 32 (4): 527-547.
- 9 Sukumar, A.M. (2016), “The SCO Bank Should Wake India up to the Strategic Consequences of Chinese Capital”, *ORF*.
- 10 The SCO (2008), *Regulations on the Status of Dialogue Partner of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation*, Shanghai.
- 11 The SCO (2015) “SCO Energy Club: Structure Ready for International Interaction, not Shanghai Six's Elite Club” [Online web] Accessed 20 January 2018 URL <http://infoshos.ru>.
- 12 The SCO (2015), *Development Strategy of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation until 2025*, Beijing.
- 13 The SCO (2015), *What is the SCO*, Accessed 17 April 2022, URL <http://eng.sectesco.org/docs/about/faq.html>
- 14 The SCO, (2017), *The Astana Declaration: of the Heads of State of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation*, Beijing.
- 15 Xing, Guangcheng (2018), “Sino-Russian Ties Backbone of SCO”, *China Daily*, Beijing, 12 July 2018.
- 16 Yun, Y. and K. Park (2012), “An Analysis of the Multilateral Cooperation and Competition between Russia and China in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Issues and Prospects”, *Pacific Focus*, 27(1), pp: 62-85.
- 17 Zia, H. (2018), “China's Message of Peace and Harmony at SCO Summit”, *China Daily*, Beijing, 13 July 2018.