# The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and CounterTerrorism Cooperation

Zhao Xiaodong

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# **Executive Summary**

The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) is a permanent intergovernmental international organization, the main priority of which is combating terrorism. The necessity of counter-terrorism cooperation between SCO member states is mainly due to the characteristics of terrorist activities in the SCO area, which include the international reach of terrorist organizations and the diffuse nature of terrorist activities. The SCO has established sound legal foundations for cooperation between member states that govern the Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure of the SCO (RATS). The member states address counter-terrorism issues within the political, diplomatic, military and judicial spheres, with a particular focus on security information. Since its founding, the SCO has become an important guarantor of prosperity in the region by maintaining the territorial integrity and security of its member states as well as their political, economic and social stability. However, the SCO faces significant challenges as it moves forward, which include varying and sometimes opposing goals and conflicts of interests among member states, structural inefficiencies within the SCO framework and a deficiency in practical cooperation. It is clear that the SCO has had its ups and downs in its relatively short ten-year lifespan. Nevertheless, we should take a favorable view of the SCO's future: it is going to consolidate mutual political trust, enhance practical cooperation between member states, establish standing military mechanisms, and both expand and enhance the effectiveness of counter-terrorism cooperation.

#### The SCO in Brief

The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) was founded in June 2001 by the Republic of Kazakhstan, the People's Republic of China, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan and the Republic of Uzbekistan, which are also the members of the organization. The SCO member states occupy a territory of around 30.2 million km², which makes up three-fifths of the Eurasian continent, with a population of 1.45 billion, making up a quarter of the global population.¹ Apart from China, all SCO members including the Russian Federation were part of the former Soviet Union but became independent in 1990–91 after the end of the Cold War. Some countries enjoy observer status in the SCO: Mongolia (June 2004), India, Iran and Pakistan (July 2005), and Afghanistan (June 2012). Furthermore, Belarus and Sri Lanka became the SCO's first dialogue partners in June 2009 and Turkey joined in June 2012.

The main goals of the SCO are to strengthen mutual confidence and good-neighborly relations among member countries, to promote effective cooperation in politics, trade and economy, science and technology, culture as well as education, energy, transportation, tourism, environmental protection and other fields, to make joint efforts to maintain and ensure peace, security and stability in the region, to move towards the establishment of a new, democratic, just and rational political and economic international order.<sup>2</sup>

WolframAlpha (accessed June 18, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, "Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization," May 7, 2009, available at: http://www.sectsco.org/EN/show.asp?id=69 (accessed May 7, 2012).

# Significance of SCO's Counter-Terrorism Cooperation

Combating terrorism is a priority of the SCO, and the core of its security cooperation. In general, the necessity of counter-terrorism cooperation between member states is mainly due to the characteristics of terrorist activities in the SCO area. Important points are:

#### **High Frequency of Terrorist Activities**

The SCO area has a high incidence of terrorist activities. Some of the many terrorist activities occurring in the last ten years are listed below. As can be seen, all SCO member states have been hit with terrorist or extremist attacks:

April 2001	Tajikistan: adviser of the president murdered
September 2001	Tajikistan: culture minister killed
June 2002	Kyrgyzstan: Chinese consul killed
October 2002	Moscow, Russia: hijacking, 90 dead
December 2002	Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan: market bomb attack
March 2003	Kyrgyzstan: bus hijacked, 20 killed
February 2004	Moscow, Russia: bombs in the metro, 50 dead, 130 wounded
March 2004	Tashkent, Uzbekistan: a series of bomb, 10 dead
May 2004	Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan: bomb attack
May 2004	Chechnya, Russia: stadium blast, 7 dead (including the president of Chechnya), 53 wounded
June 2004	Ingushetia, Russia: militia attack, 90 dead
September 2004	Beslan, Russia: 300 dead, half of them children
May 2005	Andijian, Uzbekistan: riots, 187 killed

October 2005	Nal'chik, Russia: militia attack, 17 dead, 84 wounded
May 2006	Kyrgyzstan: terrorist attack by militants
August 2006	Moscow, Russia: market blast, 10 dead, 55 wounded
August 2007	Russia: train derailment, 60 wounded
November 2007	Dushanbe, Tajikistan: explosion aimed at the president
August 2008	Kashgar, Xinjiang, China: car explosion, 16 dead, 16 wounded
June 2009	Ingushetia, Russia: attack on motorcade, president wounded
July 2009	Urumqi, Xinjiang, China: riots, 200 killed
August 2009	Ingushetia, Russia: attack, 12 dead, 50 wounded
November 2009	Russia: attack, 25 dead, 63 wounded
March 2010	Moscow, Russia: bombers strike, 41 dead
July 2011	Kashgar, Xinjiang, China: terrorist attack: 3 dead, 40 wounded

### **Potential Expansion of Terrorist Organizations**

It is well known that some terrorist groups found in SCO countries are closely linked to terrorism, separatism and extremism. In Uzbekistan, we can find the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), the Islamic Jihad Group (IJG), the Taliban, the Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM), the East Turkistan Liberation Organization (ETLO) and al-Qaeda. In Tajikistan, the United Tajik Opposition (UTO), the World Uygur Youth Congress and the East Turkistan Information Center are active. Some of them have branches in other SCO member states and have expanded their activities. These terrorist groups have also entered into alliances with each other in order to achieve their goals. Thus, terrorist forces do not just exist in one

specific country alone, but throughout the whole area. Every member state of the SCO has suffered from terror activities.

#### **Potential Diffusion of Terrorist Activities**

In order to achieve political, religious and other goals, terrorists pursue activities that are not only bound up with intimidating a population and creating dangers to human life and health by the way of blasts, strikes and violent attacks, but also by infiltrating areas with illicit narcotics and arms trafficking and other types of transnational criminal activity, as well as illegal migration. It is obvious that terrorists expand their activities to areas from which they can get assistance. At the same time, the SCO area has seen rampant terrorist activities with terrorists joining forces with international terrorists, posing a grave threat to regional security and stability. The SCO member states are deeply concerned over the escalation of terrorism, which constitutes a threat to international peace and security, the territorial integrity of states, the development of friendly relations between states, as well as the enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms.

All of these show that the "three evil forces," i.e. terrorism, separatism and extremism, remain a common threat to the SCO member states. Only through joint and concerted efforts to fight them can effective prevention and combating of terrorism be achieved. The fight against terrorism, separatism and extremism remains a key priority for the SCO, and the promotion of cooperation on counter-terrorism within the framework of the SCO has become a common endeavor of the member states.

# Framework for Counter-Terrorism Cooperation

#### **Legal Foundation of Cooperation**

Since the foundation of the SCO, more than ten legal documents have been adopted by member states. These documents outline the direction, form and principles of anti-terrorism cooperation, and have established a sound legal foundation for the cooperation between member states in the field of counter-terrorism. Some treaties and documents dealing with counter-terrorism cooperation are:

- Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, June 15, 2002
- Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism, June 15, 2001, which made the SCO one of the first international organizations with explicit stipulations to fight against terrorism.
- The Concept of Cooperation Between SCO Member States on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism, June 5, 2005
- Treaty on Long-Term Good-Neighborliness, Friendship and Cooperation Between the Member States of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, August 16, 2007
- The Convention Against Terrorism of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, June 16, 2009, which made the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism more concrete
- The process of practical implementation of the Cooperation Plan on combating terrorism, separatism and extremism for 2007–2009, June 15, 2006
- The agreement among the SCO member states on conducting joint military exercises, June 27, 2007, which laid long-term organizational and legal foundations for conducting joint exercises aimed at countering terrorism
- The agreement on cooperation among the governments of the member states of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation on combating illegal circulation of weapons, ammunition and explosives, August 28, 2008
- Programme of Cooperation among the SCO Member States in Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism 2010–2012, June 16, 2009

- Agreement on the Training of Personnel for Antiterrorist Units of SCO Member States, June 16, 2009
- Programme of Cooperation among the SCO Member States in Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism 2013–2015, June 8, 2012
- Statement of the Council of Heads of State on International Information Security, June 15, 2006

#### **Mechanisms for Cooperation**

For the purpose of effectively combating acts of terrorism, the Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure of SCO (RATS) operates in accordance with the SCO Charter, the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism, the Agreement among the SCO member states on the Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure, as well as the documents and decisions adopted in the framework of the SCO. It is located in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, and is a standing SCO body. Its main tasks and duties are:

- To maintain working relations with competent institutions of the member states and international organizations tackling issues of fighting terrorism, separatism and extremism
- To render assistance in interaction among the member states in preparation and staging of counterterrorism exercises at the request of concerned member states, preparation and conduct of search operations and other activities in the field of fighting terrorism, separatism and extremism
- To jointly draft international legal documents concerning the fight against terrorism, separatism and extremism
- To gather and analyze information coming to the RCTS from member states, and to establish and supply data to the RCTS data bank
- To be responsible for the joint formation of a system to effective respond to global challenges and threats
- To prepare and organize scientific conferences and workshops, to assist in sharing experience in the field of fighting terrorism, separatism and extremism<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, "The Executive Committee of the Regional Counter-TerrorismStructure," http://www.sectsco.org/EN/AntiTerrorism.asp(accessed May 7, 2012).

As the SCO's counterterrorist tool, the RATS has moved to achieve broader counter-terrorism objectives. It is reported to have advised several countries on operational training, helped draft international legal documents to combat terrorism, and compiled a database of suspected or known terrorists and extremists for SCO member use, and also approved cooperation programs for the fight against terrorism, extremism and separatism and a draft convention on combating terrorism. The Executive Committee of the Regional Counter-Terrorism Structure of the SCO is the permanent body of the SCO RCTS and is based in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan.

#### Area and Means of Cooperation

The cooperation between the SCO member states for countering terrorism is found in areas such as the political, diplomatic, military and judicial along with information security, etc. in order

- To build up interaction in searching, apprehending, extraditing and transferring persons suspected of, charged with or sentenced for committing crimes related to terrorist, separatist, extremist activities or other crimes
- To promote contacts and cooperation between law enforcement and judicial authorities of the member states
- To develop various forms of cooperation between defense ministries
- To cooperate in the area of prevention, identification and suppression of acts referred to in adopted conventions
- To conduct extradition and render legal assistance in cases of acts referred to in adopted conventions as extraditable offences

In accordance with adopted conventions, the SCO member states cooperate and assist each other through:

- Exchange of information
- Execution of requests concerning operational search actions
- Development and implementation of agreed measures to prevent, identify and suppress acts referred to in adopted conventions, as well as to share information on the results of their implementation

- Implementation of measures to prevent, identify and suppress, in their territories, acts referred to adopted conventions that are aimed against other parties
- Implementation of measures to prevent, identify and suppress financing, supplies of weapons and ammunition or any other forms of assistance to any person and/or organization for the purpose of committing acts referred to in adopted conventions
- Implementation of measures to prevent, identify, suppress, prohibit or put an end to the activities aimed at training individuals for the purpose of committing acts referred to in adopted conventions
- Exchange of regulatory legal acts and information concerning practical implementation thereof
- Exchange of experience in the field of prevention, identification or suppression of acts referred to in adopted conventions
- Training, retraining or upgrading of experts
- Take necessary legislative and other countermeasures against the financing of terrorism<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, "The Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism," May 7, 2009, http://www.sectsco.org/EN/show.asp?id=68 (accessed May 7, 2012).

# **Practices and Achievements of Counter-Terrorism Cooperation**

#### **Practice of Cooperation**

Political cooperation plays a very important role for counter-terrorism cooperation in the SCO. By issuing declarations and statements in connection with terrorist acts, the SCO member states have made clear their steadfast determination to pursue anti-terror operations. Some of them are:

- Declaration of the Foundation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation on June 15, 2001, Shanghai
- Declaration of the Heads of the Member States of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation on July 5, 2005, Astana
- Declaration of the Special Conference on Afghanistan convened under the auspices of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation on March 27, 2009, Moscow
- Declaration of the 10th Anniversary of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation on June 15, 2011, Astana
- On August 19, 2009, the SCO Secretary-General Bolat Nurgaliev issued a statement in connection with the terrorist act in Nazran
- On July 10, 2009, the SCO Secretary-General Bolat Nurgaliev issued a statement in connection with the events in the Chinese city of Urumqi
- On March 29, 2010, the SCO Secretary-General M. Imanaliev issued a statement in connection with terrorist attacks in Moscow
- On January 25, 2011, the SCO Secretary-General issued a statement in connection with a terrorist act at Moscow's Domodedovo Airport
- On April 12, 2011, the SCO Secretary-General issued a statement on a terrorist act at Oktyabrskaya Station of Minsk metro system, the Republic of Belarus

Anti-terror exercises are a practical way to improve the capability of member states to tackle terrorist threats; their military and security services benefit from the successful conduct of these exercises by practicing tactics and weapons handling, and also by gaining useful experience working with other countries on planning, command and control, logistics and maneuvers. This not only enables them to carry out tasks of cooperation during such drills, but also to foster good interaction between the member states operating in the security field. Such exercises have never targeted a third county or interfered with other countries, but have aimed at countering terrorism, and have played an important role in effectively deterring terrorist activities. The regular SCO military exercises have established themselves as an effective anti-terror drill, but the SCO will never develop into a military alliance. The prospects of cooperation are good in the fields of defense and security, with extensive scale and pragmatic contents. Some recent examples are:

- Bilateral joint exercises, in the border region between China and Kyrgyzstan, October 10–11, 2002
- Combine-2003: joint exercise in the border region between Kazakhstan and China, August 6–12, 2003
- Peace Mission-2005: counter-terrorism exercise in Vladivostok, Russia and Shandong, China, August 18–25, 2005
- Tian-shan-1-2006: anti-terror exercise in Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan and Yining in Xinjiang, China, August 24–26, 2006
- Collaboration-2006: anti-terror exercise in the border region China and Tajikistan, September 22–23, 2006
- Peace Mission-2007: counter-terrorism exercise in Chelyabinsk, Russia, August 9–17, 2007
- Volgograd Anti-terror-2008: exercise in Volgograd, Russia, August 14–September 4, 2008
- Antiterror-2009: joint counter-terrorism command-and-staff exercise, in Norak, Tajikistan, April 17–19, 2009
- Peace Mission-2009: anti-terror military drill in Khabarovsk, Russia and Taonan, China, July 22–26, 2009
- Peace Mission-2010: anti-terror military drill in Zhambyl, Kazakhstan, September 9–25, 2010
- Tianshan-2-2011: joint counter-terrorism exercise in Kashgar, Xinjiang, China, May 5–8, 2011
- Peace Mission-2012: anti-terror military drill in Tajikistan, June 8–14, 2012

• Volgograd Anti-terror-2008: exercise at a Lukoil commercial refinery port, with a scenario aimed at neutralizing terrorists who have seized an oil tanker and its crew

The group also focused on unconventional targets with the Vostok Anti-terror-2006 exercise, which included repelling a simulated attack on Uzbekistan's Institute of Nuclear Physics and its nuclear reactor, as well as in the Norak Anti-terror-2009 exercise, which reportedly included simulated defense of a chemical factory in Tajikistan under terrorist threat.

#### **Achievements of Cooperation**

Since its founding, the SCO has become an important guarantor of peace, stability and prosperity in its region and has contributed to maintaining the territorial integrity and security of the parties as well as their political, economic and social stability. It is also a factor for building international security architecture and cooperation, and has proved to be an effective and transparent multilateral association. Some important aspects are:

- A high level of mutual trust prevailing during these years ensures the adoption of decisions over significant aspects of the organization's activities, and assists in advancing mutually beneficial cooperation in the anti-terrorism field
- Effective cooperation was established in the field of security aimed at confronting terrorism, separatism and extremism, illegal circulation of narcotics and weapons, and transnational organized crime
- Mechanisms of regular sessions and meetings on the level of secretaries of security councils, public prosecutors, supreme judges, ministers of defense and emergency situations, internal affairs and public security, heads of anti-drug agencies were set up with the aim of tackling acute issues of joint struggle against new challenges and threats
- The permanent body, the Regional Counter-Terrorism Structure in Tashkent, has been functioning effectively, playing an important part in the practical implementation of treaties and agreements concluded in the framework of the organization
- Showing openness for cooperation with other states, international and regional organizations. The observers, as well as the dialogue

partners are becoming engaged in multifaceted interaction in the SCO framework<sup>5</sup>

#### **Characters of Cooperation**

The SCO Is Based on the Shanghai Spirit

Originating with the Shanghai Five mechanism and proceeding from the Shanghai Spirit, the SCO pursues an internal policy based on the principles of mutual trust, mutual benefit, equal rights, consultations, respect for the diversity of cultures and aspiration towards common development. The SCO's external policy is conducted in accordance with the principles of non-alignment, not targeting anyone, and openness. The member states carry out their rights and obligations under the adopted conventions in a manner consistent with the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity of states, and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other states.

#### Universality and Openness

The SCO is an organization of a new type, which rejects the bloc mentality and aspires towards development of political and military components. The basic tasks of the organization are strengthening stability and security in the vast region that unites the member states and the struggle against terrorism, separatism, extremism, drug trafficking, etc. In this regard the SCO is a quite transparent organization ready to establish interaction with other international organizations and countries. Actually, the SCO has reached out not only to other countries, but also to other multilateral organizations. Partnership links have been established with the United Nations, the Commonwealth of the Independent States (CIS), the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) and the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO).

The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, "Astana Declaration of the 10th Anniversary of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation," June 15, 2011, http://www.sectsco.org/EN/show.asp?id=294 (accessed May 7, 2012).

# **Challenges on Counter-Terrorism Cooperation**

The counter-terrorism cooperation within the framework of SCO faces constant challenges as it moves forward.

#### **Members Have Different Goals**

The SCO member states have different incentives and goals for their participation, which may result in inefficiencies in their counter-terrorism cooperation work. China views the SCO as having both a symbolic meaning and as representing a valuable asset, and has paid high-level attention to its development. As the creator of the SCO together with China, Russia does not seem to want to pull out all the stops on building up the SCO, since Europe plays an important role in its long-term strategic interests. The concerns of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan focus on the actual benefits of membership with regard to economic issues and security, more than political benefit, and they show realism in dealing with the SCO. As a result, actions at cross-purposes and lingering disagreements over important issues between members have occasionally been seen and will continue to crop up in the future.

#### **Conflicts Among Member States**

Obvious complications can be found among SCO member states that are markedly different from each other. As global powers, China and Russia seek the chance to achieve their strategic objectives by using the SCO as a platform. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan generally have expectations that the SCO will serve their own interests. At the same time, energy issues involve the national security and sovereignty interests of each country and as such are slow to be resolved by way of compromises. In Central Asian member states, there are a myriad hurdles to finding solutions to energy resource sharing, particularly water supplies. Conflicts over regional hydropower resources are emblematic of the lingering bilateral tensions that threaten consensus behavior. These will put obstacles to the SCO cooperation.

#### **An Imperfect Structure**

The SCO has established a sound foundation and framework, but its structures and mechanisms for cooperation are still slowly developing. This means that the organization is faced with structural challenges, especially as it expands and creates additional business areas and works to fully implement its initiatives. Regional instability brings into question the policy of noninterference and makes the SCO walk a thin line between promoting regional stability and rejecting interference in the internal affairs of other members. SCO members need to find out how this tension between stability and noninterference can be balanced in order to maintain organizational legitimacy and respect the needs of countries. The SCO observer nations see political, economic and security benefits from working with the group as well even though together, and individually, they present challenges to the organization's consensus-driven operating style because of their disputes with each other or with other SCO members.

#### A Lack of Practical Cooperation

The SCO plays a very important role for counter-terrorism and maintaining regional stability, but the lack of practical cooperation is still noticeable. Quentin Peel of the *Financial Times* has described the SCO as "a dog that does not bark." Some describe the SCO as "a paper tiger," and charge it with being a talking shop. After only a decade, some analysts have already declared it to be irrelevant. For the sake of its long-term development, its members have to seek new areas and means and conduct counter-terrorism cooperation more practically.

# Prospects for the SCO's Counter-Terrorism Cooperation

Like all organizations, particularly multilateral ones, the SCO has already had its ups and downs during its relatively short ten-year lifespan. It is accomplishing its objectives of organizational development, outreach to other multilateral groups, and broadening and deepening its scope of effort in the region.

The SCO will continue to adhere to excluding block, ideological and confrontational approaches in order to solve the problems that international and regional development are encountering. Member states will continue their close and full cooperation within the organization in order to strengthen its role as a reliable guarantor of peace, stability and prosperity in the region. Thus, they aim:

- To consolidate mutual political trust and enhance practical cooperation between the SCO member states
- To enhance the effectiveness of counter-terrorism cooperation. A
  pre-arranged planning system for anti-terrorist cooperation needs to
  be built among the SCO member states
- To establish a standing military mechanism on anti-terrorism; a joint armed force or enforcement force with special responsibility for counter-terrorism can be put together to cope with the militarization of terrorist groups
- To enlarge the extent of counter-terrorism cooperation; to increase the number of cooperation partners by building the "6+N" mechanism of the SCO, which can set up a platform for promoting mutual trust and bilateral cooperation between the six member states and other partners

# **Concluding Remarks**

For the SCO, the past decade has been a challenging and slowly evolving period of building, outreach and taking incremental steps forward. The future of the SCO should be viewed with patience, optimism and confidence. Since its member states have enough common interests, especially regime stability, counterterrorism and trade, the SCO is sure to survive and develop and to strengthen and deepen its counter-terrorism cooperation accordingly.

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