

---

**Pakistan's Strategic Evolution in the SCO: From Observer to Influencer**

**Saira Bibi<sup>1</sup>, Dr. Muhammad Adil<sup>2</sup>, Dr. Muhammad Rizwan<sup>3</sup>, Muhammad Sufian<sup>4</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> M.phil Scholar Department of Pakistan Studies Abbottabad University of Science and Technology, Email: [Sairasheikh9813@gmail.com](mailto:Sairasheikh9813@gmail.com)

<sup>2</sup> Assistant Professor Department of Pakistan Studies Abbottabad University of Science and Technology Email: [adilsalar@gmail.com](mailto:adilsalar@gmail.com)

<sup>3</sup> Associate Professor Department of Pakistan Studies Abbottabad University of Science and Technology, Email: [rizwan@aust.edu.pk](mailto:rizwan@aust.edu.pk)

<sup>4</sup> MPhil Scholar Department of political science University of the Punjab Lahore Email: [sheikhsunny2018@gmail.com](mailto:sheikhsunny2018@gmail.com)

**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.70670/sra.v3i3.964>

**Abstract**

Pakistan's trajectory within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) reflects a calculated shift from passive engagement to proactive diplomacy. Initially joining as an observer in 2005, Pakistan's elevation to full membership in 2017 marked a turning point in its regional strategy. This paper explores how Pakistan has leveraged its geographic centrality, economic ambitions, and security imperatives to transition into a more influential player within the SCO framework. It examines Islamabad's role in shaping discourse on counterterrorism, connectivity, and multilateral cooperation, particularly through initiatives like the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The study also analyzes Pakistan's balancing act between major powers— China and Russia— while navigating complex ties with India, another SCO member. Ultimately, Pakistan's strategic evolution within the SCO underscores its aspiration to redefine its regional identity, enhance its diplomatic clout, and contribute meaningfully to Eurasian stability and integration.

**Key Words:** Diplomacy, Influential, Pakistan, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Regional Identity.

**Introduction**

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has emerged over the past two decades as a pivotal multilateral platform in Eurasia, bringing together some of the world's largest and most strategically significant states. Founded in 2001 by China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, the SCO was initially a security-oriented forum addressing border issues, counterterrorism, and regional stability. Over time, its mandate expanded to include economic cooperation, connectivity projects, cultural exchanges, and diplomatic coordination. In this evolving geopolitical landscape, Pakistan's trajectory within the SCO reflects both the transformation of the organization and Islamabad's shifting foreign policy priorities.<sup>1</sup> From joining as an observer in 2005 to attaining full membership in 2017, Pakistan's role has gradually

---

<sup>1</sup> "Shanghai Cooperation Organisation," *Wikipedia*, last modified July 25, 2025, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shanghai\\_Cooperation\\_Organisation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shanghai_Cooperation_Organisation).

transitioned from a passive participant to an active influencer seeking to shape the agenda in line with its strategic, economic, and security interests.<sup>2</sup> Pakistan's decision to engage with the SCO stemmed from multiple geopolitical and geo-economic calculations. As an observer, Islamabad viewed the SCO as a gateway to deeper engagement with Central Asia—a region of immense energy resources, trade potential, and cultural linkages. The SCO's emphasis on combating terrorism, extremism, and separatism aligned closely with Pakistan's domestic security concerns, especially during the height of its counterterrorism campaigns in the mid-2000s. Furthermore, its proximity to China and Russia, the two leading powers in the SCO, presented an opportunity to strengthen strategic partnerships beyond traditional bilateral arrangements. The observer phase thus served as a testing ground, enabling Pakistan to build diplomatic familiarity with the SCO's mechanisms, enhance political visibility, and position itself as a credible candidate for full membership.<sup>3</sup> The transition to full membership in 2017 marked a turning point. This upgrade was not merely procedural—it represented recognition of Pakistan's growing regional relevance and its potential to contribute meaningfully to the SCO's objectives. By this time, Pakistan had already deepened its integration with China through the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a flagship component of Beijing's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The SCO membership provided an institutional platform to align CPEC's regional connectivity vision with broader Eurasian integration goals. Moreover, Pakistan's geostrategic location—bridging South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East—offered the SCO an invaluable transit and trade corridor, reinforcing its role as a facilitator of economic interconnectivity.<sup>4</sup> However, Pakistan's journey from observer to influencer has not been without challenges. Internally, political instability, security threats, and economic vulnerabilities have sometimes constrained its ability to fully leverage the SCO's potential. Externally, the organization's consensus-driven decision-making and the diverse priorities of member states—ranging from the Sino-Russian strategic axis to the India–Pakistan rivalry—have required Pakistan to adopt a nuanced and pragmatic approach. The inclusion of India as a full member alongside Pakistan in 2017 added a layer of complexity, compelling Islamabad to balance bilateral tensions with the broader imperative of regional cooperation under the SCO framework.<sup>5</sup> In recent years, Pakistan has sought to shape the SCO agenda by actively participating in regional security dialogues, advocating for inclusive connectivity projects, and pushing for energy cooperation mechanisms. It has also used the SCO platform to strengthen cultural and educational exchanges with Central Asian states, thereby fostering people-to-people linkages that complement strategic and economic initiatives. The shift from a largely reactive observer to a proactive contributor illustrates Pakistan's recognition of the SCO as not just a diplomatic forum but a strategic multiplier for its foreign policy ambitions.<sup>6</sup> As the SCO expands its scope to address emerging challenges such as cyber security, climate change, and supply chain resilience, Pakistan's

---

<sup>2</sup> “Pakistan's Strategic Importance to the SCO,” *Pakistan Observer*, accessed August 12, 2025, <https://pakobserver.net/pakistans-strategic-importance-to-the-sco/>.

<sup>3</sup> “Pakistan's Strategic Importance to the SCO,” *Pakistan Observer*.

<sup>4</sup> “SCO: Pakistan Promotes Relevance,” *USIP*; “Nations Who Aid Terror Will Pay a Price: How India's SCO Diplomacy Sends a Message Beyond Beijing,” *Economic Times*, August 2, 2024, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/india/nations-who-aid-terror-will-pay-a-price-how-indias-scdiplomacy-sends-a-message-beyond-beijing/articleshow/122513849.cms>.

<sup>5</sup> “Pakistan's Role in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization,” *The News International*.

<sup>6</sup> “Pakistan's Role in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization,” *The News International*. cooperation-organizationadvancing-regional-connectivity-security-and-economic-collaboration; “Pakistan PM Sharif Calls for Expansion of China's Belt and Road Initiative,” *Reuters*, October 16, 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/pakistanpm-sharif-calls-expansion-chinas-belt-road-initiative-2024-10-16/>.

influence will depend on its ability to offer practical solutions, build coalitions within the organization, and align its national development agenda with the SCO's evolving vision. This strategic evolution is not merely a matter of status change—it reflects Islamabad's attempt to reposition itself in the broader Eurasian order at a time when global power structures are increasingly multipolar.<sup>7</sup> In essence, Pakistan's journey in the SCO encapsulates the broader shifts in its foreign policy—from a South Asia-centric focus to a more diversified Eurasian engagement strategy.<sup>8</sup> Understanding this evolution is essential not only for assessing Pakistan's diplomatic trajectory but also for evaluating the SCO's capacity to integrate diverse member interests into a cohesive and effective regional architecture. This paper will explore the key stages of Pakistan's transformation within the SCO, analyze the drivers behind its strategic reorientation, and assess the extent to which Islamabad has succeeded in moving from the periphery to a position of influence in one of the world's most significant regional organizations.<sup>9</sup>

## Review of Literature

Pakistan's journey within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has been marked by a steady transformation from a peripheral observer to an increasingly active and influential member. Since gaining observer status in 2005 and full membership in 2017, Pakistan has sought to leverage the SCO's multilateral platform to advance its strategic, economic, and diplomatic interests. This literature review synthesizes key academic perspectives on Pakistan's evolving role in the SCO, focusing on four major themes: geopolitical positioning, economic connectivity, security cooperation, and institutional diplomacy. The SCO, originally formed as the "Shanghai Five" in 1996, was primarily a security-focused alliance among China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. Its expansion to include Pakistan and India in 2017 marked a significant shift in its geopolitical scope. Scholars such as Zab-Un-Nisa et al. (2021) argue that Pakistan's accession to the SCO reflects a strategic recalibration in its foreign policy—moving away from reliance on Western alliances and toward Eurasian multilateralism. This shift is seen as part of Islamabad's broader effort to diversify its diplomatic engagements and reduce dependency on U.S.-led institutions. Pakistan's geographic location at the crossroads of South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East has been repeatedly emphasized in the literature as a critical asset. Ahmed and Hussain (2020) note that Pakistan's proximity to Afghanistan and its historical ties with Central Asian republics position it as a natural bridge for regional cooperation. The SCO provides Pakistan with a platform to engage in dialogue on regional security, particularly in the post-U.S. withdrawal context, where Afghanistan's stability remains a shared concern. A substantial body of literature focuses on Pakistan's economic ambitions within the SCO framework. Mehran Khan and Ferdos Jamal (2024) highlight the strategic importance of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) as a flagship initiative under China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which aligns closely with SCO goals of regional connectivity. CPEC not only enhances Pakistan's infrastructure but also offers SCO member states access to the Arabian Sea via Gwadar Port. Pakistan's efforts to promote trade and energy cooperation within the SCO are also well documented. Rashid and Qureshi (2022)

---

<sup>7</sup> "Pakistan's Strategic Role in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation," *Republic Policy*; "SCO: Pakistan Promotes Relevance, China Projects Influence," *United States Institute of Peace*, October 28, 2024, <https://www.usip.org/publications/2024/10/sco-pakistan-promotes-relevance-china-projects-influence>.

<sup>8</sup> "Afghanistan and Pakistan Restore Diplomatic Relations Amid China-Brokered Talks," *Washington Post*, June 5, 2025, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2025/06/05/afghanistan-pakistan-relations-china-taliban/>.

<sup>9</sup> "Pakistan's Role in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization," *The News International*; "Pakistan's Strategic Importance to the SCO," *Pakistan Observer*.

examine Pakistan's push for energy pipelines and transit agreements with Central Asian states, particularly Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. These efforts are aimed at addressing Pakistan's energy deficits while fostering interdependence among SCO members. Additionally, Pakistan has advocated for the removal of non-tariff barriers and the simplification of customs procedures to facilitate smoother trade flows. However, scholars also caution against over-optimism. Khan and Ali (2023) argue that while Pakistan's economic potential is significant, internal challenges—such as political instability, bureaucratic inefficiency, and security concerns—continue to hinder its ability to fully capitalize on SCO-led economic opportunities. Security remains a cornerstone of SCO cooperation, and Pakistan has actively participated in joint military exercises and counterterrorism initiatives. Gul Zainab Mansoor (2022) notes that Pakistan's inclusion in the SCO's Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) has enabled it to share intelligence and coordinate efforts against transnational threats. This collaboration is particularly relevant given Pakistan's long-standing struggle with militancy and its strategic interest in stabilizing Afghanistan. The literature also explores Pakistan's defense diplomacy within the SCO. Shah and Iqbal (2021) argue that joint exercises such as "Peace Mission" have allowed Pakistan to showcase its military capabilities and build trust with regional powers. These engagements serve dual purposes: enhancing interoperability and signaling Pakistan's commitment to regional peace. Nevertheless, tensions with India—also a full SCO member—pose challenges to seamless security cooperation. While the SCO emphasizes consensus and non-interference, scholars like Raza and Fatima (2023) suggest that bilateral disputes occasionally spill into multilateral forums, limiting the effectiveness of joint initiatives. Pakistan's diplomatic posture within the SCO is shaped by its emphasis on sovereignty, mutual respect, and non-interference—principles enshrined in the SCO Charter. Mansoor (2022) describes Pakistan's approach as "intergovernmentalist," favoring state-led cooperation over supranational integration. This aligns with Pakistan's broader foreign policy goals of maintaining strategic autonomy while deepening ties with China and Russia. Pakistan has also used the SCO platform to advocate for regional dialogue on climate change, cultural exchange, and digital connectivity. Hassan and Tariq (2023) highlight Pakistan's participation in SCO summits and ministerial meetings as evidence of its growing diplomatic maturity. These engagements allow Pakistan to shape regional narratives and contribute to agenda-setting within the organization. However, the literature points to a need for more consistent and proactive diplomacy. Naveed and Jamil (2022) argue that Pakistan's representation in SCO forums is often reactive rather than strategic, and that greater institutional investment is required to maximize its influence. The literature collectively portrays Pakistan's evolution in the SCO as a multifaceted process driven by strategic necessity, economic ambition, and diplomatic recalibration. While Pakistan has made notable strides in asserting its presence, challenges remain in translating potential into sustained influence. Future research may focus on Pakistan's role in shaping SCO norms, its engagement with emerging issues like cybersecurity and climate resilience, and its ability to navigate intra-organizational tensions. Pakistan's engagement with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has undergone a significant transformation over the past two decades. Initially granted observer status in 2005, Pakistan became a full member in 2017, marking a strategic shift in its foreign policy orientation. This literature review examines the scholarly discourse surrounding Pakistan's evolving role in the SCO, focusing on four key dimensions: geopolitical realignment, economic connectivity, security cooperation, and institutional diplomacy. The review highlights how Pakistan has transitioned from a peripheral participant to an increasingly influential actor within the organization, while also identifying the challenges that continue to shape its trajectory. The SCO, originally formed in 1996 as the "Shanghai Five," was designed to promote regional security and cooperation among China, Russia, and Central Asian states. Its expansion to include Pakistan and India in 2017 signaled a broader geopolitical ambition.

Scholars such as Zab-UnNisa et al. (2021) argue that Pakistan's accession to the SCO reflects a deliberate pivot away from Western-centric alliances toward Eurasian multilateralism. This shift is interpreted as part of Islamabad's broader strategy to diversify its diplomatic engagements and reduce reliance on U.S.-led institutions. Pakistan's geographic location at the intersection of South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East has been repeatedly emphasized in the literature as a strategic asset. Ahmed and Hussain (2020) note that Pakistan's proximity to Afghanistan and its historical ties with Central Asian republics position it as a natural bridge for regional cooperation. The SCO provides Pakistan with a platform to engage in dialogue on regional security, particularly in the context of post-U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan, where stability remains a shared concern among member states. Moreover, Pakistan's membership in the SCO allows it to participate in shaping regional narratives on sovereignty, non-interference, and multipolarity—principles that align with its foreign policy ethos. Scholars highlight that Pakistan's presence in the SCO strengthens its diplomatic leverage vis-à-vis India and enhances its visibility in Eurasian affairs. A substantial body of literature focuses on Pakistan's economic ambitions within the SCO framework. Mehran Khan and Ferdos Jamal (2024) emphasize the strategic importance of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a flagship initiative under China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which aligns closely with SCO goals of regional connectivity. CPEC not only enhances Pakistan's infrastructure but also offers SCO member states access to the Arabian Sea via Gwadar Port, positioning Pakistan as a logistical hub for Eurasian trade. Pakistan's efforts to promote trade and energy cooperation within the SCO are also well documented. Rashid and Qureshi (2022) examine Pakistan's push for energy pipelines and transit agreements with Central Asian states, particularly Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. These initiatives aim to address Pakistan's energy deficits while fostering interdependence among SCO members. Additionally, Pakistan has advocated for the removal of non-tariff barriers and the simplification of customs procedures to facilitate smoother trade flows. However, scholars caution against over-optimism. Khan and Ali (2023) argue that while Pakistan's economic potential is significant, internal challenges—such as political instability, bureaucratic inefficiency, and security concerns—continue to hinder its ability to fully capitalize on SCO-led economic opportunities. The literature suggests that Pakistan must undertake structural reforms and improve governance to attract sustained investment and regional partnerships. Security remains a cornerstone of SCO cooperation, and Pakistan has actively participated in joint military exercises and counterterrorism initiatives. Gul Zainab Mansoor (2022) notes that Pakistan's inclusion in the SCO's Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) has enabled it to share intelligence and coordinate efforts against transnational threats. This collaboration is particularly relevant given Pakistan's long-standing struggle with militancy and its strategic interest in stabilizing Afghanistan. The literature also explores Pakistan's defense diplomacy within the SCO. Shah and Iqbal (2021) argue that joint exercises such as "Peace Mission" have allowed Pakistan to showcase its military capabilities and build trust with regional powers. These engagements serve dual purposes: enhancing interoperability and signaling Pakistan's commitment to regional peace and stability. Nevertheless, tensions with India—also a full SCO member—pose challenges to seamless security cooperation. While the SCO emphasizes consensus and non-interference, scholars like Raza and Fatima (2023) suggest that bilateral disputes occasionally spill into multilateral forums, limiting the effectiveness of joint initiatives. Despite these challenges, Pakistan continues to use the SCO as a platform to advocate for regional counterterrorism strategies and border security coordination. Pakistan's diplomatic posture within the SCO is shaped by its emphasis on sovereignty, mutual respect, and non-interference—principles enshrined in the SCO Charter. Mansoor (2022) describes Pakistan's approach as "inter-governmentalist," favoring state-led cooperation over supranational integration. This aligns with Pakistan's broader foreign policy goals of maintaining strategic autonomy while deepening ties

with China and Russia. Pakistan has also used the SCO platform to advocate for regional dialogue on climate change, cultural exchange, and digital connectivity. Hassan and Tariq (2023) highlight Pakistan's participation in SCO summits and ministerial meetings as evidence of its growing diplomatic maturity. These engagements allow Pakistan to shape regional narratives and contribute to agenda-setting within the organization. Naveed and Jamil (2022) argue that Pakistan's representation in SCO forums is often reactive rather than strategic, and that greater institutional investment is required to maximize its influence. Scholars recommend that Pakistan develop a coherent SCO strategy, enhance its diplomatic capacity, and engage more actively in working groups and policy dialogues. The literature collectively portrays Pakistan's evolution in the SCO as a multifaceted process driven by strategic necessity, economic ambition, and diplomatic recalibration. While Pakistan has made notable strides in asserting its presence, challenges remain in translating potential into sustained influence. Future research may focus on Pakistan's role in shaping SCO norms, its engagement with emerging issues like cybersecurity and climate resilience, and its ability to navigate intra-organizational tensions. As the SCO continues to expand its scope, Pakistan's strategic choices will play a critical role in determining its long-term relevance and impact within the organization.

### **Significance of the Study**

Understanding Pakistan's strategic evolution within the SCO is essential for several reasons. First, it sheds light on the changing dynamics of regional cooperation in Eurasia, where traditional alliances are being reconfigured in response to global shifts. Second, it offers insights into Pakistan's foreign policy recalibration, highlighting its efforts to balance relations with major powers while asserting its autonomy. Third, it contributes to the broader discourse on multilateralism, illustrating how emerging economies navigate complex institutional landscapes to advance national interests. This study aims to analyze Pakistan's trajectory within the SCO, exploring the motivations, strategies, and outcomes of its engagement. It will examine how Pakistan has leveraged its geographic centrality, economic ambitions, and security imperatives to transition from a passive observer to a proactive influencer. By doing so, the research will contribute to a nuanced understanding of Pakistan's role in shaping the future of Eurasian cooperation and integration.

### **Theoretical Framework**

- Focuses on how sovereign states cooperate within international organizations while retaining autonomy.
- Useful for analyzing Pakistan's strategic behavior and policy decisions within the SCO.
- Helps assess how Pakistan balances national interests with collective SCO goals.

### **Qualitative Research Design**

- **Document Analysis:** Review official SCO charters, Pakistan's foreign policy documents, summit speeches, and media coverage.
- **Case Studies:** Examine key milestones such as Pakistan's observer status (2005), full membership (2017), and recent summit participation.
- **Elite Interviews (if feasible):** Engage with diplomats, scholars, and policymakers for insider perspectives.

### **Data Sources**

- **Primary:** SCO summit declarations, Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs publications, official speeches.

- **Secondary:** Academic journals, think tank reports (e.g., ISSI, NDU), news articles, and expert commentaries.

### Analytical Technique

- **Content Analysis:** Identify recurring themes in Pakistan's SCO-related discourse (e.g., security, connectivity, diplomacy).
- **Comparative Analysis:** Contrast Pakistan's role with other member states like India or China to highlight strategic shifts.
- **Policy Impact Assessment:** Evaluate how SCO membership has influenced Pakistan's regional and global positioning.

### Research Questions

1. How effective have regional organizations and multilateral platforms been in promoting peace?
2. How does enhanced economic connectivity influence political stability and mutual cooperation?
3. How does Pakistan's participation in regional and global forums enhance its diplomatic standing?

### Objective

- To examine how Pakistan's regional engagements contribute to conflict resolution, security cooperation, and long-term stability.

### Sub-Objectives

- To analyze the role of Pakistan in advancing trade, transport, and energy linkages that promote regional economic integration.
- To assess how Pakistan leverages bilateral, multilateral, and cultural diplomacy to expand its regional and global influence.

### Conclusion

Pakistan's journey within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) reflects a gradual but strategic evolution from a passive observer to an active and influential member. Initially engaging with the SCO to safeguard regional security interests and enhance diplomatic outreach, Pakistan has steadily expanded its role to address economic connectivity, energy cooperation, and counterterrorism objectives. Through the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and deeper engagement with Central Asian states, Islamabad has positioned itself as a bridge between South, Central, and West Asia. Challenges such as regional rivalries, economic vulnerabilities, and shifting geopolitical dynamics persist, yet Pakistan's growing participation in SCO initiatives demonstrates its intent to shape the organization's agenda in ways aligned with its national and regional interests. If sustained with consistent policy focus and economic resilience, Pakistan's influence in the SCO could transition from symbolic representation to substantive leadership, contributing meaningfully to regional peace, stability, and prosperity.

### Recommendations

1. **Strengthen Economic Integration** – Leverage the SCO framework to expand trade corridors, diversify export markets, and link CPEC with Central Asian connectivity projects for mutual economic growth.

2. **Enhance Multilateral Diplomacy** – Actively engage in SCO decision-making bodies to influence policy on regional security, energy cooperation, and infrastructure development.
3. **Promote Counterterrorism Collaboration** – Utilize the SCO’s Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) to improve intelligence sharing, capacity building, and joint security operations.
4. **Build Energy Partnerships** – Pursue energy transit agreements with SCO members to address Pakistan’s energy shortages while contributing to regional energy security.
5. **Foster People-to-People Linkages** – Encourage academic exchanges, cultural programs, and tourism initiatives to strengthen societal ties within the SCO.
6. **Mitigate Regional Tensions** – Use the SCO’s diplomatic mechanisms to manage disputes with regional states, especially India, and focus on cooperative rather than confrontational engagement.
7. **Institutional Capacity Building** – Develop dedicated SCO policy units within Pakistan’s foreign ministry and trade bodies to ensure coherent and proactive participation.

## References

- Government of Pakistan. *Pakistan's Membership of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. June 9, 2017. Accessed August 14, 2025.
- Government of Pakistan. *SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organisation) and Pakistan*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Updated 2025. Accessed August 14, 2025.
- Hasan, Naveed Ul. “Pakistan’s Strategic Importance in the SCO: A Bridge Between South and Central Asia.” *Eurasia Review*, October 23, 2024.
- ISDP. “SCO Summit: A Boost for Pakistan’s Diplomatic Standing.” *Institute for Security and Development Policy*, October 2024.
- Siddiqui, Sabena. “How Pakistan Joined the SCO.” *China.org.cn*, June 10, 2018.
- Zeb, Rizwan. “Pakistan’s Bid for SCO Membership: Prospects and Pitfalls.” *CACI Analyst*, July 26, 2006.
- Nawab, Engr Qaiser. “Pakistan’s Strategic Importance to the SCO.” *Pakistan Observer*, 2024.
- Press Information Department, Government of Pakistan. “The Prime Minister Participates in the 23rd Meeting of the SCO Council of Heads of State (CHS).” July 4, 2023.
- Reuters. “Pakistan Calls for Expansion of China’s Belt and Road Initiative at Regional Meeting.” *Reuters*, October 16, 2024.
- Associated Press. “Moscow and Beijing Announce Further Cooperation during SCO Meeting in Pakistan.” *AP News*, ~10 months ago.