CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The formation of the five independent Central Asian Republics – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan – as a result of the break up of the Soviet Union was a great epoch of the late twentieth century. It was an era of transition from communism to capitalism, command economy to market economy, bipolar to unipolar world and traditional to comprehensive security. The situation had a direct bearing on the newly emerged Central Asian states which changed to democratic form of government and market economy, but the level of transformation varied from state to state. Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan kept some semblance of Soviet era authoritarianism and of command economy. Tajikistan was engulfed in long civil war and ushered in peace in late 1990s after compromise within the warring factions. Islamic radicalism and terrorism appeared in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, discernible from bombings in Tashkent and incursions in both the countries. The Taliban success in Afghanistan in mid-1990s exacerbated the danger of Islamic radicalism in Central Asia. After the 9/11 terrorist assault in Washington and New York, the United States launched ‘war on terror’ in Afghanistan. Consequently, the Taliban were defeated and the danger of radical Islamism and terrorism was reduced. Lately, the Taliban have re-emerged with vehemence and likely to threaten peace and stability of the Central Asian region in future by spreading terrorism and Islamic radicalism.

After the end of the Cold War, the centre of world politics has shifted to Asia. Central Asia is endowed with rich natural resources. The big powers, the United States, Russia and China are vying with one another to increase their political influence and to have maximum access to hydrocarbon resources in the region, which is landlocked. There has been scramble between Russia to monopolize the transit routes, and the United States to find alternative ones. In the early period of independence of these states, the United States had relatively greater access in exploration and extraction of hydrocarbons. But with the passage of time, other competitors China and India surfaced. China was able to garner a modest success in this sector whereas India a meager one. The ‘war on terror’ boosted the United States position and influence in Central Asia.
states cooperated in this war with the United States in various ways. Even Russia and China endorsed the righteousness of this war. The influence of the United States in Central Asia got dented after the 'colour revolutions' and Andijan event. The economic resurgence of Russia has given a new twist to its relations with the United States. It has started asserting itself so as to be given recognition as a world power status which it enjoyed in Soviet era; and is striving to increase its political influence and hold in its peripheral region comprising of the former Soviet Republics. All conceivable efforts have been made by Russia to block the construction of the United States backed gas pipeline from Central Asia.

Central Asia is a distant neighbourhood of India and of great strategic importance to it. Central Asia is faced with major challenges to its security due to terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism and fear of spread of weapons of mass destruction. India cannot be immune to the happenings there. India has vested economic interests in the region due to its rich hydrocarbon resources, minerals and scope of other economic activities. India is keen to cooperate with Central Asia in the maintenance of stability and security, countering religious extremism, terrorism, narcotics trafficking so as to enable it to carry out its strategic and economic interests.

Central Asia has attracted world attention after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The events after 9/11 have greatly influenced the politics in and around Central Asia. With the region acquiring global focus, many scholars have contributed valuable studies on Central Asia. A study of the existing literature explains: various aspects concerning political situation, interests of foreign powers, global oil politics at the Caspian basin, Islamic militancy, and India’s economic, strategic and security interests in the region. Review of some of the literature is imperative to comprehend the issues involved in the study of India-Central Asia relations.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Boris Rumer's book *Central Asia: A Gathering Storm?* is a collection of articles written by various authors. It covers wide range of subjects dealing with Central Asian Republics.
such as political and economic instability, corruption, heightened US presence in the area, Islamic resurgence, collapse of social services and development under conditions of globalisation. This book begins by highlighting the problem of growth and stability in Central Asia. Boris Rumer points out that whereas in the first half of the 1990s the most important questions concerned the consolidation of statehood and transition to a market economy, but in the second half the principle issue has been political instability, challenges from the growing Islamic radicalism, and its social and political role. The book progresses to examine the conflict in Afghanistan – the issue of regional security – its effect on the significance of Afghanistan as potential transportation route for the Central Asian states, and ill-effects of illegal drug trafficking through Central Asia. The book highlights the implications of the United States military presence in Central Asia and its consequences; and the interests and influence of other outside powers such as Russia, China, Iran and Turkey there. The book explains the causes for uprising of radical Islam and its adverse effect on the stability and development of the region. Finally, it also concerns the type of various economic models the Central Asian Republics are adopting, their social implications, effects on economic development and stability.

The author is also of the view that the countries of Central Asia are drifting apart from one another; they follow their own course individually and autonomously in the world politics and global economy. The author further discusses the eruption of disputes between the states in those spheres, where their clash of interest occurs such as energy, transportation and water. So the author opines that simply the integrated approach to the region is irrational and groundless.

K Santhanam and Ramakant Dwivedi’s book, India and Central Asia: Advancing the Common Interest, is an edited collection of thirty-one papers presented by various persons at an international conference. The first two chapters are devoted to the addresses delivered by India’s former External Affairs Minister Yashwant Sinha and Uzbek Foreign Minister S. S. Safove. The former highlighted India’s cultural and historical linkages with Central Asia and emphasized the need for higher levels of cooperation in the energy and economic sectors; and the latter appreciated India’s role in security and help in the integration process in the Central Asian states. The rest of the

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book is broadly divided into four sections: emphasizing the major issues of emerging international security environment with special emphasis on Central Asia, water and energy sharing in the region, transportation and communication links, the current situation in Afghanistan and its implications for Central Asia.

The first section of the book discusses the changed international security environment after 9/11, the exceptions being the chapters based upon the papers presented by J. N. Dixit, Ravshan Alimov and Murat M. Auezov. J. N. Dixit gives some general assessments and recommendations about structuring India’s relations with Central Asian countries. Ravshan Alimov emphasizes the presence of several common fundamental values which facilitates India’s close relations with the region in different spheres. The author has further explained that there is a wide scope of economic cooperation, which naturally necessitates regional stability and security which continues to be the main plank in the development of India-Central Asia cooperation. Murat M. Auezov opines that spiritual and cultural links of Central Asia with India are quite deep, and there is enough scope to build Central Asia’s relations with India on this solid foundation.

The second section of the book deals with politics of oil, gas and water in the region; the third section covers the issue of transportation and communication corridors in the region. According to Nirmala Joshi, the best possible option available to India to access oil and gas from landlocked Central Asia is via Iran. The fourth section deals with the importance of stability in Afghanistan and its effects on the Central Asian region. This volume provides valuable information regarding the contemporary problems of security and development in the Central Asian region and suggests the ways to forge workable cooperation between India and Central Asia.

Olivier Roy analyses in his article, “Islamic Militancy: Religion and Conflict in Central Asia”, the origins and role played by various movements headed by Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP), Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and the Hizb-ut-Tahrir and their present position in the Central Asian Republics. The author describes that the

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political Islam that appeared as a militant Islam to challenge the Islamic credentials in the post independent regimes has almost extinguished, but still radical Islam plays a role in regional politics. A new trend of Islamic radicalization seems to have appeared in the wake of the failure of the armed opposition groups. Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP) was characterized by Tajik nationalist dimension, in addition to the religious dimension, and was active in Tajikistan which was embroiled in an armed conflict, the author explains.

IRP is at present junior partner of the Tajik government and they have no ideological agenda to oppose the government. As described by the author, IMU has been a more radical Islamist movement with militant dimensions, spread in Uzbekistan, closely identified with the Taliban in Afghanistan and with the Al-Qaeda network; and has also been involved in armed conflict in Uzbekistan. Its aim has been to topple the government, but it has received a serious setback after the fall of the Taliban government in Afghanistan. The author narrates another Islamic movement led by Hizb-ut-Tahrir, which advocates a pacifist approach and has many points in common with Al-Qaeda ideology including anti-Christian and anti-Jews dimensions. According to the author, they are against the idea of creating an Islamic state in any particular country, and are fighting for the recreation of the Muslim Ummah by giving call to all the Muslim brothers of the world. The author opines that a new trend of changing society through religious proselytizing rather than gaining political power by armed struggle has emerged: this trend is embodied in Hizb-ut-Tahrir movement.

Anita Sengupta reveals, in an article “Towards Constructive Strategic Partnership: Russia and China in Central Asia”, that it is interesting to note that in the immediate aftermath of the entry of the United States forces in the region after 9/11, strategic interaction between the major powers in the Central Asian region moved towards collaboration rather than the development of a new round of geo-political rivalry. All this indicated a remarkable degree of shared strategic interest to fight the forces of extremism and terrorism and to maintain stability and security in the region, although Russia, China and America wish to increase their influence to subserve their respective
interests. The region is important for the United States: as it possesses energy resources that can help reduce Western dependence on West Asia, to facilitate campaign to fight terrorism and extremism, and to prevent the dominance of potential rivals. China and Russia have apprehensions about the long stay of the United States forces in the region because of the strategic concerns. Moreover, both China and Russia want to maintain security and stability in Central Asia without any change in the balance of power in the region due to military presence of the United States. The author argues that both Russia and China are of the opinion that anti-terrorist campaign in Afghanistan serves their own security interests, but there should be a time limit for the United States military stay. Both China and Russia are eager to prop up their influence in the region and advocate a multi-polar strategy. The United States policy makers have expressed preference for stability and development in the region that could only be attained by continuous and enhanced pressure.

P. Stobdan in his article, “Changing Strategic Landscape in Central Asia: Implications for India’s Security”, analyses India’s security concerns in continuously changing Central Asian strategic context. The author explains that Russia under Putin has shed ambivalent attitude towards Central Asia and actively engaged itself in military and economic cooperation. While the United States and its allied forces have been provided cooperation after 9/11 in their fight against terrorism in Afghanistan by the Central Asian states, Russia and China have supported the United States led military action keeping in view their strategic interests. The United States actions have brought about some degree of stability in Central Asia. Russia’s concerns regarding Chechen rebels and separatist movement in Xinjiang have been mollified. The author puts a question mark on India’s security environment after the ‘war on terror’ led by the United States, that India has endorsed. It would be naïve to think that the United States will leave the region after having built a colossal politico-military network of assets and contacts. Although American withdrawal from Afghanistan and Central Asia will pose a risk of revival of the Taliban type regimes with enormous adverse consequences for India’s security, but on the other hand India will have to face the strategic consequences of American long term

presence in the region. NATO took command of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan on August 11, 2003. The NATO organisation revealed that it is a reflection of the alliance’s resolve to address the new security challenges of the 21st century, indicating its expanded security operations in Afghanistan and indefinite presence in the region. The author argues that the United States and NATO troops are stationed in close proximity to Jammu and Kashmir within one thousand kilometre from Siachen glacier and Nubra valley. Their presence will have a direct bearing on India’s security. What will be their response in case of India-Pakistan armed conflict? India will be faced with a difficult task of either collaborating with NATO or neutralizing its effect to preserve India’s own security calculus.

The author avers that rising influence of China through the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) in Central Asia (replicating China’s method of harming India by its policies adopted in Myanmar and Pakistan), along with spillover effect of terrorism and extremism in Central Asia will have strategic security concern for India.

Richard Giragosian⁶ in his article, “The Strategic Central Asian Arena”, has mentioned that the geography of Central Asia has imparted it a new strategic relevance after the dynamic shift in the post 9/11 international security scenario. The five Central Asian states cannot be considered geo-politically marginalized. Each of these five states Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have a role to play in the security and stability of the region in their own different ways. China, Russia and the United States have their own national interests, convergent or divergent, that make the region a place for complicated drive. According to the author, Chinese emphasis on the issue of security with the Central Asian states is because of its concern over instability in Xinjiang due to separatist Uighur movement advocating an independent Turkestan, having close links with the Muslims of Central Asian States. Further, the author explains that the economic aspects offered the Chinese government a political opportunity in Central Asia to advance the development of economic and commercial links

for the benefit of Chinese western border areas. As the Chinese growth is essential for its political stability and emergence as geo-political power, and energy security being a great imperative for its economic growth, China is getting actively engaged in energy diversification with supplies from Central Asia, making huge investments in infrastructure and gaining political influence there through the SCO.

The global ‘war on terror’ has reordered the Central Asian states regional and national security. The scale and scope of American deployment in Central Asia has raised its status as a true Central Asian power, undermining Chinese influence and security. But still, United States, Russia and China share a priority for stability in the face of the threat of Islamic extremism.

Russia under Putin has started reasserting its power in Central Asia and has shown determination to regain its traditional spheres of influence. Russia has utilized in a sophisticated and subtle manner Central Asian dependence on Russia for energy exports to its advantage that affirmed Russian commitment to regain great power status and to recover its geo-political relevance. In opposition to this, the core focus of Western policies has been directed to get unhindered access to energy. The geo-political priorities were thus tailored to this end. The eventual construction of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) oil pipeline, bypassing Russia and Iran, was meant to diminish the dominance of the existing Russian pipeline network, countering any economic logic. The pipeline project helped to boost the sovereignty and independence of Central Asian states, enabling them to face Russian power and influence. The United States policy had a long term goals of democratization and privatization, an unfettered environment to allow the development of the energy resources. These goals can effectively be achieved by upholding territorial integrity and security of the Central Asian states.

The author opines that the possibilities of an outright clash between the great powers is inhibited because of the convergence of their pressing security interests in Central Asia, that include emergence of transnational threats such as simmering Islamic extremism and a growing drug trade. He further explains that the immediate threat from the Islamists comes from the shortcomings of the Central Asian authoritarian regimes, which have failed to end political misrule and economic mismanagement. The Central Asian security and stability cannot be effectively achieved simply through policies relying on enhancing their security or military capabilities. The security and stability
mostly depends on addressing fundamental internal challenges of economic mismanagement, widespread corruption, misrule of strong men over statesmen and deficit of democracy.

Girijesh Pant\(^7\) in his article, “Global Oil Politics and the Caspian Basin”, avers that the control of oil is a major plank of America’s foreign policy and through it to establish its hegemony in the world. He further adds that Caspian basin is rich in energy resources, and that forces the United States to control this source of energy and to retain its hegemony. Other interests of the United States are: to restrain Russia’s lingering expansionist tendencies, containment of Iran’s Islamic fundamentalism and nurturing pro-Western democratic states with market oriented economies.

The author has introduced a provocative hypothesis that advocacy of democracy in the oil producing countries is not compatible with the US policy of maintaining its hegemony. According to the author, this contention is based on the fact that almost all oil exporting countries in the Persian Gulf region, Africa and Latin America promote political authoritarianism, undermining the democratization process unmindful of America’s influence on them. The author explains that the involvement of the USA in the Central Asian region is because of potential for conflict there and enormous energy resources. He further states that America supports the development of multiple pipeline routes bypassing Iran and Russia. The author cautions the countries of the region to be aware of America’s tactics of making them sole dependent on it, and should keep their options open to all other contenders of energy in the region.

Happymon Jacob\(^8\) in an article, “India’s Overseas Energy Policy: the Central Asian Factor”, focuses on the growing demand of energy in India. The author analyses the overseas options of bringing in energy to India from Central Asia in comparison to West Asia, Africa, Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), Sri Lanka, Russia, Myanmar and Bangladesh. He puts forward arguments to explain the


improbability of importing energy from Central Asia to India: geo-political situation in India’s neighbourhood is not favourable for a viable energy transfer, technical feasibility of energy transfer is still to be worked out at least in the case of Iran and Xinjiang routes. The author opines that at present India should tap available overseas energy engagements from other countries, rather than to remove bottlenecks of importing energy from Central Asia.

Sudha Mahalingam in an article, “India-Central Asia Energy Cooperation”, examines the scope and potential of India’s access to Central Asian energy resources. According to the author, India’s energy demand outpaced the growth, indicating that growth model is energy led. India is destined to import large quantities of crude to meet its growing requirement. The country imports bulk of its oil requirements from the Gulf region. India’s effort for diversification of supply sources is a grave necessity. However, lack of transport corridor between India and Central Asia, bad economics, difficult geography and politics hinders the consummation of India’s desire to bring the Central Asian energy home. But imaginative solutions could pave the way for some tangible success. The author opines that India should explore the possibility of accessing Central Asian oil through the Iranian route. The Kazakh oil may be transit through the pipeline via Turkmenistan to Iranian port of Bandar Abbas, from where it can be shipped to India’s western shores. The prospects for establishing a new pipeline route from Central Asia to India’s Himachal Pradesh, through the Chinese territory of Xinjiang, need to be discussed with China. India has a huge demand for electricity. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have great hydro-power potential. The electricity generated there can be transmitted to India by laying down wires. The author is of the view that the potential for cooperation outlined above needs to be explored.

SCOPE OF STUDY

The above discussed literature indicates that although some studies do exist on Central Asia as well as on India-Central Asian relations, but there is no comprehensive work

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explaining and analyzing India’s relations with Central Asian states in the context of emerging cooperation and security concerns, both within the context of regional and global politics, that the present study intends to undertake. It is based upon the following factors:

- Change in the concept of security: security is now comprehensive, inclusive of non-traditional as well as traditional aspects. Non-traditional security has wide connotation, prominent amongst them are terrorism, religious extremism, illegal drug trafficking, environmental security and human security.
- Globalisation makes boundaries irrelevant; therefore some of the non-traditional security threats transcend boundaries.
- Change in global politics after the end of the Cold War: end of ideological war, indulgence in cooperation and competition, and future balance of power considerations.
- Type of governance, nature of economy, corruption, available opportunities and social conditions determine the level of cooperation.

These factors are relevant to the study of India- Central Asia relations:

- India cannot remain immune to the spread of the forces of terrorism and Islamic extremism in Central Asia. Their rise will further strengthen similar forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan, added threat to the security and integrity of India.
- The prevailing conditions in Central Asia regarding stability, government policies, economic viability, market openness, corruption, system of governance and social conditions influence India’s level of cooperation.
- Big powers such as the United States, Russia and China have their own agendas to be carried out in Central Asia. The involvement of India in Central Asia is contingent on the policies pursued by other active players in the region. Indian policy in Central Asia is based on its national interests, conditioned by the geopolitics and geo-economics of the region.

The concept of security has undergone complete transformation in the post Cold War period. Thus the present study intends to examine what is the paradigm shift in the concept of security after the Cold War and its impact on India? What are India’s interests in Central Asia in the changed security scenario?

In the aftermath of their independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, the Central
Asian Republics proceeded on different paths of economic and political development, apart, underwent social transformation, that influenced their stability and security. The present study has examined, what are the constitutional, economic, administrative and political changes that occurred after the asunder of the Central Asian states from the Soviet Union? How the economic reforms were carried out in various Central Asian states, the scope of their sustainability, effect on economy and general masses? How the revival of Islam, poverty, corruption and regionalism affected the stability and security of the Central Asian states? What are the security threats, internal or external, faced by these republics? What will be the spillover effect of instability in Afghanistan and drug trafficking on Central Asia?

India is threatened by terrorism, so does Central Asia. The rise of terrorism and religious extremism in Central Asia will have spillover effect on India’s security, because of irrelevance of borders due to globalisation. India has to keep a tag on Central Asia and provide all possible help for the maintenance of peace and stability there. The present study seeks to examine, what has been the history of terrorism and Islamist extremism in Central Asia, their present position, effect of the United States invasion on Afghanistan culminating in the defeat of the Taliban, installation of democratic Karzai government and again the resurgence of the Taliban, its effect on the security and stability of Central Asia? How does India’s security interest converge with those of the Central Asia? What are the factors, internal or external, responsible for the rise of religious extremism in Central Asia? How far the internal factors – poverty, authoritarian rule without transparent people’s participation, oppressive policies, and radical Islamic organisations – pose danger to their stability? What is the scope and degree of perpetuation of Islamist extremism in Central Asia?

Central Asia has become an arena of Great Game politics, involving regional and external players, due to its strategic location and economic potential resulting from abundant raw materials. Major powers Russia, China and the United States vie with one another to increase their influence so as to get the maximum advantage economically, strategically and politically. India can close its eyes to whatever happens there without suitable appropriate action to its peril. The present study seeks to examine, why the Central Asian region has become an arena of major powers game? What are India’s stakes in Central Asia under the present geo-political and geo-economic situation and
how can these be pursued dynamically and safeguarded? How would India use economic, political and strategic options in its policy in the Central Asian region to achieve the objectives of stability, security and peace? This study endeavours to explain how far India can attain cooperation of the Central Asian states when interests of other powers clash or coincide?

India is an emerging power with growing economy. Sustenance of growth requires regular supply of energy. India is energy deficit country, dependent mostly on imports. Central Asia has enough resources of hydrocarbons and potential for hydro-power generation. India seeks towards Central Asia as a diversified energy supply source. The present study seeks to examine the feasibility of this proposition. It seeks to address how far India would be able to get its energy requirements from Central Asia’s energy resources keeping in view transit bottlenecks and economic viability? Further, the present study investigates how far is it possible for India to enhance trade and investment with the Central Asian states from the present level, which is insignificant? The above issues provide the base for our research on India- Central Asia relations.

METHODOLOGY

Central Asian Republics acquired prominence after their disintegration from the Soviet Union and came into limelight post 9/11 event. The primary focus in the present study will be on India’s security concerns and cooperation in various fields in the changed geopolitical situation with all the five Central Asian Republics in an integrated form and individually. Our analysis will cover economic potential, physiographic constraints on transportation, access to energy resources, rivalries between the great powers, Islamist extremism and terrorism that pose danger to stability and security of the Central Asian region and consequently threaten India’s security as well.

In the preparation of the present study, both primary and secondary sources have been used. Prominent primary sources include a number of reports prepared by the United Nations and its agencies, Government of India and other states, country specific studies on the Central Asian Republics by various state governments, official documents of national, international and regional organisations as well as various speeches, presentations and joint declarations made by the officials and other government dignitaries.
To gather information and data on the energy and economic aspects of the present study a number of primary sources have been relied upon, prominent amongst them are: Asian Development Bank, Ministry of Commerce and Industry Government of India, Energy Information Administration Department of Energy USA and various industries reports. Discussions with energy experts were also held to get enlightened regarding India’s energy requirements and deficiencies.

The secondary sources used herein comprise of books by eminent authors, Indian and foreign periodicals, journals and articles of prominent foreign policy experts from the newspapers.

Internet has been widely used to reinforce primary and secondary sources. To acquire reliable information, we relied extensively on the use of primary source material got from the official websites of various national and international organisations, state governments and the embassies of the Central Asian states. For secondary sources, authentic and prominent websites used are: www.atimes.com, www.eurasianet.org, www.rferl.org, www.crisisgroup.org, www.cacianalyst.org and www.silkroadstudies.org. Information was also obtained from the websites of Indian non-governmental organisations such as SAPRA and Astha Bharati. Even online editions of print media like the newspapers, periodicals and journals are also consulted. From all these websites we could gather information in the form of reports, articles, analytical papers and day-to-day developments on Central Asia.

The present study is analytical and descriptive in nature. While determining India-Central Asia relations, it takes into account mutual or self interests based upon prevalent geo-economic, geo-political and geo-strategic situation which is characterized by its volatile nature, as global situation undergoes a change in case an event of consequence takes place. Along with, the present study has taken a comparative approach as India’s relations with Central Asia are tailored and adjusted keeping into consideration the development of relations and interests of other major powers with them.

CHAPTERISATION

Chapter I: Introduction

It includes review of relevant literature, scope of studies and the methodology adopted for our thesis.
Chapter II: Security and Cooperation: Post Cold War Scenario

In this chapter a shift in security concept after the Cold War has been discussed. The broadened concept is a comprehensive one. It includes non-traditional security threats as well, covering environmental, economic, societal and transnational ones. While the traditional threats are confined to the safeguarding of a particular territory, some of the non-traditional trans-border threats are global in nature. Drug trafficking, terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, climate change can be handled better by global cooperation. Cooperation and competition will go side by side: competition for matching military might, dominance, technological superiority, economic strength and for the acquisition of energy assets; and cooperation for collectively dealing with global threats. India tailors its policies keeping in view its national interests in an era of changed security concept.

Chapter III: Central Asia: India’s Interests

This chapter deals with the challenges of economic, political and social transformation faced by the five Central Asian states immediately after independence in the context of economic meltdown, problem of state-building and Islamic revivalism. The limitations of functional economy, its impact on the general masses and undue profit grabbed by the vested interests are portrayed in the chapter. Drug trafficking, ill-effects of drug abuse on the masses, widespread corruption, weakening of governance caused by nexus between mafia and government officials, thereby creating overall security implications for the region, find a place in this chapter. Broadly speaking, the chapter provides the ground realities of prevalent social, economic and political situation in the Central Asian states and their implications. Central Asia being India’s extended neighbourhood is significant to India for economic, security and strategic reasons.

Chapter IV: Islamist Extremism in Central Asia: A Security Implication for India

In this chapter the origin and growth of religious extremism in Central Asia, its repercussions on India and the remedial measures required to be undertaken are examined. Hizb-ut-Tahrir and Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) are the two premier religious extremist organisations. There are two different viewpoints, one emphasizing on internal and other on external factors, responsible for the growth of religious extremism in Central Asia. An analysis for which has been provided in the
chapter along with the scope of its spread in future. The role of regional organisations, Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO) and Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) in combating this menace is quite prominent. The growth of Islamist extremism will have adverse effect on India’s security, necessitating cooperation with the Central Asian states to combat it.

Chapter V: Interplay of US, China, Russia in Central Asia: India’s Security and Strategic Interests

This chapter analyses the interests of the United States, China and Russia in Central Asia: where do they conflict or intercept, what policies they pursue for their achievements. It further examines India’s involvement in the region concerning security and strategic interests.

Chapter VI: India’s Energy Security and Cooperation with Central Asia

In this chapter the value of India’s energy security to sustain economic growth has been analysed. In India the bulk of oil is imported, mostly from the Middle East, as demand outstrips indigenous production. The Central Asian states particularly Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are rich in hydrocarbon resources but landlocked, directly inaccessible through land and sea route. It is discussed in the chapter as to how far the Central Asian states can contribute to India’s energy security by diversification of energy supplies due to geographical and topographical constraints.

Chapter VII: India–Central Asia Economic Cooperation in Trade and Investment

Economic profile of India and Central Asia, market oriented transformation, depth of consumer market, arduous long trading routes, granting line of credit or giving assistance to boost economic cooperation and current meager trade between India and Central Asia have been discussed in this chapter. The prospects of India’s cooperation in trade and investment with the Central Asian Republics as well as the challenges it faces, have been analysed. The chapter further suggests the potential sectors to set up joint ventures that might be profitable, notwithstanding the attendant constraints.

Conclusion

This chapter provides an analysis of the studies conducted under this thesis and suggests certain measures that might be useful to formulate India’s policy framework towards Central Asia to safeguard its vital interests.