

# South-South Cooperation and Central Asia: Efforts towards the Achievement of Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development



*Gulnaz Atabaeva\**

---

“SSC presents an innovative and vibrant network system connecting countries of the Global South on mutually agreed terms, to address their common challenges and explore opportunities by logic of sharing.”

---

## Introduction

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, many industrial enterprises in Central Asia lost their previously held markets rendering them unable to compete under new market conditions. After a painful transition period, growth picked up in the 2000s driven by increasing exports in commodities such as oil and natural gas (Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan), aluminium (Tajikistan), gold (Kyrgyzstan), cotton (Tajikistan and Uzbekistan) and other metals (Kazakhstan).

Geographically, all countries in Central Asia are landlocked (Kazakhstan is the largest landlocked country in the world and Uzbekistan is double landlocked, i.e. it borders only landlocked countries) with limited transportation connectivity inside and outside the region. The transformation of formerly intra-Soviet administrative borders covering the Central Asian region into newly independent Central Asian states with newly established border and custom controls and visa requirements, created an enormous challenge for intra-regional trade and for the movement of people and goods, especially in the densely populated Fergana Valley shared between Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

However, the countries of Central Asia – Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan – have made significant advances in transitioning to market economies and laying the foundation for sustainable growth and development. The region has continuously faced challenges ranging from climate change to extreme poverty and from ethnic tensions to human rights issues. To move forward towards reducing poverty and

---

\*Assistant Professor, Ala-Too International University, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. Views expressed are personal.

inequality, strengthening institutions of governance and combating exclusion are the region's most immediate concerns.

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are a call for action to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure that all people enjoy peace and prosperity. They are universal in nature, which means that all United Nations member states have committed to work towards attaining the SDGs at home and abroad. According to UNDP (2016), Central Asian countries have the potential to transform themselves into dynamic economies and role models for sustainable human development and present an immense scope for sustainable innovation. The SDGs present a unique opportunity for Central Asia to guide the governments in the formulation of a modern development vision, and concretise priorities for reform that can have a positive impact on the quality of governance and living standards; tackling economic and environmental challenges; and ultimately on the overall development of each country. This paper discusses the new development challenges facing Central Asia and how ongoing and potential partnerships can be formed to address them. It also sheds light on the historical and emerging partnerships between Central Asian countries and SSC partners – Turkey, China and India, and reflects upon the current state of energy connectivity between Central and South Asia.

## **New Development Challenges in Central Asia**

### **High Incidence of out-migration**

Considerable progress has been made in achieving the SDGs in the region; however disparities persist and new

challenges have arisen. One such concern emanates from the large number of migrant labourers that travel from the region to neighbouring countries. Russia is one of the major recipient of migrants, mainly from Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. By 2013, more than 2.7 million citizens of Uzbekistan, more than 1.2 million citizens of Tajikistan and almost 600,000 citizens of Kyrgyzstan were working in Russia (UNDP Regional Bureau for Europe and Commonwealth of Independent States, 2015).<sup>1</sup> Labour migration is caused by multiple factors including the rapid demographic surge in the Central Asian states, structural poverty leading to lack of alternatives, easy access to the Russian labour market and demand for cheap labour. According to the World Bank, a considerable population growth is projected for Central Asian countries, exacerbating the pressure on local labour markets. Thus labour migration in Central Asia is likely to continue, making migration and social protection for labour migrants some of the key policy priorities.

### **High dependence on remittances**

Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are among the most remittance-dependent countries, with remittances comprising 35 per cent and 31 per cent of their respective GDP in 2017 as per the World Bank (2018). The global financial crisis, coupled with a slowdown in the economy of the Russian Federation, and the sharp fall in the price of oil and other extractive resources, has put a significant burden on the economic prospects of Central Asian countries.

### **High levels of corruption**

An additional concern for the region is the continued high levels of corruption. This undermines economic development and

takes a heavy toll on the lives of citizens and the quality of public services. The issue of high out-of-pocket payments for health care, where citizens are forced to make informal payments to access medical assistance, indicated the degree of corruption.

### **High vulnerability to climate change**

The countries of Central Asia are further vulnerable to climate-related extreme weather conditions and natural disasters. Every year, rivers in the region flood, causing damage to houses, infrastructure, and economies and further affecting the lives of individuals. The region faces serious environmental threats in the form of natural disasters, as a consequence of climate change coupled with human activities. For example, the Aral Sea, located between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, has shrunk drastically since the 1950s owing to an increase in cotton production which demanded intensive water consumption. Furthermore, land degradation and desertification threaten the livelihoods of people and animals in the region. As climate change and disasters are cross-boundary in nature, addressing them requires immediate joint efforts among countries (Schnitzer-Skjønsberg *et al.*, 2017).

Central Asian countries have struggled to maintain the progress in the face of volatile economic growth and lack of economic diversification; however multi-dimensional poverty continues to persist. In the region, Tajikistan and the Kyrgyz Republic face highly persistent poverty and pockets of poverty remain in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. People who have been lifted out of poverty are vulnerable to falling back into the poverty trap, particularly in the event of

unexpected shocks such as loss of jobs, health concerns, or in the face of natural disaster.

### **Achieving SDGs through South-South Cooperation in Central Asia**

South-South Cooperation (SSC) presents an innovative and vibrant network system connecting countries of the Global South on mutually agreed terms, to address their common challenges and explore opportunities by logic of sharing and collective actions including partnerships involving governments, civil society, academia and the private sector for mutual benefit in the development ecosystem (Chaturvedi, 2016). This network system that values horizontal partnerships based on non-negotiable principles of respect for national sovereignty, national ownership and independence, equality, non-conditionality, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual benefit, and demand-driven cooperation is a powerful instrument crucial for achievement of the SDGs. SSC enhances knowledge and experience sharing, facilitates mutual learning processes and increases momentum in the action necessary for the collective goals of Agenda 2030.

Experience has shown that SSC in Central Asia has a strong focus on the knowledge and experience sharing. In fact, knowledge sharing is at the center of most SSC activities in the region, often taking the form of technical cooperation. These efforts are characterised by high levels of national ownership, with many initiatives arising from real-time demand expressed by countries and opportunities for matching supply and demand. According to UNDP analysis, the majority of SSC and triangular cooperation initiatives in the region have focused on country-to-

country exchanges on specific sectoral and thematic issues (Schnitzer-Skjønsberg *et al.*, 2017). The Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) has supported Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan in drafting dam safety legislation and the provision of joint training workshops (UNOSSC & Office of UNRC, 2015). Other countries have implemented innovative systems that can support peer-to-peer learning in the region and beyond; for example, the environmental-economic accounting system of Kyrgyzstan and the Central Asia Energy-Water Development Programme (CAEWDP). It focuses on strengthening energy and water security through national projects and regional activities. In June 2016, CAEWDP funded a presentation of the results of the Central Asia Knowledge Network and its Communities of Practice for Water-Energy and Climate Change Management.

Given a strong agricultural base in Central Asia, a common focus has been towards mutual learning with regard to increasing productivity in the agricultural sector and boosting investments in agricultural value chains. The Afghanistan-Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan Tripartite<sup>2</sup> Consortium brings together leaders from the public and private sectors and civil society to support investment in agro-food industries and foster increased involvement of rural producers in the regional agro-food value chains in the Consortium countries. Similarly, Tajikistan has taken efforts towards sharing its experience in horticultural practices with Kyrgyzstan to bolster its competitiveness in international markets, and Turkey has shared its own experience with Tajikistan on post-World Trade Organisation (WTO) accession programming.

At the same time, the Russian Federation has been providing systematic support to Armenia and Kyrgyzstan in various areas related to sanitary, phytosanitary and veterinary standards as part of the broader roadmap of the accession of these countries to the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). The Russian Federation has also been providing advisory support to Armenia, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in the field of feeding and nutrition more generally as part of its growing partnership with the World Food Programme.

An illustrative example of how Southern countries have come together to tackle common challenges via a more institutionalised approach is the Almaty Process – a regional dialogue between Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkey and Turkmenistan – to work on issues related to migration and refugee protection. Within the framework of the Almaty Process, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has organised meetings for technical experts to develop “regional guidelines on how to identify and refer refugees and asylum-seekers at the borders of Central Asia” with the participation of officials from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan (UNHCR 2016). An expert from the State Border Committee of the Republic of Belarus supported the drafting process.

Further, the ‘Regional Hub of Civil Service’ in Astana, a joint initiative of the Government of Kazakhstan and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), is a knowledge-sharing platform connecting over 30 countries around the world. Established in 2013, the platform promotes capacity development and

disseminates innovative approaches for civil services in the Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States (ECIS) region. The Hub offers peer-to-peer learning, research and state-of-the-art virtual services (e.g. e-learning, roster of experts) on topics ranging from anti-corruption and civil service reform to diplomacy and public service delivery.

Country-to-country exchanges, driven by SSC, have made a noticeable contribution to the sustainable human development in the region. It has led to increased institutional and technical capacities at various levels of government, civil society and in the private sector. Experiences of Central Asian countries in the following areas, is being shared for strengthening southern partnerships and meeting the SDGs (Schnitzer-Skjønsberg *et al.*, 2017):

- **Public Administration and e-Governance:** e-Recruitment experiences from Kazakhstan; role of citizens in decision-making and monitoring of municipal services through online platforms in Tajikistan;
- **Economic Development:** regional efforts towards mitigating climate change risks for agriculture; Kazakhstan experiences in sustainable city transport; Kyrgyzstan in green indicators;
- **Social Domain:** Tajikistan and regional expertise in migration protection, mine action and risk education;
- **At the regional inter-governmental level,** Central Asian countries engage in SSC and triangular cooperation to forming partnerships as identified under SDG17 and collectively address regional challenges towards sustainable development.

## **Going Beyond the Region: Emerging Partnerships with Turkey, China and India**

### *Turkey*

Although Turkey does not share any border with Central Asian countries, it seeks close economic, political and cultural links with them based on shared historical and language roots. Turkey started to provide systematic development cooperation to the region in the mid-1980s. Since then, it has been rapidly expanding its development cooperation activities through the creation of the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA; formerly the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency) established in 1992. Programmes and projects implemented by TIKA can be grouped into two categories – technical assistance and cooperation – under which it provides social, financial and technical assistance, including training programmes, expertise and equipment supply. The cooperation projects undertaken by TIKA are primarily bilateral in nature, aimed towards enhancing cultural cooperation between developing countries.

The more recently founded organisation called the Turkic Council, established in 2009, aims to promote comprehensive cooperation among Turkic-speaking states with Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkey as its founding members (Schnitzer-Skjønsberg *et al.*, 2017). The Council attaches great importance to SSC and is active to deepen cooperation in customs, transport, alternative energy, tourism, education, culture, science, foreign policy, media, ICT, youth, sports, and diaspora. The Turkic Council focuses on capacity-building, technical assistance as well as the



sharing of experience and the exchange of good practices, in its projects. The Turkic Council is also supporting the Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process, established in 2011, to provide a platform to discuss regional issues, particularly encouraging security, political and economic cooperation by placing Afghanistan at its center. The Council takes forward a result-oriented process for cooperation to ensure a safe and prosperous region.

### *China*

While Russia continues to dominate the region, the role and presence of China in Central Asia has rapidly expanded over the last decade. This expansion is mainly through investments in energy and infrastructure. Today, as China revives the ancient trade routes through its ambitious projects, it is increasing connectivity between Central Asia, South Asia and Europe. In the Central Asian region, three major belts/roads have been proposed: North, Central and South. The North Belt will go through Kazakhstan and Russia to Europe; the Central Belt through Central Asia, Western Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean; and the South Road will stretch from China to Southeast Asia, South Asia and covering the Indian Ocean.

Moreover, all Central Asian countries, except for Turkmenistan, are members of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), which is funding China's projects along with the Asian Development Bank and other financial sources.

China is also shaping the region through its foreign policy initiatives and has become a prominent development actor (Szcudlik-Tatar, 2013), given its increasing investments in oil and gas pipelines, roads and railways, and accompanying

infrastructure (Zimmerman, 2015). These projects include:

**Oil:** China constructed the Kazakhstan-China oil pipeline, which came on stream in 2006, increasing China's oil imports from Kazakhstan almost tenfold between 2005 and 2008.

**Gas:** China has completed the construction of a major gas pipeline from Turkmenistan. A second pipeline, Line D through Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, is scheduled for construction, increasing China's gas imports from Turkmenistan even further. The pipeline broke the previous dominance of Russia's Gazprom but at the cost of making Turkmenistan nearly totally dependent on China. Turkmenistan's exports to China constituted 1 per cent of its total exports in 2009, increasing to almost 80 per cent by 2015, most of which is natural gas; and Turkmenistan's second largest trading partner, Turkey, constitutes only 5 per cent of its total exports.

**Railways and other infrastructure:** Kazakhstan is looking to cooperate with China on building a railway from Khorgos on the China-Kazakhstan border to the Aktau port on the Caspian Sea, including supplementary industrial and infrastructure projects in Khorgos as the hub. Another project, the China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan rail route, is also under discussion (Batsaikhan & Dabrowski, 2017).

Critically, the current China-Central Asia relationship can be equated with that of the former Soviet economic system, where the southern republics mainly supplied energy resources and raw materials to the more industrialised regions of the then Soviet Union. Today, China, like the former Soviet Union, is

primarily interested in importing raw materials, energy, and mining resources from the region and exporting its finished products to Central Asia. Moreover, China's lending policy, claim critics, does not match with the principles of SSC.

### *India*

In the early 1990s, India was one of the first to establish diplomatic relations with most of the countries that had emerged from the Russian Federation to form the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Since then, Central Asian states have benefitted from the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) Programme, fully funded by the Government of India. Under ITEC and its sister programme Special Commonwealth African Assistance Programme (SCAAP), 161 countries in Asia, Africa, East Europe, Latin America, the Caribbean as well as Pacific and Small Island countries are invited to learn from the Indian developmental experience, enhance knowledge cooperation towards managing disasters, along with thematic courses focused towards developmental training. Such a programme puts forth India's competence as a provider of technical know-how, traditional knowledge and expertise as well as to provide training and learning opportunities, consultancy services and feasibility studies. By 2014, ITEC was offering approximately 10,000 training slots to 167 partner countries including all Central Asian countries with the exception of Uzbekistan; the slots were spread over nearly 270 courses in 47 different institutions regarded as centers of excellence in their areas of work (Chaturvedi, 2016). Moreover, demand based trainings are also provided by India such as counter-terrorism training

provided to Turkmenistan and training in space technology to Tajikistan in 2017 (MEA, 2018).

In the age of globalisation, economic ties hold the key to any bilateral, trilateral and multilateral cooperation. Both India and Central Asia share common perceptions about the need to have friendship and mutually advantageous economic relations in the backdrop of globalisation. Through its 'Connect Central Asia' policy, New Delhi aims to actively take part in Central Asia's regional cooperation and security arrangements (Kothari, 2014). As part of its 'Connect Central Asia' policy, India plans to set up an Indian-Central Asia University in Kyrgyzstan and is looking towards deploying its soft power to consolidate goodwill in all Central Asian countries through IT, culture, networking with young politicians and academia (Roy, 2012).

The driving force behind India's objective of enhanced engagement with Central Asia is economics. India has the ability to help build Central Asia in areas such as information technology, science and technology, knowledge industries and assisting the region to capitalise on its own soft power. Conversely, India's increasing need for energy can only be addressed by the energy rich Central Asian countries. New Delhi has often stated that its priority is to ensure that Afghanistan emerges as an economic and commercial bridge between South and Central Asia, and thus it is critical to ensure peace and prosperity to prevent it from becoming a hub of terrorism and extremism (Chaturvedi, 2016).

With respect to enhancing connectivity, agreements signed on three transport

infrastructure projects are a step towards bring forward the vision:

**Chabahar Port development agreement:** to connect India and Afghanistan via the Islamic Republic of Iran and serve as a starting point for the overarching International North-South Trade Corridor (INTSC) that further aims to connect India, Iran, Russia, and various Central Asian states;

**Lapis Lazuli Route:** to connect Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey; and the Five Nations Railway Corridor, linking China and the Islamic Republic of Iran via Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and the Kyrgyz Republic (Rocha, 2017)

**Commissioning of the International North South Transport Corridor (INSTC):** to enable Indian goods to gain better access to the untapped markets in the Eurasian region including Russia's Far East, enabling deeper market interaction in Central and South Asia.

At the collective regional level, in June 2018, India attended the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) summit for the first time as full member state. Annual SCO summits will provide a forum to India and Central Asia to interact and discuss issues of bilateral and regional interest. India-Central Asian cooperation is bound by the non-negotiable principles of SSC, with an aim to reach mutually beneficial outcomes towards national and regional development while achieving the goals of Agenda 2030.

## **Energy Connectivity between Central and South Asia**

Central Asia is among the energy richest regions of the world. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have large hydropower

potential, while Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are blessed with abundant fossil fuels. In contrast to Central Asia, South Asia faces energy shortage due to its growing population and demand for economic expansion. The political changes in Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban led to greater consumption as the foundations of an economy emerged, while the biggest South Asian economies, India and Pakistan, require affordable and reliable energy to maintain their recent economic growth trajectories. South Asian countries specifically are interested in natural gas and electricity, goods that can be provided by neighboring Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. In line with these expectations and the overall need to ensure affordable and clean sources of energy under SDG7, officials from both exporting and importing countries with the exception of Uzbekistan have met frequently and reached some agreements in the past years.

### **CASA-1000**

In 2015, the Kyrgyz Republic, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan signed the historic Central Asia-South Asia Electricity Transmission and Trade Project (CASA)-1000. With an estimated cost of US\$953 million, the CASA-1000 project aims to transmit 1,300 megawatts of electricity from the Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan, via Afghanistan, into Pakistan, of which Afghanistan will utilise 300 megawatts for domestic use. The remaining 1,000 megawatts of electricity will eventually reach Pakistan to remedy the severe shortage of power the country faces during summers. The Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan have substantial amounts of surplus power in the summer that remains idle if not used. The CASA-1000 will bring



the surplus power to Pakistan, reducing energy wastage, generating transit fees for Afghanistan and enhancing its growth prospects, in addition to addressing domestic electricity shortage in South Asia. The project provides access to clean energy and creates jobs, and will also bring approximately US\$45 million in annual transit fees to Afghanistan, essential to bring political and economic security to the country. (Bakhtar News 2014; World Bank, 2014).

### **TAPI**

Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) Pipeline, agreed in 2015, will connect the partner countries with a natural gas pipeline. The TAPI Project aims to export up to 33 billion cubic meters (bcm) of natural gas per year through a proposed approximately 1,800 kilometer (km) pipeline from Turkmenistan to Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. India seems to be finally looking at the proposed \$15-billion TAPI (Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India) Pipeline, also called Trans-Afghanistan Pipeline with more interest now than ever before. Additionally, the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is investing heavily in the project from the Saudi Development Fund (Basu & Mishra, 2018). TAPI has the potential to become a source of affordable and reliable energy, ensuring energy security regionally.

### **TUTAP**

The Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan-Tajikistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan (TUTAP) project aims to transmit 2,600 megawatts of power from Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan to Afghanistan and Pakistan. Although TUTAP is in its initial stages of negotiation, it is expected to unlock

Afghanistan's potential as the transit hub in the region, bringing in jobs and contributing to growth.

Full completion and operationalisation of large-scale infrastructure projects such as CASA-1000, TAPI and TUTAP would ensure energy security through sharing of surplus electricity, natural gas is essential for Central and South Asian region to fully benefit from sustainable energy trade and ensure energy security. Such initiatives are a step towards developing inter-regional cooperation between Central Asia and South Asia.

## **The Way Forward**

The Central Asian countries face particular challenges given their landlocked geographical position, limiting trade and access to global markets. Improving infrastructure connectivity is a specific development priority for Central Asian countries to improve their linkage to regional and global markets. Agriculture being an economic pillar in the region, it provides employment to large parts of the population and is critical to tackle the issue of labour migration. Export of agricultural produce is further dependent on well-functioning road and rail infrastructure. Thus investment in transport and agriculture combined can therefore lead to increased productivity, create jobs and ensure food security.

The role of SSC in achieving SDGs in Central Asian countries is ongoing and evident in partnerships and projects. Experiences show that through the exchange of relevant knowledge and best practices among the partner countries, the SSC has contributed to strengthening of institutions and human capacities and promoted the formulation and

implementation of development policies in the region aligned with SDGs.

Still there are no policy frameworks, coordination, structures and mechanisms for SSC in the countries of Central Asia to provide support to stakeholders that aim to deepen cooperation with other southern economies. This challenge affects efficiency and the overall sustainability of activities being undertaken. Data and evidence-based mutual learning can help shape policies and maximise development impacts. In this sense, the Network of Southern Think Tanks (NeST) creating a global platform for Southern Think-Tanks to collaboratively generate, systematise, consolidate and share knowledge on SSC, can play a crucial role in ensuring that policies and frameworks are appropriate and responsive to local needs. Local efforts to strengthen such platforms that allow countries to tap into the pool of resources globally and connect with development partners is instrumental towards achieving the inextricably linked SDGs.

Recent political and economic transformations in the region, particularly in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, are laying the foundation for increased security, cooperation, trade, sustainable growth and development in the region and the world.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Also See: Federal Migration Service of the Russian Federation. Retrieved from: [http://www.fms.gov.ru/fms/activity/stats/Statistics/Svedeniya\\_v\\_otnoshenii\\_inostrannih\\_grazhdan](http://www.fms.gov.ru/fms/activity/stats/Statistics/Svedeniya_v_otnoshenii_inostrannih_grazhdan)
- <sup>2</sup> Supported by the UNDP Istanbul International Centre for Private Sector in Development (IICPSD) and TIKA.

## References

- Bakhtar News. (2014). CASA-1000 Project Promises Major Revenues For Government. *Bakhtar News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bakhtarnews.com.af/eng/business/item/14495-casa-1000-project-promises-major-revenues-for-government.html>.
- Basu, N. & Mishra, R. (2018, January 23). *India begins to get active on TAPI gas pipeline*. The Hindu BusinessLine. Retrieved from <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/economy/policy/india-begins-to-get-active-on-tapi-gas-pipeline/article10048557.ece>
- Batsaikhan, U. & Dabrowski, M. (2017). Central Asia at 25. *Policy Contribution*, 13, May, Bruegel Policy Contribution Series. Retrieved from: <http://bruegel.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/PC-13-2017.pdf>
- Chaturvedi, S. (2016). *The Logic of Sharing: Indian Approach to South-South Cooperation*. New Delhi, India: Cambridge University Press
- Kothari, R.K. (2014). India's 'Connect Central Asia Policy': Emerging Economic and Security Dimensions. *Sociology and Anthropology*, 2, pp. 239 - 245. DOI: 10.13189/sa.2014.020605. Retrieved from: [http://www.hrpub.org/journals/article\\_info.php?aid=1847](http://www.hrpub.org/journals/article_info.php?aid=1847)
- Ministry of External Affairs (MEA). (2018). *Annual Report 2017-2018*. Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi. Retrieved from: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/29788\\_MEA-AR-2017-18-03-02-2018.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/29788_MEA-AR-2017-18-03-02-2018.pdf)
- Rocha, N. (2017). *Trade as a Vehicle for Growth in Afghanistan: Challenges and Opportunities*. World Bank. Retrieved from: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/28880>
- Roy, M.S. (2012). SM Krishna's Visit to Tajikistan and India's 'Connect Central Asia' Policy. *Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA)*, IDSA Comment, July 05. Retrieved from: [https://idsa.in/idsacomments/SMKrishnasVisittoTajikistan\\_MeenaSRoy\\_050712](https://idsa.in/idsacomments/SMKrishnasVisittoTajikistan_MeenaSRoy_050712)

- Schnitzer-Skjønsberg, A (et.al). (2017). *South-South and Triangular Cooperation: Towards Sustainable Human Development in Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States – The Power of Knowledge-sharing*. Regional Report. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) & United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation (UNOSSC). Retrieved from: <https://www.undp.org/content/dam/rbec/docs/undp-rbec-SSC-towards-sustainable-human-development-europe-CIS-report.pdf>
- Szczudlik-Tatar, J. (2013). China's New Silk Road Diplomacy. *Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)*, Policy Paper 34, December. Retrieved from: [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/174833/PISM%20Policy%20Paper%20no%2034%20\(82\).pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/174833/PISM%20Policy%20Paper%20no%2034%20(82).pdf)
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States. (2015). Labour Migration, Remittances, and Human Development in Central Asia. *Central Asia Human Development Series*. United Nations Development Programme & Eurasian Development Bank. Retrieved from: <https://www.undp.org/content/dam/rbec/docs/CAM&RHDpaperFINAL.pdf>
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2016). Central Asia, at a crossroads, has potential for sustainable development breakthrough. *UNDP Press Release*, September 14. Retrieved from: <http://www.eurasia.undp.org/content/rbec/en/home/presscenter/pressreleases/2016/09/14/central-asia-at-a-crossroads-has-potential-for-sustainable-development-breakthrough.html>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2016). *Regional Guidelines on how to identify and refer refugees and asylum seekers at the borders of Central Asia*. The Almaty Process on refugee protection and international migration. UNHCR Regional Representation for Central Asia. Retrieved from: [https://unhcr.kz/uploads/AlmatyProcess/Regional%20guidelines%20on%20how%20to%20identify%20and%20refer%20refugees%20and%20asylum-seekers%20at%20the%20borders%20of%20Central%20Asia\\_eng.pdf](https://unhcr.kz/uploads/AlmatyProcess/Regional%20guidelines%20on%20how%20to%20identify%20and%20refer%20refugees%20and%20asylum-seekers%20at%20the%20borders%20of%20Central%20Asia_eng.pdf)
- United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation (UNOSSC) & Office of the United Nations Resident Coordinator (Office of UNRC). (2015). *Trends and opportunities in advancing South-South and triangular cooperation in Tajikistan*. Dushanbe. In Schnitzer-Skjønsberg, A (et.al). (2017). *South-South and Triangular Cooperation: Towards Sustainable Human Development in Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States – The Power of Knowledge-sharing*. Regional Report. UNDP & UNOSSC. Retrieved from: <https://www.undp.org/content/dam/rbec/docs/undp-rbec-SSC-towards-sustainable-human-development-europe-CIS-report.pdf>
- World Bank. (2014). *Project Appraisal Document for Central Asia South Asia Electricity Transmission and Trade Project (Casa-1000)*. Report No: 83250-SAS, March 7, World Bank. Retrieved from: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/283351468170975849/pdf/832500PAD0P145010Box382156B00OOU090.pdf>
- World Bank. (2018). *Migration and Remittances: Recent Developments and Outlook – Transit Migration*. Migration and Development Brief 29. April. Retrieved from: <https://www.knomad.org/sites/default/files/2018-04/Migration%20and%20Development%20Brief%2029.pdf>
- Zimmerman, T. (2015). The New Silk Roads: China, the U.S., and the Future of Central Asia. *Center on International Cooperation*, New York University, October. Retrieved from: [https://cic.nyu.edu/sites/default/files/zimmerman\\_new\\_silk\\_road\\_final\\_2.pdf](https://cic.nyu.edu/sites/default/files/zimmerman_new_silk_road_final_2.pdf)