

**Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies
School of International Studies, JNU**

Course	:	Ph.D
Course Title	:	Foreign Policy of Central Asian States
Course Type	:	SE 604 Optional Course
Course Teacher	:	Prof. S.K. Pandey and Prof. Phool Badan
Credits	:	Four
Semester	:	Monsoon Semester
Contact Hour	:	Two per week

Course Objectives

The Soviet disintegration in 1991 led to the emergence of not just five independent countries – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan - but a new geopolitical region of Central Asia in the global arena. The hydrocarbon resources of these countries, the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and the subsequent instability in Afghanistan together with the rise of China, have led to geopolitical and geo-economic contestation among great powers in what was once called Mackinder’s Eurasian ‘Heartland’. The five independent countries are, however, not passive objects but active players in this ‘New Great Game’ and are trying to maximize their national interests. The connectivity projects and regional integration initiatives have created greater scope for these states. The present course analyses these dynamics and the determinants, objectives, and trajectory of the foreign policy of the five states.

Learning Outcomes

- To highlight the geopolitical and geoeconomic (energy resources) importance of Central Asia.
- To acquaint the researcher with the strategic importance of the region for India's military and energy security.
- To create an Indian perspective and approach toward great power competition in Central Asia.

Evaluation Methods

Class performance, Assignments, Seminars, Mid-session examination (50%) End Semester Exam (50%)

Course Content

1. The Concept of Foreign Policy
2. Major Determinants of Foreign Policy of Central Asian Republics
3. Evolution and Growth of Foreign Policy of Central Asian States: A Historical Review
4. Foreign Policy of Central Asian States towards Select Countries: United States, European Union, Russia, China, Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, and Pakistan.
5. Central Asian States and India: Historical and Cultural Relations, Major Developments since 1991, Trade, Connectivity and People to People Ties.
6. Inter-State Relations and Regional Cooperation Among Central Asian Republics
7. Globalization and Foreign Policy of Central Asian Countries.

Essential Reading:

Abazov, Rafis (2020), *Analysing Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy: Regime neo-Eurasianism in the Nazarbaev era*, London: Routledge.

Anaceschi, Luca (2018), *Turkmenistan's Foreign Policy: Positive Neutrality and the Consolidation of the Turkmen Regime*, London: Routledge.

Cholpan, Kainazarova (2018), New trends in Kyrgyz foreign Policy, MPRA Paper 86491 University Library of Munich, Germany.

Concept of Foreign Policy of the Republic of Tajikistan (27 January, 2015), Retrieved 13 March, 2018, from <https://tajemb.kiev.ua/kontseptsiya-vneshnei-politiki-respubliki-tadzhikistan/>.

Concept of Foreign Policy of the Kyrgyz Republic (10 January, 2007), Retrieved 13 March, 2018, from <http://mfa.osh.kg/pravouaybase/1065-kontseptsiya-vneshnei-politiki.html#.WtH551huaUL>.

Concept of Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2020-2030, Approved by the Decree of the Republic of Kazakhstan on 6 March, 2020, No. 280.

Fazendeiro, Bernardo Teles (2020), *Uzbekistan Foreign Policy: The Struggle for Recognition and Self-Reliance under Karimov*, London: Routledge.

Joshi, Nirmala (2017), "India's Engagement with the Central Asian Republics: An Appraisal", *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, 12(2), April-June 2017: 133-146.

Karaganov, Sergey (2018) "The New Cold War and the Emerging Greater Eurasia", *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 9 (2), July: 85-93.

Kazantsev, Andrei (Et al.) (2021), "Between Russia and China: Central Asia in Greater Eurasia", *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 12 (1), March- 2021, available at: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1879366521998242>.

Kelkitli, Fatima Asli (2022), Uzbekistan's foreign Policy under the Leadership of Mirziyoyev: Struggle to Sustain Autonomy, Marmara University *Journal of Turkology*, 9 (1): 25-43.

Kothari, Raj Kumar, "India's Strategic Interests in Central Asia", *World Affairs*, 24(1), Spring, January-March 2020, pp. 100-117.

Laruelle, Marlene (2018) (ed.) *China's Belt and Road Initiative and Its Impact in Central Asia*, Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University, Central Asia Program, 2018.

Menon, Rhea & Sharanya Rajiv (2019), "Realizing India's Strategic Interests in Central Asia", available at: <https://carnegieindia.org/2019/12/01/realizing-india-s-strategic-interests-in-central-asia-pub-80576>.

Namatbekova, Nurzat (2021), “Foreign Policy of Kyrgyzstan between Russia and the United States”, *Linguistic and Culture Review*, Vol.5, series. 4Pp.870-880

Patnaik, Ajay (2016), *Central Asia: Geopolitics, Security and Stability*, England: Routledge.

Patnaik, Ajay (2019), “Regionalism and Regional Cooperation in Central Asia”, *International Studies*, 56(2-3).

Toktogulov, Beishenbek ((2022), Uzbekistan’s Foreign Policy under Mirziyoyev: Continuity or Change? *Eurasian Research Journal*, 4 (1): 49-67.

Toktomushev, Kemel (2018), *Kyrgyzstan-Regime Security and Foreign Policy*, Routedledge.

Tolipov, Farkhod, *The Foreign Policy Orientations of Central Asian States: Positive and negative Diversification*, available at http://src-hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publish/no16_1_ses/02_tolipov.pdf

Vanderhill, Rachel (Et al.) (2020), “Between the Bear and the Dragon: Multivectorism in Kazakhstan as a model strategy for secondary powers”, *International Affairs*, 96(4), July 2020: 975–993.

Vielmini, Fabrizio (2019), Foreign Policy Challenges for a post- Nazarbaev Kazakhstan: Some Preliminary Observations, *Eurasiatica: The Journal of International Affairs*, 13: 158-172.

Zakirov, I. and Nevskaya, Y. (10 Sep. 2017), “Uzbekistan’s New Foreign Policy Doctrine”, *The Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst*, Retrieved 29 March, 2018, from <https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/13470-uzbekistans-new-foreign-policy-doctrine.html>

Further Readings

“10th Anniversary of Turkish Republics”, *Eurasian Studies*, 20, 2001 (Summer):3-201 (Series of Articles).

Abazov, Rafis (2000), *Foreign Policy Formation in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan: Perceptions and Expert Assessment*, University of Melbourne.

Abazov, Afis (Report 1998), *Practice of Foreign Policy Making: Formation of Post-Soviet Politics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan*, available at <http://www.nato.int/acad/fellow/96-98/abasov.pdf>

Akbar, Z. (2012), “Central Asia: The New Great Game” in *The Washington Review of Turkish & Eurasian Affairs*, October-2012, available at: <http://www.thewashingtonreview.org/articles/central-asia-the-new-great-game.html>

Akbarzadeh, Shahram (2005), *Uzbekistan and the United States: authoritarianism, Islamism and Washington's security agenda*, London: Zed Books.

Alimov, Rashid (2018) “The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Its role and place in the development of Eurasia” *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 9 (2), July: 114-124.

Anderson, John (1997). *The International Politics of Central Asia* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press).

Batsaikhana, Uuriintuya & Marek Dabrowski (2017), “Central Asia — twenty-five years after the breakup of the USSR”, *Russian Journal of Economics*, 3(3), September 2017, pp. 296-320, available at: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2405473917300429>.

Bhatia, Rajiv K. (et al.) (Eds.), *India and Central Asia: Exploring New Horizons for Cooperation*, Delhi : Shipra Publications, 2014.

Blank, Stephen, “Whither the New Great Game in Central Asia?”, *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 3(2), July 2012: 147–160.

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Dave, Bhavna (2016), “Resetting India’s Engagement in Central Asia: From Symbols to Substance”, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, January 2016, https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/PR160202_Resetting-Indias-Engagment.pdf.

Furukawa, Eiji (2018), “Belt and Road Debt Trap Spreads to Central Asia”, *Nikkei Asian Review*, 29 August, available at: <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Belt-and-Road/Belt-and-Road-debt-trap-spreads-to-Central-Asia>.

Gleason, Gregory, “Foreign Policy and domestic reform in Central Asia:”, *Central Asian Survey*, 20(2), 2001 (JUNE): 16782.

Laruelle, Marlene (et al.) (2010), *China and India in Central Asia: a new "great game"?* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lee, Ji-Eun (2010), Foreign Policy Formation of Authoritarian States in Central Asia Since 1991: Non- Institutional Domestic Factors in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, 8 (1): 33-71.

Megoran, Nick & Sevara Sharapova (Eds.) *Central Asia in International Relations: The Legacies of Halford Mackinder*, London: Hurst, 2013.

Pantucci, Raffaello (2019), “China’s Complicated Relationship with Central Asia”, 8 November 2019, Available at: <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2019/11/chinas-complicated-relationship-central-asia/>.

Pradhan, Ramakrushna, “China’s Rise in Central Asia”, *World Affairs*, 21(3), Autumn, July-September, 2017, pp. 50-61.

Rakhimov, Mirzokhid, “Internal and external dynamics of regional cooperation in Central Asia”, *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 1(2), July 2010, pp. 95-101, available at: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1879366510000187>.

Rakhimov, Mirzokhid (2015), “Central Asia in the Context of Western and Russian Interests”, available at: <https://www.cairn.info/revue-l-europe-en-formation-2015-1-page-140.htm?contenu=article>.

Sari, Yasar (2012), Foreign Policy of Kyrgyzstan under Askar Akayev and Kurmanbek Bakiyev, *PERCEPTIONS*, XVII (3), Pp. 131-150.

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Weitz, Richard, Uzbekistan’s New Foreign Policy: Change or Continuity under New Leadership, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program, available at, <http://silkroadstudies.org/resources/pdf/SilkRoadpapers/180/Weitz.pdf>

Journals and Periodicals

ASIAN AFFAIRS

ASIAN SURVEY

CENTRAL ASIAN SURVEY

CONTEMPORARY CENTRAL ASIA

CURRENT HISTORY

EURASIAN STUDIES

EUROPE ASIA STUDIES

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC STUDIES

MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

STRATEGIC ANALYSIS

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