

**India's Economic Relations with Kazakhstan
under the Look North Policy**

(Synopsis)

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Synopsis

Introduction

When the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, five new countries with a similar history but dramatically different identities appeared on the map of the globe, in the form of Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan. These nations collectively make up Central Asia, which is often regarded as the heartland of the Asian continent. These nations are unique and have become more and more significant in recent times mainly due to the rise in global demands for energy. Moreover, since the early 1990s, these are viewed as a Russian turf geopolitically. The United States is interacting with them, China is interested in them, and all five of their presidents have been invited to India as major guests for Republic Day. The history of Central Asia is extensive, and the region is diverse in terms of both the natural environment and the people that live there. The largest nation in Central Asia is Kazakhstan, whose capital city is Astana Nur-Sultan.

This group of countries is likewise quite young, averaging 30 years in age, but they have already achieved a high level of stability and development. There is a plethora of oil, gas, and uranium present, all of which are of great strategic importance. Because of their secular cultures, these countries have avoided becoming extremist hotbeds. From this vantage point, regional and global countries are vying for diplomatic, economic, and military control over the Central Asian Republics due to their increasing importance on the contemporary geopolitical chessboard. A power struggle developed in New Great Game as a result of the Americans' presence. In the eyes of many nations and organisations, this is their playground. Some were interested in the region's natural wealth, others sought political influence, while yet others sought to limit the spread of Islamic terrorist groups in the area. Included among these nations is India, which has had extensive interactions with Central Asia for centuries. Nowadays, India recognises the strategic and economic value of Central Asia, in addition to its historical and cultural significance. India and Kazakhstan have extensive relations across many domains, from trade and energy to international collaboration and even national security. In 2015, these connections were strengthened when Narendra Modi travelled to all five Central Asian Republics, becoming the first Indian Prime Minister to do so. Much development has occurred since then, especially in commercial, military, and energy-related spheres.

India places a high strategic value on Kazakhstan because of its location between two nuclear-armed nations, namely China and Russia. Kazakhstan has a large Muslim population but is also diverse in religion and culture. The geostrategic objectives of India get a new dimension as a result. Pakistan would benefit greatly from increased regional clout in light of the Taliban's recent revival in Afghanistan. The Central Asian Nations have often expressed gratefulness towards India for its cooperation in addressing these issues, and they share its desire to prevent terrorism from spreading to their countries. Stop the growth of religious extremism and secure themselves from the dangers of the drug trade. There was almost \$2 billion worth of trade between India and the five Central Asian countries in 2018. On the other side, it was projected that China's commerce during the same time period was at least \$60 billion. Central Asian are being wooed by Beijing financially. It is also advantageous because of its proximity to the area. The constraints of geography are wreaking havoc in India. India's land connection is hampered by Pakistan, which also reduces its manoeuvring space. Many initiatives never get off the ground, and bilateral trade suffers as a result. Hence, in light of all of these difficulties and geopolitical tensions, it is crucial for India to deepen its relations with Central Asia in order to regain its shared history with the area and increase its strategic advantage against Pakistan.

Stability and prosperity in Central Asia, as well as regional collaboration with South Asia, are in India's best interests. As a result, India has begun implementing its Look North Strategic plan. India's Look North Policy is based on strategic bilateralism in Central Asia. This implies country-specific strategies relating to individual Central Asian states. The policy reminds the present generation in Central Asia that India is a very old friend, with no record of intrusive or aggressive behaviour towards the newly emerged republics. As Prime Minister P.V. Narashima Rao had stated in September, 1995, "For India, Central Asia is an area of high priority, where we aim to stay engaged far into the future. We are an independent partner with no selfish motives. We only desire honest and open friendship and to promote stability and cooperation without causing harm to any third country". India's Look North Policy has the objective of promoting peace and mutual prosperity based on democracy and a secular ethos, the binding forces between India and Central Asia. Since developments in Central Asia would have an impact on the dynamics of South Asia, India's Look North policy assumes special significance.

The unique connections between India and Kazakhstan are propelled by ancient links, the evolving strategic situation and economic potential. Kazakhstan is important for India owing

to its geo-strategic location, its commercial prospects, its energy resources and its multi-ethnic and secular structure. Kazakhstan is the largest country in Central Asia. It is also the most prosperous, stable and democratic country in the region, with the most free economy. Kazakhstan's geographic existence between Russia and Asia, along with the long border with China, makes it a country of great strategic importance. Though India has no border with Kazakhstan, and it has an interest in the states bordering Kazakhstan, it must ensure that this region is not influenced by those that are inimical to the security interests of India. In Central Asia, Kazakhstan has the largest energy resources and the highest economic potential. It is also the world's leading producer of uranium, and has substantial deposits of silver and gold. It has the most developed commercial, legal and regulatory environment in Central Asia. Importantly for India Kazakhstan has a multi-religious, multi-ethnic, democratic and secular structure. Kazakhstan too is opposed to religious extremism in its neighbourhood. It does not promote any kind of political Islam and exercises strict control over radical Islamic forces. It has shown great interest in India's experience of unity in diversity and pluralist democracy. It is keen to partner India in combating terrorism.

In the economic sphere Kazakhstan represents a sizeable consumer market. Also, its vast deposits of gold, silver, chromium, uranium and hydrocarbons need to be tapped and converted into products of value. Further, it has abundant water resources for electricity generation. It is the only country in Central Asia with which India has considerable trade relations. India has set up an inter-governmental Joint Commission with Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan for the purpose of bilateral trade and economic cooperation. Indian businessmen are exploring the possibilities emerging from the interactions between India and Kazakhstan. In Almaty, the joint Kazakh-India pharmaceuticals venture is nearing completion. More than 30 Indian companies have offices in Kazakhstan and are investing capital in the Kazakhstan economy. There is a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between India and Kazakhstan for the development of small enterprises and creation of new work places. The main inhibiting factor in bilateral trade is the high cost of transportation of goods between the two countries. However, India is in the process of constructing a railway route between Chabahar port in Iran and Kazakhstan, to facilitate the movement of freight since the spirit of friendship and cooperation now exists between New Delhi and Almaty, positive developments in all spheres are a reasonable expectation.

India's efforts to promote its economic interests in the energy rich and economically powerful Central Asian region almost inevitably come up against impediments and

problematic issues. This is bound to happen given India's intent to become a significant player in Asia and the World. The main difficulties now are geographical and infrastructural. The absence of a shared border and poor transport linkages hinder the flow of Central Asian resources to the Indian market and vice versa. The major dynamics of global politics adversely effects the growth of India's connections with Kazakhstan. The two nations have long drifted apart and there has been a vacuum in their mutual engagement, both economic and political. India's own lack of adequate export-import infrastructure has also majorly impeded its economic outreach to the Central Asian states. Commercial flows to and fro have seen little progress. It must be admitted, over a period, in the past India's foreign policy makers have evinced a lazy and negligent approach towards Central Asia.

In the post-Cold War period, in the last years of the 20th century and the initial years of the 21st century, India and have Kazakhstan figured little in each other's foreign and diplomatic policies. The absence of a political will to boost bilateral ties have largely accounted for the low-key involvement of either nation with the other. However, when India focused on its Look North Policy, concurrent with Prime Minister Narashima Rao's visit to Central Asia in 1995, it was acknowledged that the strategic and security objectives would be sustainable largely on strong trade and economic ties. India's presence in the Central Asia energy sector was meager in the past. However, India's ONGC Videsh Limited now owns 25% share in Kazakhstan's offshore Satpayev block on the Caspian Sea and propose to invest in and contribute to the exploration work. This block is estimated to have over 250 million tons of oil reserves and may produce up to 287,000 barrels daily.

Bilateral trade between India and Kazakhstan increased by about 75% focus US\$ 120 million in 2005 to US\$ 210 in 2006. India mainly exported tea, pharmaceutical, medial equipments, machinery, tobacco, valves and consumer items. From Kazakhstan India imported asbestos, soft wheat, steel, aluminum, wool and raw hides. The above facts indicate that India's bilateral relationship with Kazakhstan is in a fledgling state, but with potential to become wider, more comprehensive and strategic. Recognising this, president Nazarbayev visited India in January 2009 and concluded a civil nuclear cooperation accord. Kazakhstan promised to supply over 2000 tons of uranium to India.

In April 2011, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited Kazakhstan and signed an agreement for cooperation in peaceful uses of atomic energy. It envisaged cooperation in fuel supply, nuclear, medicine, use of radiation technologies for health care, reactor safety mechanisms, scientific and research information, exploration, and mining of uranium, and the design,

construction and operation of nuclear power plants. India and Kazakhstan signed a partnership agreement allowing for India's participation in the implementation programs in Kazakhstan. The complementarity of need and their satisfaction add sheen to the developing closeness between the two nations. Kazakhstan needs heavy investment for its energy field. India proposes to be a big investor. Kazakhstan's energy sector seeks a market. India provides a huge market.

India's Look North Policy is part of its grand strategy for emerging as an important factor in Central Asia. It has been over two decades since the Look North Policy was adopted as a major foreign policy initiative with a focus on engaging India with the countries in the region. India's proactive engagement with the Central Asian region accelerated at the start of this century. Launched in 1995, the policy drew India's focus on developing ties with post-cold war Kazakhstan, which is located in Central Asia at the heart of the region known as Eurasia. In terms of territory it is the 9th largest country in the world and is rich in natural resources. In 2009, India and Kazakhstan signed a strategic partnership Agreement. This enabled the two countries to give meaning and structure to their burgeoning relationship.

The formation of the Commonwealth of Independent states in Central Asia prompted India to embark on a new foreign policy initiative, 'Look North', going into the 21st Century. The political reordering in 1990-1991 brought into limelight the vast energy resources and rapid economic growth potential of the Central Asian Republics. Kazakhstan emerged as one of the largest economies of the Central Asia. India's Look North Policy was an appreciative response to Central Asia's emergence as an economic power centre with global ramifications. India's Look North Policy aimed to fill the gap with new mutually beneficial economic treaties with the energy rich nations of Central and West Asia.

Over the last few years, the Look North Policy has gained top priority in India's foreign policy. The policy is based on realism and pragmatism. The economically resurgent Central Asia landscape quickly became strategically significant. More recently, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has stressed the importance of the Look North strategy and the Connect Central Asia Policy in India's foreign relations. In his view, the Look North policy marks a strategic shift in India's vision of the world and its place in the evolving global economy. India's economic liberalization programme synergizes well with the Look North policy for forging partnerships with the energy rich growing economies in Central Asia. The Look North Policy aims to expand India's profile in the trade, manufacturing mining and services sectors in the central Asian region. India and Kazakhstan are in the process of redefining and

strengthening their relations in post-Cold War era. A significant advantage in this process is the absence of conflict in the bilateral relationship through history. In February 1992, during Kazakhstan president Nazarbayev's first visit to India, diplomatic relationship between the two countries was established. In the following year, 1993 Indian Prime Minister Shri Narashima Rao's visit to Kazakhstan gave impetus to the growing bilateral relationship. Immense good will was generated between the two states the said visits of the Executive Heads of the two countries reflected the newly engendered bonhomie.

Review of Literature

The research on '*India's Economic Relations with Kazakhstan under the Look North Policy*' have gone through numerous reviews of literature in compatibility with the subject of research. A literature survey on India-Kazakhstan economic relations and India's Look North Policy reveals that very little and fragmented work has been done on the subject. However, social scientists have recently started exploring this area and a few well books, journal articles are now available. The book '*China and India in Central Asia: A New "Great Game"?*' By Marlene Laruelle, Jean-Francois Huchet, Sebastien Peyrouse, and Bayram Balchi (Ed.), Palgrave, 2010, is a well-versed literature contain different dimensions of the approaches of both China and India towards the emerging 'Great Game' in Central Asia. There are various chapters which touched upon issues of India- China cooperation and conflicts in Central Asia. An elaboration of approaches of major power to get their foot hold in Central Asia has been discussed in chapter concerning the nature and extent of the ongoing play of Great Game in Central Asia. Besides, chapter and dedicated an India and China's role in the reconstructive process of Afghanistan which is a gale for India to Central Asian region.

Given the broad scope identified in the research objectives of this work, the discussion of relevant literature must take place at the Meta level of works with similar overall objectives to this one. Given that the CARs came into existence a little more than two decades ago, only three such pieces of contemporaneous scholarship that focus on the holistic analysis of Indian policy in the region, and are rigorous enough their examination, have been identified. The most significant of these is '*Mapping Central Asia: Indian Perceptions and Strategies*' by scholars Marlene Laruelle and Sebastien Peyrouse. Published in 2011, the book is an edited volume of essays by Indian scholars with expertise on Central Asia, AF-PAK, China and Russia. The work is divided into three sections, the first focuses on the history of India's engagement in the region, the second on the contemporary relationship, and the third on

flashpoints like Tibet, Kashmir and Xinjiang and what role they play. The essays by the Indian experts are largely descriptive and provide a valuable source of data, and are used extensively within the body of this work.

In the introduction, they talk of two paradoxes within India and Central Asia relations that motivated them to create this work. The first concerned the mismatch between the intense speculation by scholars and experts about India's huge potential in the region and the sad reality of its actual engagement so far. The second was seen as the lack of codification of Indian elite thinking on the issue within Western scholarship on the subject. Laruelle first explores a geopolitical reading of the agency of external actors in Central Asia in the post-Cold War period. Much of her focus is spent on a critique of the most popular of the conjectural frameworks for explaining Central Asia today, the Great Game.

Finally, she discusses the conceptualization of the New Silk Road and its use within the discourse of China, India, the United States and other major powers, arguing that the Silk Road presents countries with an opportunity to play up cultural, civilizational and trade links, lending a special national flavour to the discourse. Looking specifically at India, she critiques another cognitive structure that is offered by Indian elites to explain their country's agency in the region: historical analogy. She suggests that Indian scholarship on the subject is stooped in history, using collective memory of a glorious shared past, to argue a great future for relations between India and the CARs. She argues that while the use of the Great Game, the Heartland and the New Silk Road frameworks as an explanation of Indian agency is valid for the agency of other powers as well, the use of historical analogy as a basis to explain a great potential for the present, is a uniquely Indian approach. To her, this legitimization of the current situation, through the use of references to histories and civilization.

In her explanation of frameworks offered to deconstruct Indian strategy in Central Asia, Laruelle does not offer a particularly Indian point of view. That is to say she does not frame Central Asia within a broader perspective of India's international relations. She does not critique or provide an explanation of India-Central Asia ties as a subset of an Indian grand strategy and, therefore, eschews an explanation of some of the greater objectives of Indian foreign policy and how this resonates in its ambitions in Central Asia. Her explanation of things from the perspective of India's international relations is limited to a critique of the use of historical analogies, and a reduction of India and Central Asia ties to simply an element of mythmaking within Indian foreign policy.

Other significant contributions of Peyrouse's commentary on articulations of Indian involvement in Central Asia. To him, India's late start in the region in the nineties was understandable due to the country's focus on domestic issues and its faltering economy. However, as he notes, it is its later failure that is more serious and a symptom of a greater systematic malaise. He notes that India's inability to position itself as a model to the CARs. He says that this is in part because India's democratic status creates doubts in the minds of Central Asian elites as to its intentions; yet India's refusal to play up its democratic values costs it normative support from the opposition and civil society. Thus, India is playing a losing game to China and Russia, with whom the authoritarian elites are happy to work, and to the West, because they openly support Central Asian civil society. This is an important observation, and shapes the tone of the evaluation of Indian strategy. Similarly, in the conclusion, Laruelle and Peyrouse note the huge potential that exists for India and Central Asia ties, and posit that, should India be able to get its game together, several economic niches and avenues for security and energy cooperation exist, which India could use to extend its presence in the region. However, as they add, the large amount of geopolitical uncertainty that surrounds the broader region in areas like Kashmir, Afghanistan, Tibet and Xinjiang is out India and CARs' control, and this aspect will need to be addressed before India can envisage a presence that matches that of China and Russia. In summary, the volume is a germinal contribution to contemporary literature on India and Central Asia relations, and, given its wide focus that cuts across the fields of geopolitics, history, economics, foreign policy and society, it remains the first choice of students seeking to comprehend India's motivations in Central Asia.

Another significant work on the subject of India's involvement in Central Asia is the Nirmala Joshi edited volume, *'Reconnecting India and Central Asia: Emerging Security and Economic Dimensions'* published in 2010. The work explores the security and economic extents of India and Central Asia ties, giving voice to the thinking of Indian elites on the subject of Central Asia. Joshi's introduction is followed by a chapter on the Strategic Environment in Central Asia and India written by scholars Arun Sahgal and Vinod Anand. Sahgal and Anand adroitly identify the prevalent security conditions in both India and Central Asia that drive the two to cooperation in the field. They explain the complicated internal dynamics of Central Asia, and contrast the various faces of the agency exercised by outside players like China, Russia and the West against each other. To them, the salience of Central Asia lays in the region's hydrocarbon reserves and the fact that it lays at the crossroads of important trans-continental pipelines, communication links and multi-modal transportation

networks. They frame Afghanistan as a vital geopolitical bridge that links Central and South Asia, and it is through Afghanistan that India seeks ties with Central Asia along the energy and security vectors. They also hint that Indian strategy in Central Asia and Afghanistan is closely linked to an emerging grand strategic vision for its relations with the world, particularly China and Asia. Though they do not indulge in a thorough discussion of this dimension.

Joshi, writing in the third chapter, *Responses to Non-Traditional Threats & Challenges*, provides valuable commentary on the linkages between cross-border terror, Islamic radicalism, narcotics and weapons trafficking, and India's domestic security concerns. She highlights the delicate interplay and the commonality of these threats to both India and the CARs, which arise from extremist groups like the Taliban, and the jihadi Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU). To India, the predominance of the Taliban in Afghanistan goes hand-in-hand with the impudence with which Pakistani-sponsored terror groups operate in Kashmir. For the CARs, the Taliban support of the IMU and other Central-Asian jihadi networks has caused serious unrest in restive parts of the region like the Fergana valley. she provides a valuable starting point for this analysis, which is provided in the second chapter of this work.

The final chapter, written by scholar Gulshan Sachdeva, focuses on Regional Economic Linkages and puts forward a neo-liberal trade argument for increased cooperation between India and the CARs, which, is argued, will generate prosperity and peace in the regions. he suggests that India seeks to cement a place for itself in the evolving Asian economic architecture, and that it sees access to Central Asia as a stepping-stone to economic engagement with the Eurasian continent. According to him, India does this in two ways: First, with its focus on Central Asia as a valuable potential resource for hydrocarbons, as India desperately tries to diversify sources for its increasingly energy hungry economy; and, second, with its emphasis on the development of a number of trans-Eurasian pipelines, road and rail links, and communication networks, and its participation in a number of regional security and economic arrangements. Scholar Gulshan Sachdeva provides a valuable point for this analysis, which is provided in the chapter three and chapter four of this work.

Another book used in this study that, *India and Central Asia: The Mythmaking and International Relations of a rising Power* by Emilian Kavalski, I.B. Tauris Publishers, London, 2008, start with the discussion of the changing dynamics of India's foreign policy after the end of Cold War when India's closely associated with the phenomenon of

assertiveness and pragmatism. The post-cold war foreign policy of India towards Central Asia is now based more on pragmatism nature than historical and cultural ties and relationship. The book elaborates pragmatism of India's foreign policy in relations to countries of Central Asia and other powers surrounding Central Asia and their perceptions. In addition, the book also describes India's objective and interest perception and their realization through a constructive frame work. Kavalski also examines how, in the post-cold war complexities; India has formulated a Look North Policy to promote its ties with Central Asia. Post-cold-war period has witnessed a paradigm shift in global politics. The Soviet Union was dissolved. Non-alignment as a policy was no longer feasible. According to Kavalski India had to overhaul its strategic vision in this changed context. Kavalski believes India's relations with Central Asia stem from a long and shared historical experience. India's Look North policy therefore has not emerged in a vacuum. India presents its own structural viability as an example to the Central Asian nations. Look North Policy advocates regional co-operation for the stability and prosperity of Central Asia. The author also discusses India-China competition in the region. This competition is colored by India's bilateral relations with China. The author concludes that Indian diplomacy lacks the power to influence thinking in the nations of Central Asia and fails to impact the decision-making process of those nations by presenting options of choices that are more attractive than others.

Another book '*Geopolitics and Energy Resources in Central Asia and Caspian Sea Region*' by Shams-Ud- Din (Ed.), Lancers Books, 2000, is a well versed in combining facts of development associated with the rise and growth of Central Asia as an independent unit of analysis the composition and Chaptalization of the book is based on various aspect of development in the field of economic, political socio-cultural and security scenario affecting Central Asia's approaches and understanding with the understanding and interests perception of other countries of the world. A very good picturization of both internal and external development of the Central Asia is on the one hand and various powers including India in the other has been established. Besides, India's thrust for economic and energy security aspect has been well managed.

The book '*India and Central Asia: A Reader*' by Xinru Liu (Ed.), Permanent Black, 2012, emphasized the socio-cultural and economic dimensions including the trade route of India's relations with Central Asia. The gradual evolution and development of Central Asia and the changing nature of the approaches of India towards the region of Central Asia has been well addressed. India's contribution towards the nation building process in Central Asia and

Central Asian perceptions towards India in their mutual relationship has been well established.

The book *'India and Central Asia: Redefining Energy and Trade Links'*, by Angira Sen Sharma, Pentagon Press, 2010, provides clear picture of the energy resources of the Central Asian republics along with India's energy requirement and needs. Again, the book tries to address the nature and extent of India's bilateral relationship with countries of Central Asia. Another aspect of the book which tries to establish transport linkages and connectivity from Central Asia's region to the world market.

The author believes that India's interest in Central Asia is driven by its geo-strategic location and its rich natural resources. She traces India's historical trade ties with Central Asia through the ancient silk route. She points out that India's economic presence in the region is far below the historical potential. She seeks a better understanding of India's relations with Central Asia through its existing relations with the five Central Asian Republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan. India's energy scenario and need for energy co-operation play a vital role in its bilateral relations with these countries. However, India's engagements have expanded to include investments in trade links, development assistance, capacity building and nurturing of a diaspora. She examines the problems related to trade and explores solutions. India's historical goodwill gives it a competitive edge in Central Asia. Sharma refers to rich hydrocarbon reserves in Central Asia and identifies Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan as reliable alternative sources of oil and gas. This will reduce India's dependence on West Asia. In India's total international trade, the share of these Republics is meager. Accordingly, there is scope for expanding the cooperation to other areas and establish India's presence in the fields of pharmaceuticals and information technology.

Sharma points out that relatively small Indian companies are now engaged in the region. India can however invest more in capital and technology. She concludes by discussing transport linkages and various alternative routes that may be opened up. The one through Pakistan and Afghanistan is hampered by the deteriorating security scenario in these two countries. However, the International North-South Corridor and the Chabahar route are available options. Once ready, these routes will save time and money and resolve the connectivity problem.

Another book '*Central Asia: A Strategy for India's Look-North Policy*', by Suryakant Nijanand Bal, Lancer Publishers, 2004, discusses the conflicting, concerning, prospective, strategic and non-strategic issues in context to India's Look North policy. In this context, this book touches the fact, India is always aware of her trade relations with Central Asian countries as a continuity of the silk route which prevailed in ancient times and that the trade relations still prevail actively as far as the market is concerned regarding the exchange of merchandise items and above all exploring the energy resources available in Central Asia. As far as non-economic goals are concerned, the security issues of combating terrorism, the active intervene of nuclear powers like China, USA, Iran and Russia and ensuring political stability which is under constant threat due to the fundamentalist ethical religion communities existing in this region with special reference to Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The book states that India's Look North Policy needs obvious attention because this policy aims at India's objective and purpose of utilizing the energy rich potentiality, of the region. The book also enumerates India's viewpoint and outlook as far as strategic locational advantages is concerned that Central Asia is a heartland region exercising games of the games, where India needs to promote her already mentioned economic non-economic activities.

The book *Local Rules: The New Power Contest in Central Asia*, by Alex Cooley, Oxford University Press, 2012, details the dynamics of the actions taken by the United States, Russia and China as they attempted to exert influence in Central Asia between 2001 and 2011. He identifies the strategic interests of the great powers and their tools of influence in Central Asia. He then proceeds to assess their impact on Central Asia's political institutions and practices. The author believes that the great powers have different security goals and strategic purposes in Central Asia in the post-Soviet era. Accordingly, Washington, Moscow and Beijing can pursue their interests in the region without conflict. He also believes that the Central Asian States, even the weaker ones, are not passive pawns in the strategic manoeuvrings of the great powers, but are important actors in their own right.

The author refers to the Local Rules that guide political life in Central Asia. He also describes the restructuring of the political system in Central Asia after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Cooley highlights the regional strategies and consequent dilemmas of the three great powers over the last decade. The author believes that Russia, the region's former imperial power, continues to be a privileged partner in some parts of Central Asia. He discusses Moscow's levers of influence and efforts to remain dominant in the region. However, he

believes that Moscow's regional policies and tactics have remained unstable and reactive, as also subject to its self-image as a great power and its prevailing relations with United States and China. Cooly also analyses China's recent rise as a regional power in Central Asia. He believes Beijing has upgraded the regional infrastructure in Central Asia to link it with its western Province through roads and railway networks. Beijing has also invested heavily in Central Asia's oil and gas sectors. This has already dramatically reoriented the region towards the east. He concludes by drawing lessons from the interplay of Central Asian politics and security, in the context of the great power rivalry and regional political stability. Cooly believes that the experience of the Big Three will help the European Union and India to develop their regional strategies in Central Asia.

The article, *'India and Kazakhstan should share Complementary Objectives'* by P Stobdan, (Vol. 33, No. 1, 9 January 2009) describes the evolution of strategic significance of Kazakhstan not only for India but also for the three major power namely China, Russia and US to establishes their foot hold in Kazakhstan in particular and Central Asia in general. believes the Central Asian region is not only a geo-political entity but it also carries deeper civilizational and historical significance for India. Stobdan, however, stresses the security dimension of the new environment in Central and South Asia following the Soviet collapse. He outlines the emerging security challenges and the avenues for cooperation on various issues within a regional frame work. He believes that unstable Pakistan and Afghanistan and Af-Pak borderlands are a common threat to both Central Asia and India. With the signing of Joint Working Groups on counter-terrorism and defence cooperation agreements with some of the Central Asian states, he believes that India's policy towards Central Asia is becoming energised and pro-active, unlike in the past when it was reactive. Stobdan believes non-military security elements are also posing a great threat in the region, including India and Central Asian states. Stobdan suggests that India's approach towards Central Asia should involve a positive engagement with the region because Central Asia offers vast opportunities for India to participate in the economic growth of the region, as also to effectively meet the challenges to its vital security interests. The article *'India's Soft Power in Central Asia: Why it must work in the Look North policy'* by Ramakrushna Pradhan, (Vol. LIII, No. 29, July 2015) exposes India's strategic desire for Look North Policy in reference to Central Asia huge economic and energy potentiality. The article urges for pro-active and growing relations between India and Central Asia with special reference to Kazakhstan. It also touches upon India's strategy of using soft power diplomacy to impact and attract dimension of bilateral relationship in different field of economic, political and security significance. The article

'India-Kazakhstan Relation: Challenge and Prospect' by Vijay Kumar Bhatia, (Mainstream, Vol. XLVII, No. 38, September 2008) emphasizes India's historical and cultural relationship with countries of Central Asia as a basis foundation of India's strategy and economic relationship. This article discusses the foundations of India-Kazakhstan relationship by addressing India's interest perceptions and objectives and to the official, and formal attitude of Kazakhstan towards India's approaches in this region. It also tries to address various problems and challenges confronting in materializing this relationship and the future prospect of the existing relationship.

The article *'India-Kazakhstan: Emerging Ties'*, by Meena Singh Roy, (Strategic Analysis, Jan-March 2002) is a very good work in the field of India-Kazakhstan relations. It examines the basis of India-Kazakhstan relations and attempt address the driving forces the emerging ties, roadblocks and means to strengthen the ties and future prospect of comparative between the two countries. The article titled as *'Nuclear Fuel and the Emerging Dynamics of Indo-Kazakhstan Relations'* by Deepti Srivastava, (Mainstream, Vol. XLVIII, No. 33, 2010) briefly summarizes the importance of Kazakhstan in India's foreign policy as a faster growing economy in Central Asia and the largest producer of crude oil uranium in the world. The article brilliantly imposes India's quest for the need of energy security and various imperatives of India- Kazakhstan relationship.

The article, *'India-Kazakhstan Relations: Challenges and Opportunities'* by Ashok Sajjanhar, published in Gateway House, (November 20, 2013) is a well-versed article which encompasses Kazakhstan's strategic position in particular and Central Asia in general and activities of Kazakhstan associated with regional initiatives and dialogue process to establish peace and stability in this region. This article also analyses an understanding of various areas of cooperation between Kazakhstan and India. The possibility of opportunities within the framework of cooperative mechanism has been well addressed. Special report of Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, *'India and Kazakhstan: New Ways Ahead'* by Zakir Hussain (February 18, 2009) provides insight upon Kazakhstan's potentiality in terms of energy related issues and resources. This article not only addresses the nature and scope of India's relations with Kazakhstan in the field of nuclear security arrangement and material but all so the governmental formalities needed for carry forwards the relationship at national and international level. Besides, economic dimensions and various approaches to economic dimension of this relationship has been well address. The report, *'India's role and Interests in Central Asia'* by Ivan Campbell, Saferworld, October 2013 is an analytical view point

regarding the evolution and development India's engagement in Central Asia since the last decade India's objectives in Central Asia has been perceived from two primary concern: security and diversifying India's energy supplies in order to sustain economic growth and security the concern for the grow of radical islamist groups which may pose to India's security. In addition, the article brilliantly exposes India's need to tap commercial potentialities of Central Asia. So, these books and articles are useful and secondary sources for research.

Research Objectives

This study incorporates a wide range of perspectives to fill in the gaps in the current literature and shed light on the facts of India's foreign policy and the character of interstate economic interactions between India and Kazakhstan.

Considering the importance of these statements, the primary objective of this research is to investigate them in depth and evaluate their present applicability to India's economic cooperation with Kazakhstan. Based on this premise, this research investigates the economic ties between India and Kazakhstan and analyses the current trend of economic cooperation between the two countries. The aim of present research is to explain that the absence of direct means of transport which is the main obstacle in developing India's relation with Kazakhstan, inter regional trade are creating demand for viable transport connectivity, land linking arrangements and important transit services which could be achieved at its best by reviving and restoring the legendary silk route and also a few more routes which would directly connect India-China and Central Asia. And here Kazakhstan can play a key role in developing these routes into a reality as it has good relation with both China as well as India without irking US and Russia. This would further improve the chances of increasing cooperation between South Asia, Central Asia and China, keeping India in the centre. With this a new phase of more dynamic and vibrant relationship between India and Kazakhstan can be viewed.

With the foregoing context and factors in mind, the suggested research attempted to emphasise the trade and energy challenges and point forth strategies to fix them. This research aims to analyse how this has posed significant difficulties for the country and how the expanding Chinese factor is competing with India's interest in the country of Kazakhstan. Under the framework of India's overall engagement with Kazakhstan, this research seeks to analyse how India's economic diplomacy could be recast and implemented. This research will

evaluate Kazakhstan's development into a politically and economically stable nation, as well as the strengthening of India's Central Asia strategy. India and Kazakhstan have a great opportunity to take their relationship to a new, deeper level in light of the current political, geopolitical, and economic landscape on a regional and global scale. There is no doubt that both India and Kazakhstan contribute to peace, security, progress, and development not just in their own areas, but globally. The people of both nations, as well as the rest of the globe, stand to benefit from even closer ties between their governments, and this is why strengthening and deepening these ties is so important. The purpose of the research is to better understand the factors influencing the security situation in Central Asia. This research endeavours to provide insight on the challenges confronted by Indian policymakers as they outline border security strategy by referencing India's foreign policy practices in the realm of national security situations towards the northern frontier and the adoption of the "three evils" (terrorism, separatism, and religious fundamentalism). In order to conclude, it should be noted that despite various policy measures, the Indian government has not seen much success with its relations with Kazakhstan. Last but not least, it examines India's economic security with Kazakhstan and its ensuing behaviours, as well as its relations with the two leading countries in the area, Russia and China, using India's economic strategy in Central Asia as a case study.

Hypothesis

This research tries to address the hypothesis that:

- India's Look North Policy of 1995 and India's Connect Central Asia policy of 2012 facilitated the development of bilateral relations between India and Kazakhstan.
- Complementarities of economies of these two countries made their favourable trade partner.
- India's drive for energy resources in the international markets brings India closer to Kazakhstan.
- India-Kazakhstan have convergence of interests in security issues of the region.

Research Questions

- Why is Central Asian region an important area for South Asian region as a whole and India in particular?

- What is the ground reality of India adopting Look North Policy in 1995 and how far India was successful in achieving these objectives?
- Has Kazakhstan been any importance to help India fight back terrorism and vice-versa?
- Has India been able to set up a vibrant and dynamic economic and trade relation with Kazakhstan?
- Can India-Kazakhstan relation help India to have a strong and vibrant “Connect Central Asia Policy”?
- Which factors are working as main drivers for India’s foreign policy making towards Kazakhstan.

Research Method

This study uses a qualitative approach to look at what influences and determining factor of India's economic ties to Kazakhstan. By focusing on the “why” and the “how,” rather than just the “what,” qualitative research methods provide for a more in-depth understanding of the beliefs and mindsets that influence Indian approach in the Central Asia region. The right method selection, a variety of participants and their viewpoints, the researcher and the subjects' reflexivity, and the use of various techniques and procedures are all essential components of qualitative research. Equally valuable is the fact that qualitative research methodologies provide an approach predicated on interpretation, subjectivity, and adaptability. This approach is process-oriented rather than outcome-oriented since it explicitly acknowledges the influence of the research process on the study circumstance and takes into account the interdependence of behaviour and context in the formation of experience.

A growing understanding of the limitations of quantitative research and a reaction to its rigidity led to the emergence of qualitative methodologies. While quantitative research continues to place an emphasis on measurable variables and hypothesis testing, qualitative research adopts a more philosophical stance in its pursuit of an understanding of the social sciences via the lenses of participant observation and in-depth interviews. This is crucial to the methodology adopted in this study, which goes beyond the examination of basic trade and economic data and bilateral security cooperation to evaluate the reasons behind India’s Look North policy in the development of its strategy of economic engagement with Kazakhstan. Given that the study’s direction is heavily influenced by the opinions of Indian researchers,

who have diverse perspectives on India and Kazakhstan, it's important that the chosen methodology accurately represents these factors and behaviours. A qualitative methodology was selected because it accommodates these variations while providing a reasonable lens through which to conduct analysis. Nevertheless, as the study focuses on the security and economic agreements between India and Central Asia in general and interactions between India and Kazakhstan in specific, some quantitative data has been incorporated in the analysis. Primary and secondary sources of information have been used to fill in the gaps in the research. India's Central Asia Strategy have been examined through a case study of India and Kazakhstan's relations, with an emphasis on the two countries' economic and commercial ties. The following sections identify the qualitative tools used in this work and explain the design, research questions.

Qualitative Case Study

A qualitative case study is a method of research that enables the use of a range of data sources to explore a phenomenon in its context. Author Robert Stake claims that naturalistic, holistic, ethnographic, phenomenological, and biographic research methods are all included in a qualitative case study, and that a case study is characterized as a type of research by interest in particular situations rather than by the methods of inquiry utilized. Given that they are created to meet the requirements of a specific case, case studies provide flexibility that other qualitative methodologies cannot. When a study's goal is to provide answers to how and why questions, when it is difficult to influence the behaviour of the research objects, when investigating contextual factors is essential owing to their importance to the phenomena, and when the lines between the reality and environment are blurry, a case study design may be used. Due to the lack of a formalised institutional framework for foreign policymaking, the distinctions between the context and the phenomena are hazy in the current situation, where the study's main emphasis is the factor that determines India's economic involvement with Kazakhstan and the research subjects are Indian policymaking elites.

To properly undertake a case study, the case or unit of analysis, as well as the study limitations, must be determined. The phenomena under investigation is represented by the case or unit, and the limits set by the researcher serve to demarcate what is not part of the phenomenon under investigation and to provide some indication of what is outside the scope of the study. The case for this study might be generally defined as India's economic strategy towards Kazakhstan. The specifics of the case to be examined include the following: the

process-how is it that India's economic strategy is developed with respect to Kazakhstan? What are the determinants and who are the players influencing this policy? Furthermore, what are the elements that affect this policy? Although acknowledging cultural and socioeconomic dimensions, this research concentrates on a political viewpoint, as it examines India's ties to the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan specifically within the framework of international relationships and geopolitics. An intrinsic case study served as the basis for the investigation presented here. According to this perspective, an intrinsic technique is used to offer a better knowledge of a certain case. While the conceptual and analytical frameworks produced may have minimal theoretical contributions to the discipline, that is not the major objective of the case study. Instead, the case study is intrinsic because India's economic interactions with Kazakhstan reflect a unique circumstance that is distinct of other cases. It is possible to have a single case with embedded units. Examining embedded units within a case makes it possible to examine subunits located within a larger case, as data may be analysed within the subunits independently. As a result, the first literature review's identified variables of India's economic connections with Kazakhstan may be viewed as "embedded units" inside the broader case and their influence on the strategy and vice versa can be investigated. Overall, experts perceive the qualitative single case study approach as deficient in methodological rigour and overly prone to researcher subjectivity, despite its enormous merits.

Data Collection and Analysis

Document content analysis of all available and relevant information regarding India and Kazakhstan economic relations under Look North policy and its future trends, which includes books and journals, as well as historical documents are reviewed. Primary data for this work was obtained from multiple sources, which included official Indian documents, press releases, inter-governmental legislation and agreements, speeches, annual reports, trade data. In India, the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), Ministry of Defence (MOD), the National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS) and the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) play a pivotal role in shaping the country's international relations. The main source of data remains archival and library research. This work therefore relied on analysis of official discourse from these sources. The work analyses public utterances of Indian elites in print journals like The Hindu, The Indian Express, The Hindustan Times, The Mint, The Times of India, The Economic and Political Weekly, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy and online sites like The Diplomat and Asia Times to supplement its observations. Secondary data for this work was mostly obtained

from books, journal articles, conference papers, research papers, various websites and newspaper reports. The secondary data served as a valuable source for background information on India and Central Asia relations, aided in the creation of a conceptual framework to comprehend Indian strategy, and provided a base through which Indian opportunity and challenges in the region could be evaluated.

For the collection of secondary data, various libraries have visited in India. Some of them are Jadavpur University Central and Departmental library. On the other hand, I have visited Dr B R Ambedkar Central Library, JNU, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, library, United Service Institution of India library (USI), Parliament library, Observer Research Foundation library, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Indian Council of World Affairs Library (Sapru House), Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, and American Library.

For the analysis of qualitative data, Microsoft word have used. For the analysis of statistical data (like trade volume, price, etc.), a statistical package has used like Excel. Statistical data have presented through various diagrams and charts which has followed by an analysis.

Structure of Chapterization

This thesis contains five substantive chapters that explain India's Economic Relations with Kazakhstan under the Look North Policy in addition to the introduction and conclusion. The first chapter reveals that the background reality of the 1990s then proceeds with outlining the post-Cold War trajectories of India's foreign policy making. On the other hand, chapter provides the background for contextualizing the narrative assessment of the Look North policy. In this setting, the chapter details articulation of Look North policy with the roles played by India in Central Asia for development of a proactive engagement in the region and India's bilateral relations with Kazakhstan. India's foreign policy formulation has remained in the grips of conceptual tensions, strategic uncertainty, and geopolitical constraints. The middle two chapters explain the economic, political and energy relations and determinants of India's foreign policy and the resulting action India has taken. The chapter four explain securitization of the region and India's regional security strategy for cooperation and India's role in Kazakhstan. The final chapter provides India-Kazakhstan Relations in the Contemporary years: The China factor.

Chapter 1, *India's Look North policy and implications for India-Kazakhstan relations*, provides an area that is left unexplored in previous studies with reference to Kazakhstan and that tries to come up with a deeper understanding of the underlying factors behind the foreign policy behaviour of India. On the other hand, India has largely been considered economic power and economic development plays an important role in ensuring Indian stability. With reference to Central Asian region in general and Kazakhstan in particular, the energy and economic relations are growing amid better security environment since India launch its Look North policy and Connect Central Asia.

The chapter covers India's Look North policy, which emerged in the new millennium, predicated on the increasingly convergent security, economic and energy concerns that both regions shared. India's national security and energy security works as prescription for India's foreign policy towards Kazakhstan while ensuring international prestige for India. The foreign policy of India towards Kazakhstan guides about two important political processes; frontier security and innovative diplomacy as at play in Central Asian region. The common threat perceptions due to embedded and similar threats, the security cooperation between India and Kazakhstan is institutionalized in form of SCO. The political construction of identity by Indian political elite as an innovative turn towards multilateralism is a way to maintain the static image. The chapter also highlights India's need to collaborate with Kazakhstan with regard to the ever-present security threats emanating from radicalisms. India nurtures a historical, strategic relationship with Russia which, combined with furtherance of relations with the Central Asian Republics, is clearly an integral part of India's overall foreign policy objectives.

Overall, the chapter deals with the important factors that combine in the making of India's foreign policy towards Kazakhstan. India's economy has been consistently on a growth trajectory over the last few decades. The rising demand for energy resources has been in tandem with the burgeoning industrial sector. This phenomenon explains India's focus on improving bilateral and multilateral relations with the Republics in Central Asia, particularly in the economic realm.

Chapter 2, *India's economic and political engagement with Kazakhstan*, provides an explanation of the India's economic engagement with Kazakhstan that shape Indian strategy in Kazakhstan. The chapter build an argument by emphasising that historically the central Asian region played an important role in India's economic and commercial activity. India's imperative to trade, economic engagement and seek greater connectivity, and India's need for

global recognition of its great power ambitions. In its exploration of India's economic imperatives to trade with Kazakhstan, the chapter highlights the macroeconomic conditions in place that facilitate trade between India and the Kazakhstan, and explain the motivations of both partners to do so. India's burgeoning economy and the movement of its trade flows away from the West toward its extended neighbourhood has contributed to the increase in trade between India and burgeoning economy. Similarly, the Kazakhstan attempt to restructure their economies away from energy exports, contribute to their interest in India as an economic partner. The benefits of increased trade with the Kazakhstan are tangible, and given the increasing prominence of Indian multinational companies this is an important driver of Indian interest in the region. There is yet another motivation for India to trade with Kazakhstan-the potential benefits such trade if conducted overland through Afghanistan and Pakistan can bring to a broader region that is in search of stability and prosperity.

The political relations are not only confined to get access of energy resources, but also supports certain political values such as democracy, protection of human rights, respect of sovereignty, and protection of environment. India's relations with Kazakhstan in Central Asia is based on political values which they share. Thus, both countries should work together to engage in the field of investment, science and technology, education, climate change, connectivity, and so on. New Delhi needs reconnoitering relations in the framework of cooperative engagements with Russia, Iran and even China. This is based on the fact that since actual trade figures are so low, it seems inevitable that there will be manifold growth in overall trade as India is able to approach the Kazakhstan in more a direct manner, with the creation of new trade routes.

The chapter also reveals, for much better economic and trade relations, it is highly recommendable that both sides engage in economic dialogue that is aim at resolving the persisting trade and economic issues at the earliest so as to make sure that these issues do not come on the way to future progress and development. Unless these issues are not resolved, satisfactory progress is not likely to come soon. As a whole it is possible to ascertain that essentially there has been a strengthening of positive dynamics in all aspects of the Kazakhstan-Indian relations. The main condition of taking them to a qualitatively new level is full-scale realization of the arrangements achieved at the top-level and finding new ways and areas of co-operation, especially in the economic and trade spheres.

Chapter 3, *India's energy security in Kazakhstan*, provides India's rising energy security concerns and the role the Kazakhstan can play in assuaging these. Arguing that India sees

energy cooperation with the Kazakhstan not simply as a goal unto itself, but also as a foot in the door for its trade, connectivity, the chapter explores this paradigm. The chapter explores the geopolitics of energy security and explains in detail India's energy imperatives and its need to diversify its sources, given its rapidly growing economy and the burgeoning numbers of its middle-class. It provides an overview of India's energy imports and consumption levels, and empirically explains how the CARs, with their energy-export oriented economies, can help with India's diversification agenda. It provides Kazakhstan energy reserves, the oil, gas, nuclear, wind and hydropower sectors. Chapter explain India's current energy engagement with the Kazakhstan before the conclusion outlines how India sees successful energy cooperation as a springboard for the furthering of trade and connectivity ties-and its great power aspirations.

This chapter also has examined the overall energy scenario and the intense competition among China, India and Russia for the energy resources of Central Asia, particularly of Kazakhstan. This Chapter has arrived at the inevitable conclusion that energy critically affects the global and regional geopolitics of the 21st Century. Currently, energy is the prime motivator of geopolitical corporation. In the context of India's long-term geo-strategic and geo-economic objectives, Kazakhstan is viewed as an important source of energy resources, such as oil, natural gas and uranium or what may be termed as fossil fuels and nuclear fuel. For the purpose of gaining access to Kazakhstan's vast energy reserves, India seeks to enhance its influence by different means and strategies. Given Kazakhstan's enormous proven reserves of oil and natural gas. India's engagements are likely to increase and accelerate in the near term. In the bigger picture, India's economic gambit on focused development of trade ties with Kazakhstan and proceeding from them towards Eurasia will depend heavily on building connectivity. The evolving security situation in the region is also an important variable for confederation at present and in the foreseeable future. These circumstances and the achievement of India's objectives are explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 4, *Securitization of the region and India's role in Kazakhstan*, provides an internal security environment in Central Asia continues to be as fluid and reactionary as it was two decades ago, after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Central Asian region played an important role in India's economic and commercial activity. This chapter discuss the security relations had also played role in developing such relations. The chapter notes that the lack of security on the north-western border hampered economic relations until recently. India and

Kazakhstan growing security related cooperation helped revitalized economic activity after the launch of Look North policy. It also analyses the impact of various issues like terrorism, drug trafficking. The continuation of the writ of authoritarian regimes in the region poses complex challenges for the internal stability of the CARs. The ‘crisis of legitimacy’ that affects the governing elites has direct implications for the state building process, and prevents the development of effective political institutions, and of a political opposition. The nature of the regimes, also impacts the socio-economic conditions for the majority of the population of the CARs (with Kazakhstan an exception), compromising human security in the region. Finally, the relations between the CARs continue to be dogged by conflict and limited cooperation. This facilitates an environment where other actors (great and secondary powers) are able to exercise agency in the rapidly evolving geopolitical environment in Central Asia. The difference being that today the CARs are also able to control and facilitate external agency (to an extent), thereby confirming scholarly postulations about simultaneous scenarios of cooperation, competition and potential conflict occurring in the region.

For India, the Central Asian security environment coalesces with that of the greater South Asian region in the subcontinent’s hinterland of Afghanistan, Kashmir and northern Pakistan. It is this combination of security threats emanating from the South and Central Asia security environments that concerns India’s policy-makers the most. These threats are of three types: First, the possibility of a scenario of ethnic strife and instability in Afghanistan that could end up destabilizing the entire sub-continent and parts of Central Asia should the Taliban return to power after a Western withdrawal; Second, the constant fear of the export of Islamic radicalism and terror across the two regions, from transnational groups like the IMU, Al Qaeda and the Islamic State; And finally, the proliferation and trafficking of weapons and narcotics that is inexorably linked to terror groups that operate in the regions.

When linked with India’s natural security objectives, it is easier to comprehend why security and addressing these threats are fundamental to India’s Central Asia strategy. The delicate interplay between these threats and the dilemmas posed by home grown radicalism challenges India’s overall stability and future. Additionally, the need to prevent Pakistan from using Afghanistan, and a potential Taliban return to power, to seek strategic balance against India, also shapes India’s security interactions with Afghanistan and Kazakhstan. In response to these compulsions, India has initiated an active security and military cooperation paradigm with the CARs in general and Kazakhstan in particular. Therefore, as a determinant of India’s strategy in the region, security remains of paramount geopolitical importance to the country’s

elite. This chapter, in explicating this, provides a valuable contribution to answering some of the questions posted in the research hypothesis.

Chapter 5, *Factors influencing Indian foreign policy: issues in India-Kazakhstan relations*, talk about, the growth of full-scale relationships in the contemporary years between Kazakhstan and India fully meets the wishes of our countries. India's emphasis on improving economic relations bilaterally and multilaterally is evident. The recent political realisms dictate the crucial need to reevaluate the role of modern India and the further development of closer relations with the leading Asian state to be included in the priority list of the Kazakhstan foreign policy. The chapter talk about cooperation in the field of tourism sector. On the other hand, India and Kazakhstan Cultural and humanitarian ties and scientific and technical cooperation are also developing progressively. Expansion of Kazakhstan and Indian relations displays, every opportunity to raise the strategic partnership to an even higher level and to fill relations between two countries. with new meaning and content for the sake of the friendship and prosperity.

This chapter also discuss India's interactions with China in the region before evaluating the efficacy of Indian agency in Kazakhstan. The biggest cause of concern for India in Kazakhstan is China, because China wants to keep India away from the Central Asian region. The official Chinese press declares India as the geopolitical competitor. The chapter examine, in that region India finds China as an already established and important rival. China is a critical competitor for India in Kazakhstan as it is in the process of increasing its influence in the region through the construction of additional pipelines and the acquisition of further energy assets. India's strategies of economic engagement with Kazakhstan are dependent on the willingness of Nur-Sultan. The chapter also analyse, the competition among China and India for strategic influence in Kazakhstan. To add to the adverse circumstances India and China have been less than cordial in their relations irrespective of global and bilateral issues.

In Central Asia region, Kazakhstan is the major trading partner of India. In the contemporary years Kazakhstan holds great import to India particularly in terms of huge natural resources and its budding economy and as well owing to its geo-strategic location.

Contribution of the Research

The contributions of this work to the literature are now acknowledged after providing a summary of the pertinent literature and the gaps in previous research on the topic of India's economic strategy towards Kazakhstan. The absence of a coherent, India-specific conceptual

framework is one of the gaps in the current literature that outlines ideas of India's economic strategy and agency in Kazakhstan.

Throughout history, the countries of Central Asia have been a strategic target for major nations. The primary justification given in the majority of currently academic publications and in a preliminary review of the literature on India's foreign policy towards Kazakhstan is to justify India's national interest in relation to the absence of a direct transportation link. Kazakhstan is home to significant energy reserves, and both China and India have been eyeing the country for expansion of their energy and political spheres. India's foreign policy is shaped by domestic concerns and the desire to meet the energy demands of its expanding economy. This research argues that Kazakhstan actually plays a role in ensuring India's energy security. India's ties with Kazakhstan are affected by a variety of factors, not just energy. India's presence in Kazakhstan is driven by the country's commitment to expanding its economic, security and commercial ties with the Asian power. This thesis takes into account that having a rising economy and expanding commercial links with Kazakhstan are India's top priorities. India quickly established diplomatic ties with Kazakhstan those ties have continued to strengthen through time. There is a great focus on the thesis that each actor, such as India and China, U.S is busy to extending their power footprint in the Central Asia, especially in Kazakhstan, in light of the proliferation of new participants and the growing complexity of the situation there.

So, the study concludes that the rivalry between India and China would hinder their cooperation-oriented policies, and that the expanding Chinese presence in Kazakhstan will have an impact on India's economic participation there. Rising Indian prosperity bodes well for regional harmony and security. In order to sustain its economic influence in Kazakhstan, India needs maintain relations with Russia. India's growing prosperity will also boost the country's self-assurance and encourage it to work more closely with its Central Asian countries.

This study builds its own narrative for why South Asia and specially India are so involved in the Central Asian area, and it finds that this involvement is driven by a desire to meet the region's expanding supply of economic opportunities, national security guarantees, and quest of energy. Indian policymakers are now more conscious of the border security issue, security ties, and how unpredictable Afghanistan and hostile Pakistan have previously impeded commerce with the Central Asian states. Considering India's emphasis on developing domestic infrastructure and its understanding of the value of trade and transit routes,

Kazakhstan views India as a beneficial economic partner. To facilitate trade with the countries of Central Asia, India has financed the development of Iran's Chabahar Port. The regional nations benefited from the investment in infrastructure and transportation linkages since they could more easily access global markets and collect transit fees on commercial activity. India is projected to maintain its position as a major actor in the Central Asian region due to its growing economy, expanding commerce, massive consumer market, and well-developed infrastructure.

This research suggests that India's efforts to strengthen its economic ties with Kazakhstan, both bilaterally and in the global arena, are becoming increasingly apparent. India's ambition is to eventually export its manufactured goods (make in India products) in the booming Central Asian market, and the SCO is seen as the primary platform through which this goal may be achieved. India sees the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) as a promising forum for establishing cooperative ties with other Central Asian governments for the purpose of gaining access to the economic benefits associated with such an alliance. In my opinion, the aforementioned ideas are the most realistic way to advance economic ties between India and Kazakhstan; they will make all potential areas of collaboration, especially those pertaining to energy resources, more viable moving ahead, and therefore eliminate the need to negotiate with numerous nations.

Limitations and Further Scope of Research

The dynamic and changeable nature of the subject and object of this work presents the greatest caveat. Many developments in India's energy strategy and regional objectives have been achieved since 2012, when the Connect Central Asia policy was first announced. However, on a larger scale, paradigm shifts in Indian foreign policy occurred in the wake of the 9/11 attacks, the 1998 nuclear tests, and, more recently, the election of PM Narendra Modi in 2014. In the same way, there has been a lot of uncertainty about the Central Asian Republics and there will continue to be. Several developments and change had taken place even as this dissertation was being written, with the United States pulling out of Afghanistan and China making great strides towards economic domination. Consequently, despite the fact that this dissertation aims to offer a relevant addition to the subject, there is always the possibility that what is relevant now will no longer be relevant tomorrow. However, this research has been solely focused on the Indian viewpoint, offering only a scant understanding of Kazakhstan's and generally Central Asian opinions on the matter. As there is so little

research on Central Asian perspectives on the region's links to India, this is a potential direction for research that was not possible within the scope of this dissertation.

The current research is based on the belief that there is opportunity for and reason to do more research on how the political processes developing in Central Asia can be compared to political processes developing in other parts of the world. Furthermore, India's economic involvement in Kazakhstan is consistent with its policy towards other resource-rich and strategically significant regions, such as Africa and the Middle East. In many ways, the political climate in Africa is analogous to that in Central Asia, with both regions boasting a strategic position, abundant natural resources, and rapidly developing economies. A Doctorate thesis covering many regions and tracing the conventional and cutting-edge methods used in India's foreign policy would have been a challenging assignment. This research serves as a basic input for a fresh and all-encompassing approach by explaining India's economic engagement with Kazakhstan under the Look North policy. This would make it easier for future research to understand India's economic policy from the perspective of regional comparison.

Countersigned by the Supervisor:

Date:

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Signature of Candidate

Date: