

# INDIA-TAJIKISTAN BRIEF

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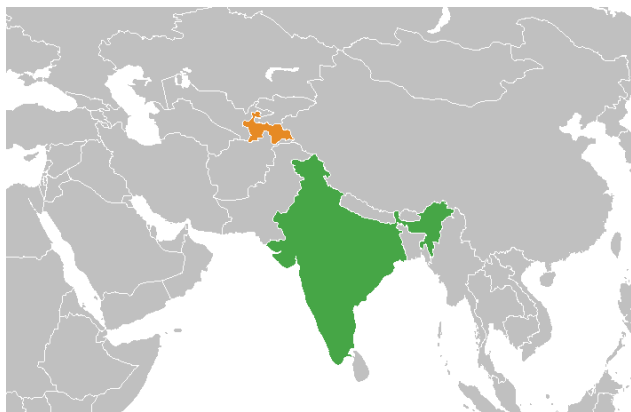
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## ABSTRACT

*Tajikistan holds huge significance for fulfilling India's broader interests in the Central Asian region especially its 'Connect Central Asia' policy. More importantly, stronger India-Tajikistan partnership is of key importance for India to amplify its goodwill in the region as well as to add stability to Afghanistan and meet India's future energy demands. However, though Tajikistan over the last decade has been the primary recipient of India's development assistance in the Central Asian region, it still stands far behind in terms of India's development assistance to other individual countries such as Afghanistan. Thus, taking the above into consideration, through this brief we have tried to highlight India's desire of assisting in the diversification of the Tajik economy as well as analyze India's development assistance towards Tajikistan especially its role as a humanitarian aid and in boosting of Tajikistan's IT, energy and education sector.*

## INTRODUCTION



Map indicating locations of India and Tajikistan

A growing energy demand and a desire to diversify energy imports have over the past decade brought India closer to the oil and gas rich nations of Central Asia. Tajikistan is not particularly well endowed with either resource.[1] Yet its potential to generate 527 billion kWh of hydropower (a capacity that is 2nd only to Russia among the former Soviet states),[2] a proximity to the oil and gas rich regions of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, and the 1200 km border Tajikistan shares with India's 2nd largest development assistance recipient, Afghanistan, increases the appeal of engagement with Tajikistan for India.

Despite receiving the bulk of Indian development assistance among the Central Asian Republics (CARs), at INR 1.3 billion since 2006, Indian aid to Tajikistan has been tepid compared to for example Afghanistan which received INR 27 billion, or the Maldives which received INR 12 billion between 2006 and 2013.[3] For India, deepening development partnerships with Tajikistan could amplify the goodwill in the region, with potentially welcome implications for shared security concerns – especially the spread of Islamist extremism. It could also bode well for New Delhi's burgeoning energy needs.

However, to suggest that Indian engagement with Tajikistan is aimed solely at ensuring energy security or curbing Islamist extremism would be a narrow, if not an inaccurate assessment of New Delhi's interests in Tajikistan. As this brief will highlight, a desire to help diversify the Tajik economy and to address humanitarian concerns drives India's engagement with Dushanbe as strongly as does realizing India's energy demand or mitigating shared security and geo-strategic concerns.

## OVERVIEW OF BILATERAL RELATIONS

As the Soviet era came to an end in the early 1990s, India - the only non-communist nation with a diplomatic outpost

in central Asia— found itself in an advantageous position to strengthen ties with the newly independent CARs. India's consulate in Tashkent which opened in 1987, had jurisdiction over the Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tajik, Turkmen and Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republics [4] - potentially giving New Delhi a head start over many others keen to engage with the region. Unfortunately, a severe balance of payment crisis and the Indian government's focus on domestic, and particularly economic concerns meant India could not take advantage of its diplomatic engagement with the central Asian region of the Soviet Union. Consequently India found itself unable to cement ties with the newly emerging republics of Central Asia.

Moreover, with India's government focused on domestic concerns during the dissolution of the Soviet Union, India's exports to the Commonwealth of Independent states (CIS) began to drop - from 10 percent of India's total exports in 1990-91 to 1.5 percent in 1992. [5] Trade with the CIS still remains well below potential, accounting for less than 1 percent of India's exports in 2012 and 1.2 percent if one includes Georgia, Ukraine and Turkmenistan, nations that were members of the CIS in 1992, but are no longer full members. [6]

A similar trend of insipid trade relations is readily apparent today with the other four CARs. Between 2000 and 2011, India's trade with the region averaged US\$ 300 million, and rose only slightly, to US\$ 500 million in 2012. [7] This is particularly worrying given that some estimates put India's potential trade with the region at US\$ 4.4 billion for the coming year. [8]

### **The Rise of the Taliban and the Strategic Importance of Tajikistan**

Though India was still focused on domestic issues during the early 1990s, it had recognized the more secular regime of Bhuranuddin Rabbani as the legitimate Government of Afghanistan during a time of civil war in Afghanistan. When the Taliban started gaining strength in Afghanistan in 1994, alarm bells began ringing in New Delhi. The Taliban, which was recognized by Pakistan as representing the legitimate government of Afghanistan was not just seen as a threat to the more secular Rabbani government. The Indian government also worried that a Taliban government in Afghanistan would lead to an increase in the insurgency in Indian Kashmir. This worry about the political fallout of a Taliban government also for the internal security of India, led India, along with Russia and Iran, to start supplying arms to the Rabbani government. [9]

However, once the Taliban took Kabul in 1996, and India closed its embassy in the Afghan capital, New Delhi started

looking north, to the CARs, to channel goods, materiel and intelligence support to the Northern Alliance, the main Afghan group fighting the Taliban. Though economic ties and bilateral trade were well below potential, India began to strategically engage more with the CARs bordering Afghanistan, Tajikistan in particular, which allowed New Delhi to route much of the material and intelligence support to the Northern Alliance. [10] Tajikistan also facilitated India's access to the ethnic Tajik leadership of the Northern Alliance: India opened a military hospital near the Tajik-Afghan border at Farkhor, and airfields around Dushanbe were used for channelling goods, including military goods, to the Northern Alliance. [11]

The defeat of the Taliban in 2001 and the subsequent dissolution of the Northern Alliance did not entirely eliminate the imperatives for wide ranging co-operation with Dushanbe. The Wakhan corridor of Afghanistan is where the Tajik and Indian borders are closest. Both India and Tajikistan continue to face the scourge of Islamist extremism stemming from the border region between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Among the more pressing dangers is the possibility of militants taking control of the north-eastern corridor of Afghanistan - specifically the provinces of Kunar, Nuristan and Badakhshan. As Ahmed Rashid highlights, occupying the vast region where the tip of southern Tajikistan, Pakistan's north-western border, and eastern Afghanistan are in touching distance could be of enormous value to the militants, not just because it makes destabilizing Afghanistan easier, but because it could have a similar destabilizing effect on the broader central Asian region. [12] This potential for instability is among a host of factors that adds incentive to building mutually beneficial economic, strategic and development assistance based ties.

### **DEVELOPMENT PARTNERSHIPS**

As the geo-strategic importance of Tajikistan for India rose, India started to engage more deeply in building development partnerships with Tajikistan. Since 2006, Indian development assistance to Tajikistan amounted to INR 1.3 billion, given almost entirely as grants. [13] Much of India's development assistance for Tajikistan has been channelled towards power generation and education. [14]

In addition to grants, India has also deepened its development partnership with Tajikistan through disbursing Lines of Credit (LOCs) and budgetary loans. While the rest of Central Asian countries received LOCs worth approximately US\$ 80 million since 1993, Tajikistan was extended one budgetary loan in 1995 worth US\$ 5 million to bolster pharmaceutical production. [15] The pharmaceutical production plant became operational in 1996-97. However, in subsequent years, the Tajik government failed to provide

the working capital for the project - which was to be a joint venture with an Indian firm, and in 2003, the Government of India converted the principal along with the accrued interest of US\$ 3.37 million into a grant.[16]

### Security Assistance

India's refurbishment of air force bases at Ayni and Farkhor, the air combat training provided to Tajik military pilots[17] and the donation of a Russian made military helicopter to the Tajik air force[18] highlights that India's broader engagement with Dushanbe extends to the security sector as well. Given the strategically favourable location of Tajikistan, it is also noteworthy that India has its only foreign airbase in Farkhor, 130 kilometres south of the Tajik capital. As part of a deepening strategic relationship, India has also airlifted doctors, paramedics, and two of the recently inducted C-130 J Hercules military transport aircrafts to Tajikistan.[19]

### Development Assistance

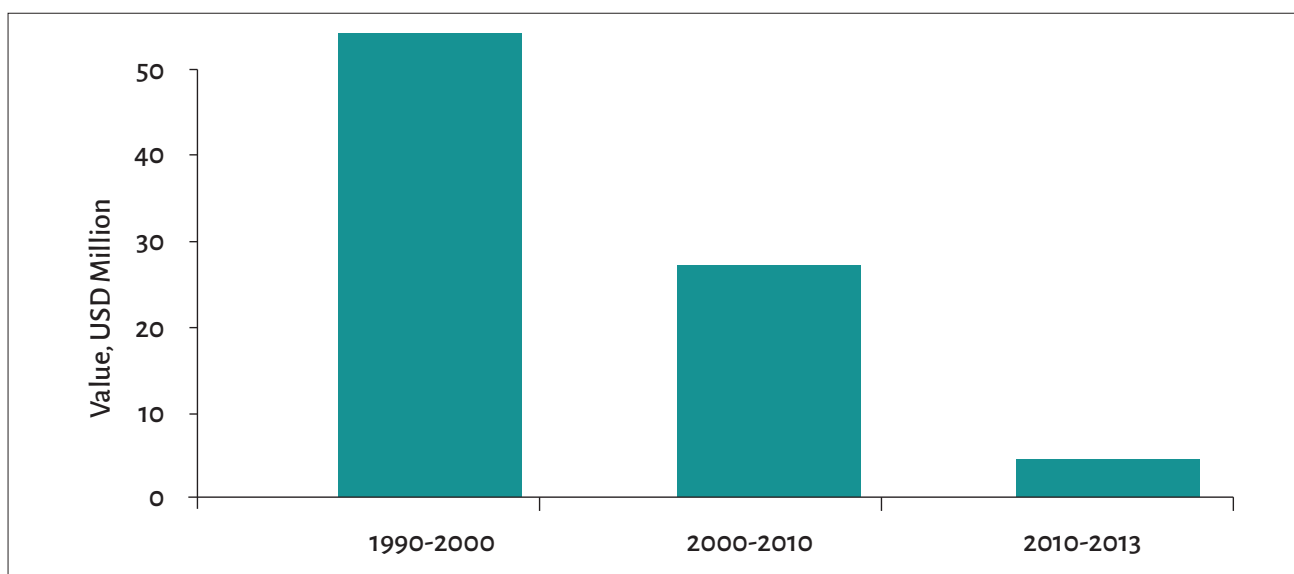
For India, overland access to Tajikistan could have welcome implications for trade and economic relations with central Asia.[20] However, since such access remains elusive, India's trade interests would be better served if New Delhi focused its development assistance on sectors that would benefit India even in the absence of a direct land corridor.

Despite some of India's development assistance being targeted to areas that might ultimately benefit the demand for Indian goods and services, such as the proposed central Asian e- network which aims to bolster capacity in the health and education sectors of Central Asia[21] - a substantial

part of Indian aid to Tajikistan has been in sectors that are unlikely to directly benefit India particularly given the limited overland access. Recent Indian development assistance such as a US\$ 600,000 grant given to set up a fruit processing plant, a US\$ 20 million grant for the renovation of a Hydro Power Station (HPS)[22] and the 2 million polio vaccines provided through UNICEF in 2010 at an approximate cost of over US\$ 220,000,[23] however clearly highlights that India's engagement with Tajikistan is driven not solely by a desire to meet New Delhi's projected energy demand or to mitigate shared security concerns, but also by a strong desire to help diversify the Tajik economy and to assist with humanitarian efforts.

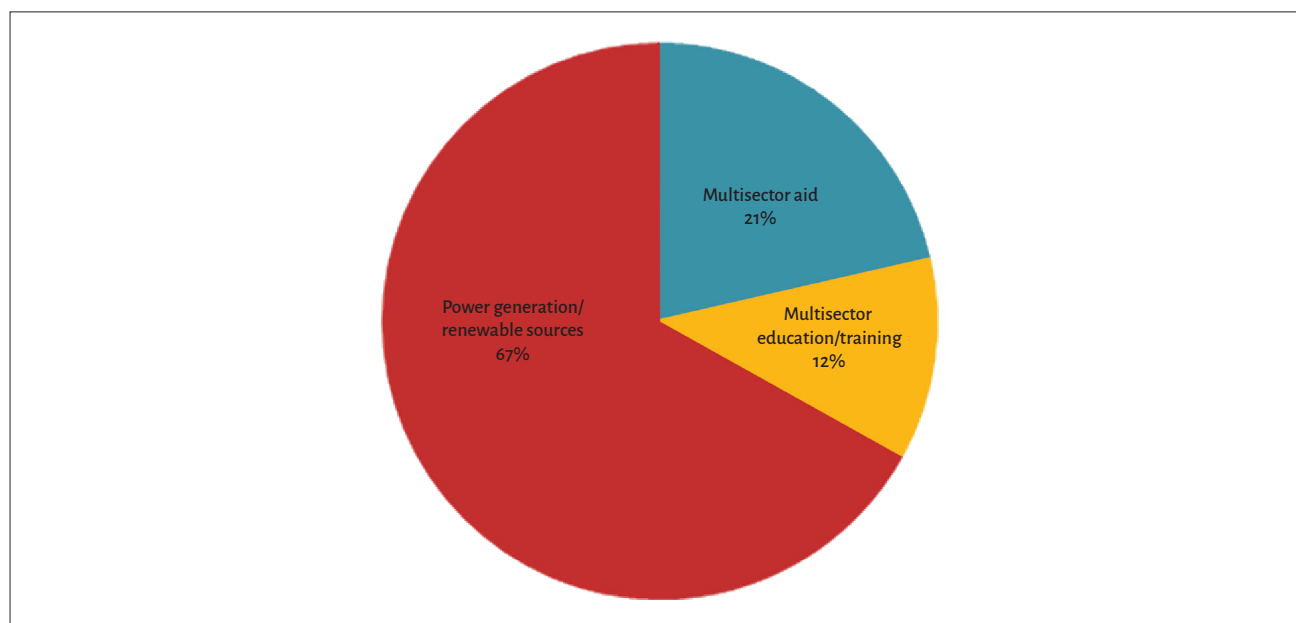
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Figure 1: Budgetary Loans and Lines of Credit extended to the CAR's between 1990-2013



Source: Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program at the Centre for Policy Research

Figure 2: Sectoral Distribution of Grants to Tajikistan (2006-2013)



Source: Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program at the Centre for Policy Research

When Tajikistan's civil war ended in 1997, its economy started to grow. Yet today the commodity, export and remittance dependent nation remains the poorest corner of the former Soviet Union, and continues to suffer from a substantial infrastructure deficit. Indian aid, with its strength in capacity building and information technology could have a positive impact on the health, education and power generation sectors in Tajikistan.

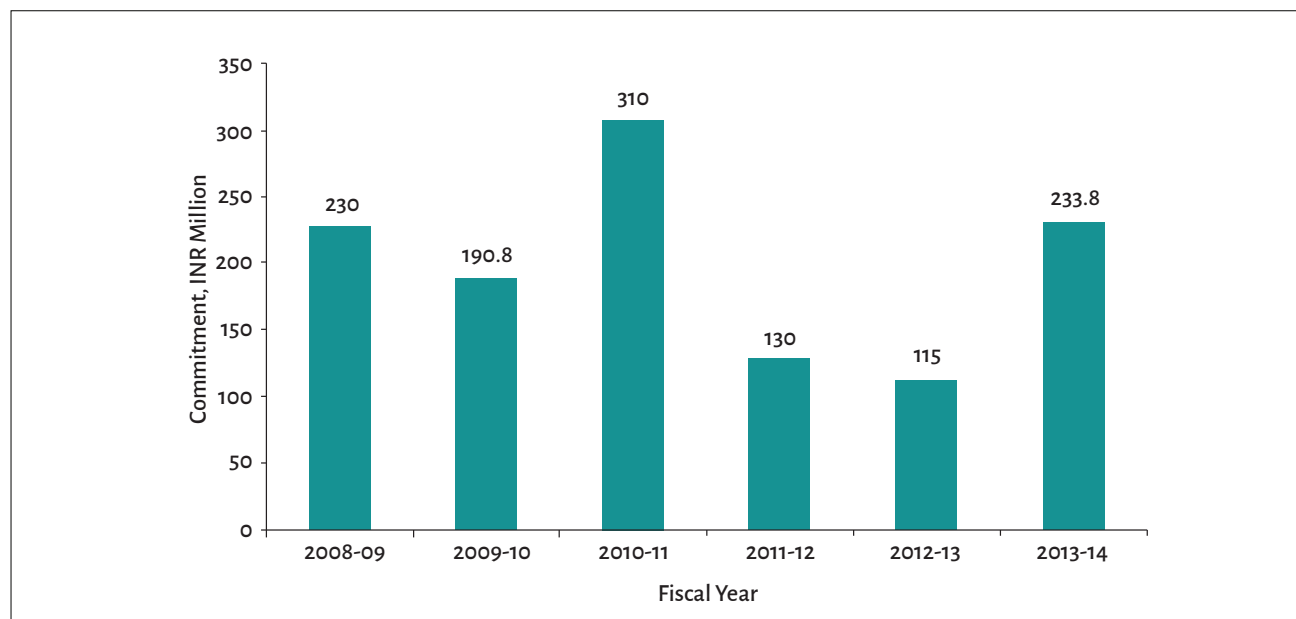
#### Hydro power

Occupying less than one tenth of one percent of the world's area, Tajikistan accounts for nearly four percent of the global hydro-power generation potential.[24] Despite this, at present Dushanbe produces 14.6 billion Kwh of hydro power a year,[25] against an estimated potential of 527 billion Kwh.[26] Rural residents often receive an average of five to seven hours of electricity a day,[27] and Dushanbe is often forced to import energy from neighbouring Uzbekistan.[28]

Development partnerships to strengthen Tajikistan's generation of hydro-power could help Tajikistan realize its electricity generation potential. This would help diversify the Tajik economy which still remains vulnerable to external shocks and is heavily dependant on remittances, especially from Moscow.[29] For example, the 2008 global financial crisis saw annual growth drop to 3.9 percent in 2008-09, from an average of 8 percent between 2004-07.[30]

Between 2006-12, India committed approximately US\$ 20 million in grants towards the modernization of the Varzob-1 Hydro Power Station, originally built in 1936. Modernization was carried out through the Indian public sector companies, Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited (BHEL) and the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC). Inaugurated in 2012, the plant saw a capacity increase of over 25 percent, from 7.34 MW to 9.5 MW.[31]

Figure 3: India's Development Assistance to Tajikistan, 2008-2013 (grants and loans; commitments)



Source: Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program at the Centre for Policy Research

However, at about US\$ 20 million, Indian assistance to hydropower generation in Tajikistan remains limited, and if New Delhi wishes to build closer ties in this sector, it will need to convince the Indian private sector of the advantages of investing in the plentiful hydroelectric resources this Central Asian nation has to offer. Though the high initial costs and the

paltry short-term returns may render such a task daunting, a greater emphasis by the Indian government on credit lines, whereby Indian companies can be assured of returns, could help generate the incentives for increased private sector investment.[32]

*The Varzob region, Tajikistan.*



Photo credit: Kailash K. Prasad

It may at first seem counterintuitive to argue for greater development co-operation with Tajikistan in the hydropower sector, since although such co-operation could help strengthen the Tajik economy, harnessing this energy would prove a challenge for India. Yet the geo-strategic importance of Tajikistan to India should outweigh such potential downsides to increasing development assistance to Tajikistan. A more resilient Tajik economy that is less dependent on foreign inflows could allow Dushanbe greater latitude in foreign policy. Since Tajikistan's deference to Russia was attributed as one of the main reasons India was unable to use the Ayni air base (which it spent US\$ 70 million and several years to refurbish)[33] a more independent Tajik foreign policy would be in India's larger foreign policy interests.

### *Education and Capacity Building*

As evidenced by the numerous high level visits of government officials to each other's countries over the last six years, and by the signing of a Strategic Partnership Agreement in 2012,[34] relations between India and Tajikistan have been growing close. Indian assistance in education and capacity building only promises to strengthen these ties. Tajikistan continues to benefit significantly from the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program. From the mid-1990s to 2013, 728 Tajik students have been trained in India under the ITEC scheme,[35] and in 2012, ITEC slots to Tajikistan increased from 100 to 150, an increase of 50 percent. Thirty fellowships are also awarded annually by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations for students to study at the masters and Ph.D. levels at Indian universities. Furthermore, in February 2013 the Tajik Technical University signed an agreement with the Indian Institute of Technology in New Delhi, one of India's most prestigious educational establishments, to facilitate academic exchange and promote joint research.[36]

### *Cultural Relations*

There are several indications of favourable public opinion of India and thereby India's soft power leverage in Tajikistan.

[37] A recent public opinion survey conducted by the Tajik think tank Sharq (ORIENS) Research Centre found a majority of respondents harbour 'very friendly' or 'friendly' attitudes towards India.[38] Positive perceptions of India can further be inferred by the 600 plus Indian films that are dubbed in to the Tajik language (a variant of Farsi that uses the Cyrillic script) every year.[39] Much of this translation is possible because several of the universities in Tajikistan have strong Hindi and Urdu departments, indicating the existence of a deeper scholarly interest in India and the demand for Indian languages in Tajikistan.[40]

Moreover, both nations share a rich common past. During his visit to India in March 1947, the famous Tajik poet Mirzo Tursunzade wrote several poems on India, which was at the time on the cusp of independence. These poems generated considerable interest among the people of Tajikistan.[41]

Subsequently the works of Indian writers such as Rabindranath Tagore, Prem Chand and others were translated into Tajik. Tagore became a familiar name throughout the former Soviet Union, including in Tajikistan.[42] There is also evidence of the common history in India, for example the grave of the famous 17th century Tajik poet Abdul Qadir Bedil in central Delhi.[43]

Bollywood DVD's are readily available in several markets around the city. A Bollywood actress can be seen in an advertising hoarding in the background.

To further the interest in Indian culture and history among the Tajik people, the Indian Embassy in Dushanbe regularly organizes celebrations of the festivals of Holi, Diwali and the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi.[44] Considering the existing bilateral relationship, these efforts are likely to amplify the goodwill and could spur further people to people contact - with welcome implications for trade, investments and for India's efforts to build deeper development partnerships in the broader Central Asian region.

*A local market in Dushanbe, Tajikistan.*



**Photo credit:** Kailash K. Prasad

### *Humanitarian Assistance*

Indian assistance in the area of humanitarian assistance has totalled over US\$ 2.5 million since 2008.[45] Notably, in 2008, to overcome the food and electricity shortages caused by an unprecedentedly harsh winter, India extended a grant of US\$ 2 million, of which US\$ 1 million was given as cash assistance and the rest in kind in the form of power cables, generators and pump sets.[46] In addition, in 2009, India gave Tajikistan US\$ 200,000 as cash assistance to support flood relief operations. Similarly in 2010, after the flash floods in the Kulyab district in South-west Tajikistan which resulted in over 40 deaths, and the displacement of nearly 4,500 people,[47] India provided US\$ 200,000 in humanitarian cash assistance. In the same year India also provided 2 million doses of the polio vaccine to Tajikistan through UNICEF after a polio outbreak.[48]

### *Information Technology*

In 2003, with a grant of US\$ 600,000, India facilitated the construction of an Information and Technology Centre in Dushanbe.[49] Commissioned in 2006, the Bedil-India Centre for Information Technology (BITCIT) was intended to serve as a useful resource base for the Government of Tajikistan to promote e-governance. [50] It was also geared to developing human resources in Tajikistan's information and communications technology sector.[51] Tajikistan's appreciation of India's efforts to bolster capacity in IT through the BITCIT were apparent early on, at the graduation ceremony of the first batch of students from BITCIT in 2007.[52]

More recently, in April 2013, the Government of India decided to collaborate with the Tajik Technical University to create an IT centre of excellence, with Indian Vice-President Hamid Ansari further voicing aspirations of making Tajikistan the focal point of a proposed Central Asian e-network.[53] Building on the success of the Pan African e-network, which provides tele-education and tele- medicine services, the Central Asian e-network also aims to bolster capacity in the health and education sectors of Central Asia.[54] As with the pan African e-network, the Central Asian e-network envisages a link between top hospitals and educational institutes in India with similar institutions in Central Asia.

### **CONCLUSION**

Concern over the spread of Islamist extremism has been a major factor drawing India and Tajikistan closer since the mid-1990s. In addition, the uncertainty surrounding Afghanistan after the pull-out of international troops in 2014 makes it likely that in the short- term, addressing shared security concerns will remain a priority for both countries. Of particular concern is the possibility of militants in Afghanistan securing the north-eastern corridor of Afghanistan before the withdrawal of international troops. Additionally, as Ahmed Rashid argues, Pakistan remains a crucial source of supplies for the militants in the region, and Pakistani militant groups play a key support role for the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU).[55]

India and Tajikistan are therefore likely to find common cause to continue collaborating on the counter terrorism front. But, a cursory assessment of India's engagement with Tajikistan belies the existence of interests that are considerably broader. Tajikistan has received the bulk of Indian development assistance to Central Asia over the past decade. However, at INR 1.3 billion since 2006, aid remains relatively tepid compared to for example Afghanistan which received INR 27 billion or even the Maldives which received INR 12 billion between 2006 and 2013. [56] Yet India's development cooperation efforts have yielded tangible dividends, boosting capacity in IT, energy and education in Tajikistan. India now envisages establishing additional fruit and vegetable processing plants, setting up language centres, and supplying machinery for agriculture. India has also sought to enhance cooperation in hydropower and solar energy. [57]

A closer development partnership between India and Tajikistan through greater focus on capacity development and the renewable energy sector would result in a much more resilient Tajik economy. And though India is likely to find harnessing Tajik hydropower a challenge, an economically stronger Tajikistan promises to add to stability in Afghanistan

– which is in the interest of both India and Tajikistan. Closer ties with Afghanistan's northern neighbour would also allow India to more effectively curb the often pernicious influence Islamabad's military establishment wields in Kabul and could help New Delhi gain a stronger foothold in the region – thereby reinforcing India's 'Connect Central Asia' policy. Finally, Tajikistan continues to support New Delhi's bid for full membership at the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and its claim for a permanent seat at the UNSC [58] - an indication that Dushanbe wishes to see India play a significantly bigger role in the region. Capitalizing on such attitudes by building deeper development partnerships will almost certainly bode well for India's broader aspirations in energy rich Central Asia.

**Disclaimer:** The values quoted in this article are based on initial calculations by IDCR from publicly available data sources and/or from IDCR's interactions with officials from the Government of India. These values are believed to be accurate, but not guaranteed. They may change as IDCR identifies and addresses discrepancies in the publicly available data. When quoting from this article, please indicate the date it was last updated.



## ENDNOTES

1. Though recent prospecting in the Bokhtar region in South-west Tajikistan shows that Tajikistan might possess reserves of oil and gas. If these reserves are as vast as analysts suspect (114 trillion cubic meters of gas and 8.5 billion barrels of oil according to the Canadian oil and gas prospecting firm Tethys (see for example 'The Asset, Bokhtar PSC Area, 'Tethys Petroleum, available at <http://www.tethyspetroleum.com/operations/tajikistan/the-asset-bokhtarpscarea/default.aspx>), It will only add to India's reasons to engage with Tajikistan. There is keen interest in exploring this region, though as of now, the reserves here remain unproven. See for example, Ashwini Shrivastava 'India eyes oil, gas reserves in Tajikistan,' Live Mint, 17th April, 2013, available at [http://www.livemint.com/Politics/xHwOQf9X7pbXRc7tZDBkLL/India-eyes-oil-gas-reserves-in-Tajikistan.html?ref=also\\_read](http://www.livemint.com/Politics/xHwOQf9X7pbXRc7tZDBkLL/India-eyes-oil-gas-reserves-in-Tajikistan.html?ref=also_read) (last accessed 1st May, 2014)
2. Ministry of Energy and Industry, Republic of Tajikistan 'Current Situation and Development Prospects for Energy and Industry in the Republic of Tajikistan,' p.7 (available at [http://www.tajikembassy.pk/pdf/Current-Situation&DevelopmentProspects\\_MOEI.pdf](http://www.tajikembassy.pk/pdf/Current-Situation&DevelopmentProspects_MOEI.pdf)) (last accessed 1st May, 2014)
3. Preliminary calculations by the Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) group.
4. Asoke Mukerji 'India, Central Asia and the new Silk Road,' Discussion Meeting, 10th July, 2012, Arundel House, London (available at <http://www.iiss.org/en/events/events/archive/2012-4a49/july-70c4/india-central-asia-and-the-new-silk-road-e4d1>) (last accessed 1st May, 2014).
5. The Diplomatist Plus Special Report (available at [www.peopleandmanagement.com/diplomatist2012august/Vietnam2012.pdf](http://www.peopleandmanagement.com/diplomatist2012august/Vietnam2012.pdf)) (last accessed 1st May, 2014).
6. Ibid. Preliminary calculations by the Indian Development Cooperation Research.
7. Preliminary calculations by IDCR based on data from the Ministry of Finance, Government of India.
8. Prabir De, 'Global Economic and Financial Crisis: India's Trade Potential and Future Prospects,' Asia Pacific Research and Training Network on Trade Working Paper Series, no. 64, May 2009 (available at [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1412592](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1412592)) (last accessed 1st May, 2014)
9. See for example 'Afghanistan: civil war or uncivil peace?', Hearing before the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 104th Congress, Second Session, 9 May 1996), p. 21 (available at <http://ia700303.us.archive.org/6/items/afghanistanciviloounit/afghanistanciviloounit.pdf>) and Paul Holtom, 'United Nations Arms Embargoes Their Impact on Arms Flows and Target Behaviour Case study: The Taliban, 2000–2006' Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, p.3 (available at <http://books.sipri.org/files/misc/UNAE/SIPRI07UNAETal.pdf>). (last accessed 1st May, 2014)
10. See for example, Ahmed Rashid (2008) *Descent into chaos: The US and the disaster in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia* (Penguin: London, UK).
11. Ibid.
12. Ahmed Rashid 'Central Asia concerns over US pullout from Afghanistan,' BBC, 5th October, 2013 (available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-24397109>) (last accessed 1st May, 2014)
13. Preliminary Calculations by IDCR.
14. Ibid.
15. One US\$ 10 million LOC extended to Kazakhstan in 2004 was subsequently made available for all nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). In 2003, the Prime Minister of India announced another credit line worth US\$ 5 million to Tajikistan. However, details of this whether this credit line became operational are unclear. See for example, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Annual Report 2003-04, p. 51, available at <http://mealib.nic.in/?pdf2531?000> (last accessed 2nd May 2014) and see for example, 'India Tajikistan Relations, 'January 2013, (available at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/tajikistan\\_bilateral\\_brief.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/tajikistan_bilateral_brief.pdf)) (last accessed 1st May, 2014). The US\$ 80 million extended to the CARs by India includes post-2004 EXIM Bank operated LOCs as well as budgetary loans that were extended before 2004.
16. Ibid
17. See 'India Intends to establish its first military base abroad in Tajikistan,' Fergana News, 12th October, 2006 (available at <http://enews.fergananews.com/article.php?id=1635>) (last accessed 1st May, 2014)
18. See 'Tajikistan-Air Force,' [globalsecurity.org](http://www.globalsecurity.org) (available at <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/centralasia/tajik-airforce.htm>) (last accessed 1st May, 2014).
19. See Rajat Pandit, 'India airlifts military hospital to Tajikistan to strengthen geo-strategic footprint in Central Asia,' Times of India, 18th April, 2013 (available at <http://>

- articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2013-04-18/india/38646394\_1\_indian-army-tajik-president-emomali-rahmon-new-hospital) (last accessed 1st May, 2014).
20. Presently, goods from India bound for Tajikistan must take a circuitous route to the port of Bandar Abbas in the south of Iran, traverse the Islamic republic to reach Turkmenistan, then Uzbekistan, before reaching Tajikistan. See 'India Tajikistan Relations,' January 2013, p. 2 (available at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/tajikistan\\_bilateral\\_brief.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/tajikistan_bilateral_brief.pdf)) (last accessed 1st May, 2014).
  21. See for example 'India's Connect Central Asia Policy: Keynote address by MOS Shri E. Ahamed at the First India-Central Asia Dialogue,' Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 12th June, 2012 (available at <http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/19791/Keynote+address+by+MOS+Shri+E+Ahamed+at+First+India+Central+Asia+Dialogue>) (last accessed 1st May, 2014).
  22. See 'India Tajikistan Bilateral Brief,' (available at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/tajikistan\\_bilateral\\_brief.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/tajikistan_bilateral_brief.pdf)) (last accessed 1st May, 2014).
  23. Calculations by IDCR based on prices of Oral Polio Vaccines in 2010 as given at <http://www.unicef.org/supply/files/OPV.pdf> (last accessed 1st May, 2014).
  24. See 'Tajikistan: Energy,' [globalsecurity.org](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/centralasia/tajik-energy.htm) (available at <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/centralasia/tajik-energy.htm>) (last accessed 1st May, 2014).
  25. This figure accounts for 91 percent of the total electricity Tajikistan produces. See 'CIA World Fact Book – Country Profiles: Tajikistan,' (available at <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ti.html>) (last accessed 1st May, 2014).
  26. Ministry of Energy and Industry, 'Current Situation and Development Prospects for Energy,' p.7 (available at [http://www.tajikembassy.pk/pdf/Current-Situation&Development-Prospects\\_MOEI.pdf](http://www.tajikembassy.pk/pdf/Current-Situation&Development-Prospects_MOEI.pdf)) (last accessed 1st May, 2014).
  27. Eli Keene 'Solving Tajikistan's Energy Crisis,' Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 25th March, 2013 (available at <http://carnegieendowment.org/2013/03/25/solving-tajikistan-s-energy-crisis/fta8>) (last accessed 1st May, 2014).
  28. See for example David L. Stern 'Tajikistan Hopes Water will Power its Ambitions,' New York Times, 31st August, 2008 (available at [http://www.nytimes.com/2008/09/01/world/asia/01tajikistan.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/09/01/world/asia/01tajikistan.html?_r=0)) (last accessed 1st May, 2014).
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