Annual Regional Security/Alumni Conference

Central Asian Security: Factors of Fragility, Sources of Resilience

October 2018, Bishkek
Conference Rapporteur: Ammar Rezaie

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On 11-14 October 2018 the OSCE Academy in Bishkek held its annual forum on "Central Asian Security: Factors of Fragility, Sources of Resilience" for security experts, including alumni of the Academy, from Eurasia, East and South Asia, Europe and the United States, in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. Through a series of panel discussions, the seminar attempted to identify and analyze a wide range of security related issues in Central Asia including regional integration, regional implications of peace and insecurity in Afghanistan, the Belt and Road initiative, energy cooperation, religion, secularism and others.

This year the OSCE Academy introduced a new conference format that was extended to additional public events in Russian and English languages. They included a Public Lecture "Afghanistan and Central Asia in a Glance (from Policy to Practice)" by Dr. Moheb Spinghar, Director of the Institute of Diplomacy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and two simultaneous workshops on "Cyber Security: How to protect yourself in the Cyberspace" co-led by Ms. Anna Gussarova, Director of the Central Asia Institute for Strategic Studies, Kazakhstan and Mr. Erlan Bakiev, Head of the Department on Countering Extremism and Illegal Migration, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Kyrgyzstan, and another on "System of Restrictions and Bans on Public Servants: Goals, Types, Comparative Analysis" led by Mr. Jaroslav Strelcenoks, an International Anti-Corruption Expert, Latvia.

The conference was kindly funded by the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) and the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At a time when challenges old and new are finding impetus across the globe, it is imperative to develop analytical clarity regarding factors that make security fragile and factors that bolster resilience. Security is not a static good, but a condition in time, ever open to change and impacted by countless aspects. The mandate for political leaders and their governments, for societies at large, and for scholars and knowledge communities, is to comprehend and act in accordance with the evolving nature of security. This means not only identifying sources of fragility but actively tapping into reserves of resilience to threats, whether in Central Asia or elsewhere. There are many relevant actors within and across states, in Central Asia and outside, all with different interests, backgrounds and capabilities. What the conference aimed to achieve is a critical and topical scholarly inquiry into these actors, the processes they are involved in, their interests and capabilities, and, more generally, into countering fragility and enhancing resilience, with a sharp focus on the nexus between the two in the wider region of Central Asia.

Over the three days of the conference experts discussed and presented their papers in panel formats covering major topics related to security in the region. Panels were followed by questions and answers sessions. The first day of the conference was opened by a keynote speaker, Dr. Flemming Splidsboel Hansen, whose topic was "Security Challenges Across the Domain Spectrum".

Issues highlighted in previous seminars have included global security trends and their impact on Central Asia, The Helsinki Final Act at 40, and the impact of the Afghan factor and the conflict in Georgia on Central Asian security politics, energy geopolitics, the role of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in the region, as well as US, Chinese, Russian, Iranian and Indian policies towards Central Asia.

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List of Acronyms

BPP	Bishkek Power Plant	**IS**	Islamic State
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative	**ISIL**	Islamic State of Iraq and Levant
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor	**ISKP**	Islamic State of Khorasan Province
EEU	Eurasian Economic Union	**NATO**	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
HPC	High Peace Council	**NUG**	National Unity Government
IEC	Independent Election Commission	**UN**	United Nations
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan	**UTO**	United Tajikistan Opposition
IRPT	Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan		

Keynote Speech by Dr. Flemming Splidsboel Hansen: "Security Challenges Across the Domain Spectrum"

Dr. Flemming Splidsboel Hansen's speech introduced distinct domains of security in the context of current discourses on the topic. He divided security into three categories: physical, digital and cognitive. Each category consists of two sub-categories - kinetic and non-kinetic.

Dr. Hansen explained that recent times have seen less attention to Central Asian security challenges by experts and the latter have struggled to group these challenges in accordance with the categories mentioned above. For example, weaponization of information/disinformation at the state level and non-state level has become a major threat, he noted. Security experts are coming up with new ways to protect societies generally and citizens individually. The activities of the terrorist groups in cyber space by publishing promotional material about their deadly motivation is a great danger and states have to be ready for countering these threats and make their societies more resilient to such propaganda and prevent the radicalization of their citizens.

In the sphere of the physical operations armies around the world are engaging in two distinct types of activity: Kinetic Operations and Non-Kinetic Operations. In Afghanistan the U.S. and NATO are fighting the terrorist by targeting them through bombing, shooting or air attacks, which are kinetic operations while on the other side they are engaged in non-kinetic operations such as handing out leaflets encouraging combatants to quit the insurgency or distributing food such as wheat in order to engage them in peaceful acts. General Valeri Gerasimov, Chief of Staff of the Russian Armed Forces, in his famous article published in 2013 emphasized the gradually rising importance of non-kinetic activities as part of war planning, which armies should utilize during military operations. The occupation of the Crimea included elements of non-kinetic activities by the Russian Armed Forces on a large scale.

Dr. Hansen, at the end of his speech made it clear that the three main domains of security, the Physical Domain, Cognitive Domain and Digital Domain, require that politicians and experts to pay more attention and conduct more research in order to address challenges in each domain. He exemplified the digital domain, which is more related to Central Asia as most of the radicalization happens in this domain and the security and cyberspace experts have to counter this threat. Audiences were curious to know about the complexity of war in the 21st century since the attackers are unknown and it is very difficult to determine the attacker and blame him for his actions. The matter about the digital domain attacks such as alleged interventions of the Russian government in hacking election databases and manipulating the process was also raised. The situation is difficult as attacks in the digital domain are extremely hard to determine and identify. The state is behind them. However, each state is making such claim, in order to shape the public opinion and people could make their decision who to blame.

It has been raised why all the attacks in the digital domain are attributed to the Russian government. It looks like a one-sided process, which apparently indicates the superiority of Russia in this sphere or it is just a "blame Russia" game. Dr. Hansen explained that the states have tools with which they influence the public such as through TV channels. For instance, in Russia's case, it is the RT network, which is now registered as a foreign agent in the US. On the other hand, the Russian government has replicated by labeling Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and Voice of America as foreign agents and such tit for tat actions also extend to the digital domain.

Security has increasingly become a more complex matter as states are using information as a method of warfare against other states and manipulate the information space predominantly through TV channels, the internet and social media networks. Governments across the world are developing strategies and programs to counter this threat or they even go one step further and

develop offensive capacities in this sphere. The Russian Federation and the United Kingdom are the two countries, which are using this domain to engage with each other through disinformation campaigns in order to shape public opinion to their own benefit. Security experts are only explaining these phenomena through their knowledge but the decision-making and execution lays with the state that wants to embark on such a project.

Central Asian Regional Integration – Relevant Again?

Central Asian integration is not a new topic now as we have seen during the last 25 years that efforts have been made to integrate the five states of Central Asia without asking why we are doing it. Is it necessary to integrate these countries or we can better live without it? Why are some states reluctant to integrate to the extent they used to, mine their borders and block roads not allowing people to move across the borders while others are opening up borders and welcoming integration. Here, the two speakers looked at Central Asia through the prism of culture and identity integration.

The panel looked at the topic of regional integration in Central Asia with concentration on the identity of the peoples of Central Asia how they present themselves in this context of post-Soviet integration where the agenda is pushed forward from both governments and the international community. One of the speakers suggested that cultural integration is not easy among Central Asians as they are very diverse nations and each has its own characteristics. The states interfere and manipulate the identity for their own purpose of uniting the country. In Uzbekistan, from the government's perspective, national identity equals state identity that means citizens should become loyal to the state and its values such as stability, secularism and economic development and generally align themselves with the state agenda.

One speaker detailed different types of identities and how those identities sometimes become sources of conflict while some identities are more stable than others and resist the provocation of inter-ethnic rivalries. Types of identities generally include civic identity, secular identity, Muslim identity, clan-based identity. To some extent all those identities have been utilized to define the identity of the Central Asians. The issue of identity has become more important since the Soviet Union has been dissolved and new nations were created where state officials tried to define their people as a unified and single identity to differentiate themselves from others and protect the people within the borders of the new state. The clan-based identity seems more stable than any other identity particularly civic and secular.

The issue of identity has been contentious in Central Asia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Each newly established state chose to follow one type of identity or the other. Foreign intervention is pushing for new identity in contrast to the Soviet one. This has created confusion among Central Asian people as the state pushes for ethno- and clan-based identity as a means to strengthen the state structure and align the people with its agenda. On the other hand, western identities push for civic and secular identities that state elites oppose. Formation of the identity mentioned has reflected a top down approach where the state elites have developed the state identity and promoted them as the identity of the whole nation. Nevertheless, there may be a large portion of the population that disagrees with the thus constructed identity. These types of state imposition of the identity created serious problem, like the inter-ethnic conflict and violence in 2010 in Southern Kyrgyzstan or the total denial of Tajik ethnic identity in Samarkand, Uzbekistan.

Regional Implications of Peace and Insecurity in Afghanistan

There are concerns across the board about Afghanistan. What will happen if the conflict continues or what would be the implications of peace in Afghanistan for Central Asia? One of the panelists suggested that the cooperation between Russia, the United States and China is crucial in addressing the conflict while we see much difficulty in bringing these three countries together over the same agenda that makes achieving peace difficult. Another panelist has suggested that the Afghan government is under huge pressure to come to an agreement with the Taliban and end this war. Its neighbors, Iran and Pakistan see their interest in continuing the war until seeing a Pakistan/Iran friendly government. Again, another panelist looked at the rise of the Islamic State (IS) in Afghanistan and factors contributing to this issue. From his perspective, the Islamic State is a major threat to stability in Afghanistan and Central Asia as one of the strongholds of the IS is in the Northern Province of Jawzjan bordering Turkmenistan.

Since the establishment of the National Unity Government (NUG) of Afghanistan headed by President Ghani, peace has become a hot topic and a major agenda item of the President's administration. Since 2014 with the formation of the NUG, President Ghani has embarked on several initiatives to bring peace including his ceasefire announcement with the Taliban as a starting point for negotiations. He also held the "Kabul Conference", where the major agenda was peace. There he invited several countries that can play a role in the peace process including Central Asian states. One of the results of the conference was Uzbekistan offering good offices for negotiations with the Taliban. President Ghani also started confidence-building with Pakistan as a major influencer in the conflict in Afghanistan when he went to Pakistan and offered unconditional cooperation in the arrest and handover of Pakistani Taliban fighters and Pakistani Baluch separatists to that country in turn for its cooperation in the Afghan peace process.

It is necessary to divide the factors that play a role in the peace process into internal and external ones. The High Peace Council (HPC) of Afghanistan is considered as the major internal actor in negotiating a peace deal with the Taliban. However, this council of elders is sidelined both by the Afghan government and international players especially the U.S. due to the absence of skills and capacity among its members and the Taliban's lack of interest to engage with them short of an adequate mandate of this entity. Coming to the external actor, Pakistan is the major player as it hosts the senior leadership of the Taliban on its territory and is considered as the safe haven for the members of this movement. It holds a great sway in pushing the Taliban to the peace talks while the terms of conflict resolution should be in their favor and guarantee the respect for Pakistani interests in the future deal. They include a major share for the Taliban in the government and severe limitation for India's role in Afghanistan.

One speaker offered insights into the rise of ISIS in Afghanistan with a brief description of the group and its goal and activities in the country. The first cell of the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL) was formed in 2015. Most of its members included the former Taliban and members of some other Jihadi groups. Its activities include terrorizing the Hazara population and targeting state facilities such as military bases and civilian infrastructure such as schools and hospitals. The group is particularly active in the eastern part of the country in Nangarhar province and the northern Jawzjan and Faryab provinces. The ISIS affiliated group calls itself The Islamic State of Khorasan Province (ISKP).

ISKP is a major threat to the Afghan state due to its violent conduct of terrorist attacks in contrast with the Taliban that avoids attacking civilian targets and targeting specific ethnicity. Central Asian states are the next target of the ISKP as per their official ideology and announcements. They want to expand their area of activity to other states with major Muslim population. The ISKP's concentration in the Northern Province of Jawzjan that borders Turkmenistan is alluding to

the motivation of the group to move forward and attack Central Asian states. ISKP has followers among Central Asian citizens. Some of them have come to Afghanistan to fight for the group and as per their account to be under the command of the Kalifate. Afghan Security Forces have arrested several citizens of Uzbekistan and formerly Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) members in the ISKP teams, for example, in Zabul province.

Another speaker explains the use of non-hegemonic theory of international relations where not one state controls the international order or disorder in the world. This concept is applied mostly after the U.S. lost its global dominance in the world in the 1970s and started to look more inward and address some of its domestic issues. This theory sees a challenging environment between several global powers where each pushes its agenda in the new order and its effects would include the whole word and every space that is of major importance. This theory is essentially about a multipolar world where states should cooperate with each other in achieving global goals and one can't do it without others. However, there is the caveat that they cooperate rather than undermine each other.

The panelist also pointed out how major countries would manage Afghanistan after the withdrawal of international troops. Which are the major countries concerned about it? The U.S. is looking to Afghanistan through the lenses of Russia. The U.S. tries to include Afghanistan in Central Asia and South Asia to push it out of Russia's arms. This is the main U.S. strategy in the region. The U.S. is failing to maintain its presence in the region by losing its military assets first in the Manas Transit Center in Bishkek, then the Karshi-Khanabad military base in Uzbekistan and now internal pressure that leads to the significant reduction of troop presence in Afghanistan to less than 9,000 mostly in 'train and advise' capacity.

It was further mentioned that China has an economic strategy for Afghanistan and has made huge investment in the mining sector through long-term government to government contracts. It is using its own labor for extracting the resources. They also build infrastructure for transportation of those resources outside the country, so the future situation of the country following the troop withdrawals would not cause much concern as long as those economic interests are untouched. Russia is concerned about the narcotics criminal network from plantation to transportation to Russia. Despite Russia's concerns, opium production has increased that is a threat to Central Asia and Russia in strengthening criminal networks and in Afghanistan by the resources that it brings to the militant groups such as the Taliban. Russia believes that the American presence has increased the drug production to the detriment of the country.

It can be concluded from the above said that the conflict in Afghanistan requires multilateral approach in which major states in the region such as Russia and China must be involved and no country can solve the problems on its own, not even the United States of America. Each country in the region has its interests that needs to be listened even if it is a weak and small one but ignoring it would have negative consequences. Proxy warfare in Afghanistan is supported by some states, which contribute to the formation of terrorist groups, including IS. To mention the difficulty of reaching peace, all these states that are parties to the conflict should agree on a framework for cooperation that serves their interests.

State-building in Afghanistan and Its Discontents

The topic of state-building in Afghanistan has long history of discontent with a very unstable government. Not many of them have stayed until the end of their office term. Maybe, that is among the reasons for the current conflict in the country where the state doesn't control its entire territory. One speaker looked at the electoral politics of Afghanistan as an example of the state imposing its power over the many warlords that have been challenging it for a long time. The

speaker submits that this approach of pushing the non-state actors aside would work to stabilize the government and create the rule of law. Another speaker talked about the challenges of urban development in Afghanistan including the providing of city services to the citizens. The movement of population to major cities due to the war in the provinces has doubled the problems in the cities and the state is short of resources to manage this situation. If overpopulation in the cities is not addressed it would become an even bigger problem than the current war. Another speaker looked at the challenge of ethnic approach in the state-building in Afghanistan where Pashtun ethnicity has dominated most of the government positions and sidelined other ethnicities. This approach may create social and political discontent among others and will result in further loss of legitimacy of the government.

According to a panelist the western colonial bias towards underdeveloped states including Afghanistan misses the peculiarity of these societies. They come with a one-size-fits-all approach and fail most of the time. In the case of Afghanistan, the international intervention relied on a strategy that had failed earlier. The external powers engaged with their local allies for state-building that mostly included the southern and eastern Pashtun elites. Some of them lived inside the country whereas others from the outside mostly belonged to the elite educated in the U.S. or in Western Europe that engaged in this process. Those alien faces increased the gap between the Afghan state and the local public that ended with the lack of cooperation in strengthening local institutions or sometimes wrong approaches to build them that alienated the population even more.

The current approach to state-building is extremely ethnicized. The Pashtun elite is recruited in the highest level of government while others are sidelined. The panelist is of the view that the international community is supporting this failed approach. For documenting this claim, the number of Pashtun ministers in the current and previous administration has been used as illustration. The absolute majority of ministers belong to one ethnicity. He also criticized the combination of the Afghan diaspora in Germany disturbingly ethnicized that resulted in lack of cooperation among them in national issues.

Another speaker provided staggering data on the urbanization of Afghanistan and major factors in driving the citizens to major cities. Over half (54%) of the global population currently resides in urban areas, that nearly doubled the proportion (30%) since 1950. However, the absolute number of those living in urban areas has actually increased more than five-fold, from an estimated 750 million in 1950 to more than 3.9 billion people in 2016. This upward trend of urbanization is expected to continue, driven by the increase in urban populations across Africa and Asia.

Based on data of the United Nations (UN), it is estimated that 26.3%, or 8.2 million, of Afghanistan's 31 million inhabitants reside in urban areas. The urban population in Afghanistan has increased from 22% in 2005 to nearly 27% in 2017; this depicts 3% increase in urban population in the last 12 years. If continued in this pace, in the next 40 years 15 million will be added to Afghanistan's urban population and in 2060 an estimated 50% of Afghanistan's population will be residing in cities.

Four major factors have contributed to the migration of citizens to major Afghan cities: rural insecurity, better job opportunities, education and urban services. Considering all the factors mentioned above, increasing insecurity is pushing people to the major cities such as Kandahar, Herat, Jalalabad, Kabul and Mazar-e Sharif. This major push factor may remain for the coming years as there is no prospect for better security in rural areas or provinces. Therefore the urban areas of Afghanistan would face huge challenges of overpopulation in the major cities and issues that come with it. The Afghan government is seen increasingly incapable in providing city services such as drinking water, paved roads, sanitation and etc.

One panel member discussed a standoff between President Ghani and a group of warlords and strongmen that the President wants to limit their influence in Afghan politics. One of President Ghani's major agenda for his administration is to shrink the influence of former and current war-lords and jihadi leaders in the government and replace them with young and educated individuals who are loyal to him. In the lead up to the October 2018 parliamentary election this coalition of warlords that is called "Coalition for National Salvation of Afghanistan" started to close down offices of the Independent Election Commission (IEC) of Afghanistan in Kabul and the provinces. Their demand was to reform the election commission of Afghanistan and its voting procedure, which from their perspective were not transparent.

It is claimed that the process of state-building has always been challenging for the Afghan lead-ers in the past and now. The above mentioned case is the clear example of a leader who is trying to build state institutions using the right human resources and establishing institutions that will be long lasting. There is no doubt that in this process there is a leader that has to stand for these values and oppose the forces that try to hamper the process. Building institutions takes time but they have to start from somewhere considering the lessons learnt in the past.

To summarize, war has created many challenges for Afghanistan that the state is unable to ad-dress such as the movement of population from provinces to major cities that stressed the gov-ernment's ability to provide city services and led to increased social and political discontent. The government tries to sideline political opposition groups demonstrating the assertion of state power over warlords. This undermines the legitimacy of the government and its ability to further mobilize people in following the rule of law. This perception of Pashtun rule over the country is backed by data indicating the number of government positions allocated to one ethnic group. A government which is not based on the participation of each ethnic group would find it difficult to address national issues such as combatting terrorism and maintaining political stability.

Security Among, Across and By States

The topic covers the role of the state in providing security, how governments legitimize their ac-tions in maintaining security and order through developing strategies, policies, and programs. What tools and mechanisms are legitimate for the state to utilize in order to maintaining the rule of law and stability of the political system? One speaker addressed security assistance from other countries as a mechanism to enhance security such as rule of law and public order. Macedonia in close collaboration with the European Union (EU) reformed its security structure including police and law enforcement bodies. Another speaker spoke about border cooperation and cross border exchanges as a way for establishing sustainable peace and security across the border of Kyr-gyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. People to people exchanges are quite important for building sustained relations between the communities across the three countries' borders. It also helps states to engage in border management for facilitating this informal relationship. Again another speaker looked at the official discourse of the state of Kazakhstan toward terrorism by studying official documents and statements of senior government officials and President Nazarbayev.

The next panel addressed security in the Central Asian states and factors that contribute to secu-rity or insecurity and the way each state can address them or use regional approaches to come to a solution for a number of them. One of the researchers conducted a comparative analysis of the dynamics of security challenges between the Western Balkans and Central Asia. The presentation focused on leadership in security reform and addressing the security challenges that the state generally faces and how the Macedonian government has been successful in addressing security challenges through engagement with its neighbors. Such as signing of a treaty of friendship with Bulgaria and an agreement with Greece on the name of the country. Macedonia has been relying

upon regional organizations such as the EU as a platform for reform and addressing security challenges by using instruments of the organization. Macedonia has a different historical pathway in comparison with Central Asia as the former has been closely engaged with Europe and the integration process has helped it very much to embark on the reform more easily. In contrast, the Central Asian states had been part of the superstructure of the Soviet Union then have become newly independent states and short of strong regional partners for them it was hard to address security challenges jointly.

The panelist also used the "Fragile State Index" that names a certain number of indicators as a mechanism to evaluate the fragility of states. Applying this index to Central Asia, Kazakhstan is at the top of the table and Uzbekistan is at the bottom. The panelist suggested that each of these factors would contribute to the strengthening of states and consider regional cooperation in resolving the security issue highly important. The existence of a strong regional organization would be of great use to help meet the requirements set by various indicators by individual states. For example, public services indicator is improving in each Central Asian state and shows that states are improving as far as education, health, electricity and transportation. While the states mostly have authoritarian tendencies many policies lack the approval of the public and the same applies to inter-state cooperation.

Another panelist discusses grassroot peacebuilding across the borders of three Central Asian states of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in the Fergana Valley. People to people interaction across the border as the main resources of peace are crucial as they play an important role in strengthening community cohesion and provide stronger foundations to it. People will gain trust with each other through interaction in trade, marriage, popular events and their communication will decrease the chances of conflict over the resources such as land, water, pasturing and other sources of conflict. Community engagement would help to address conflicts over these resources which can be brought to resolution over the distribution of resources across the borders.

The panelist explains that people to people and community engagement does exist and communities live peacefully most of the times while the governments on all sides are securitizing border management through establishing new border posts, check points and militarization of the areas around the borders. The states disregard the soft part of the issue which is inter-communal cooperation among the people and are engaging in militarizing and securitizing the border areas which has resulted in several deadly incidents. States focus on the ownership of lands and demarcating them by military means. They pay less attention to shared solutions to border demarcation and land use that the above process has hampered between people across borders. Securitization of the border has resulted in an extra layer for cooperation as the people have to go through legal and administrative processes and take new initiatives for economic cooperation such as small scale trade and joint markets.

The last panelist conducted discourse analysis about official presentation of terrorism by the Kazakhstani state. The author used post-structuralist theory as a framework and analyzed terrorism and terrorist acts in Kazakhstan through official state discourse. It was argued that the identities assigned to terrorism are divorced from the local context. The state distorts the nature of terrorism within Kazakhstan by constructing terrorism in discursive, political, relational and social terms. The findings suggest that the state's discourse marries terrorism with religious extremism and constructs the discourse in vague terms in order to support its own political agenda. Terrorism is portrayed as a 'foreign threat' to national security, requiring urgent measures and a '*whole of nation*' approach. It concludes that the state creates a different social reality through discursive representations of terrorism that serve to delegitimize domestic opposition by framing non-sanctioned forms of resistance as acts of terrorism and extremism.

Kazakhstan's state policy on terrorism is vague at its best as it covers many acts as terrorism, for example, a simple verbal act could be considered as a terrorist act. The author argues that the state has developed this document intentionally so that it can expand it to citizens. The state wants it to be very strict and limited that it may result in problems when applying it in the future. The concept of terrorism is defined in conjunction with the stability discourse of the state. Every action that threatens the stability of the state and the government could be considered as a terrorist act. The stability of Kazakhstan is a reference point where the definition comes from. Sometimes a terrorist act maybe considered a 'simple' crime as the states want to undermine the severity of the threat and while a petty crime maybe considered a terrorist act since it may be regarded to threaten the stability of the regime.

The Kazakhstani leadership on many occasions has portrayed terrorism as something outside Kazakhstan that has its roots in unstable countries, which is imported to the country. Terrorism is alien to the society while the circumstances that are emerging are products of other unstable societies that have not been able to bring stability to their country. As a result Kazakhstan is affected. Also the internationalization of terrorism has opened the space for the leader of the country to relate the terrorism to issues happening all over the world. Kazakhstan is not the only state facing it as it is a product of events in a new area. Therefore we can't blame ourselves for the fact that terrorism is international and the government is doing everything to provide for stability and combat terrorism. In the event of a terrorist act, the state can refer it to international terrorism and avoid its responsibility.

In terms of security sector reform, Macedonia is a good example that has been completed successfully with the help and support of the European Union. This could be replicated in other countries of the Western Balkans through security cooperation with international organizations and other entities. Kazakhstan's securitized approach to terrorism tend to hype the issue in order to suppress political opposition and Islamic groups and tighten the society's space and generally depoliticize it. The government doesn't have a clear goal in counter-terrorism while we see many policies and strategies developed with vague vision and goals. Inter-communal relations and exchanges in border cooperation don't replace the official relationship since they require border agreement between two states to engage in border trade. We need the state to take up this issue and free the border from hostile behavior and securitizing the process.

Attractions and Puzzles of the Silk Road Theme

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is China's flagship project for gaining depth in the global market through transportation penetration in major areas in the world. It is a state backed global project that the government of China is committed to invest in through building infrastructure such as roads, railways, shipping lanes and energy lines. This project is a part of China's foreign policy theme of 'Going Westward' where the policy dictates the move and pushes towards the West that results in the global expansion of China. Central Asia is considering to be a major part of the project which receives huge funding in transportation infrastructure which these countries urgently need due to the depreciation of the physical infrastructure, including roads, and railway lines. The loans are made in favorable terms with long term repayment, which can be pushed back for some more years if countries fail to reimburse them in time and that's one of the reasons why these countries accept them.

There are major concerns about the viability of China's infrastructure projects in Central Asia and their use for the host countries since many of them are pathways for China's penetration through easing the transportation of Chinese products into these countries and less for the benefit of the local population. Also corruption in issuing these loans is another major con-

cern. Most often these agreements are signed behind closed doors with single source bidding and only open to Chinese firms. One of the major benefits that mega projects can bring is job creation. However, the Chinese projects are rarely using local labor force and rely on their own nationals for project implementation. The issue of debt repayment has always been challenging for Central Asian governments to address as they often failed to fulfil the terms of agreement by paying back several hundred million dollars of debt. It has sometimes become unsustainable and resulted in surrendering to the Chinese government through other means such as selling state property and losing sovereignty.

Despite all the pros and cons of China's BRI, one of the speakers considered them inevitable for Central Asia as they have to find a financier for linking their countries to global projects and create connectivity otherwise they would be sidelined. One panelist expressed the view that if these countries default on their loans that may cause some short term difficulties. However, in the long run the infrastructure will remain that is necessary and the backbone of future economic growth in the region. China wants to create economic pathways through Central Asia. For some, China is interested in major energy resources, like in Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. Other countries, such as Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan could become simple transit countries.

Another speaker reviews huge projects and the strategies of major powers, which include Central Asia as their main theme of integrating this region into their zone of political and economic influence. The speaker is of the view that China's Silk Road Economic Belt; America's New Silk Road Strategy; Russia's Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) and India's International North-South Transportation Corridor have developed competing visions for reviving ancient trade routes connecting Asia and Europe through the heartland. The U.S. New Silk Road Strategy focuses on stabilizing Afghanistan while China's BRI aims at economically integrating Central Asia to Beijing's geostrategic orbit. On the other hand, Russia in recent times reasserted its position through the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) at least to play a dominant regional role whereas India lately has come up with its own version of the Silk Road known as INSTC with the intention to secure its much needed energy security through the equity oil of Central Asia. These Silk Road concepts are socially constructed to secure the interests of the respective countries by using the narrative as a proxy. Why the countries are intended to use Silk Road discourses in their recent foreign policy orientation has a reason underneath the geopolitics of Central Asia.

The speaker submitted that Central Asia has strategic resources that many major powers want to engage with it and consider this area a major part of their policy-making and strategy. This includes that "[T]he territory serves as a transit road for economic ties between China and Europe, South Asia and the Middle East. Central Asia is rich in natural resources. Oil, gas, gold, uranium, cotton, etc., attracts international forces and boosts its economic importance. The newly independent states turned the region into a vacant and easily accessible market for Chinese goods and a source of cheap raw materials. Land transport offers more advantageous conditions for Chinese exports. The sovereign Central Asian countries can now establish direct ties with the APR (Asia-Pacific Region). Some states in that region (Japan and South Korea) have come to the fore. Under these conditions China, connected with Central Asia by a railway and highways has become the most convenient and reliable link between Central Asia and APR that earns it additional money. The region needs Chinese consumer goods."

Another speaker discussed the factors in confidence-building between Central Asian states in energy cooperation and joint energy projects. He proposed that a region-wide energy regulation system be created so that the states could coordinate their efforts in energy integration and connectivity more efficiently. For the time being, most projects are implemented according to the personal relationship between individual leaders who agree with each other to start or end a project. The speaker expressed the view that establishing such an energy system would regulate the

energy market in Central Asia and help with the standardization of the activity in this field since Central Asia is a major hub of the energy market.

Again another speaker summarizing the panel indicated that China's huge investment in infrastructure of Central Asia creates deeper and deeper dependency in political and economic terms. The states would be tied to the long-term strategy of China in the export of its products. There are setbacks from the population against Chinese presence. Chinese citizens and companies will occupy many jobs and acquire assets such as huge land plots and control the administration of the transportation infrastructure. What China lacks in this part of the world in contrast to Russia is military presence. Beijing should also further develop its soft power in Central Asia. We see that Chinese citizens are not much welcome in Central Asia. However, this is an issue that China and the Central Asian states have to deal with since Chinese capital will continue to bring along Chinese citizens.

The Belt and Road Initiative between Kabul and Kiev

The government of China has invited Afghanistan to participate in the BRI along with Pakistan that has already started to implement a chunk of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) which is a 65 billion dollars project. This is a tempting project that Afghanistan wants to become a part of and embark on transformation of its infrastructure with Chinese help. It may become a starting point to engage in meaningful cooperation with the Pakistani government. China has made huge investment in Afghanistan's mining industry and its companies are working on extracting iron ore and other metals for a long time and have been looking for building infrastructure to export them easily to China for further processing. There is huge prospect for Afghanistan in participating in the BRI.

One speaker mentioned the deteriorating security situation as a negative influencing factor in China's investment in Afghanistan both in its mining sector and infrastructure projects. Among Afghan experts China is regarded as a friendly investor in the current context and Kabul is less concerned about debt and loan issues with China. However, political problems do exist with Afghanistan's neighbors mainly with Pakistan that would be a partner of Afghanistan in the prospective Afghanistan-Pakistan-China Economic Corridor based on the extension of CPEC. The border issue is a sticking point and before resolving that China may have reservation in this cooperation. Even at this time a small part of this corridor crosses a disputed area between India and Pakistan that has made India to refrain from engaging in this project. Future participation of Afghanistan in this China led project may cost Afghanistan India's economic and development assistance.

To conclude this panel, Afghanistan should start negotiations with Pakistan in good faith to address political and security issues related to terrorism. Afghanistan accuses Pakistan of supporting terrorists on its territory. CPEC may not be extended to Afghanistan unless the two countries normalize their relations. China may not get involved in a peace initiative in Afghanistan as it is only after its economic interest in the region, and it had already signed a huge investment project with Pakistan. China only works with governments regardless of the concerns of the citizens or societies. Such an approach may lead to investment in projects which are of zero interest for citizens or of a lesser priority. For example, China started a metro line in Kiev with multimillion dollar investment that has stopped working.

Regimes Coping with Internal and External Stress

At this time of great power rivalries between Russia, China and the United States it is becoming more and more difficult for smaller countries to engage with those powers in a balanced way. One of the speakers submitted that small states are hurt in the competition between these big

countries and he put forward the example of Azerbaijan which is under huge pressure from Russia for purchasing its military equipment and from the European Union and the United States for oil and gas exploration and transportation. Another speaker talked about Tajikistan's methods in combatting terrorism. He brought an example of the last terrorist attacks allegedly by the Islamic State. The government of Tajikistan used this tragedy for its own propaganda and portrayed it as an attack by the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRPT).

The last speaker in the panel discussed issues of regime change, collapse or continuity in Central Asia and South Asia, primarily the cases of Tajikistan and Afghanistan. They share several characteristics, including the type of the economy, geography, political situation and history. Political stability in authoritarian regimes depends on several factors that include external support, the cohesion of the elite and economic resources that make them resistible to sudden shocks and stress. In case of armed rebellion against the states by internal forces two factors play crucial role, the security apparatus and foreign military support in taming the uprising and keep the state intact. The ruling elite's cohesiveness in face of political and military pressure would make the upper echelon of power resist to defection and create parallel structures to prevent the implosion from within.

The cases of Afghanistan and Tajikistan are quite important in terms of comparing the stability of the regime to internal pressure factors of militant or violent opposition or sudden collapse of the regime to armed political groups. Tajikistan was successful in avoiding the collapse of the regime after the civil war of the 1990s and finally signing of a peace accord. Tajikistan had strong foreign support mainly from the Russian Federation to cope with the attacks of the United Tajikistan Opposition (UTO) groups that were challenging the state and finally the state had the upper hand in signing the peace agreement and subsequently totally sideline the UTO members including the IRPT. In Afghanistan the case is totally different as the US as the main sponsor of the Afghan mujahedeen who were fighting against the Soviet Union backed government of Dr. Najibullah. When the Soviet Union stopped the support for Najibullah's government in the 1990s in the face of its dissolution, the government had little chance against the US backed Mujahedeen which in the end imploded.

The speaker further came up with his table which describes the dynamics of regimes to internal and external pressure.

	High International Interference Abetting Violent Non-State Challengers	Low/Absent International Interference Abetting Violent Non-State Challengers
High Foreign Power Support for Embattled Authoritarian Leader	Civil War/Insurgency	Negotiated Peace
Low/Absent Foreign Power Support for Embattled Authoritarian Leader	Regime Implosion Foreign-Based Overthrow	Strategic Advance and Retreat

Afghanistan and other smaller countries have little chance to change course in their relations with powers such as Russia and the United States as they rely on one of them for a big chunk of their resources for running the country. When we are asked why the US doesn't put pressure on the Pakistani Government to push the Taliban toward peace talks, the simple answer is that it can't. If it does, Pakistan simply would tilt to the side of Russia and China. Also, in Tajikistan, Rahmon is aging and wants to push his son to the presidency. Therefore he does not want any contender to his throne, including the Islamic Renaissance Party, so everything that happens has to be blamed on the IRPT.

Energy Cooperation and (In-)Security

The two presentations in the panel discussed security in Central Asia. The first one explained the circumstances surrounding the failed Chinese refurbishment of the Bishkek Power Plant and the second one addressed energy security and energy diversification in Central Asia from a European perspective. The EU in Central Asia has a vision for energy security and diversification among the member states as the region is becoming a source of energy export to regional and international markets namely Turkmenistan, which exports huge volume of natural gas to China. Diversification is the fundamental factor in energy security as the countries would find different sources of energy resources and avoid relying on one supplier for their energy. Despite all the efforts that the EU is making in Central Asia, it has failed to receive Central Asian gas and its support has remained confined mostly to studies and contemplating operational cost in this sector.

The main questions of Central Asian energy export to the EU are: who will buy the gas and who will finance the pipeline. These two are fundamental to any energy initiative in the LNG market. The receiver has to engage in the region, explore the resources, conduct studies with each country and develop relationships with governments to negotiate an agreement and also multi-billion dollar pipeline projects has to be taken into consideration, which country is ready to finance and embark on such mega projects. For the time being, not a single initiative has been seen to materialize. Hence, there is no project that would address the question of energy diversification in the EU.

China refurbished the Bishkek Power Plant (BPP) in 2016 with a price tag of over 350 million dollars. It didn't work well and during the cold winter of 2017 it stopped working for three days. People were left without heating and hot water in the below zero weather. This is a case in point about China's infrastructure development by state owned enterprises of the country which go wrong and the issues surrounding it come to the attention of the citizens and the civil society otherwise these corrupt practices of contracting with the state officials in absolute lack of transparency will remain hidden.

The payment of the Chinese loan by the Kyrgyz government has arrived at an unsustainable point when 70% of Kyrgyzstan's public debt is to China and the debt to GDP ratio stands above 50% of the GDP which is dangerous for a country with limited revenue. If the Kyrgyz government defaults on its loans China may demand to take over some state assets such as the power plant itself, like in the case of the Sri Lanka that had to hand over the multi-billion dollar port to China as a measure for payment of the loans. (Since then a few similar cases have been revealed in China's relations with Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe.)

To sum up the topics above, transparency is absent in contracting with the Chinese state/national companies. Contracts are signed behind closed doors with very little public knowledge and thus public debate about the terms of the contract. Long term loans to Kyrgyzstan stand at an unsustainable level, which the government partnering with China is under pressure to pay back and technically it is in a debt trap. Energy in Central Asia is a big source of revenue which can uplift the society in a short period of time. The European Union has long worked on the energy strategy for Central Asia but it has failed to implement even a very small project that practically addresses energy export to the European markets.

Resilience and Fragility below the State

Cooperation between local communities and the state is crucial in addressing local issues arising between communities or communities with the state. It was explained that during the ethnic infighting in the Osh province of Kyrgyzstan, local elites played a positive role in managing the

violence through communal agreement. The panelist suggests that in the absence of state authorities there must be some structure that helps the communities to organize their affairs and this could be extended to the cooperation with the state. The panelist further explains the local structures below the state level such as Mahallas that are engaging in dispute resolution and supporting the state in conducting its official activity. They even have more power in rural areas where the presence of the state is very limited and these structures regulate the relationship between the residents and find solution through cooperation in land and water management, including irrigation.

The presentations have given interesting insight into the region. One of them addressing ethnic infighting in the south of Kyrgyzstan suggested that one of the main factors that prevented further escalation of violence was the inter-communal pacts between neighborhoods where the leader of each community agreed to decrease the level of violence and avoid attacking each other. One panelist mentioned that in the face of the total collapse of government, security and order, community cohesion played a major role in stabilizing the situation and policing the areas. Strong leaders played the role of negotiator with other leaders in resolving the conflicting issues, including the burning down of houses, destroying the communities and killing each other. These community elders worked with each other to stop hate speeches by the radical members on both sides and it contributed greatly to the reduction of violent rhetoric. As a result of the cooperation between the communities state authority was restored gradually.

Another speaker explained the concept of resilience of communities in terms of crime prevention and community cooperation in addressing local issues. This approach has history in Central Asia as there were local entities entrusted to host such issues. For example, Mahallahs in Uzbekistan were centers where the members of the local community could go and address some local issues such as certification of residence, reporting local problems, etc. This is to say that the measures discussed in these local councils would help to share the problem among members of the local community and resolve them with the consensus of the locality. This would prevent future conflict over local problems since they will have been locally addressed. Water management in local communities most of the time were addressed efficiently among the residents in peaceful manner and the communities have developed mechanisms to satisfy everyone. The panelist argues that these human agencies are the main drivers of peaceful coexistence, which the communities share and if there are difficulties they would take them upon themselves as a group and that's what makes these communities resilient.

The last presenter explained that there were many instances when the communities were intermingled with the official authorities, for example, with law enforcement to find solution to local problems that sometimes required the cooperation of the residents. It was suggested that police reform starts with the cooperation of the local communities in accepting the policing norms and many times communities act as the monitoring bodies for the police. There are informal local entities that partner with police in crime prevention and crime detection and thus play a supportive role for the law enforcement authorities to use soft power of reconciliation and guaranteeing mutual respect to many social problems that require police action.

Religion, Secularism and the State in Central Asia

We are seeing changes in the religious context of Central Asia after the death of Islam Karimov. Uzbekistan is gradually freeing up space for religious freedom and practices. It is allowing non-state actors such as religious groups to show up in TV and talk about faith and religion in an open atmosphere. These are events that were unthinkable during the Karimov era. On the other hand, we have Tajikistan which is tightening the space for religious activities by develop-

ing and enforcing regulations regarding pious and religious individuals. They are even handing long term sentences for minor violation of laws and more sensitive to membership in Islamic political parties such as the IRPT. Events in Turkey after the alleged coup by Gülenists led to the closure of Turkish schools across Central Asia and it has worsened the religious atmosphere in the region.

A presenter talked about Uzbekistan under President Mirziyoyev which is allowing more freedom to symbols of religion in public spaces such as TV, events, schools and religious places and it is in sharp contrast to policies of the previous president, Islam Karimov who opposed any role for religious symbols in the country. Mirziyoyev has allowed religious and pious citizens to engage in activities such as holding Quran contests and talking about Islam in special TV programs. This alludes to that Uzbekistan is recognizing that the repression of religious believers was counter-productive to the healthy discourse on freedom of religion and public engagement in Islamic activities devoid of violence. This is to say they are actually an instrument for normalizing citizenry about Islamic practices and opposing radical militant Islam.

The other presenter explained that securitization of religion in Central Asia for a long time has been on the state agenda in opposing political Islam and legitimate Islamic parties and shrinking space for political activities. Tajikistan has suppressed any political movements under the name of Islamic extremism such as the IRPT, which is an alternative force against the exigencies of the Rahmon regime. Uzbekistan under Karimov did suffocate any political activity under the label of Islamic extremism that was another case in point. Even business activities in conservative areas of the country were suppressed and their assets were confiscated including those of the Ikramiya movement. Securitization of religion has helped the formation and continuity of such Islamic terrorists groups as the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU). Developing restrictive and repressive policies in the Central Asian states has greatly limited the freedom of religious practice as part of the identity of the citizens.

Conclusions

Three themes have emerged as results of the conference that may be offered to the attention of experts and practitioners in Central Asia and Afghanistan.

1. Afghanistan is a source of concern in the region with the emerging security threats that arises from it such as the rise and strengthening of ISIS, its move towards the borders of Central Asia and the lack of capacity of the Afghan government in stopping this threat from spreading. On the other hand, there are concerns about the fragility of the Afghan state against the internal pressure from both sides of the spectrum. Local civilians that are losing confidence in the state's ability in providing security and basic services and the pressure of the Taliban movement's military activities and gaining territory from the Afghan government that has raised the possibility of a total collapse of the Afghan state.

2. China's state-led capital investment in mega projects such as the Belt and Road Initiative that is challenging many other international projects in Central Asia, including the U.S.-led Greater Central and South Asia project that plans to de-Sovietize the region and push it away from Russia and the Eurasian Economic Union. BRI has brought new opportunities and challenges for the region as infrastructural development and global connectivity is a must for the region and its future economic growth while the debt trap and repayment of the loans arising from these projects is a challenge for the Central Asian governments. This topic needs further study as it is a new topic.

3. Energy production and transportation within the region and outside of it for export. There is no regional energy system where the states can regulate their energy interaction while each state is doing it individually such as Turkmenistan with China. Export of energy to Europe and diversification of the supply and finding new customers besides China is a challenge that has to be addressed in the future.

Seminar Programme

Thursday, 11 October 2018	
8:45-9:00	**Registration**
9:00-9:20	**Welcoming Address**
Ambassador Dr. Pierre von Arx, Head of the OSCE Programme Office in Bishkek **Dr. Alexander Wolters,** Director of the OSCE Academy	
9:20-11:30	**Keynote Speech:**
"Security challenges across the domain spectrum" **Dr. Flemming Splidsboel Hansen**	
11:00-11:15	**Coffee break**
11:15-13:00	**Panel 1: Central Asian Regional Integration – Relevant Again?** **Chair: Mr. Shairbek Juraev, Marie Curie Fellow, University of St. Andrews**
Central Asian Integration: Chances and Challenges **Bakhtiyor Alimdjanov** *High Interdependence with No Cooperation: the Case of Central* **Asia Aigul Kazhenova** *United and Disunited Central Asia: Multiple Identities of Central Asians* **Arzuu Sheranov**	
13:00-14:00	**Lunch at Dolce Vita Pizzeria**
14:00-15:30	**Panel 2: Regional Implications of Peace and Insecurity in Afghanistan** **Chair: Dr. Payam Foroughi, Adjunct Professor, American University of Central Asia (AUCA)**
The Struggle for establishing New Peace Order in and around Afghanistan **Regina Sysoyeva** *Implications of Peace in Afghanistan* **Mohammad Hasan Raha** *Daesh in North of Afghanistan and its Implication for Central Asia* **Qayoom Suroush**	
15:30-15:45	**Coffee break**

15:45-17:10	**Panel 3: State-building in Afghanistan and Its Discontents** **Chair: Dr. Emil Dzhuraev, Senior Lecturer, OSCE Academy**
	Afghanistan's 2019 Pre-election Contest: Technocrats versus Strongmen/Warlords and its New Implication on the Upcoming Presidential Election **Rahimullah Kakar** *Insecurity, the Main Factor behind Afghans' Dramatic Move to Cities and Afghanistan's Urban Future* **Naqibullah Ahmadi** *Afghanistani Diaspora Community in Hamburg-Germany: Between making a new Home in Germany and solving the Fragile Status Quo in Afghanistan* **Javeed Ahwar**
18:00	**Reception**

Friday, 12 October 2018	
9:00-10:30	**Panel 4: Attractions and Puzzles of the Silk Road Theme** **Chair: Mr. Medet Tiulegenov, Head of the International and Comparative Politics, AUCA**
	China's OBOR as a New-Old Development Paradigm in Central Asia **Bokhtar Bakozade** *Silk Road as New Foreign Policy Discourse: Evidence from the U.S., China and Russian Engagement Strategies in Central Asia* **Ramakrushna Pradhan** *The Energy Silk Road as a Confidence - and Security-Building Measure* **Richard Wheeler**
10:30-10:45	**Coffee break**
10:45-12:15	**Panel 5: The Belt and Road Initiative Between Kabul and Kiev** **Chair: Dr. Charles J. Sullivan, Assistant Professor, Nazarbayev University**
	Afghanistan Perspectives on the Belt and Road Initiative: Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats **Abdullah Zahid** *Afghanistan's Belt and Road Regional Prospects towards the Economy of Integrated Development* **Mohammad Irfani** *Chinese Global Infrastructure Projects: a Challenge or a Prospect? A Perspective from Ukraine* **Yurii Poita**
12:15-13:15	**Lunch at Dolce Vita Pizzeria**
13:20-14:40	**Panel 6: Regimes Coping with Internal and External Stress** **Chair: Dr. Kemel Toktomushev, Assistant Professor and Research Fellow, University of Central Asia**
	The Effects of Major Powers Regional Competition upon Minor Powers' Adaptation Strategies. The Southern Caucasus Case ***Carlo Frappi*** *Central Asia's Liberal-Neoliberal 'Normal Clash' under Post-Communism* ***Payam Foroughi*** *Embattled Authoritarians: Continuity and Collapse in Central and Southwest Asia* ***Charles Sullivan***

14:40-15:30	**Panel 6: Energy Cooperation and (In-)Security** **Chair: Richard Wheeler, Managing Director of the Center for Energy Security Dialogue, USA**

Bishkek Power Plant Breakdown and its Implications for Management of Kyrgyzstan`s Public Debt **Amangeldi Djumabaev**

An EU Perspective on Central Asia's Energy Security Landscape: Stable Interests, Changing Environment **Tamás Kozma**

15:30-15:45	**Coffee break**
15:45-17:15	**Simultaneous Panels 8**
	Security Among, Across and By States, Conference Hall **Chair: Mr. Medet Tiulegenov, Head of International and Comparative Politics, AUCA**

Regional Security Challenges require Strong Leadership: Comparative Analysis of Central Asia and the Western Balkans (Good practices from Macedonia) ***Ivana Vuchkova***

The Caspian Sea Convention: Implications for Regional Security in Central Asia ***Ruslan Hojayev***

Grassroots Peacebuilding: Cross-Border Cooperation in the Ferghana Valley ***Diana Mamatova***

Terrorism in "The Land of the Great Steppe": How the State Represents Terrorism in Kazakhstan ***Nurbek Bekmurzaev***

	Resilience and Fragility Below the State, Room 14 **Chair: Dr. Alexander Wolters, Director, OSCE Academy**

New Societal Transitions in Uzbekistan: From Strong State to Strong Society? **Madina Abdullaeva**

Community-Level Crime Prevention and Resilience – Part of or Substitute for Law Enforcement Reform? **Philipp Lottholz**

The June 2010 Ethnic Conflict and Communal Security in Osh in Micro- and Macro-Comparative Perspectives **Joldon Kutmanaliev**

Civil Activism or Non-Civil Survival? Comparative Case Studies of LGBT1 Groups in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan **Reina Artur Kyzy**

17:15-17:25	**Coffee break**
17:25-18:20	**Panel 9: Religion, Secularism and the State in Central Asia** **Chair: Dr. Emil Dzhuraev, Senior Lecturer, OSCE Academy**
	Reforms in Religious Sphere in Uzbekistan: Islam and State Security **Yorkinjon Khaydarov** *Securitization of Religion in Central Asia: Influence of the Arab Uprisings beyond the Middle East* **Yasar Sari**
18:20-18:35	**Concluding Remarks**

Saturday, 13 October 2018	
9:30-11:00	**Public Lecture:** *Afghan Diplomacy* (in Russian Language) **Dr. Moheb Spinghar**, Director of the Institute of Diplomacy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan
11:00-11:15	**Coffee break**
11:15-13:00	**Simultaneous Workshops**

Cyber Security: *How to Protect yourself in Cyberspace* (in English language)

Trainers: Dr. Anna Gussarova, Director of the Central Asia Institute for Strategic Studies, Kazakhstan and Erlan Bakiev, Head of Department Service for Counter Extremism and Illegal Migration, Ministry of Interior, Kyrgyzstan

System of Restrictions and Bans on Public Servants (Goal, Types, Comparative Analysis) (in Russian Language)

Trainer: Jaroslav Strelcenoks, International Expert, Council of Europe

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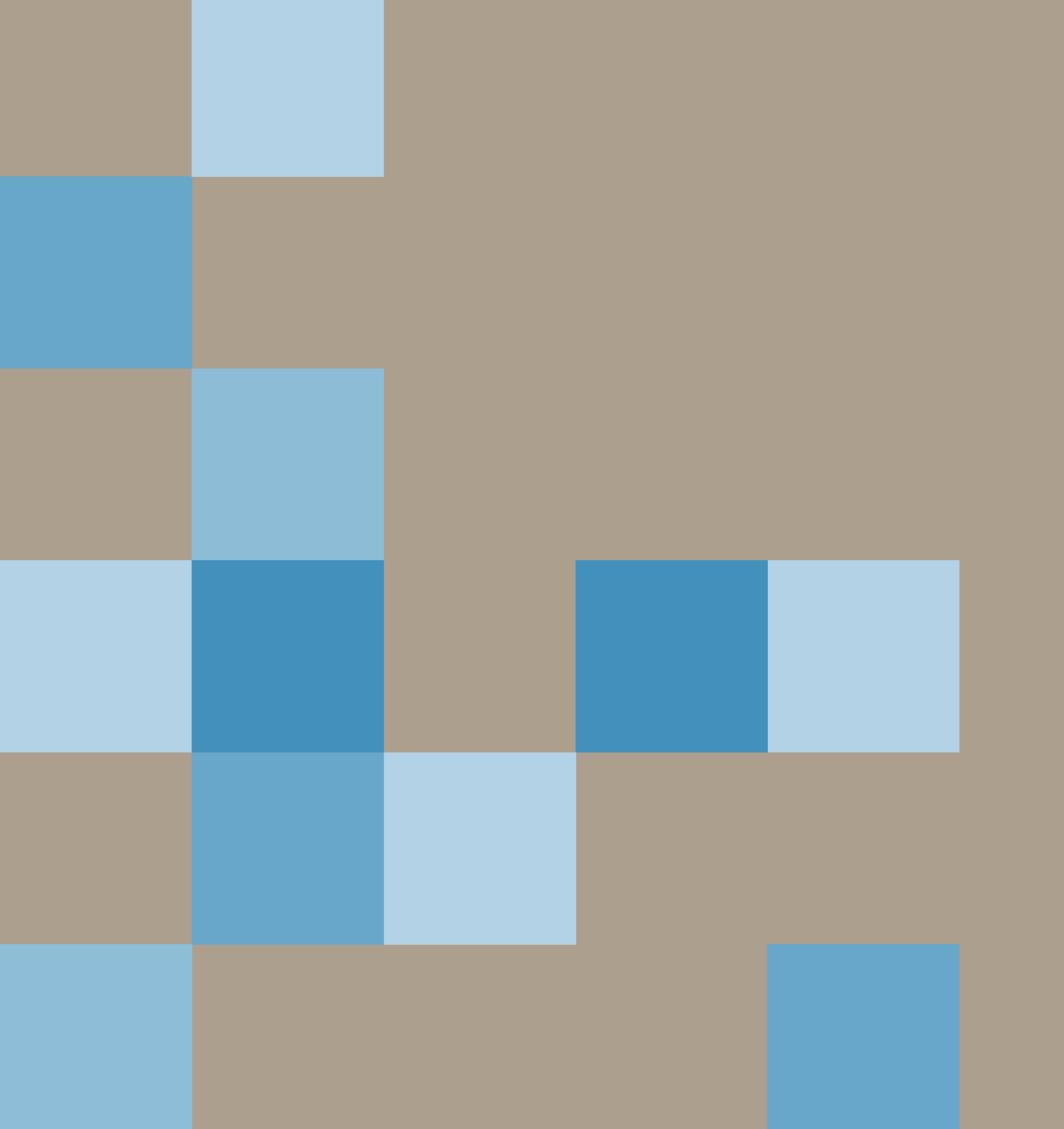
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Map of Central Asia

Source: (https://astanatimes.com/2017/05/central-asian-integration-more-real-than-/)

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